

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sedam to Mitchell RE: obstacles to Wallace's running for office in various key states. List of states and whether or not Wallace is eligible to run in them attached. 21 pgs.
30	4	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: Ehrlichman's relations with the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Ehrlichman RE: Ehrlichman's strong criticisms of the CRP. 3 pgs.
30	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Memo from anonymous author to unknown recipient RE: Ehrlichman's treatment of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Handwritten notes added by unknown parties. 2 pgs.

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30	4	2/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ehrlichman to Mitchell RE: poor relations between White House staff members and the CRP. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Ehrlichman RE: defining the campaign role of the CRP. 3 pgs.
30	4	2/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to Magruder RE: athletes in support of RN. 2 pgs.
30	4	4/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking paper for a meeting with Mitchell generated by Haldeman relating to California and other key states. 1 pg.
30	4	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Safire to Haldeman RE: the draft of a statement on campaign spending from Stans and Safire's recommendation that it not be approved. 2 pgs.

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30	4	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
30	4	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Chotiner to RN RE: projected 1972 Florida voting figures compared to those of 1968. 1 pg.
30	4	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from a meeting on campaign finances. 1 pg.
30	4	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: campaign contributions and financial disclosure. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: an enclosed document. 1 pg.

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30	4	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Chotiner to RN RE: analyzing the results of the New Hampshire primary. 1 pg.
30	4	3/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to RN RE: information on McGovern's projected victory in the Wisconsin Democratic Primary. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: developing a "line" for Wisconsin. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
30	4	3/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: attached information from Tom Girard on Wisconsin. 1 pg.
30	4	3/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Thomas E. Girard to Magruder RE: campaign fund disclosure in Wisconsin. 1 pg.

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30	4	3/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: projections for the Wisconsin primary. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: plans for the Maryland primary. Map of Maryland attached. Graphical timeline of operating plan not scanned. 7 pgs.
30	4	3/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Nancy Brataas to Magruder RE: the use of telephone operations in the Maryland campaign. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Morgan, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: direct mail planning for the Maryland primary. Graphical timeline of the state field organization schedule not scanned. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the CRP's operating plan for the California state primary. Graphs of various California political races and map attached. Graphical representation of California primary operating plan not scanned. 13 pgs.

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30	4	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Nofziger to Flemming RE: problems with the California Committee for the Re-Election of the President budget. Budget and speaker schedule for California attached. 8 pgs.
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Hutar to Marik RE: volunteer programs for the California primary. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Dailey pointing out ways to improve the organization of California in the 1972 election. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Brataas to Magruder RE: the use of a telephone campaign in the California primary. 2 pgs.
30	4	3/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan to Marik RE: plans for the use of direct mail in the California campaign. Proposed plans attached 6 pgs.

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30	4	3/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the Committee for the Re-Election of the President's operating plan for the Indiana primary. Map of Indiana included. Graphical operating plan not scanned. 9 pgs.
30	4	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From anonymous author to unknown recipient RE: the CRP's operating plan for the primary in the State of Michigan. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Map included. Graphical operating plan not scanned. 5 pgs.
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: planning for the primaries in various states. Chart of primary activities in the same states attached. 6 pgs.
30	4	3/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Marik, through Magruder, to Mitchell summarizing primary activities in New Hampshire. 7 pgs.
30	4	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: planning for the primaries in various states. Chart of primary activities in the same states attached. 7 pgs.

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30	4	2/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Handwritten notes relating to various campaign topics in California. 5 pgs.
30	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Graphical operating schedule for primaries in various states. Not scanned.
30	4	2/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to unknown RE: planning for presidential primaries in various states. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Chart of proposed activities attached. 6 pgs.
30	4	2/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Various documents bundled together to form a report on the Campaign Strategy Group's plan for the California Primary. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Charts and map of California included. 9 pgs.
30	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Graphical representation of the operating plan for the California primary. Not scanned.

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30	4	3/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the campaign in Oregon. 1 pg.
30	4	3/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the campaign in Indiana. 2 pgs.
30	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the campaign primary activities. 1 pg.
30	4	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From W. Richard Howard to Higby RE: an attached document from Magruder. Handwritten notes added from Higby to Strachan. 1 pg.
30	4	3/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From G. Gordon Liddy to Mitchell RE: states permitting write-ins in presidential primaries. Information taken from "Political Reoprt" on those states included. 7 pgs.

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30	4	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Higby RE: the role of write-ins in presidential primaries. 1 pg.
30	4	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman summarizing Colson's meeting with RN. 1 pg.
30	4	3/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From G. Gordon Liddy to Mitchell RE: states permitting write-ins in presidential primaries. Information taken from "Political Reoprt" on those states included. 7 pgs.
30	4	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
30	4	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking paper for a meeting with the Attorney General generated by Haldeman relating to primary campaigning. Handwritten responses added by unknown. 1 pg.

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30	4	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking paper for a meeting with the Attorney General generated by Haldeman relating to primary campaigning. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
30	4	3/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: operating plans for the Michigan presidential primary. Map of Michigan included. Graphical representation of plan not scanned. 6 pgs.
30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Morgan, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: a direct mail program for the Michigan presidential primary. 2 pgs.

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30	4	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: operating plans for the Massachusetts presidential primary. Map of Massachusetts included. 6 pgs.
30	4	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: operating plans for the Oregon presidential primary. Map of Oregon included. Graphical representation of plan not scanned. 8 pgs.
30	4	3/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Clifford A. Miller to Dailey and Joanou RE: Democrats' use of various media in their presidential campaigns. 1 pg.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

March 23, 1972

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

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
SUBJECT: Legal Obstacles to Governor Wallace
Qualifying for the General Election
Ballot

We have reviewed the laws of the Presidential Primary states (except the District of Columbia), the five states Governor Wallace carried in 1968, and eight other states to determine what legal obstacles may stand in his way, in qualifying for the General Election Ballot after having run as a candidate for nomination in several Democrat Primaries.

Further, we have reviewed the legal status of the American Independent Party (sometimes called the American Party) in each state, and where that party is not a qualified political party we have reviewed the requirements a minor or new party must meet to have their candidate placed on the General Election Ballot. We have also reviewed the requirements an Independent candidate (e.g. McCarthy) must meet to qualify for the Ballot.

The review of the Presidential Preference Primary states is attached as Tab A. Governor Wallace, by having run in the Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Nebraska, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and South Dakota primaries, will be barred in those states from running in the General Election. In Maryland, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania, he is barred by having missed the General Election filing deadlines. He will be barred in Indiana, Michigan, South

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The Honorable John N. Mitchell
March 23, 1972
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Dakota, and Oregon by statutory prohibitions against running in the General Election after having run as a candidate in the Primary. However, the Indiana statute will probably be given an interpretation by the State Board of Elections which will permit Governor Wallace's nomination by the AIP. The statutes in Oregon, Michigan, and South Dakota may be challenged in court, and if successfully so, then in only Maryland, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania will he be barred from the General Election Ballot. IX

The review of the five states Governor Wallace carried in 1968 is attached as Tab B. The AIP would face no legal obstacles in running the Governor as their candidate in these five states. They are, however, facing a practical problem in Arkansas for they must obtain 43,000 signatures which they apparently are having difficulty doing. Furthermore, the filing deadline in Arkansas is not yet established, and the Attorney General is apparently delaying setting a deadline to give the AIP more time. How long he can delay is unresolved.

In Georgia, 98,000 signatures will be required and that could become a practical problem.

The review of eight other states (Arizona, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, New York, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia) is attached as Tab C. Governor Wallace faces no legal obstacles in qualifying in any of these states, but is facing practical obstacles in Texas.

In Texas, the AIP must gather 23,000 signatures between May 6 and June 30 to qualify as a party, and it appears at this time that they may have difficulty doing so.

In conclusion, of the thirty-three states reviewed, Governor Wallace cannot run as a third party candidate, or as an Independent, in Maryland, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania. He is also barred from running as a third party candidate or as an Independent, if current statutory provisions are upheld, in Indiana, Michigan, South Dakota, and Oregon. He appears to be facing practical difficulties in Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas.

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In all other of the thirty-three states reviewed he will face no legal or practical obstacles in qualifying as a third party candidate. It could be said, however, that one gets the feeling in talking with Secretaries of State and with persons in their offices, that Governor Wallace and his supporters are not generally taking the steps they should be taking to develop the momentum which will be required to qualify the AIP as a party, or to qualify the Governor as a candidate, and that should they later decide to do so the momentum to gather the needed signatures may not be easily developed.

CONFIDENTIAL

A

CALIFORNIA

Governor Wallace is not on the Democrat Primary Ballot in California, and faces no legal obstacles in running as a third party candidate in the General Election.

The AIP is a recognized party in California and can certify Wallace as a candidate for President to the Secretary of State after the national and state AIP conventions in July (exact dates not yet set).

An Independent candidate faces a difficult practical obstacle in that to be placed on the Ballot nomination papers, signed by voters equal to not less than 5 percent of the entire vote cast in the 1970 Gubernatorial Election (about 325,500 signatures), must be filed with the Secretary of State after August 21, but not later than September 14.

FLORIDA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the Florida General Election as a candidate of any other party.

The AIP, not having 5 percent of the total registered voters of the state on January 1, is not a recognized political party. Therefore, to run Wallace as a candidate in the General Election, the AIP must submit petitions signed by 1 percent of the registered voters in Florida (there must be a separate petition from each county). Petitions must be submitted by August 15.

Any candidate to run as an Independent would follow the same procedure.

ILLINOIS

Governor Wallace was not on the Democratic Primary Ballot in Illinois, and faces no legal obstacles in running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a recognized party in Illinois. Therefore, to run Governor Wallace as a candidate, the AIP must form a new political party by filing with the Secretary of State a petition declaring their intention to form such a party, signed by not less than 25,000 voters, and by filing a certificate of nomination with the State Election Board by August 7.

Independent candidates must file nomination papers signed by 25,000 voters with the State Election Board by August 7.

INDIANA

Governor Wallace is on the Democratic Primary Ballot in Indiana. If he loses that primary, there is a legal obstacle to his running in the General Election.

An Indiana statute provides that no person who is defeated in any primary may be eligible to become a candidate for the same office in the next General Election (Burns Annotated Statutes, Section 29-3620). However, this statutory provision is subject to the interpretation that while a candidate may not be eligible to run in the General Election after being defeated in a primary, he may be permitted to run in the General Election as the nominee of a party. Attorneys on Wallace's behalf have taken this issue to the State Election Board. The State Election Board has requested an opinion from the State Attorney General, but we are told no opinion will be issued. It will then be the responsibility of the State Election Board to resolve the issue. While it is impossible to know what the Board will decide, we have learned that the attorney for the Board favors the interpretation that Governor Wallace could run as the nominee of the AIP. A decision by the Board is expected before the May 2 Primary.

The AIP is not a recognized political party in Indiana. Therefore, should they attempt to run Governor Wallace as a candidate in the General Election, they must file with the Governor of Indiana a petition signed by voters equal in number to 1 percent of the total vote cast in the last preceding General Election (approximately 9,000 signatures). That petition must be filed no later than September 1.

Independent candidates follow the same petition procedure with the deadline, September 1.

MARYLAND

Governor Wallace will be a candidate in the Democrat Primary in Maryland. Whether he wins or loses that primary, the only way in which he can be on the General Election Ballot in Maryland is to be the nominee of the Democrat National Convention.

Independents and candidates of any party other than the Democrat or GOP Parties must have filed a Certificate of Candidacy by March 6. Even though the AIP is a recognized minority party in Maryland they would have had to follow that procedure.

Consequently, the deadline having passed, there is no way Wallace can run in the General Election in Maryland except as the National Democrat Party nominee.

MASSACHUSETTS

Governor Wallace will be running in the Massachusetts Democrat Presidential Primary, and will face no legal obstacles in running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a recognized political party in Massachusetts; hence, they must proceed as a new party and must file nomination papers containing 56,038 signatures by July 11, 1972, with the State Board of Elections.

Independent candidates proceed in the same manner.

MICHIGAN

Governor Wallace will be on the Democrat Presidential Primary Ballot in Michigan, and will, therefore, be prohibited from running in the General Election.

A Michigan statute provides that no person whose name has been placed on the primary ballot shall be a candidate of another party in the General Election.

There is no statutory provision for Independent candidates in Michigan.

While the above statute, if not declared invalid, would prohibit Wallace from running as a candidate of the AIP, the AIP is a recognized major political party in Michigan and can certify a candidate after their convention in August. They will probably, therefore, challenge the statute.

NEBRASKA

Governor Wallace will be on the Democrat Primary Ballot in Nebraska. Whether he wins or loses that Democratic Primary, there is no way in which he can be on the Nebraska General Election Ballot except to be the nominee of the National Democrat Party.

The American Independent Party is not a recognized major party in Nebraska. Parties other than recognized major parties, and Independents, must have filed petitions by February 9 to be candidates on the General Election Ballot. No parties and no Independents have done so. Consequently, the deadline having passed, Governor Wallace cannot run in the General Election in Nebraska except as the National Democrat Party nominee.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Governor Wallace was not on the Primary Ballot in New Hampshire and faces no legal obstacles in running in the New Hampshire General Election.

The AIP is a recognized party in New Hampshire and, after holding a state convention, may certify Presidential candidates to the Secretary of State. The state convention must be held not later than October 3.

Independent candidates must file petitions with the Secretary of State, signed by at least 1,000 voters, and must be submitted not later than September 28.

NEW JERSEY

Governor Wallace has not yet filed for the New Jersey Primary (deadline will be April 27). Even if he files, however, and is defeated, he will face no legal obstacles in running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a recognized party in New Jersey. To run a candidate in the General Election, the AIP will have to nominate by petition signed by voters equal to 2 percent of the entire vote cast in the last General Election (approximately 43,000 signatures). Nominating petitions must be filed with the Secretary of State not later than April 27.

An Independent candidate must follow the same petitioning procedures.

NEW MEXICO

Governor Wallace will be on the Democrat Primary Ballot in New Mexico but will face no legal obstacles in running in the General Election.

The AIP is not currently a qualified political party in New Mexico and must proceed to re-qualify as a minor or new party by filing its rules and regulations, and must file a Certificate of Nomination, signed by the chairman and secretary of the state convention, with the Secretary of State not later than September 8.

There are no statutory provisions for Independent candidates.

NORTH CAROLINA

Governor Wallace will be on the Democratic Primary Ballot in North Carolina. Should he lose, there are no legal obstacles to his running in the General Election.

The AIP is a recognized political party in North Carolina and may certify a Presidential candidate to the Secretary of State after the AIP's July convention. Certification must be made by August 1.

Independent candidates face difficult practical obstacles in that they must file with their nominating petition an affidavit stating that they are not affiliated with any political party. This must be filed with the State Board of Elections not later than May 31. As a further practical obstacle, the petition must be signed by qualified voters equal to 25 percent of the total 1968 Presidential vote (approximately 397,000 signatures).

OHIO

Governor Wallace is not on the Primary Ballot in Ohio but would face no legal obstacles in running in the General Election as a third party candidate. He would not, however, be permitted to run as an Independent for the filing deadline has passed.

The AIP is recognized as a party in Ohio and can certify candidates to the Secretary of State after a state convention (date not yet determined). The state AIP chairman has informed the Ohio Board of Elections that the AIP will be placing Governor Wallace's name on the Ballot as an AIP candidate whether or not he receives the Democratic nomination.

Independent candidates were to have filed petitions by February 2. Only one minor state individual has filed as an Independent.

OREGON

Governor Wallace will be on the Democrat Presidential Primary Ballot and, consequently, will be prohibited by statute from running in the General Election as a candidate for any other party, or as an Independent.

We are informed by the Secretary of State's office, however, that there is considerable discussion in Oregon concerning this statutory prohibition and that it is anticipated that, because of the requirement that a candidate in the Primary cannot remove himself from the Ballot once nominated by the Secretary of State, a court challenge to the petition will be filed.

Were the AIP to attempt to run Governor Wallace, they would have to proceed as a new political party and must file a petition signed by registered voters equal in number to 5 percent of the vote cast in the last General Election (approximately 3,300 signatures), or proceed as an "organized group" and hold a state-wide meeting with 1,000 voters present. In either case, a Certificate of Nomination must be filed with the Secretary of State not later than August 29.

Independent candidates must file a petition of nomination signed by voters equal in number to not less than 3 percent of the state vote in the last Presidential election (approximately 24,500 signatures). Such Certificate of Nomination must be filed not later than August 29.

PENNSYLVANIA

Governor Wallace will be on the Democrat Primary Ballot in Pennsylvania. Whether or not he wins that election, the only way he can be on the General Election Ballot is as the nominee of the National Democrat Party.

The AIP is not recognized as a qualified political party in Pennsylvania. Candidates of political parties not so qualified must have filed nomination papers with the Secretary of the Commonwealth not later than March 8. No political parties have done so.

Independent candidates would also have had to file nomination papers not later than March 8. None have done so.

RHODE ISLAND

Governor Wallace will be on the Democrat Primary Ballot but will face no legal obstacles in running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a recognized political party in Rhode Island and must, therefore, proceed as a new party and must file nomination papers, signed by 500 voters, with the Secretary of State not later than August 12.

Independent candidates petition in the same manner.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Governor Wallace has not yet filed for the Democratic Presidential Primary (filing deadline April 21). Should he do so he would be barred from running in the General Election by a state statute which provides that an individual entering the primary of one party cannot then file for the General Election as a candidate of another party.

The AIP is not a recognized party in South Dakota. To have a candidate for President on the ballot, they must file a Certificate of Nomination not later than April 27, signed by 10 percent of the voters of the state (approximately 35,000 signatures).

An Independent candidate must file with the Secretary of State not later than August 9 a Certificate of Nomination signed by not less than 2 percent of the total vote in the last General Election (approximately 5,000 signatures).

TENNESSEE

Governor Wallace is on the Democrat Primary Ballot in Tennessee but will have no legal obstacles in running in the General Election.

The AIP is a recognized party in Tennessee and can certify a candidate for President. They will do so after their convention in July.

Independent candidates must file a petition, signed by 25 voters, not later than September 1.

WEST VIRGINIA

Governor Wallace is on the Democrat Primary Ballot in West Virginia. Should he lose, there will be no legal obstacle to his being on the General Election Ballot.

The AIP is not a recognized party in West Virginia and must, therefore, proceed as a new party and must circulate a petition signed by voters equal to not less than one percent of the total vote cast in the 1968 Presidential election (approximately 7,500 signatures). The petition must be filed not later than May 8.

Independent candidates must proceed by the same petitioning procedure, which petitions must be filed not later than April 10.

WISCONSIN

Governor Wallace is on the Democrat Primary Ballot in Wisconsin. Should he lose, there will be no legal obstacle to his running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a recognized political party in Wisconsin. To nominate a candidate they must file nomination papers with the Secretary of State not later than September 19, with signatures of not less than 3,000 voters.

Independent candidates proceed in the same manner.

B

ALABAMA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is a recognized party in Alabama and can certify its candidate for President to the Secretary of State. It must do so not later than September 8.

Independent candidates must file a petition bearing the signatures of 300 voters with the Secretary of State not later than May 2.

ARKANSAS

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election, but there appears to be a practical problem in gathering the required number of signatures.

The AIP is not now a qualified party in Arkansas, but they are attempting to qualify. To do so they must file petitions with signatures equaling 7% of the vote cast in the 1970 Gubernatorial Election (approximately 43,000 signatures). The deadline for filing is not stated in the statute and will be set by the Attorney General. The Secretary of State advised us that "it's a damned mess, but we're doing everything we can to get them qualified!"

An Independent candidate must file a petition with signatures equal to 15% of the vote cast in the 1970 Gubernatorial Election (approximately 91,300 signatures) by April 4 -- a practical impossibility.

GEORGIA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is not recognized as a major political party in Georgia and must therefore proceed as a minor or new party. To do so they must have held a convention by May 9, and must also file nominating petitions, signed by not less than 5% of the voters eligible to vote (approximately 98,000 signatures), with the Secretary of State by June 14.

Independent candidates must file nominating petitions with about 98,000 signatures by June 14.

LOUISIANA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is a recognized party and may certify a candidate for President to the Secretary of State not later than September 26.

An Independent candidate must file with the Secretary of State nominating papers signed by 1,000 voters not later than September 26.

MISSISSIPPI

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a registered party in Mississippi and must proceed as an Independent candidate would proceed by filing petitions with 10,000 signatures with the Secretary of State not later than September 28.

ARIZONA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is not recognized as a party and they must file anew. A new party must file petitions signed by not less than 2% of the vote in the last General Election (approximately 8,000 signatures) with the Secretary of State by July 14.

An Independent candidate must file petitions with approximately 4,000 names by August 12.

IOWA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in a General Election.

The AIP is recognized as a political party in Iowa and can, therefore, nominate a candidate for President and Presidential Electors at a state party convention. A date has not been set for an AIP convention but the name of a candidate for President must be certified to the Secretary of State not later than September 4.

An Independent candidate may be nominated by petition signed by not less than 1,000 voters. The petition must be filed with the Secretary of State not later than September 4.

KENTUCKY

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The American Independent Party is recognized in Kentucky as a minor political party and may nominate candidates by convention. After a convention, Certificates of Nomination must be filed with the Secretary of State not later than September 13.

An Independent candidate can get on the ballot by filing a nominating petition signed by 1,000 qualified voters. That petition must be filed with the Secretary of State not later than September 13.

MISSOURI

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The American Independent Party is not a recognized major political party. To run a candidate they must form a new political party by filing with the Secretary of State a petition signed by 1% of the vote cast in each Congressional District in the last General Election declaring their intent to form a new party, not later than August 31.

Independent candidates can also file by petition, such petitions to be filed with the Secretary of State by August 8.

NEW YORK

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

Any candidate running as a nominee of any party other than the Democrat or Republican parties, or as an Independent, must file petitions signed by 20,000 voters with the Secretary of State by August 31.

SOUTH CAROLINA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is a recognized political party in South Carolina and as such may certify a Presidential candidate to the Secretary of State after the AIP convention in July.

An Independent candidate must file a nominating petition signed by 10,000 voters with the State Election Commission not later than October 3.

TEXAS

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election in Texas, but there are practical obstacles.

The AIP lost its status as a party by not running a candidate in the last Gubernatorial race. They are now attempting to re-establish themselves as a party, but to do so they must collect 23,000 signatures on their petition between May 6 and June 30. We are advised by the Secretary of State's office that the AIP will have a serious problem in gathering those signatures. Governor Wallace, in a visit to Texas, publicly asked his supporters to support the Democratic delegate selection process. General opinion seems to be that the AIP, unless soon given public encouragement by Governor Wallace, will have great difficulty in gathering the 23,000 required signatures.

If they are successful in gathering the signatures by June 30, they will be permitted to nominate a candidate. The New Party, and the Socialist Workers Party, will probably gather enough signatures and will place a candidate on the ballot.

If the AIP is not successful in gathering the signatures, then it will not be possible for them to nominate a candidate.

It is not possible for an Independent candidate to run in Texas for to do so he must have filed by February 7.

VIRGINIA

There are no legal obstacles to Governor Wallace running in the General Election.

The AIP is not a recognized party in Virginia. To run a candidate they must do so as a new party by filing a petition with the Secretary of the Commonwealth, signed by approximately 8,800 voters, not later than September 8.

Independent candidates follow the same procedure.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By EP, date 3-30-82

March 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Ehrlichman v. the Committee for the
Re-Election of the President

When we take on Ehrlichman, we are naturally getting into a serious and very delicate area. John has talked to Bob about the problems that Bob mentioned in his memo to John and Bob, in turn, has talked to me. Bob made the point that John vigorously denied several of the charges. To be specific, with regards to charge 2, unless Cole was playing games here, the situation that Magruder described is not precisely correct.

Ehrlichman claims that he never made the statement that the advertising "stinks". This is something you may want to check out a little more thoroughly.

Regarding item 4, about the briefing in the Roosevelt Room, Ehrlichman says that the briefing was not arranged at his request. It was a meeting that Magruder presided at, Magruder knew that Ehrlichman had to leave ahead of time, and, yet, was unable to change the meeting around. The purpose of the meeting was for the advertising committee, not the whole committee staff. Ehrlichman also said he never rejected Harper's offers to brief and that he did not call Mitchell, that Mitchell called him and that Ehrlichman simply mentioned the problem to Mitchell. Ehrlichman claims, furthermore, that he has not set up a review committee. It is interesting to note that in how many of these Ed Harper is directly involved and perhaps this is part of the problem.

Anyway, Bob feels strongly that you as a good lawyer need to keep in mind two things: 1) your total objectivity; and 2) a complete passion for the truth -- the whole truth.

I think that we were probably sucked in, to some extent, by Magruder on this thing although, I am sure that there really is a problem. Ehrlichman's point in creating the problem is to draw it to a head so that there are some substantial changes. This may or may not be good. The point is, I don't think we have provided with Bob, all the facts and all aspects of all the facts before proceeding. This may or may not be the case, but it is something I would like you to think about for a while. Perhaps a day or two, and then after you have done that, lets talk about it.

EYES ONLY

March 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : JOHN EHRLICHMAN
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

You once wrote me a memo which you said was difficult to write, but which contained some things you felt needed to be said regarding my operation and the general situation with regard to the planning for the President.

I feel now that I should do likewise for you, regarding your relationship with the Committee for the Re-election of the President, and the President's Campaign Manager. I realize I may be treading on dangerous ground and that this may be a futile exercise, or even counterproductive, but I have some concerns which I think should be expressed.

In recent weeks, I've seen several examples of indications of a problem, and have learned of several others. Perhaps they are isolated and insignificant, but on the other hand, if they are indicative of the present situation in a growing trend, I think we need to take some action to correct the problem.

I was quite disturbed with the results of the meeting we had in my office awhile back with John Mitchell, Fred Malek, and Ken Cole. You will recall that at that meeting, you took a totally negative position and quite severely criticized Mitchell directly, as well as laying some strenuous objections and obstructions in the way of the development of Malek's campaign role.

The role John is trying to develop for Malek may well not be the best way to handle things, but it is the result of an honest and sincere effort to try to make the operation as fully as effective as possible, and it seems to me that all of us should approach it in that constructive sense, and do everything we can to make it succeed, rather than simply to criticize it.

Somewhat more disturbing, is the tone and possibly also the content, of your February 23rd memorandum to John Mitchell regarding the Committee. A memorandum, which I understand, was ultimately not sent to John, but rather to Jeb Magruder, and was subsequently answered by Jeb Magruder - only partially satisfactorily - I would guess.

As to the substance of that letter, the challenge you make to Magruder's involvement in the development of substantive policy, would be entirely appropriate if, in fact, Jeb were involved. However, it's my understanding that Ken Cels has been working with Jeb for a long time and has presumably kept you advised of his discussions and actions.

The Committee's material on issues may, indeed, be terrible. But, we ought to at least consider the possibility that that's a reflection of the input they've been given from those better able to outline the issues and our positions on them.

This seems to fall dangerously close to the old "we - they" situation that has arisen in the past. I think it's imperative that we all consider ourselves part of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and not consider it as a separate entity which is in some way, an enemy of the White House.

I understand there was some problem on the briefing sessions set up in early March for members of the Committee in the Roosevelt Room. I'm told that the meeting was set up by Ed Harper, at your request, that Stein and Kroc both briefed the group, that you arrived at the meeting, declined Harper's offer to brief, left a half hour later, and then told John Mitchell that "Magruder's meeting was poorly arranged and hadn't permitted you an opportunity to speak". It's quite possible that my information is faulty, but whether it is or not, the fact that there's a flap here at all, indicates some lack of positive coordination and cooperation.

I also understand there's a problem regarding campaign advertising. Jeb says that you've told him that the advertising stinks, and that you've asked me as agreeing that it stinks. I'm not sure I went quite that strong. I have had some disagreements with some of the advertising, although some of it, I think, is very good. In every case where I have disagreed, I have told the people at the Committee, what my disagreement was, why I felt that way, and what I thought should be

done to correct it. I feel that all of us should be free to criticize, but should do it in a way that leads to a better result.

I understand that Ed Harper has told Jeb that you are setting up a review committee to analyze campaign advertising and that this committee consists of you, Ray Price and Bill Safire. I think this is a good idea, if you are analyzing the advertising on the basis of content. I think we're going to get into a problem if you decide to analyze it on the basis of appeal, and if that is your intention, you should meet jointly with the campaign advertising review group, rather than separately. I'm sure that if this is approached right, Pete Daley and the advertising people will welcome constructive criticism and review. On the other hand, if they are simply required to submit their product to a senior review committee, and then told me that ~~there's~~ we aren't going to help them much.

Each of the above problems is probably petty and minor in itself, but taken together, they may indicate a general problem of the relationship between you and the Domestic Council vs. Mitchell and the Re-Election Committee. If there is such a problem, I would deeply hope that it can be ironed out quickly because cooperation both ways is extremely important. If there is anything I can do to help in the process, I would, of course, be most happy to do so. If you would prefer that I keep my nose out of the problem, I would be happy to do that, and once again, I apologize for writing this at all, but hope you will give it some serious consideration. The principle thing that concerns me is tone and attitude. The specifics can all be worked out if the basic approach is on the right grounds.

HRH:pm

*Being checked out
W. H. H.*

Ehrlichman V. the Committee for the Re-Election of the President

It may be wholly inappropriate for me to write this memorandum. There must be aspects that I should know nothing about. However, you should be aware of what seems to be the development of a serious problem between John Ehrlichman and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

Fred Malek and Jeb Magruder have attended meetings and seen indications of Mr. Ehrlichman's actions that undercut the effectiveness of the Campaign Committee. Six examples indicate their assessment may be correct:

1) As Malek's new role in the Campaign was being defined last month, most of the opposition came from Ehrlichman. In the meeting in your office with John Mitchell and Ken Cole, Ehrlichman criticized Mitchell and obstructed the development of Malek's role;

2) Ehrlichman wrote John Mitchell the attached memorandum which challenges Magruder's involvement in the political use of substantive policy. This would be an entirely appropriate challenge were Magruder involved. However, Ken Cole has been working with Magruder for months, has kept Ehrlichman advised, and believes Ehrlichman is just carping to aggravate the situation. The tone of Ehrlichman's memorandum is indicative of the problem. Magruder's response is also attached.

3) Ehrlichman has told Magruder that the Committee advertising "stinks." He quotes you as agreeing that the advertising "stinks" and that when you express your opinion, the Committee goes ahead regardless of your views;

4) On March 8, Ed Harper, at Ehrlichman's request, arranged a briefing in the Roosevelt Room for Members of the Committee staff. Stein and Krogh briefed, Ehrlichman arrived at 10:30 a.m., rejected Harper's offers to brief, left at 11:00 a.m., and called Mitchell to complain that "Magruder's meeting" was poorly arranged and didn't permit him an opportunity to speak;

5) Ehrlichman, through Ed Harper, has informed Magruder that a review committee -- John Ehrlichman, Ray Price and Bill Safire -- will begin analyzing the Campaign advertising. Magruder and Peter Dailey are reacting protectively citing their own advertising review group of Len Garment, Cliff Miller and Dick Moore;

6) The Domestic Council slowed the production of "The Speakers Manual" for Administration spokesmen to use during the primaries.

Cole may be playing both ways

Not true

*Mag presided
Stein on
knowing had
to leave*

*absolutely
not true
in any
respect*

Not true

Not true

advtg.

Right - because it was a total disaster - ignoring all DomCo memos provided to Council.

Len Garment, who is familiar with the advertising suggestion by Ehrlichman, told me that some serious thought should be given to Ehrlichman's real motives. Garment suggests Ehrlichman's desire to become involved in the Campaign has been accentuated by his alleged antipathy toward John Mitchell. The result is criticism of the Committee.

Ken Cole confirms that the relationship between Ehrlichman and the Committee is quite bad. Cole isn't sure why and has been meeting with Magruder and Harper in attempting to ameliorate the problems.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable John Mitchell
Attorney General
Department of Justice

I continue to see evidence that the Committee for the Re-election staff and the White House staff are meshing very badly on matters of substantive policy and how to use it politically.

As I said the other day, to those who have been long in this vineyard, it's as if, suddenly for the first time, what the Administration favors, opposes, advocates and stands for is to receive some political wisdom.

It is important that all Jeb's people know and understand what policy is, why it is as it is, where our strengths and weaknesses are and, for what it is worth, what our three years of experience has taught us about presenting this material -- to veterans, the aged, youth, minorities, etc.

They should bear in mind that our people really do know something about this problem of presenting policy positions --

- the issue
- past performance
- proposals
- pay-out for the voter.

We have recently seen some CFTROTP (how's that for an acronym?) copy on issues. To be very generous about it, it was very terrible.

Committee staff can't seem to stay away from calling everyone in the government (plus Pete Rozelle) to ask for information on substantive programs and policy. Departments, agencies, OMB, my staff all are

Page Two

getting calls from new people, just on the scene, determined to reinvent the wheels which long ago have been thoroughly invented.

Moreover, they tactlessly seek to exploit "non-political" efforts in the clumsiest kind of way. The call to Rozelle (about which Jeb knows) is a classic example.

May I ask that all of the Committee people be thoroughly indoctrinated and instructed as to --

1. The existing policies and programs, and their rationale (both substantive and political).
2. How to make contact with government and non-government people for information or help on these subjects.
3. What resources are already available to them, and how to use them.

I am still uncertain as to the role Fred Malek will play. Will it be limited to coordinating activities related to cultivating political interest groups, or will his role be a broader one? How his efforts relate to Jeb's? Perhaps you would be good enough to send me a copy of his job description so we know where he fits.

John D. Ehrlichman

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

It was very thoughtful of you to give me the memorandum you had addressed to the Attorney General relating to some of the problems you felt had been developing between our staff and those in the government who are concerned with substantive policy.

From the beginning we have emphasized to all of our staff people (both those who have been in the government and those from the outside) that this committee's role is not to set policy. This has been emphasized continually at our weekly staff meetings and has been further stressed by key White House staffers, such as Ed Harper, who have appeared at those meetings. We will continue to emphasize this and we agree completely that there is no need to re-invent the wheel.

It is certainly true that when we began to develop some of our programs here we did not have as smooth a working relationship with your staff as I had hoped would develop. I think this is primarily because there was a lack of understanding on both parts as to each other's specific role and, also, a logistics problem in working out how these things can best be handled.

Ken Cole, Ed Harper, and I have continued to discuss these situations and we feel that we now have the beginning of a good working relationship. The only contact with the Domestic Council will be through Ed Harper, and we have set up similar liaisons with the staffs of the NSC and CEA. The main points of contact here will be Phil Joanou, who is the second man in the advertising agency, and Van Shumway, who is our press director. These are the

two people who will need substantive information on a continuing and day-to-day basis. These two campaign divisions are very interested in working with your staff and in cooperating to the fullest extent. I would personally appreciate it if difficulties arise in the future that you have Ken or Ed contact me directly.

As to the Pete Rozelle incident, I am enclosing for your information a memorandum from Bart Porter. As you know, this incident occurred in December. It is true that a young and over zealous staff man here did not use good judgment in contacting Rozelle, but I also can understand how it might have been difficult for him to know that someone in the White House would have a direct relationship with the NFL.

Another point you make relating to our issues area I think refers to the work Dave Allen has been doing for us. In your reference to people calling other agencies such as OMB, we have determined most of this has been done by Dave and we are as strongly against this type of activity as you are. I have indicated to Ken and Ed that we have not been pleased by Dave's performance and we have transferred Dave out of this area.

I would hope that there would be some understanding, as the campaign moves along with the influx of new people and the normal confusions that occur in a campaign, that there will be situations which develop that will need to be corrected as we approach November.

The "normal" confusion in a campaign is, in fact, magnified by an incumbent's campaign: instead of one campaign headquarters such as we had in New York in 1968, in 1972 there is the White House, Republican National Committee, and our operation, all of which must coordinate in order to achieve the desired results. This can add to the confusion inherent on a campaign -- but we are going to do our best to hold it to a minimum. Furthermore, I can assure you that our staff will be oriented towards working in a positive manner with all of their contacts and I would hope we could iron out any problems in the early stages rather than waiting until they become a major problem.

In regard to Fred Malek's role, although we have not formalized a job description, I can quote from a memorandum written to the Attorney General detailing what we have agreed will be Fred's basic responsibilities:

Fred Malek would have broad responsibilities cutting across several areas. He would fulfill this role while remaining a member of the White House staff, and therefore, would not be shown officially as a member of the Re-Election Committee. Fred will provide overall direction to the various Citizens groups in the campaign organization. His efforts will be aimed toward helping them to achieve the desired results, assisting in setting goals, developing strategy and action plans, generating White House cooperation and helping to insure that plans are implemented on a timely and effective basis.

At the same time, Fred will fill a White House role as General Manager of all Administration efforts in support of the campaign (patronage, grantsmanship, constituent groups and departmental efforts.) This will provide you and each of the Citizens group Directors with a senior agent in the White House who can help determine the support and cooperation needed.

In another area, Fred will be responsible for the development of a system to monitor important operating variables in the states and in the overall campaign so as to keep abreast of the status of the campaign, and will identify weak areas at an early date. Fred will provide you with results of this monitoring system on a continuing basis.

This effort would be beyond the normal field monitoring such as was done in the 1968 campaign. It would probably include several measurement systems which are built into the operations at the earliest planning stage.

CONFIDENTIAL

February 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER
SUBJECT: Pete Rozelle

In December, 1971, I instructed Bill Minshall to put together a plan on how to build a list of sports celebrities and athletes who might support the President. We discussed the fact that, like many people, athletes could be approached on an "issue" basis. The President's drug abuse program was cited as an example.

Minshall, in his eagerness to get a job done, felt that the football players participating in the televised Drug Abuse Program would be logical persons to add to the list. Bill was not aware that the White House was directly or indirectly involved in this program.

He telephoned the offices of Commissioner Pete Rozelle early in December to inquire if he might be given certain information about the NFL. The Commission office referred the call (Bill never talked to Rozelle) to the Public Relations office. He spoke with a Mr. Don Weiss. Bill requested:

- 1) the names, locations, and owners of the various stadiums used by the NFL,
- 2) the names of the top football writers in the press,
- 3) the names of the T.V. stations covering each team,
- 4) the names of the owners of each Club, and
- 5) the names of the players participating in the drug abuse commercials.

Bill told Mr. Weiss who he was and for whom he worked. (I might add here that Minshall's motivation for these specific requests was a result of his seeing a similar detailed study on the American Racing Car Industry completed by Allen Hall at the White House.)

Weiss indicated that he would like to help Minshall and would be in touch with him at a later date. This phone conversation was the last contact Bill had with anyone at the NFL.

Subsequently, someone unknown at the NFL called another someone unknown at the National Institutes of Mental Health "as a courtesy" (Bill Rhatigan's line) to inform the NIMH of the phone call. This person from the NIMH (Rhatigan refused to say who) then called Rhatigan, and presumably, Bud Krogh. Rhatigan then sent you a memo informing you of the situation. I then wrote a small note to Bill Rhatigan explaining the situation as an "over-zealous" staff member.

Rhatigan seemed satisfied and said that he had "smoothed the whole thing out". Rhatigan also called the unnamed person at the NIMH and told him to call the NFL and tell them "not to give any information of any kind to anybody."

This is all I know.

TALKING PAPER -- MEETING WITH MITCHELL

We need to work out some of the organizational details before you meet with the President.

Mainly, the question is, "Who do we have running California that reports directly to you, in other words is working for us as contrasted to Nofziger who is basically working in California?"

We need a similar manager for Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Missouri and Texas.

HRH
April 3, 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Draft Statement by Stans on Campaign Spending

"President Nixon strongly supported and signed into law the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972. As President, he will enforce the law, and as a candidate for re-election, he will obey the law.

This committee will report all contributions over \$100 exactly as the law requires and as Congress intended. The law calls for our first report on June 30 of this year, and we have put into place the necessary procedures to comply fully and promptly."

POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL LINE: "The one-upmanship now under way between the Democratic candidates to prove who can reveal most is something to be expected in a hotly contested series of primaries. The President is not personally engaged in primary campaigning, and his campaign committee will not go beyond the law in its fundraising or spending procedures."

RECOMMEND NOT USING THIS LINE.

The arguments for such a statement and such a policy:

1. The heat for us to follow the Democratic candidate's example will fade after June, when we publish names of contributors since April 7.
2. If we were to follow their example and disclose names now, it would provide a continuing series of stories blasting fatcats and their government connections.
3. If we wanted to publish now, we would have to go back to contributors and see if they would be willing, and thus lose substantial sums.

Arguments against sticking to the "letter of the law":

1. The ITT controversy lays a public opinion base for suspicion of all campaign contributions.
2. One main Democratic campaign theme is likely to be "trust," and any coverup compared to their full disclosure gives them an opening.
3. This issue will not go away after June. We will be charged with having the 20 million dollar hidden fund, collected before the deadline from influence seekers, whom Nixon persists in refusing to name -- because he knows that the revelation of their names would be political suicide. I have nothing to hide; I have named all my contributors -- but the President has not. Why not? Why does he constantly harp on the letter of the law, when he is clearly breaking the spirit of the law, the intent of Congress which calls for full disclosure of campaign contributors? My cards are all on the table -- come on, Mr. President, let's see your cards -- let's give the American people a chance to see who bought a secret piece of your campaign. Let's see who is really paying the bills for those lavish TV commercials." Etc., Etc.
4. Disclosure of the pre-April 7 names may be embarrassing, showing more big contributors, and give the other side a few shots -- but not a real theme of suspicion. And the most embarrassing could be returned before disclosure. When these shots are taken in the summer, we could counter with questions on labor union spending.

My basic point: we should not make the decision to "take the flak" without reviewing the full consequences of the flak throughout the campaign.

From the desk of . . .

MURRAY M. CHOTINER

March 15, 1972



TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

I cannot emphasize too strongly that too many of our people are a bit too smug about the November prospects.



MMC:a
Encl.

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ROBERT F. SAGLE
MYRON SOLTER
CHARLES EMMET LUCEY

OF COUNSEL
MURRAY M. CHOTINER

March 15, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The percentages of the total vote in Florida yesterday show:

Democrats (except Wallace)	43.9%
Wallace	31.0%
Nixon (including 1/2 the Ashbrook and McCloskey vote)	23.5%
Balance of Ashbrook and McCloskey vote	<u>01.6%</u>
Total:	100.0%

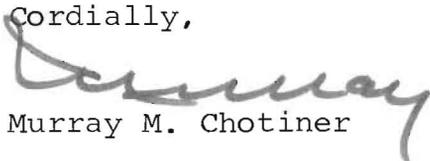
In 1968 the vote was:

Nixon	40.5%
Humphrey	30.9%
Wallace	<u>28.5%</u>
Total:	99.9%

Some of our people are being too sanguine about the Florida primary results yesterday. It is true that most of the people who did not vote will vote for you in the finals. You will get some of the Jackson vote.

I am not being pessimistic. I am endeavoring to make the point that the campaign needs a bit of shaking up.

Cordially,


Murray M. Chotiner

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/15

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This memorandum for John Mitchell summarizes the meeting I attended last night on whether to disclose campaign finances.

You currently have a meeting pending on this subject but have not set a time. In light of the complexities of returning contributions, should the decision be to disclose, I recommend a meeting as soon as possible.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By CP NAB, Date 3-20-8

March 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Campaign Disclosure

In a meeting this afternoon with Messrs. Stans, Kalmbach, Finch, Moore, LaRue, Shumway, and Sloan, we discussed whether it would be appropriate for us to disclose contributions received before the April 7 deadline set by the new law. It was the unanimous opinion that we should not disclose, although we realize this would be an issue that could be used against us in the campaign.

If we were to disclose, we would have to give each contributor an opportunity to renege on his pledge which would reduce our funds considerably. This, in turn, would probably create a difficult public relations situation if it were known we were returning any funds, as well as be embarrassing to those donors who let their contributions stand. It also could create an on-going press barrage about our contributors since many of them are in sensitive positions both within the Administration and the business community. Even though this could be brought up as an issue in the general election, we could bring up the fact that we began disclosing on April 7 and it probably would not be an issue of the magnitude then as it is now.

One point which should be stressed is this: when an incumbent President, rather than a Presidential candidate, discloses, there may be more political problems caused by the disclosure than by non-disclosure. For example, if Muskie discloses that he received \$10,000 from the President of General Motors, that is one thing. But if the incumbent President discloses such a contribution, he is open to the charge that in return for the donation, General Motors was promised something which it is within the power of the incumbent President to grant. Hence, the charges which might be made as a result of the disclosure might do more political damage than the charges made as a result of non-disclosure.

CONFIDENTIAL

If we do not disclose, it would be important to deploy funds raised before April 7 into as many state committees as possible, as well as prepaying any future bills that would be appropriate so that our balance on hand at the first reporting date would be relatively small. At the present time it is anticipated that we could have as much as \$12,000,000 on hand by April 7. If we do not disclose and show that figure in June during the first reporting period, we could create a tremendous backlash regarding our non-disclosure.

On the other hand, the arguments for disclosing are obvious. We would increase our credibility with the public; no issue could be raised about lack of disclosure; and we would not add to the credibility problem that has been created by the ITT/Sheraton incident.

From the financial standpoint, it is obvious that it would be to our advantage not to disclose. On the public relations side, it is much more difficult to determine the public's reaction and is, therefore, a decision that should be made at the highest level. Consequently, our recommendation is that we tentatively agree not to disclose; that Ziegler continue to refer any inquiries to this Committee; that Van Shumway, if asked, continue to indicate that we are going to comply with the law; and that a decision be made not later than next Monday, so that in case there was a desire to disclose, the Financial Division could do the paper work before the April 7 deadline.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

From the desk of . . .

MURRAY M. CHOTINER



March 9, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

The enclosed candid opinion is for
the President's benefit.

Let's not drop the ball.

Cordially,



MMC:a
Encl.

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LAW OFFICES
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OF COUNSEL
MURRAY M. CHOTINER

March 9, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I refrained from sending this note immediately after the New Hampshire election because I wanted to be certain in my own mind that my observations were not the result of snap judgment.

Obviously, the line is that we are all pleased with the New Hampshire results; but I would be hypocritical if I did not tell you that an effective campaign would have produced a better showing.

We usually figure that a Republican candidate needs 80-85 percent of the Republican vote, plus 15-20 percent of the Democratic vote in order to win in the finals.

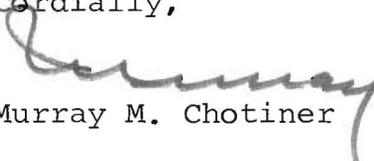
It is anticipated that a good percentage of the 30 percent cast for McCloskey and Ashbrook will return to the fold in November. Most of the Republicans who did not vote in the primary can be expected to vote for you in November. But we cannot take this for granted.

However, strictly in the family, 69 percent of the Republican vote does not do justice to you.

May I respectfully suggest that an "agonizing reappraisal" of the campaign is in order NOW.

As always, with my best wishes for your continued success,

Cordially,


Murray M. Chotiner

MMC:a

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT (Per HRH)

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

McGovern's Deputy Campaign Manager, a friend from my Soviet trip, a level-headed fellow, called me today to say that McGovern will win in Wisconsin. He gave me the following polls:

MCGOVERN'S PRIVATE POLLS		AFL-CIO QUAYLE POLL	
Humphrey	23	McGovern	24
McGovern	19	Humphrey	18
Muskie	14	Muskie	15
Jackson	13	Jackson	13
Wallace	9	Wallace	10
Lindsay	4	Lindsay	1
Other	3	Undecided	19
Undecided	14		

My friend tells me that in the McGovern Poll, McGovern is carried much lower than normal -- since it does not include the Second District (Madison) where McGovern is conceded to be immensely strong, compared with the other Democrats. Further, he says that those polled were those who intended to vote in the Democratic Primary, including Republicans.

This is hard to believe. Seems to me, even if these figures are accurate, however, that George Wallace will pick up some of the undecided -- he surely did in Florida.

But the McGovern fellow contends that Muskie could come in fourth or even fifth in the race -- which would be a climactic disaster for Big Ed.

Again, if these figures are accurate -- McGovern would be greatly enhanced; the liberal press would fall all over him for the next two weeks. Humphrey would be set back. Muskie would sustain a near fatal blow. Big John Lindsay would be finished. The situation would be more confused than ever. The likelihood of a first ballot nomination for the Democrats would be increasingly remote. In short, if this is the outcome, it would seem that the pressures on Kennedy would be substantial to move.

Buchanan

NOTE: If we have some hard poll information, and this is a possibility, then we should have Republicans cross over and vote for George McGovern. Word should go forth today.

PJB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 16, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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

I am sure you have already thought of this, but we probably should have some line developed for Wisconsin as we did for Florida and New Hampshire. The question will probably come up some time within the next couple of weeks and you might want to be ahead of it this time.

- We won big + the Dems are in disarray.
- cancelled advertising - all news, TV + radio
 - 1 wk run + then pulled back
 - still direct mail.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

March 28, 1972

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER 

The attached memorandum was received from Tom Girard concerning the campaign disclosure in Wisconsin which, as you know, is required according to Wisconsin state law.

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

March 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: THOMAS E. GIRARD *Tow*
SUBJECT: Wisconsin Campaign Fund Disclosure

Under Wisconsin state law, political campaigns must disclose their contributions of more than \$5 and their total expenditures. This must be done a week before and a week after the primary. In accordance with this law, our chairman, John MacIver, will today send a letter to the Wisconsin Secretary of State with the necessary figures.

This report will be sent by mail from Milwaukee to Madison, where it is expected to be made public on Wednesday. MacIver will simultaneously send you a copy.

I spoke with MacIver tonight at his home and received the following rough breakdown. Income will be reported at about \$70,000. Of this, \$20,000 is from the original Washington contribution to provide for operating expenses. Another \$33,000 is for media. MacIver explained that he originally received \$143,000 for the media program. Today, in line with the cutback in this area, he returned \$110,000 to Washington. Therefore, he is only reporting the net contribution for media of \$33,000. The additional money in the income category, \$17,000, comes from state contributions.

On the expenditure side, MacIver will report total expenses of about \$33,000. Of this approximately \$17,000 has gone for television advertising and \$3,000 for newspaper ads. MacIver says an additional expenditure of \$10,000 on media will not show in this report, but will in the final report a week after the election. There will therefore be an expected net expenditure on advertising of \$30,000.

Other expenses include approximately \$13,000 for campaign operations. Another \$10,000 to \$15,000 for operating expenses will be shown in the next report. Therefore, total operating expenses will exceed the \$20,000 sent from Washington.

MacIver advises that he will be finalizing his report Tuesday morning at his office (414/271-6560) or at Charlie Davis' office (414/273-2500). He says if you have further questions, don't hesitate to call him.

cc: Mr. DeVan L. Shumway
Mr. Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 28, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: The Wisconsin Primary

In 1968 over 1,200,000 voters turned out for the Wisconsin Primary Election. Of these, approximately 40% voted on the Republican side and the remainder on the Democratic side. The Republican race was a minor contest between Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and Harold Stassen, with several other names written in. The Democratic race was perceived by the voters to be a major contest between Lyndon Johnson and Eugene McCarthy, with a minor write-in vote for Kennedy. However, in the general election, Richard Nixon won the state with 48%, compared with 44% for Humphrey and 8% for Wallace.

In this year's primary election, the race on the Republican side has evolved into almost no contest. Both McCloskey and Ashbrook appear on the ballot by law, but neither has campaigned in the state and McCloskey has formally withdrawn from the race. On the Democratic side, all major candidates have been campaigning in the state. The race is seen to be possibly the first one which will force several candidates out of further running for the Democratic nomination. Thus, with a race of lesser importance on the Republican side and greater importance on the Democratic side than in 1968, the turn out is expected to swing even more than the favor of the Democrats.

Our estimate would be about 350,000 turn out on the Republican side and about 850,000 on the Democratic side, for a total of 1,200,000. There will probably be about 75,000 Republicans who will cross over to support a Democratic candidate. The most likely beneficiaries of such a cross over would be Wallace or Jackson. However, some liberal Republicans might vote for a left-leaning candidate like McGovern as a protest toward the Democratic Party establishment.

CONFIDENTIAL

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There has been some concern that the crossover might deplete the President's vote versus Ashbrook and McCloskey. We disagree and feel that the crossover will affect the total number of Republican ballots case much more than the percentage won by any Republican candidate.

Despite the probable lower Republican turnout this time, it should be noted that President Nixon will very likely receive more votes than the leading Democrat. Assuming that the Democrat receives a maximum of 30% of the vote, he will have about 250,000 votes. The President may receive 90% of the Republican vote, or over 300,000 votes.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 23, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the Maryland Primary

Maryland's Presidential Primary will be held on May 16. The names of all recognized candidates, including the President, were placed on the ballot by Maryland's Secretary of State on March 23.

General Background

In 1970 the population of Maryland was 3,953,698, of which 1,596,916 were registered voters. There were 422,552 Republicans (26.5%), 1,126,604 Democrats (70.4%), and other registrants accounted for the remaining 3.1%. The Black population is 17%, highly concentrated in Baltimore City. Total foreign stock is 12%, with a significant number of Germans, Irish and Poles. The state is largely blue-collar (54%) and is about one-quarter Catholic and over 4% Jewish.

Over three-quarters of Maryland's population is in the following five major locations: Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Anne Arundel, Prince Georges and Montgomery Counties. Close to one-fourth of the state's population is located in Baltimore City. The city has a large concentration of Blacks and ethnic groups. Baltimore County is 97% white and considered somewhat conservative. Anne Arundel County is traditionally conservative and Republican in voting habits. Montgomery County, an area with a high degree of white-collar employment, has one of the highest average incomes in the country. It is also one of the most liberal areas of the state. Prince Georges County, the other suburb of Washington, has less white-collar employment and is poorer than Montgomery County. Its population is more conservative and greatly concerned about crime.

Political Background

Both U.S. Senators from Maryland are Republican. Glenn Beall was elected in 1970 with 51% of the vote. Charles Mathias won in a three-way race in 1968 with 48% of the vote. The 1970 Governor's race was

a low point for Republicans when Stanley Blair received only 32.3% of the vote. The Democratic Governor, Marvin Mandel, received 65.7% and was returned to office. The State Legislature has remained consistently Democratic. Democrats control the Senate by a 33 to 10 margin and the House by 121 to 21. The Congressional delegation consists of 3 Republicans and 5 Democrats. (Tab A) A list of the Congressional districts follows:

<u>Congressmen</u>	<u>1968 Presidential Vote*</u>			
	<u>1970 %</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
1st William Mills (R)	52.6	64,792	43,139	30,667
2nd Clarence E. Long (D)	68.0	81,707	52,384	24,248
3rd Edward A. Garmatz (D)	un.	31,373	56,078	21,423
4th Paul S. Sarbanes (D)	69.1	53,272	59,866	14,517
5th Lawrence J. Hogan (R)	61.5	77,914	75,771	36,040
6th Goodloe E. Byron (D)	50.7	77,686	52,978	23,667
7th Parren J. Mitchell (D)	58.3	35,116	97,023	10,399
8th Gilbert Gude (R)	61.3	90,507	96,344	16,989

*Districts altered substantially by redistricting. Figures for old districts.

The Republican Party of Maryland has been concentrating on fund raising in an attempt to put the state party back on its feet following the unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign of 1970. This has been done at the expense of precinct organization and voter turnout work. The Party will have to place the emphasis on a nuts-and-bolts organizational effort now to prepare for November.

Voting Analysis

Nixon lost the state in 1968 by 20,315 votes. Nixon received 517,995 (41.9%); Humphrey, 538,310 (43.6%); and Wallace, 178,734 (14.5%).

The five major counties of Maryland, which account for 77.4% of the entire population of the state, gave Nixon 74% of his total vote. The counties are shown below with vote totals given:

<u>County</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
Baltimore	108,930	80,798	27,283
Montgomery	84,651	92,026	14,726
Baltimore City	80,146	178,450	31,288
Prince Georges	73,269	71,524	32,867
Anne Arundel	36,557	25,381	15,687
	<u>383,553</u>	<u>448,179</u>	<u>123,851</u>

The Wallace vote is particularly interesting in that he received over 20% of the vote in the southern and eastern sections of the state. In fact, it is only in Baltimore City and County and in the west that Wallace vote totals fell under 20%.

In Anne Arundel, Wallace received a very significant 20.2% of the vote. This is far more percentage wise than he received in the other major counties. In Prince Georges County, Wallace received 18.5% of the vote, or 32,867 votes. Between Prince Georges, Anne Arundel, Montgomery and Baltimore Counties and Baltimore City, Wallace received a total of 123,851 votes. If all other vote totals in the state were to remain as they were in 1968, then a 60% shift in the Wallace vote in these five counties alone would give Nixon a margin of victory. For the state as a whole, Nixon would only have to receive 56% of the Wallace vote, with the rest of the vote remaining stagnant, for Nixon to carry the state of Maryland.

Political Analysis

With the exception of the 1970 gubernatorial race, the Republican Party has shown a steady increase in the last six years. If the Presidential election were to be held today, it would be very close.

The President is running the strongest in the out state areas, doing relatively well in the Washington suburbs and is very weak in the greater Baltimore area. In 1972, particular attention should be given to Maryland's ethnic vote, the large number of Wallace voters and the crime issue in the Washington suburbs. In terms of trends and potential, Maryland's 10 electoral votes could be won by Nixon in 1972.

The Primary Election

Although the Secretary of State's office announced on March 23 that Ashbrook and McCloskey will be on the ballot in the Maryland Primary, there is no indication that either will actively campaign.

Our main objective in the primary will be to recruit and utilize a large cadre of volunteers. The volunteers who work in the primary will form a nucleus for the large organization necessary for the General Election.

Planned Activities

The primary campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with the Maryland Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The recommendations were discussed in a meeting on March 18, 1972, attended by Ed Thomas, chairman of the Maryland Committee, Sandy Lankler, state G.O.P. chairman, and Dave Neideffer, executive director of the Maryland Committee. All directors of the appropriate activities at the Washington Committee were also present.

Four areas of activity are contemplated:

1. State Organizational Activity
2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers
3. Targeted Telephone Operation
4. Targeted Volunteer Commitment Program

The time schedule for the total operating plan is given in Tab B. The individual elements are discussed in detail below:

1. State Organizational Activity

The Maryland Committee has established a headquarters and has been receiving buttons, brochures and bumper stickers. A major volunteer recruitment effort will be necessary to carry the telephone operation and volunteer commitment program planned. These primary programs will allow the Maryland Committee to recruit key personnel and test them before the General Election campaign. Deadlines for selection of key personnel will be established by the Washington Committee and progress reports will be required. (See Tab E)

Recommendation

That you approve the state organizational activity as outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers

Due to the proximity to Washington, the Maryland Primary will afford an excellent opportunity to use pro-Administration speakers to speak on behalf of the President. The Maryland Committee expressed an interest in having John Mitchell speak at the Headquarters opening in Montgomery County. We do not feel that the headquarters site would be an appropriate speaking event. The Washington Committee is reviewing other speaking requests, and will present a full schedule of speakers and events at a later date.

3. Targeted Telephone Operation

The proposed telephone operation would be located in Montgomery County and would make toll free calls to 50,000 households in both Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties. The telephone operation will identify favorable Nixon voters, recruit volunteers and turn out the Nixon vote. A more detailed discussion of the telephone operation can be found in Tab C.

Recommendation

That you approve the targeted telephone operation as outlined above and in Tab C at a cost of \$7,774.00.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

4. Targeted Volunteer Commitment Program

The Maryland Committee requested a direct mail program targeted in Baltimore County as it would not be covered by the telephone operation. It was further suggested that the direct mail piece be a part of a volunteer commitment program similar to that used in Florida. A more detailed account of the program can be found in Tab D.

CONFIDENTIAL

-6-

Recommendation

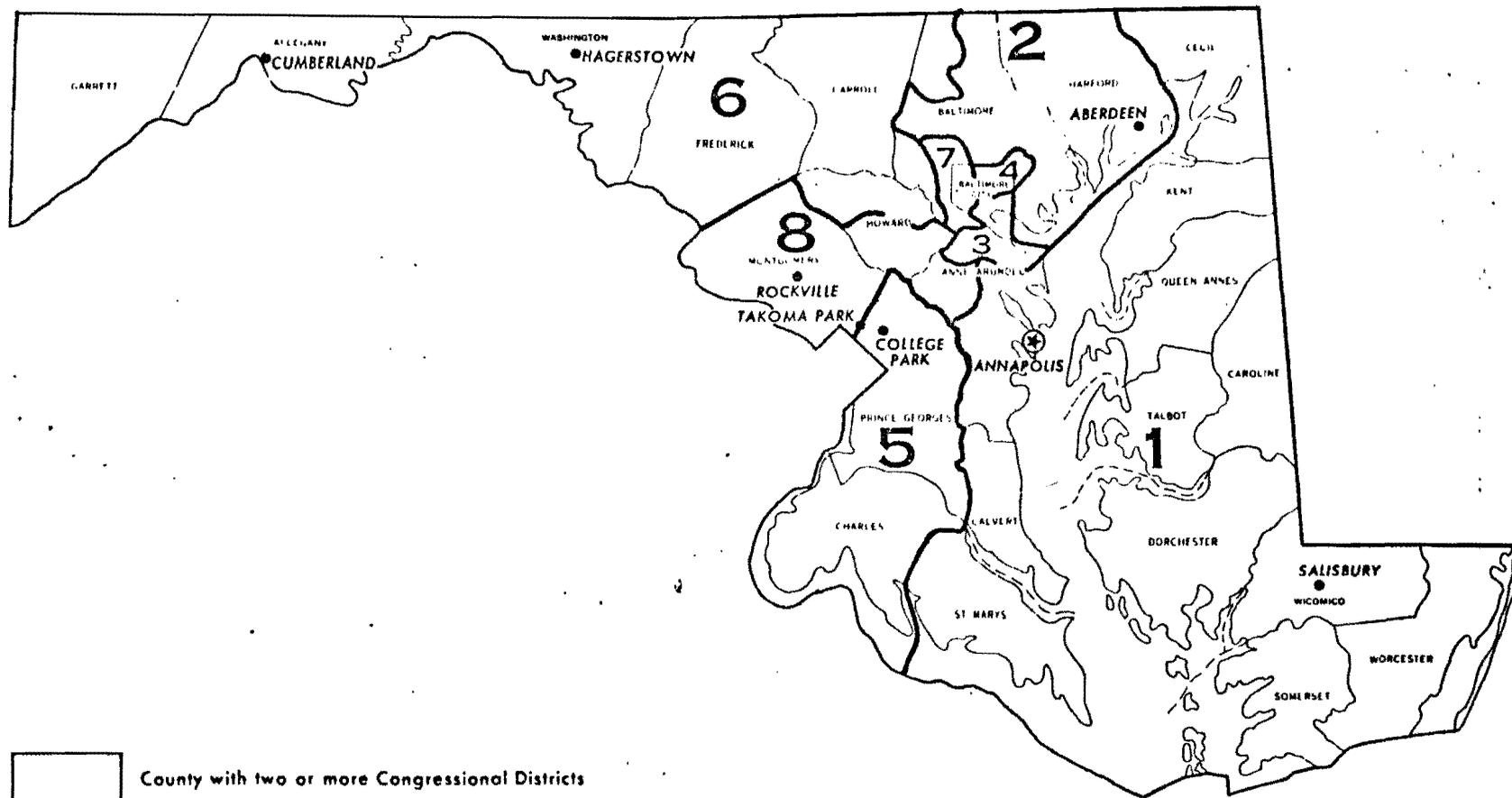
That you approve the volunteer commitment program as outlined above and in Tab D, at a cost of \$18,670,

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities
(8 Districts)



-117-

U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

MARYLAND
Districts Established May 3, 1966

Tab A

A

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: NANCY BRATAAS
SUBJECT: Maryland Primary Telephone Operation

The Maryland telephone campaign provides an opportunity to organize for the general campaign, and to train key people to operate telephone centers in the fall.

Some volunteers in the D.C. area could be trained to assist Nancy Brataas at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue throughout the campaign

Implementation

Ten phones are to be installed in Montgomery County by April 10, allowing one week for recruitment and four weeks of phone calls to voters. Phone calls are to be made from April 17 through May 16 to voters in both Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties. Based upon a quota of 1,500 calls per day, operating five days a week, 30,000 homes (approximately 50,000 voters) would be reached. Operating six days a week, 36,000 homes (over 60,000 voters) would be contacted.

Message of Telephone Conversation

Purpose of the phone call would be to recruit Republicans to work at the headquarters in the primary, either making phone calls or doing clerical work.

Republicans who cannot work in the primary would be asked if they would be willing to work during September and October for the general election.

Whatever the voter's response, the closing line to Republicans would be, "Can the President count on you to go to the polls on Tuesday, May 16?"

Projected Budget:

The cost of the telephone campaign to reach voters in Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties follows:

Lists

List acquisition	\$ 200.00	
Software	1,500.00	
Telephone printouts	3,000.00	
Freight	<u>200.00</u>	
		\$4,900.00

Phones: (10 lines)

Installation	275.00	
Rental per month - 10 lines	98.00	
Non-published numbers	11.00	
Suspension fee (May 18 to August 18)	150.00	
Toll charge @ 6.5¢ per call	<u>2,340.00</u>	
		<u>\$2,874.00</u>

Total: \$7,774.00

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 333-0920

March 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Maryland Direct Mail Plan

The Presidential Commitment Program will be used in Baltimore County. Changes in the Commitment Program based on our experience in Florida are being immediately implemented in Maryland. The Commitment Program is now used as a base to seed new volunteers at the precinct level. It also gives an opportunity for the county chairmen to test their organizational abilities down through the precincts.

1. This Commitment Program asks the volunteer to make 20 calls to the closest Republicans in his precinct, get them to commit for the President and vote in the Primary. The volunteer then follows up with telephone calls on Election Day to remind his 20 people to vote.
2. The volunteer is also asked to bring in 5 new volunteers who are seeded into his precinct.
3. Since each county has a list of all Republicans printed out by city, precinct and in street number order, it is an excellent opportunity to have a volunteer telephone program. Each county chairman will be asked to organize his precincts and have each precinct captain call all of the registered Republicans using precinct workers. Where captains or precinct workers do not exist, their implementation will be watched closely.

In Maryland, we will be putting the telephone numbers into the tape using a unique computer process which will allow the volunteers to spend most of their time telephoning vis-a-vis looking up numbers.

Direct Mail Costs

List Acquisition	\$ 570.00
Cleaning the Lists	2,500.00
Software Package	1,500.00
Telephone Number Selection	2,000.00
Presidential Commitment Program Printouts	1,500.00
60,000 Ensembles @ \$160/M	9,600.00
2,000 Commitment Kits	<u>1,000.00</u>
Total Direct Mail Costs	<u>\$18,670.00</u>

The actual operating expenses for the Presidential Commitment Program in Maryland are not included as they are part of the field operation.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the California Primary

The California Primary election will be held on June 6, 1972. It is a state where there is an election of a pledged delegate slate. The President will be opposed by Congressman John Ashbrook. As in the past, the American public will watch both the Democratic and Republican Primaries with a great deal of interest. Most important, California, with its 45 electoral votes, is often considered the key to the re-election of the President.

Background

Both the present political situation in California and past voting patterns indicate that California would be rated as a toss-up for the general election. President Nixon won California by 3.1% in 1968, lost to Pat Brown in 1962, and won by less than 1% in 1960.

The election of 1970 proved to be as contradictory and confusing as California generally is. The defeat of incumbent Senator George Murphy left California with two Democratic Senators. Governor Reagan, however, was re-elected with 52.8% of the vote. One of the most significant losses suffered by the Republicans was the loss of both Houses in the Legislature. Democrats now control the Senate by a 21 to 19 margin and the Lower House by a 43 to 37 margin. Republicans did hold the line on the Congressional races and even picked up a vacant seat, giving the Democrats a 20 to 18 edge.

Due to the confusing outcome of the election of 1970, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions. The voting trend in the U.S. Senate races (Tab A) has fallen drastically for Republicans. Senator Kuchel achieved a recent high point in 1960 with 56.5% of the vote for the Republicans. This Republican percentage has decreased steadily to a low point in 1970 when Senator Murphy received only 44.3%.

Although there has also been a decline in the Republican vote for Governor, it has not been so severe as the Senate vote. Governor Reagan dropped from 57.6% in 1966 to 52.8% in 1970. (Tab B)

Factors other than trends and percentages must be considered in analyzing California politics. California's political climate has been one of throwing the "ins" out. Only three of nine incumbent Senators have been re-elected since World War II. The defeat of the ultra-conservative Max Rafferty in 1968 did not really reflect a weakening of the Republican Party because he was simply too far to the right and not a particularly strong candidate. Likewise, in the 1970 race, Senator Murphy had been tainted with a scandal and could not be considered a highly desirable candidate. In the case of Governor Reagan, it would have been very difficult to maintain as high a percentage as he achieved in his first election in 1966.

Another major factor in the 1970 election was unemployment. This is an especially difficult problem for Republicans as it has been a white-collar recession that has affected Republicans employed in the space industry and related businesses. This remains a key issue in 1972 with the re-election of the President.

Demographic and Voting Analysis

California's population in 1970 was 19,696,840. It is the largest state in the nation in terms of population. The state is 7% Black, 9% Mexican and Spanish, 2% Oriental. Total foreign stock is 25%, with Mexicans 4%, Germans 2%, Canadians 2%, British 2%, Italians 2%, being the largest ethnic groups.

In political terms, California is very much a North versus South state. The southern section of the state (Tab C), which is the larger of the two, tends to be very conservative, while the northern portion tends to be rather liberal. Orange and San Diego Counties in the south, for example, were the only two heavily populated counties in the country that gave Goldwater a plurality in 1964. The southern part of the state has been described as the "Sun Belt State", similar politically to southern Florida and central Texas. It was settled by "Bible Belt types" and has taken on that political mold. San Francisco, on the other hand, being the center of liberalism and Democratic strength in California, is also the headquarters for many

Far Left organizations, such as the Black Panthers. The Central Valley of the state, generally agricultural and desert, was settled by people coming from the Oklahoma plains during the Dust Bowl Era.

Nixon's greatest vote totals in 1968 came out of Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, Santa Clara and Alameda Counties. The President received 2,159,656 votes from these five counties, or 62.3% of his total California vote. (Tab D)

Humphrey's best counties were northern counties of San Francisco (plurality - 76,539), Alameda (66,260), Sacramento (21,592), Santa Clara (10,065). These four best Humphrey counties, in terms of raw vote, gave Humphrey a total plurality of 174,456 which is only 8,000 more than the plurality given Nixon vote from Orange County alone.

Wallace received 6.7% of the total vote in 1968. His vote appears to have come most heavily, percentage wise, from that area of the state north of Sacramento. This would make it appear that the Wallace vote probably helped Nixon in 1968. A recent Field Poll in California indicates that most of the vote which Wallace now receives in three-man, head-to-head contests, would go to the Democrat in a two-man race. (Tab E)

The conventional wisdom of the Republican politicians is that one must get large portions of the vote downstate to offset the upstate margins of the Democrats. In 1968, the Presidential contest followed that pattern. Nixon carried southern California by about 376,000 votes, lost northern California by about 143,000 votes and lost the Central Valley by about 9,000 votes. (Tab C)

Objectives of the Primary Campaign

As California is a key state for the re-election of the President, it is vital that we work toward the following two objectives in the primary.

1. Defeat Ashbrook by a large margin and still not split the Republican Party.
2. Build and utilize a large cadre of volunteers in the primary in order to have the personnel required for a general election effort.

Planned Activities

The Primary campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with Lyn Nofziger, the Executive Director of the California Committee for the Re-Election of the President. All directors of relevant activities from the Washington Committee met with Mr. Nofziger on February 26, 1972. As a result of the meeting, the following areas of activity are contemplated: (The time schedule for the total operating plan is given in Tab F.)

1. State Organizational Activities

The California Committee for the Re-Election of the President will coordinate all activities in the state. Lyn Nofziger is presently establishing headquarters and recruiting his key personnel. The primary will allow the California Committee to test its key people before the General Election campaign.

The preliminary budget for California was done for the entire campaign. Costs are not designated as to primary or general election expenditure. The total cost of staff salaries is estimated to be \$504,775. Expenses of staff and volunteers total \$737,285. Office expenses come to a total of \$405,550. The total cost of these three elements of the state organization is \$1,142,835. (Tab G)

Recommendation

That you approve the state organizational activity outlined above and in Tab G at a cost of \$1,142,835.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers

Due to the importance of the state of California in the re-election campaign, extensive use will be made of well-known Administration speakers in the state. Between January 20 and June 6, there have been 28 different Administration spokesmen scheduled in 66 events. (Tab H) Two rallies occurring shortly before June 6 are being contemplated. The present plan is for the Washington-based Committee to pay for one event and the California Committee will be responsible for the second event.

Recommendation

That you approve of the surrogate speaker program as outlined above and in Tab H.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Volunteer Activities

As previously stated, one of the major objectives of the California Primary is to recruit and utilize a cadre of volunteers. Many of the volunteers will be recruited through the telephone and direct mail programs contemplated. They will be, in turn, recycled into the telephone operation and the California Committee precinct organization. In addition, Pat Hutar will work with Lyn Nofziger and his volunteer chairman in additional recruitment of volunteers and other volunteer activities. This volunteer program will stress precinct coffees, recruitment of civic club activists, and petition programs that would seek pledges of support for the President. (Tab I)

Recommendation

That you approve of the volunteer activities program as outlined above and in Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

4. Media Advertising

Originally, an extensive media campaign including television, radio and newspaper advertising was suggested for California. This plan was under consideration because we thought that we were running much lower in the polls than the Democratic contenders. There was also the possibility that the Democrats would close ranks and coalesce support behind one candidate. Furthermore, there was a possibility of a stronger challenge than now anticipated by either Ashbrook or McCloskey. At this time, we are doing better than expected in the polls. The Democrats are still divided. Ashbrook and McCloskey have both failed to effectively challenge the President. Therefore, our advertising people have advised against the use of media in the California Primary. (Tab J)

Recommendation

That you agree that we do not use media advertising in the California Primary.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

5. Telephone Operation

A telephone program similar to that used in New Hampshire has been developed for California. Due to the size of the California electorate, only a targeted number of households will be contacted. The telephone program will identify Nixon's supporters and turn them out on election day. It will also recruit volunteers for the state organization. Furthermore, it will train key people in California for the general election telephone campaign. A more detailed discussion of the telephone plan can be found in Tab K. A budget for the telephone operation will be presented within the next several days.

Recommendation

That you approve the telephone operation as outlined above and in Tab K.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

6. Direct Mail

The primary objective of the direct mail program is to communicate to the voters the record and accomplishments of the President and to urge them to support the President on June 6. As there has been a recommendation that there be no media advertising, this will be the only means of communicating with the Republican voters of California. In addition, the direct mail piece will ask for volunteers. The program is further discussed in Tab L.

Recommendation

That you approve a direct mail program in California that would contact all Republicans, as outlined in Tab L, at a cost of \$473,895.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

7. Voter Bloc Activities

California will be the first opportunity to actively implement voter bloc programs. The youth campaign is already engaged in a voter registration campaign, which will extend past the primary for the general election campaign. The other voter blocs will present their plans in the near future.

8. Control System

The California Primary affords the first opportunity to apply the management control program which has been assigned to Jerry Jones. Jerry has been involved in the development of all plans for activities in California. He has had an opportunity to review the reporting and control techniques used in the direct mail and telephone operation in the previous primaries. He will place the most emphasis on measuring the effectiveness of activities handled by the state organization. These activities are the most important for winning votes, but the most difficult to measure or control.

Recommendation

That you approve of the control system as outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

9. Post Election Evaluation of Campaign Activities

One of our objectives in the primaries has been to develop the campaign capabilities of our total organization and to train all of the people involved. The only measure that has been used to determine if our campaign activities have been effective has been to review the votes. A more scientific measuring technique of effectiveness ought to be applied in the primary before we commit large sums of money for the general election. We

feel California offers the best opportunity for testing because most of the campaign activities will be in evidence. California is also relatively representative of the American electorate.

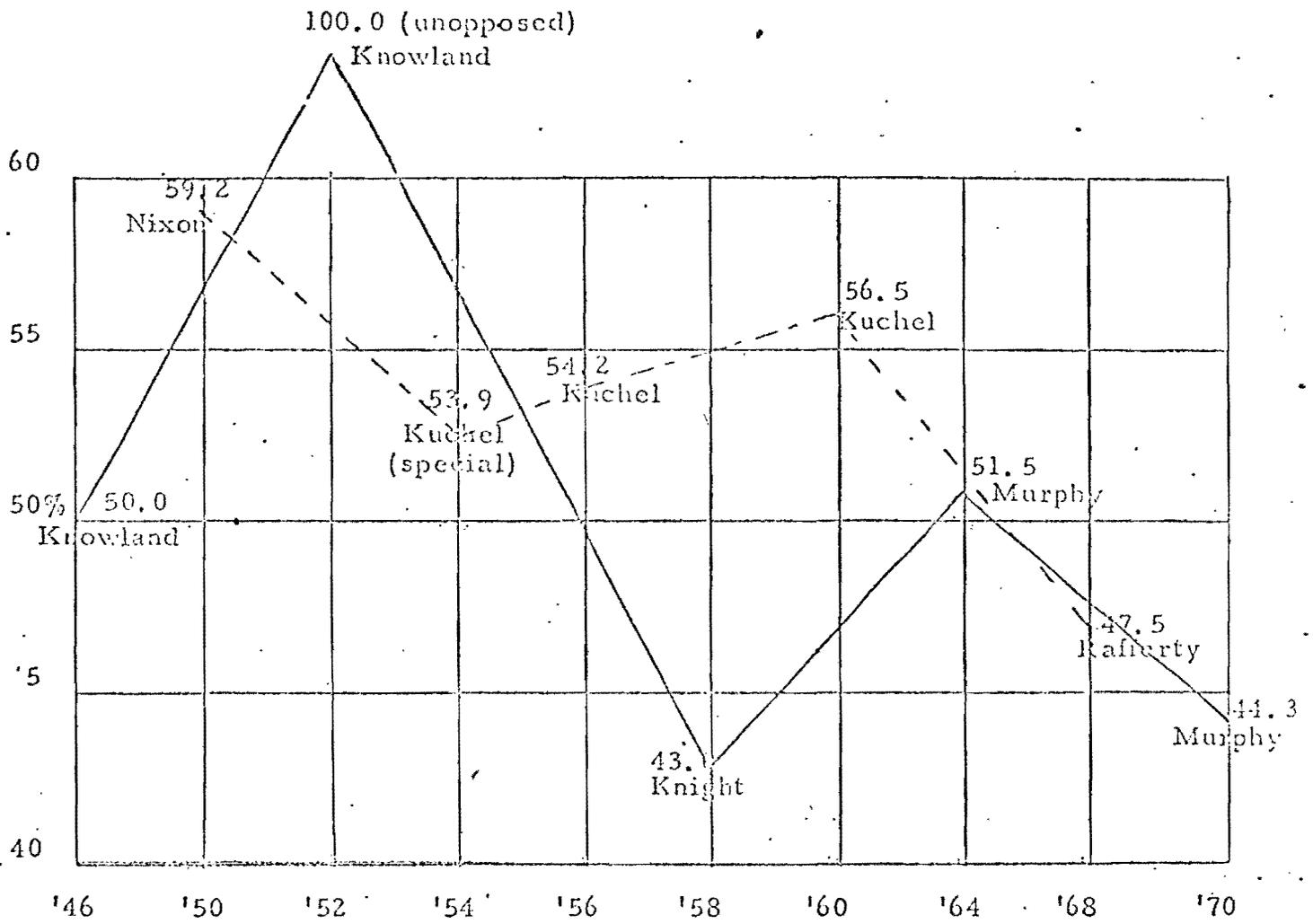
Therefore, it is recommended that a project be authorized whereby a scientific survey would be conducted among the voters before campaigning actually begins and after the election. This in-depth survey would attempt to measure the effect of each of the activities: telephone, direct mail, and personal contact. If you approve this concept, Bob Teeter will draw up a detailed plan and budget for the project.

Recommendation

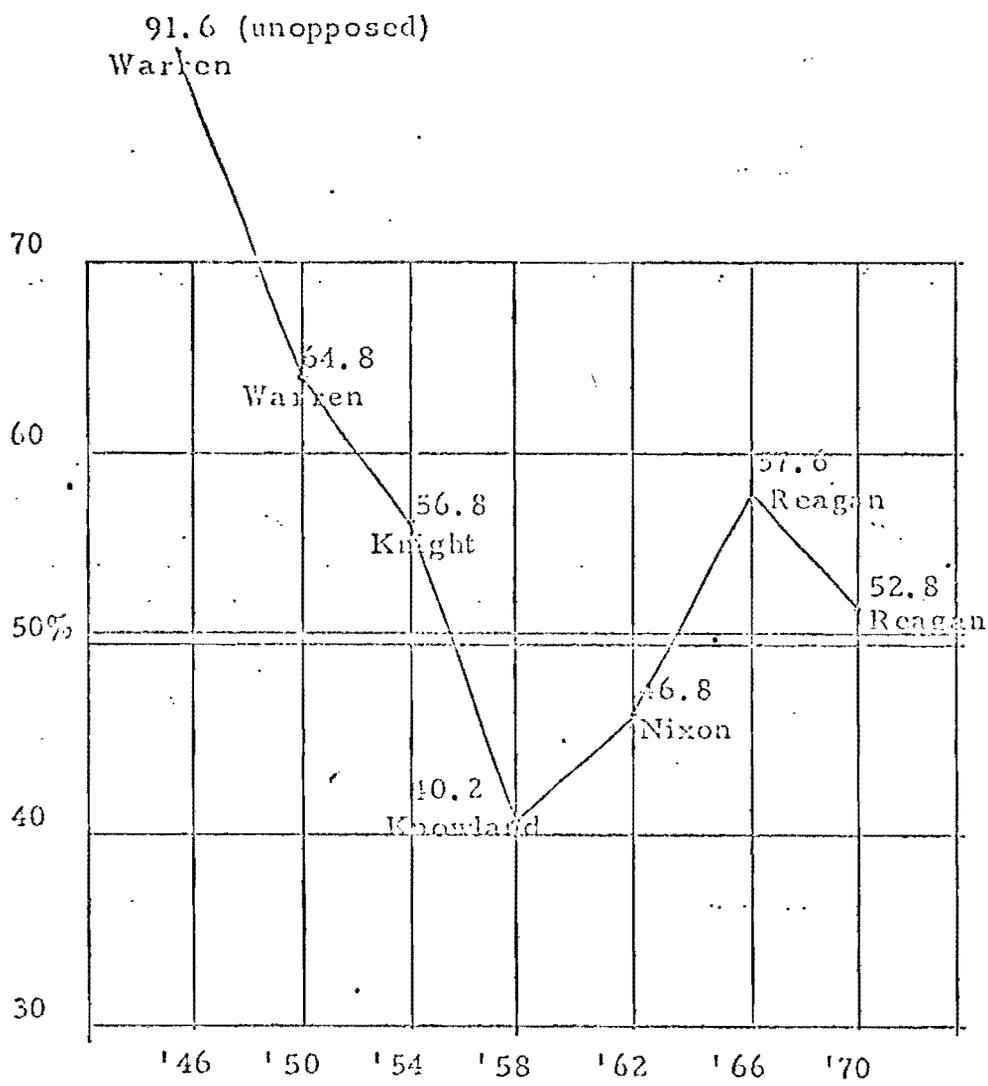
That you authorize Bob Teeter to develop a detailed recommendation and budget for the survey activities required for post election analysis.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

CALIFORNIA U. S. SENATE RACE



CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR'S RACE



Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities TAB C

(38 Districts)

(1968 VOTE TOTALS IN THOUSANDS)

STATEWIDE RESULTS

NIXON	3,468	(49%)
HUMPHREY	3,244	(44%)
WALLACE	487	(7%)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
(27% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON	830	(43%)
HUMPHREY	973	(50%)
WALLACE	132	(7%)

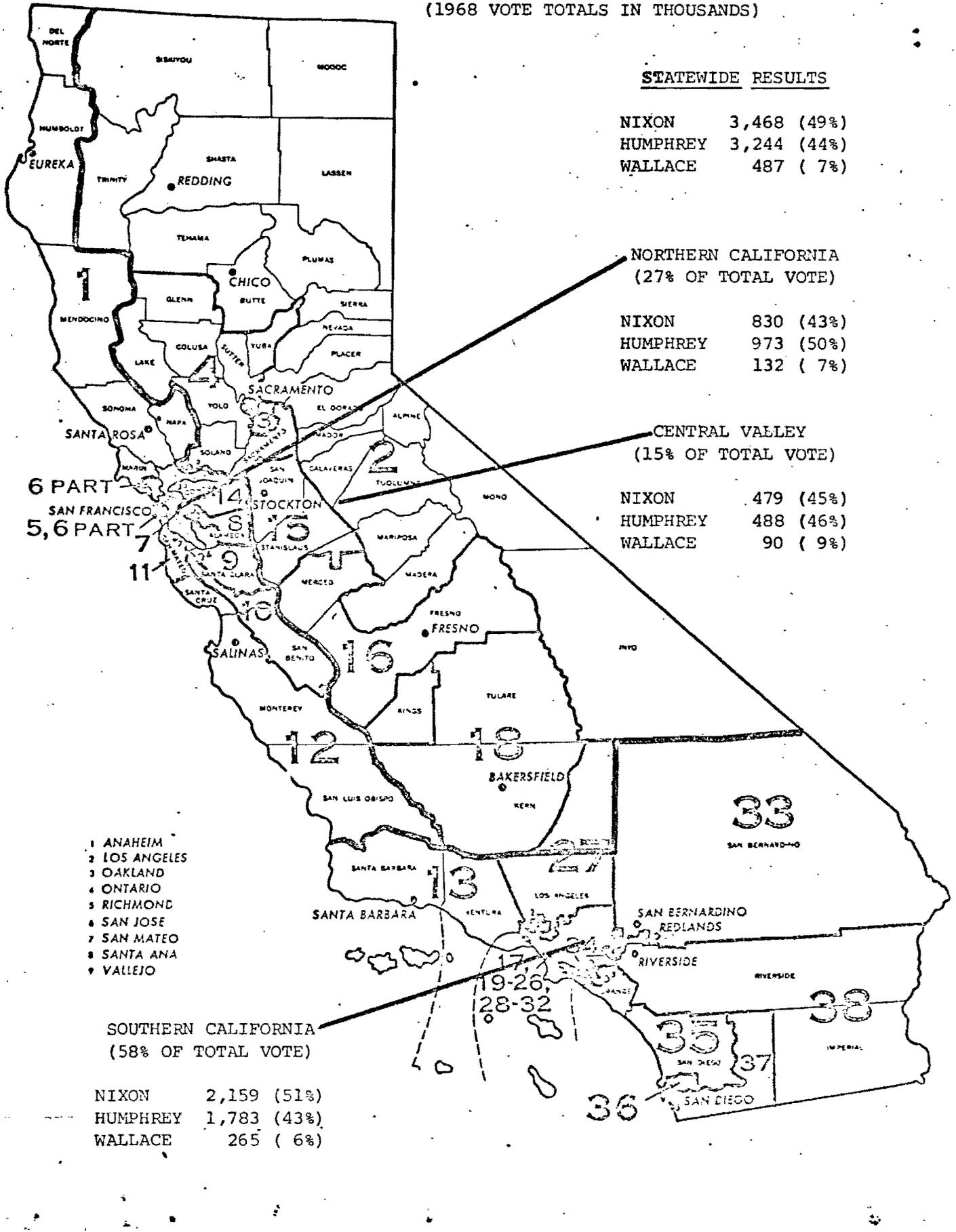
CENTRAL VALLEY
(15% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON	479	(45%)
HUMPHREY	488	(46%)
WALLACE	90	(9%)

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
(58% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON	2,159	(51%)
HUMPHREY	1,783	(43%)
WALLACE	265	(6%)

- 1 ANAHEIM
- 2 LOS ANGELES
- 3 OAKLAND
- 4 ONTARIO
- 5 RICHMOND
- 6 SAN JOSE
- 7 SAN MATEO
- 8 SANTA ANA
- 9 VALLEJO



1968 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(California Counties Providing the Largest Number of Votes for Richard Nixon)

COUNTY	<u>CANDIDATES</u>			PLURALITY
	NIXON	HUMPHREY	WALLACE	
Los Angeles *	1,266,480 (47.6%)	1,223,251 (46.0%)	151,050 (5.7%)	43,229 (R)
Orange	314,905 (63.1%)	148,869 (29.9%)	33,034 (6.6%)	166,036 (R)
San Diego	261,540 (56.3%)	167,669 (36.1%)	33,340 (7.2%)	93,871 (R)
Santa Clara	163,446 (45.6%)	173,511 (48.4%)	18,754 (5.2%)	10,065 (D)
Alameda	153,285 (37.6%)	219,545 (53.9%)	28,426 (7.0%)	66,260 (D)

* Nixon's plurality vote from Los Angeles accounted for 36.5% of his total Republican vote.

President Nixon leads all Democratic contenders in California when the American Independent Party and the Peoples Party candidates are added to the ballot. When these candidates are not listed, the President remains ahead of all candidates except Senator Muskie.

ALL VOTERS -- STATEWIDE

	FEBRUARY 1972	WALLACE AND SPOCK OUT
NIXON	44%	45%
MUSKIE	40	48
WALLACE	9	
SPOCK	2	
UNDECIDED	5	7

March 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR HARRY FLEMMING

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign Budget

Per your letter of March 3 regarding the campaign budget for the California Committee for the Re-Election of the President, I must point out that this budget only covers the activities of the state committee and to some extent the Los Angeles County committee. Nothing has been included to cover the costs that we possibly will have to pay to support the various county committees for the re-election of the President in view of the new legislation affecting campaign spending and reporting.

The situation is such that we do not believe that a strong campaign can be mounted in the key counties on contributions of \$100 or less.

We estimate that we will have to supply at least some of the funds that will be needed for the registration effort in many counties. We feel that this could be upwards of \$500,000. Further, any state-wide or even major county telephone-bank operation will have to be supported. Based on the best estimate that we can arrive at, this will come to an additional \$300,000.

Finally, you should realize that we have not taken into account the costs of any direct-mail efforts, rallies or other advertising.

Enclosure

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Salaries/Expenses	Y-D	March	April	May*	June	July	August	September	October	November	TOTAL
<u>Salaries</u>											
Exec Dir & Staff	7600	7600	7600	7600	7600	7600	7600	7600	7600	7600	76000
Exec Assts	5550	14700	14700	14700	14700	14700	14700	14700	14700	14700	137850
Field Directors	700	5000	5000	5000	5000	5000	5000	5000	5000	5000	45700
Communication Dir	1000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	19000
Field Staff	-----	4700	5800	5800	5800	4700	4700	5800	8000	4750	50050
Technical Assts	650	8050	8050	8050	8050	8050	8050	8050	8050	7050	72100
Headquarters	250	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	8250
Admin Assts	1500	4750	4750	4750	4750	4750	4750	4750	4750	4750	44250
Secretarial	725	5650	5650	5650	5650	5650	5650	5650	5650	5650	51575
TOTAL SALARIES	17975	53450	54550	54550	54550	52450	53450	54550	56750	52500	504775
<u>Expenses</u>											
Payroll (FICA)	1510	4500	4580	4580	4580	4400	4500	4580	4780	4400	42410
Travel	11600	18300	19000	19000	15550	10850	12800	18300	20400	12300	158100
Reimbursement to RNC		---	5000	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	5000
Volunteer Expenses		3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	27000
TOTAL	13110	25800	31580	26580	23130	18250	20300	25880	28180	19700	232510
SUB TOTAL	31085	79250	86130	81130	77680	70700	73750	80430	84930	72200	737285

*Additional expenses may be incurred due to the cost of utilizing volunteers recruited through direct mail.

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE EXPENSES	Y-D	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	TOTAL
Rent	10200	7100	7100	7100	7100	7100	7100	7100	7100	3000	70000
Equip. & Supplies	6450	8450	8450	8950	8450	7950	7950	8450	8950	7650	81700
Telephone	2100	2600	4600	8000	5000	4500	4500	6000	9000	3000	49300
Telephone Banks	----	----	----	----	----	----	50000	50000	50000	----	150000
Special Programs	----	5300	2300	2800	800	----	----	2800	2800	1800	18600
Contract Services	250	2150	2650	2650	2150	1850	1850	2650	2650	1600	20450
Radio/TV/News Equip	----	1500	1000	500	500	500	500	500	500	100	5600
Insurance	----	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	6300
Utilities	----	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	3600
TOTAL	19000	28200	27200	31100	25100	23000	73000	786000	82100	18250	405550
GRAND TOTAL	50085	107450	113330	112230	102780	93700	146750	159030	167030	90450	1142835

APPROVED BY



Lyn Nofziger

SPEAKING EVENTS IN CALIFORNIA

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
January 20	Jess Hill Testimonial Dinner, Los Angeles	Mr. Klein
January 27	Ground Breaking Ceremony for Sea Water Distillation Module, Santa Ana	Sec. Morton
February 1	Nixon Legacy of Parks Ceremonies, San Fernando Valley	Mr. Finch
February 1	San Fernando Valley Annual Service Clubs Meeting, Tujunga	Mr. Finch
February 2	United Republican Finance Committee of Los Angeles County Statesman's Club Reception, Los Angeles	Mr. Finch
February 2	Western Fairs Association 49th Annual Meeting, Anaheim	Mr. Finch
February 4	Urban Growth Policy Conference, San Diego	Sec. Romney
February 10	Lincoln Day Dinner Aboard the Queen Mary, Long Beach	Sen. Dole
February 10	Lincoln Club of Orange County, Los Angeles	Mr. Klein
February 11	Orange County Lincoln Day Dinner, Newport Beach	Sen. Dole
February 11	Civic Clubs Luncheon, San Diego	Sec. Laird
February 17	Association of General Contractors, Los Angeles	Mr. Klein
February 18	American College Public Relations Association, Newport Beach	Mr. Klein
February 23	Dinah Shore Show Taping	Julie Eisenhower

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 24	Association of Bay Area Governments Symposium on Population Growth and the Bay Area's Future, San Francisco	Mr. Finch
February 25	Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for Spanish Speaking, Regional Meeting, San Francisco	Mr. Finch
March 2	Los Angeles Chapter, American Ordinance Association 36th Annual Dinner Meeting Honoring Mr. Finch, Los Angeles	Mr. Finch
March 3	West Adams Community Hospital Dedication, Los Angeles	Mr. Finch
March 4	Sacramento	Mrs. Nixon
March 4	California Industrial Education Association Annual Convention, Anaheim	Mr. Finch
March 6	Oakland Kiwanis Club, Oakland	Mr. Weinberger
March 13	Ground Breaking Ceremony, Los Angeles Economic Resources Corp., Los Angeles	Sec. Hodgson Asst. Sec. Podesta
March 13	California State College, San Francisco	Mr. Blatchford
March 14	Agricultural Council of California, Palm Springs	Asst. Sec. Lyng (U.S.D.A.)
March 15	National Medical Association, San Francisco	Asst. Sec. Cowden (U.S.D.A.)
March 15	American Legion, Ontario	Mr. Johnson (V.A.)
March 15	San Diego Hospital Dedication, San Diego	Mr. Johnson (V.A.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
March 16	California Certified Public Accountants Foundation for Education and Research, Monterey	Mr. Jobe (Commerce)
March 16	American Medical Association Conference, San Francisco	Mr. Duval (H.E.W.)
March 16	Ground Breaking for City Center Project, Oakland	Mr. Hyde (H.U.D.)
March 16	Tulare County Fund Raising Dinner, Visalia	Sec. Romney
March 16	National Security Industrialist Association, Los Angeles	Mr. Wm. Magruder
March 17	Clairmont College Trustees, Los Angeles	Sec. Romney
March 17	Reception for Cong. Wiggins, West Covina	Sec. Romney
March 17	National Association of Counties, Los Angeles	Mr. Hyde (H.U.D.)
March 17	Claremont Men's College West Covina	Sec. Romney
March 17	American Medical Association, San Francisco	Mr. Dowden (U.S.D.A.)
March 18	San Diego Evening Tribune Teen Seminar, San Diego	Mr. Franklin
March 21	Scholastic Press Corp., Los Angeles	The Vice President
March 22	Anaheim Chamber of Commerce, Anaheim	Mr. Podesta (Commerce)
March 27	Association of California School Administrators, Anaheim	Mr. Klein
March 27 - 31	President's Air and Water Pollution Advisory Board, Los Angeles and San Francisco	Mr. Ruckelshaus

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
March 29	The Comstock Club, Sacramento	Mr. Finch
March 29	Order of the Rainbow for Girls, Sacramento	Mr. Finch
March 30	Boy Scouts of American Golden Empire Council 22nd Annual Eagle Scout Recognition, Sacramento	Mr. Finch
March 30	Luncheon Honoring State of California Employees, Sacramento	Mr. Finch
March 30	Fund Raising Reception for the Boy Scouts of America, Sacramento	Mr. Finch
April 7 - 10	Del Monte Spring Conference, Pebble Beach	Sec. Shultz
April 8	California Republican Assembly Convention, Palo Alto	The Vice President
April 14	California Grain and Feed Association, Palm Springs	Sec. Butz (Invitation pending)
April 25	Bechtel Directors Advisory Group, San Francisco	Sec. Shultz
April 28	California Contract Cities Association, San Diego	Mr. Finch
May 1	Santa Monica Bar Association Law Day Luncheon, Santa Monica	(Awaiting invitation)
May 13	California Jaycee Annual State Convention, Oakland	Mr. Finch
May 22	California Peace Officers Association, Anaheim	Mr. Kleindienst
May 22	California Bankers Association, Los Angeles	Sec. Peterson
May 22	Los Angeles World Trade Council, Los Angeles	Sec. Peterson
May 22	Cal. Tech. Association, Los Angeles	Sec. Peterson

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
May 30	Twilight Club, Pasadena	Mr. Finch
June 2	Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development Dedication Ceremonies, Los Angeles	Mr. Finch
June 2	Los Angeles World Affairs Council, Los Angeles	Sec. Connally
June 10	Palomar College, San Marcos	Mr. Finch
June 11	Occidental College, Los Angeles	Mr. Finch
June 24	Western State University College Law Commencement, Anaheim	Mr. Finch
June 25	California Livestock Symposium, Fresno	Sec. Butz (Invitation pending)
Open May	Bay Area Republican Alliance Special Membership Meeting, San Francisco	Sec. Morton (Invitation pending)

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MARIK
FROM: PAT HUTAR
SUBJECT: Volunteer Programs for California

Major volunteer efforts should be channeled into the telephone operations and Presidential commitment programs. In areas of the state not affected by these programs, the Pledged to the President "petition" program could be utilized or the "Ten for R.N." Also, Precinct Coffees could be programmed in all areas to help with the recruitment of volunteers for all of the above mentioned projects and other campaign work.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES
(Only partially operational for the Primary)

The concept of the National Advisory and State Advisory Committees is to create a vehicle by which we can work through existing organizations to gain support for the President from persons who might not otherwise take an active interest in the campaign and might not vote. Also, working within an existing group allows us to multiply our efforts to get votes without the necessity of creating an additional organizational structure to accomplish the task.

The leadership for the National Advisory Committee will be recruited from past presidents of such organizations as the American Legion, the American Legion Auxiliary, League of Women Voters, Business and Professional Women, Kiwanis, General Federated Clubs, Zonta. Still others would be drawn from Boy and Girl Scout Councils, YWCA and YMCA leaders, labor unions, school teachers, to name a few.

The past national presidents would serve at the national level and would help in the recruitment of past state presidents or officers who would in turn work through leadership in the local clubs. The contact person(s) in each local unit would recruit support for the President from members on a personal and private basis. There would be no attempt made to get endorsements or to interject partisanship into the meetings. This would be contrary to the rules governing most of these organizations. This part of the program has to be low key.

State Advisory Committees would work directly with the State Re-election Committees. There would be no need for a burdensome schedule of meetings with the State Advisory Committee since much of their work will be done directly with their particular non-partisan organization.

Here are a few of the ways in which the Advisory Committees will be valuable:

- (1) Publicity value of prestige names released at the national and state levels as supporters of the President.
- (2) Develop opportunities for pro-administration speakers to address national and state organizations, i.e., women appointees and other Administration officials.
- (3) Individuals within clubs could be recruited to work directly with their local Re-election Committee.
- (4) Individuals would be asked to participate in small fund-raising projects such as Presidential Pledge Petitions and other easy-to-do fund-raising programs.
- (5) Key persons within clubs could provide campaign literature, buttons, bumper strips to members who are for the President.
- (6) National and state leaders could write to their friends within their own states and around the country urging them to support the President. Special stationery with the volunteer logo would be provided.
- (7) Utilize articulate national and state non-partisan leaders as speakers in appropriate situations.
- (8) Include non-partisan leaders in all special events at national, state and local levels as a means of identification of non-partisan organization support for the President. This also gives special recognition to the non-partisan leader.
- (9) Include outstanding non-partisan workers in the volunteer recognition program.

The idea here is not to set up a separate super-structure but to work through existing organizations. Any positive participation and action that can be derived from this approach will be a plus.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

March 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: PETE DAILEY

FROM: PHIL JOANOU

SUBJECT: California Primary

This morning I had a conversation with Bob Teeter concerning recommendations for this primary. We reviewed current polling data which shows the following:

The Field Poll, conducted in February shows, (with Wallace and Spock in the race) Nixon leading Muskie 44% to 40%, Humphrey 43% to 38%, and Kennedy 44% to 41%. Further, a DMI poll conducted in Los Angeles and Orange Counties in late February and early March, had Nixon over Muskie by 7 points, over Humphrey by 18, and under Kennedy by 2. Ashbrook had 9%. We concluded from reviewing this research that the President has a fair lead in California, and that his trend in the Field Poll is up. (39% in August 1971; 44% in February, 1972).

Bob also pointed out that there is a smaller undecided vote in California, and that it would be difficult to move this vote with advertising in the primary. Major issues are unemployment, high state taxes, and the environment.

A four week campaign consisting of radio, TV, and newspaper, similar to the Wisconsin plan, would cost \$750,000 plus production. I recommend that we do not spend this money during the primary. We are ahead and the California primary on the Democratic side could be very hot. We may be better off letting the Democrats cut each other up in this last primary, contrasted with Nixon in Russia. He will be getting plenty of prime time exposure. Bob pointed out, however, that he believes that we should have a strong effort in California, but that a strong political effort does not necessarily include advertising. We could have a strong surrogate program with rallies in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego, and a strong press program for the primary.

One of the major problems in California is organization. A major direct mail program to all registered Republicans soliciting volunteers, and perhaps contributions, should be conducted. This letter could also present a strong case for supporting the President. A letter to conservatives (perhaps from Goldwater) would help counter any Ashbrook activity.

CONFIDENTIAL

The next subject we discussed was mass advertising to Blacks and Mexican-Americans in California. Bob feels, and I agree, that we should not conduct a mass media effort with Blacks. The split there is about 90-10 against us, and we run a risk of increasing the militancy against us more than we stand to gain in increasing our own small base. This seems to be a better job for a well placed direct mail effort during the primary. On the other hand, we have a better chance with the Mexican-American voter, and a program there could be implemented on Spanish language TV and radio, for about \$60,000. As with Blacks, there is another school of thought which says this is better done with direct mail and speakers.

In summary:

1. We should not advertise in the California Primary.
2. We should invest, instead, in a strong direct mail, surrogate candidate and PR program.
3. We should raise the issue of testing advertising with Mexican-Americans at the next strategy meeting.

cc: Bob Teeter

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Garcia", is written in black ink.

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: NANCY BRATAAS
SUBJECT: California Primary Telephone Operating Plan

The California telephone campaign has three objectives;

1. To defeat Ashbrook by a large majority while avoiding a split in the Party.
2. To identify and train key leaders at the state level for the Fall campaign.
3. To recruit and train a large number of volunteers willing to work in the Fall.

General Plan

The following plan has been developed through discussions between Lyn Nofziger and Nancy Brataas, and reflects what Mr. Nofziger thinks would be the most effective use of telephones in the state for the Primary.

Centers will be located in each of the four regions into which the state has been divided for the campaign. There will be one center in Stockton, one in Santa Clara, one in Orange County and one in San Diego County. Los Angeles County will have two centers and possibly two more, for a total of 6 to 8 centers. There will be ten phones per center, each center capable of completing approximately 50,000 calls, so that a total of 300,000 to 400,000 households can be contacted (500,000 to 700,000 voters).

Telephone Message and Follow-up Procedure

The format will be based on the New Hampshire Plan:

1. The voter will be asked if his vote can be counted upon on June 6th.
2. The responses will be separated into three major categories: Those supporting the President, those opposed, and those undecided.
3. The follow-up plan will be:
 - a. The supporters will be next contacted during the Get-out-the-vote operation.
 - b. The unfavorables will not be contacted again.
 - c. The undecided voters will receive a personalized computer letter, along with the appropriate issue brochure.
 - d. A follow-up telephone call will be made to all undecideds to assure that the brochure was received, and to determine if they now support the President. If so, they will be included in the Get-out-the-vote list.
4. The data handling operation to accomplish this activity will utilize separate name cards for each household. They can be physically sorted according to the results of the telephone call. For the follow-up mailing to undecided voters, the cards will be processed by computer to generate the personalized letter.

Operational Plan

Nancy Brataas is leaving for California on Tuesday night, March 28th. She will meet with Lyn Nofziger and other state leaders on March 29th and 30th to discuss and develop the specific plan of operation.

It is not possible to include the projected budget at this time because the pertinent information regarding telephone costs will not be available until Nancy's arrival in the state. The budget recommendation will be submitted immediately upon her return to Washington, D. C.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

March 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. ROBERT MARIK

FROM: ROBERT MORGAN/A

SUBJECT: California Primary Direct Mail Alternatives

Keeping in mind the two stated objectives of the California Primary and with a basic budget limitation, a recommended plan is suggested along with two alternatives. A general discussion on direction is also included.

General Discussion

Keeping the objectives in mind a direct mail effort has to be made to 90% of the registered Republicans who are on magnetic tape. This is the only effective way to cover the state and test all of the county organizations. By implementing the Presidential Commitment Program as outlined below, it forces each county chairman to organize down to the precinct level to accomplish the goal. Granted it takes tighter control and more people but anything less than this coverage does not really satisfy the stated goals. Our primary recommendation includes mailing to 3,000,000 registered Republicans which cover the counties on magnetic tape. The program would work as follows:

1. Seed new volunteers directly into the precincts from the direct mail response
 - A. To add precinct workers
 - B. To establish new precinct captains where none exist.
2. Give the new volunteers a list of 20 Republican voters in their precinct to contact for a get out the vote program on June 4.
3. Use the volunteers to bring in 5 new volunteers each.

4. Initiate a telephone get out the vote campaign based on the lists provided to supplement the volunteers coming in. It would be operated out of homes by volunteers.

Three copies of the list will be provided in the following sequence -- by county, city and precinct, and then in alphabetical by street in descending numerical order. This would be used organizationally for the county chairman to develop precinct captains and precinct workers throughout his county.

Our direct mail efforts would go to 90% of the registered Republicans in the larger counties where the list is on magnetic tape. The mailing ensemble would emphasize believability to help bridge the credibility gap. A completely personalized computer letter would be used with the volunteer card on the bottom, along with a revised issue brochure for the record. A BRE and non-personalized contributor card would also be included.

The letter would emphasize volunteers for Nixon now, touch on accomplishments and ask for contributions as a tag on. By the time California tests start we will know if asking for contributions and volunteers at the same time takes away from the percent of volunteer response.

The suggested program is based on accomplishing the specific objectives. It does not meet the fixed budget requirements I was given, but the fixed budget requirements do not accomplish the objectives. (See exhibit I.)

Alternative plan 1 is taking every third household and printing out all of the data in all of the counties but seeding fewer volunteers in the precincts. This plan will generate less enthusiasm by the county chairmen. (See Exhibit II.)

Alternative plan 2 concentrates our direct mail efforts in --

San Diego
Orange
Santa Clara
Stanislaus
Los Angeles

in that order of priority. We will give a concentrated effort but it will not accomplish the goal of testing the California organization nor will it give the California organization the opportunity to be tested. (See exhibit III).

Voter blocs will be identified wherever they can and special paragraphs will be inserted to fit their interests. These will be coded to measure the response. If alternative plan 1 or 2 is used, only 30,000 voter bloc mailings will be tested. No effort in the primary will be made to reach agricultural voters if alternative plan 1 or 2 is used. With the suggested plan we will identify and mail to Blacks, Spanish speaking, Elderly, Jewish and Agricultural segments.

Lyn Nofziger, the California Executive Director, is in favor of the suggested plan as stated.

Substantial field activity will be required in connection with utilizing the volunteers acquired through the direct mail program. Pro forma budgets are shown in Exhibit 4, but that expense would be a part of the state organization budget, rather than the direct mail program. Expenses would be considerably lower if existing state organization field men and local volunteers were used.

Suggested Plan

1 Mailing Only

3,000,000 ensembles @ \$133/M = \$ 399,000
 2 color window envelope
 1 color BRE
 14" letter with volunteer
 and contributor card
 Brochure on the record

List acquisition and software 30,000

Subtotal - Direct Mail Costs 429,000 \$ 429,000

Material Expenses

Commitment Kit¹ 525
 Presentation Boards 1,875
 Letters 1,425
 Commitment Cards 3,150
 Printed Envelopes 1,500
 Mailing Envelopes 1,460
 Issue Brochures 11,250
 Inserting, Collating & Boxing 7,090
 Freight 1,880
 Working Lists for the Counties 14,740
 44,895

44,895
 \$ 473,895

¹ The plan includes 56,000 kits

Alternative Plan 1

1 Mailing Only

800,000 ensembles @ \$145/M	=	\$ 116,000	
2 color window envelope			
1 color BRE			
14" letter with volunteer and contributor card			
Brochure on the record			
List acquisition and software		<u>10,000</u>	
Subtotal - Direct Mail Costs		126,000	<u>\$ 126,000</u>
<u>Material Expenses</u>			
Commitment Kit ¹		140	
Presentation Boards		500	
Letters		380	
Commitment Cards		840	
Printed Envelopes		400	
Mailing Envelopes		390	
Issue Brochures		3,000	
Inserting, Collating & Boxing		1,890	
Freight		500	
Working Lists for the Counties		<u>3,930</u>	
		11,970	<u>11,970</u>
			\$ 137,970

¹ The plan includes 15,000 kits

Alternative Plan 2

1 Mailing Only

800,000 ensembles @ \$145/M	=	\$ 116,000
2 color window envelope		
1 color BRE		
14" letter with volunteer and contributor card		
Brochure on the record		

List acquisition and software		<u>10,000</u>
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Subtotal - Direct Mail Costs	126,000	<u>\$ 126,000</u>
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Material Expenses

Commitment Kit ¹	140	
Presentation Boards	500	
Letters	380	
Commitment Cards	840	
Printed Envelopes	400	
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Issue Brochures	3,000	
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Freight	500	
Working Lists for the Counties	<u>3,930</u>	
	11,970	<u>11,970</u>
		\$137.970

¹ The plan includes 15,000 kits

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 27, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the Indiana Primary

Indiana state law provides for a direct, closed, binding Presidential Preference Primary on May 2. There is no party registration in Indiana. Therefore, any voter may vote in the Republican Primary. District delegates must support on the first ballot at the National Convention the Presidential candidate who won in their respective districts. Delegates at large must support the statewide Presidential Preference Poll winner on the first ballot.

After John Ashbrook filed on March 23 with the total number of names on the petition as required, the Secretary of State indicated that Ashbrook would be on the ballot. When the Secretary of State scrutinized the petitions more closely on March 25, it was determined that Ashbrook did not have the required number of signatures in each Congressional district. Therefore, Ashbrook will not be on the ballot in the Indiana Primary.

General Background

As of 1970, Indiana was the 11th largest state in the nation. It will cast 13 electoral votes in 1972. Indiana's 5,193,669 population consists of 7% Black and 8% foreign stock. A particularly heavy concentration of Blacks exists in Lake County (Gary, East Chicago) and Marion County (Indianapolis). Between the 1960 census and 1972 election, there will have been an increase of 17.8% in the total voting age population in Indiana. The Black population over 18 years of age rose 44.2% while the white population increased only 16.3%.

In 1968, Indiana turned out 80% of the registered voters. In that year, Indiana rated third in the nation in the highest turnout of voting age persons. 72% of the voting age population participated in the election.

Political Background

Although Indiana has a good Republican tradition, U.S. Senate candidates have not fared well. Since 1958, both Senate seats have been held

by Democrats. But, like many state elections in Indiana, the last two Senate races have been close, with Hartke winning by 50.1% (still contested) and Bayh, by 51.7%.

The Governorship has gone back and forth between the Parties. At present, the Governorship is held by a Republican, Governor Whitcomb, who cannot succeed himself.

Republicans control both Houses of the Legislature. The make-up of the Senate is 29 Republicans to 21 Democrats. In the House, there are 54 Republicans to 46 Democrats. However, it is important to note that Republicans lost a total of 6 House seats and 19 Senate seats in the 1970 election.

In the past thirty years, Republicans have, for the most part, held a majority of the Congressional seats. There are presently six Republicans and five Democrats in the Congressional delegation. A brief discussion of the Congressional districts follows: (Tab A)

1st District - Democrat - Ray Madden - The 1st is a heavy industrial area located in the northwest corner of the state. It takes in the part of Lake County with the cities of Gary, Hammond, East Chicago and Whiting.

2nd District - Republican - Earl Landgrebe - The 2nd contains the suburbs of Gary, the remaining rural areas of Lake County and other northwestern counties. A traditional G.O.P. stronghold.

3rd District - Democrat - John Brademas - The 3rd district centers around South Bend in St. Joseph County. A politically marginal district.

4th District - Democrat - J. Edward Roush - The 4th centers on Fort Wayne in Allen County. A politically marginal seat formerly held by Ross Adair.

5th District - Republican - Elwood Hillis - The 5th is in the heart-land of Indiana and includes Kokomo and Marion. This was the former seat of Richard Roudebush.

6th District - Republican - William Bray - The 6th takes in part of Indianapolis and suburban counties. A conservative Republican district.

7th District - Republican - John Myers - The 7th includes Bloomington and Terre Haute in central Indiana.

8th District - Republican - Roger Zion - The 8th is in the southwest corner of the state and includes Evansville.

9th District - Democrat - Lee Hamilton - Located in the southeast corner of the state, the 9th is rural and agricultural.

10th District - Republican - David Dennis - The 10th district contains Anderson and Muncie in the east-central part of the state.

11th District - Democrat - Andrew Jacobs - Jacobs, a liberal, represents an area which includes a part of Indianapolis.

Indiana at one time was known as a state with good Republican Party performance. However, Party in-fighting in the last several years has seriously hurt the G.O.P. Recent activity indicates that an effort is being made to reunite the Party.

Presidential Voting Trends

Since 1940, Indiana has voted for the Republican Presidential candidate in every election but 1964. In 1960, Indiana delivered the next-to-highest plurality of all states for the President, second only to Ohio.

In the 1968 Presidential Primary, Richard Nixon as the only Republican candidate received 508,362 votes. The Democrats cast a total vote of 776,513 for Kennedy, McCarthy and Brannigan.

Indiana is the state in which Nixon rolled up his largest plurality in 1968. In total, Nixon carried the state by 261,226 votes.

Nixon	1,067,885	50.3%
Humphrey	806,659	38.0%
Wallace	243,108	11.4%
Other	5,945	0.3%

Nixon, in 1968, won pluralities in every county except nine. Five of those counties lie in the rural south; two small counties surrounding Vigo County (Terre Haute) and two large northern counties, Lake and St. Joseph, containing the cities of Gary and South Bend.

Nixon's best counties in terms of pluralities are as follows:

Marion (Indianapolis)	46,788
Allen (Fort Wayne)	18,800
Elkhart	<u>10,262</u>
Total	75,850

These three counties accounted for 29% of Nixon's total plurality. Nixon's 1968 success, then, really wasn't very concentrated in any one area. The population of the state and the voting inclinations make that effectively impossible.

In terms of vote contribution, the following counties are most significant:

	Total Votes	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Contribution	Cummulative
Marion	310,922	52.3	37.2	10.3	14.0	14.0
Lake	213,574	36.5	46.8	16.4	10.0	24.0
Allen	108,954	54.3	37.1	8.4	5.1	29.1
St. Joseph	106,864	44.1	44.4	11.2	5.0	34.1

Thirty-four percent of the state's total vote came from these four counties in 1968. Nixon carried two counties, Marion and Allen, lost Lake County by a wide margin and just about broke even in St. Joseph.

Nixon received 46.8% of the vote actually cast in these four counties, which is considered less than the 50.3% he garnered in the states as a whole. It also suggests a possible future deficit from these four counties.

Political Analysis

One of the most important considerations of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President is to insure a unified effort behind President Nixon. Internal struggles in the Party can do nothing but hurt the campaign. The Republican vote is in Indiana. We must provide a unified effort to get the President's vote out.

Another trouble spot for Nixon could be the Wallace voter. In 1968, Wallace received 8.4% in Allen, 10.3% in Marion, 11.2% in St. Joseph and 16.4% in Lake. The heavy Wallace vote in Lake comes from the large blue-collar population in that area. This would appear to be a basic Democratic vote that would swing back to the Democratic column if Wallace does not run.

The increasing Black population and greater Black participation in Marion and Lake may hold back the Nixon plurality. However, Major Lugar won an impressive percentage of the Black vote in his recent race in Indianapolis (Marion).

The youth vote certainly has to receive consideration. This is especially true in St. Joseph where South Bend is the home of Notre Dame. The campus is becoming increasingly more liberal. This vote could make a considerable difference.

One of the keys, it would appear, to a Nixon victory in Indiana would be to hold down the Democratic margins in both Lake and St. Joseph in an attempt to maintain Nixon's 43,302 total plurality in Marion, Lake, Allen and St. Joseph Counties.

Survey results indicate that the President is doing reasonably well in the southern part of the state. The approval is much better than expected in the Lake area. The northern part of the state around Fort Wayne is not giving the President the support that should be expected.

The Primary Election

Due to the uncontested nature of the Indiana Primary, our objective should be to recruit key personnel in the primary so that we will have a strong Nixon organization in the General Election.

Planned Activities

The Primary campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with the Indiana Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The recommendations were discussed in a meeting on March 4, 1972, attended by Will Hays, chairman of the Indiana Committee, L. Keith Bulen, Marion County chairman and Jim Neal, state G.O.P. chairman. All directors from the Washington Committee who are involved with relevant activities were also present.

At the time of the meeting, it was thought that Ashbrook would be in the Indiana Primary. Therefore, there were five areas of activity contemplated:

1. State Organizational Activity
2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers
3. Targeted Telephone Operation
4. Youth Campaign Activity
5. Targeted Direct Mail

The time schedule for the total operating plan is given in Tab B. The individual elements are discussed in detail below:

1. State Organizational Activity

The Indiana Committee has established a headquarters for the Primary and has been receiving buttons, brochures and bumper stickers. The primary will provide an opportunity to recruit key personnel and test them before the General Election campaign. Deadlines for selection of key personnel will be established by the Washington Committee and progress reports will be required.

Recommendation

That you approve the state organizational activities outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers

Well-known, pro-Administration speakers will visit the state on behalf of the President. The list of speakers scheduled at this time follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
April 19	Republican Women's Federation, Indianapolis	Mrs. Mitchell
April 22	Gridiron Dinner, Fort Wayne	Mr. Ruckelshaus

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
Open Date:		
April or May	Fort Wayne Press Club Luncheon, Fort Wayne	Sec. Connally (Invitation Pending)

Recommendation

That you approve the program for surrogate speakers outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Targeted Telephone Operation

The Indiana Committee expressed an interest in establishing a telephone operation in several counties. Due to the telephone operation commitments in other states and the present political situation in Indiana, we do not feel that it is practical to use a targeted telephone operation in the Indiana Primary.

Recommendation

That you agree that we should not use a targeted telephone operation.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

4. Youth Campaign Activity

Harry McNaught has been named youth chairman in Indiana. He is presently planning a limited registration effort for the primary and a more extensive drive for the General Election. The youth campaign will also be preparing for mock elections on Indiana campuses.

Recommendation

That you approve the youth campaign activities outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

5. Targeted Direct Mail

The Indiana Committee leadership requested a 135,000 household direct mail program for the primary. The mailing would be targeted in Marion and Allen Counties. Although Republican strength has eroded in Allen County, the President still runs very strong state-wide. In light of the present political situation, it would be difficult to justify the expenditure of \$24,000 for a 135,000 household mailing as an investment for the General Election.

Recommendation

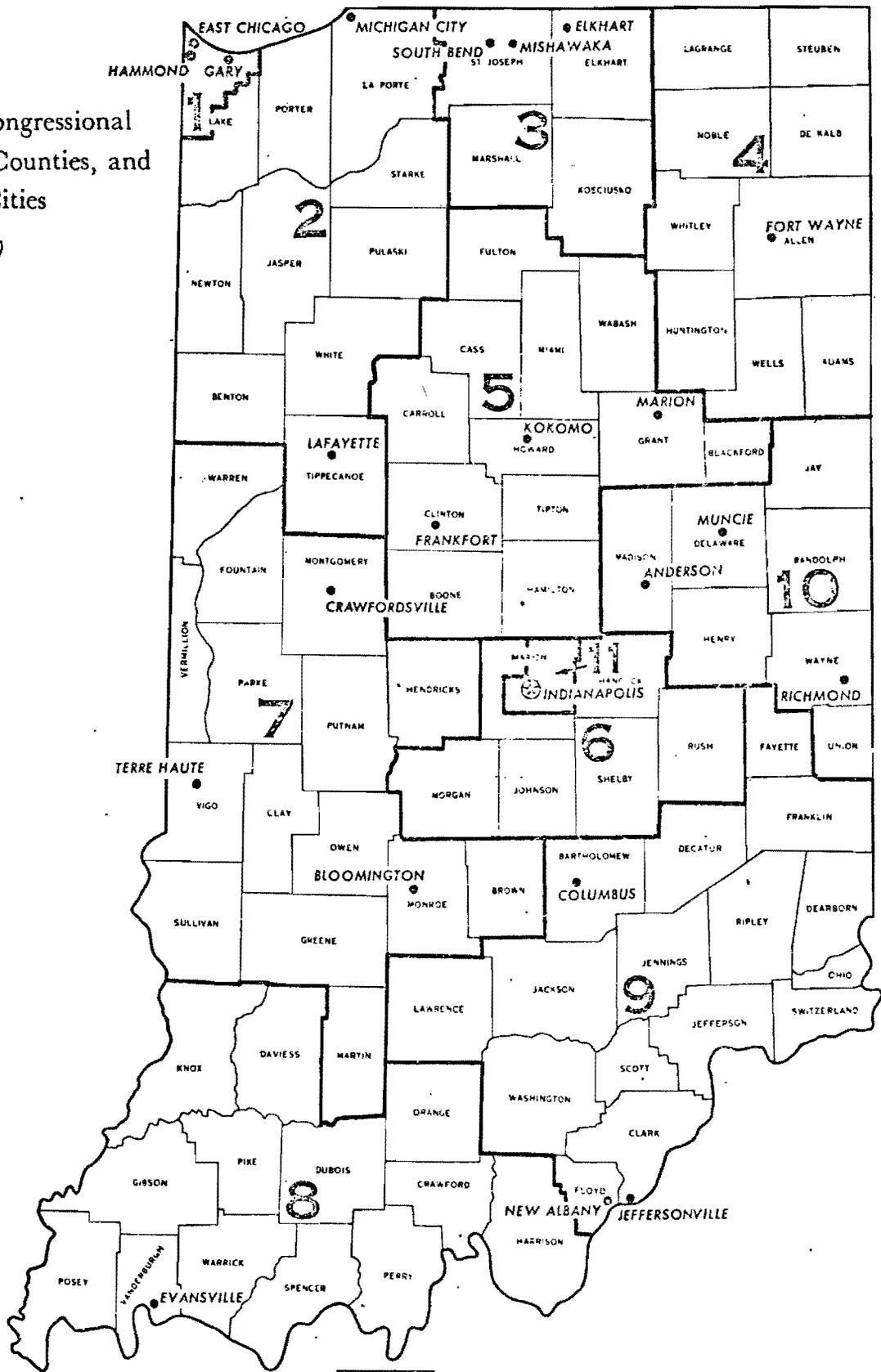
That you agree that we should not use a direct mail program in the Indiana Primary.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

INDIANA
Districts Established February 15, 1968

Map of Congressional
Districts, Counties, and
Selected Cities
(11 Districts)



U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

County with two or more Congressional Districts

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 15, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SUBJECT: Preliminary Operating Plan for the Michigan Primary

Michigan's Presidential Preference Primary will be held on May 16. Each candidate will receive a share of the 48 delegate votes in proportion to the primary vote. Delegates are bound until released.

General Background

In 1970 the population was 8,875,083, of which 4,059,807 were registered to vote. Of the total population, 26.6% is considered to be rural and 73.8% urban.

The SMSAs are as follows:

Ann Arbor	234,103
Bay City	117,339
Detroit	4,199,931
Flint	496,658
Grand Rapids	539,225
Jackson	143,274
Kalamazoo	201,550
Lansing	378,423
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights	157,426
Saginaw	219,743
Toledo, Ohio-Mich. (part)	118,479

Michigan has a Black population of 11%, which is centered in major southeastern cities, particularly Detroit. Total foreign stock is 24% with a significant number of Poles, Italians, Germans, Swedes and Eastern Europeans. Catholics comprise 27% of the population. The state has 60% blue-collar employment and is very union oriented.

Political Background

The 1970 U.S. Senate race in Michigan represented a continued upswing by Democrats and a low point for Republicans. Lenore Romney only polled 33% against incumbent Senator Philip Hart. Governor Milliken fared better in 1970, but he still won only with 50.6% of the vote.

McCl
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The 1970 election had little effect on the State Legislature. The Senate is divided evenly between 19 Republicans and 19 Democrats. Democrats control the House by a 58 to 52 margin.

Republicans control the Congressional delegation with a 12 to 7 margin over the Democrats. A list of the Congressional delegation follows: (Tab A)

<u>Congressmen</u>	<u>1970 %</u>	<u>1968 Presidential Vote *</u>		
		<u>RN</u>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>GCW</u>
1st John Conyers (D)	86.9	16,655	134,437	5,743
2nd Marvin Esch (R)	62.6	85,262	74,021	18,158
3rd Gary, E. Brown (R)	56.2	95,522	66,035	18,244
4th Edward Hutchinson (R)	61.9	90,599	55,196	20,422
5th Gerald Ford (R)	61.5	94,435	67,946	12,845
6th C. Chamberlain (R)	60.3	88,645	66,322	15,113
7th D.W. Riegler, Jr. (R)	70.3	72,814	80,373	26,620
8th James Harvey (R)	65.4	87,375	60,015	16,719
9th G. Vander Jagt (R)	64.6	100,798	61,539	14,763
10th E.A. Cederberg (R)	59.2	93,778	63,392	13,043
11th Philip Ruppe (R)	61.7	78,025	79,327	9,241
12th J.G. O'Hara (D)	76.9	63,837	115,903	29,634
13th Charles Diggs (D)	87.9	11,302	88,625	5,313
14th Lucien Nedzi (D)	70.0	59,930	96,737	20,717
15th William Ford (D)	80.0	59,930	93,045	27,022
16th John Dingell (D)	78.2	47,202	95,603	20,268
17th Martha Griffiths (D)	79.7	43,432	106,860	17,695
18th William Broomfield (R)	64.5	55,093	102,817	17,150
19th Jack McDonald (R)	58.5	100,114	84,889	23,238

* Districts subject to boundary changes for reapportionment. Figures are for '70 districts.

Senator Griffin is up for re-election in 1972. His race was, until recently, considered to be a very difficult, uphill battle. In the last several months, his position has improved considerably.

Voting Analysis

In relation to the 1968 Presidential vote, the Republican Party fell rather drastically throughout the state. In 1960, Kennedy received 1,687,269 (51%), Nixon received 1,620,428 (49%). In 1968, Humphrey carried the state by 222,417, receiving 1,593,082 or 48%, Nixon received

1,370,665 or 42%, and Wallace received 331,968 or 10%. Nixon's totals fell throughout the state in every county. Traditional Republican areas in the mid-section of the state and in the southwestern part of the state gave Nixon much smaller margins than in 1960. Meanwhile, in Wayne County (Detroit), Nixon received only 26.2% of the vote to 63.2% for Humphrey and 10.2% for Wallace. Humphrey received a plurality of 383,591 and 41% of his total vote in Wayne County. In Detroit proper, Nixon received only 20% of the vote to 71.2% for Humphrey. In Black districts of Detroit, Nixon lost by as much as 96%.

Political Analysis

The Democratic majorities in many of the major counties were so large in 1968 and the overall trend in Michigan so Democratic that the state looks very difficult for 1972. There are two areas on which the Committee should concentrate its efforts. An attempt should be made to reassert Republican loyalties in the out state areas. The other tactic would be to seek votes on the fringes of the major cities. Many of these voters are ethnic and quite conscious of the social issues.

The Primary Election

Until filing closes on March 17, it will not be established whether the President will have opposition in the Michigan Primary. Regardless, the primary will give the Committee for the Re-Election of the President an opportunity to organize for what will surely be an extremely difficult election.

Our objectives in the primary will be to recruit volunteers and build an organization for the General Election.

Planned Activities (Tab B)

1. State Organization: The Michigan Committee for the Re-Election of the President will establish headquarters for the primary. A volunteer recruitment effort will be required in order to develop a statewide organization. Deadlines for selection of the personnel will be established by the Washington-based political division.
2. Appearances in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers: Maximum use should be made of the surrogate speakers program as little other activity will be used in the Michigan Primary.

CONFIDENTIAL

-4-

The Political Division recommends the following additional activities:

1. A Volunteer Commitment Program in selected counties. (This would be contingent upon the availability of Republican lists and our standing in the polls.)
2. The use of appropriate voter bloc directors in an effort to build an organization.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
SUBJECT: Planning for the Primary States

You have set the guidelines that we will participate in all primaries where the President's name must appear on the ballot, or where the results of the primary are binding on the delegation for at least one vote at the convention. There are 17 such states in all. Plans have already been developed in detail for New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, California, Oregon, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan and Massachusetts.

The following review covers the remaining eight states. In most of the states, it is recommended that we use the primary as an opportunity to begin building a strong volunteer organization. In some states, the use of surrogate speakers to speak on behalf of the President is proposed. Other activities, such as the use of media, telephone operations or direct mail, are not generally recommended. However, direct mail will be held as a contingency in one state where delegate slates opposed to the President may receive organized support.

A summary of the recommendations by state, ranked in chronological order of primary, is shown in Tab A.

STATES WHERE THE PRESIDENT'S NAME IS ON THE BALLOT BY LAW

Tennessee (May 4) - There appears to be no serious problem in the Republican Party in Tennessee. Like most other border states, Nixon has great potential strength. As Tennessee has a Republican Governor and two Republican Senators who can campaign for the President, a high level campaign will not be necessary. A joint press conference with Senator Baker, Senator Brock and Governor Dunn endorsing the President would be appropriate.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Arrange joint press conference with Senator Baker, Senator Brock and Governor Dunn.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Nebraska (May 9) - Nebraska is the most Republican state in the nation. Nixon received his best percentage in 1960 (62%) and 1968 (60%) in Nebraska. With the improving farm situation, 1972 should be a good year for Nixon, too. Little primary activity is required.

Recommendation

Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

STATES WHERE THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY IS BINDING ON THE DELEGATION

North Carolina (May 6) - Any candidate receiving 15% or more in the primary will receive a proportionate share of the delegates. This should not present any real problems as only McCloskey is opposing the President. Ashbrook did not make the March 10 filing deadline.

The Democratic party has dominated politics in North Carolina in the past. The Governor, both Senators and seven of the eleven Congressmen are Democrats. This year, however, Republicans have a good chance of winning the Governor's race if the Republican primary is not divisive. The Presidential Preference Primary affords us an excellent opportunity to build an organization to provide a large Nixon margin which will benefit the gubernatorial candidate.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration Speakers

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

South Dakota (June 6) - Nixon did very well in South Dakota in both 1968 (53%) and 1960 (58%). However, the Republican Party has eroded considerably in the past several years. A battle is beginning to develop to determine who will run for Senator Mundt's seat. One of the most important issues in South Dakota has always been farm policy. This should always be kept in mind when sending Administration speakers into the state. Due to the fact that Republican Party strength is eroding, a strong organizational effort should be made in the Primary.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

New Mexico (June 6) - Delegates shall be allotted to the two top candidates in proportion to the vote received in the primary. McCloskey will also be on the ballot. Particular attention should be given to the U.S. Senate race. A strong Nixon effort will certainly improve our chances of taking a Democrat-held seat.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-election to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

STATES WHERE THERE IS AN ELECTION OF PLEDGED DELEGATE SLATES

Ohio (May 2) - We have worked closely with the state organization in the selection process to assure a strong delegation. No actual primary involvement is required in Ohio. However, the state Republican party is fractured between the Taft and Rhodes forces. All efforts should be made to build an organization that will not alienate either side. We should be alert to this deep split and avoid any activity that could be construed as favoritism.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

District of Columbia (May 2) - We will work closely with the party in delegation selection. No primary involvement is required.

Recommendation

No activity.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Rhode Island (May 23) - We have worked closely with the state organization in selecting a pledged delegate slate. Just as in Massachusetts, little activity will be required unless McCloskey forces attempt a protest campaign, even though McCloskey has withdrawn. A targeted direct mail campaign and Administration spokesmen should be held as a contingency.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building

a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Contingency plan to use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Contingency plan for targeted direct mail.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER



PROPOSED PRIMARY ACTIVITY

<u>Date</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Volunteer Organization</u>	<u>Spokesmen</u>	<u>Direct Mail</u>
May 2	Ohio	X	X	0
May 2	D. C.	0	0	0
May 4	Tennessee	X	0	0
May 6	North Carolina	X	X	0
May 9	Nebraska	X	0	0
May 23	Rhode Island	X	(C)	(C)
June 6	South Dakota	X	X	0
June 6	New Mexico	X	X	0

X - Activity

0 - No Activity

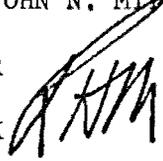
(C) - Hold as a contingency plan.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 16, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK 
SUBJECT: Review of the New Hampshire Primary Campaign

The Strategy Planning Group met last week to review and discuss the activities of the New Hampshire campaign for the purpose of gaining insight into the strengths and weaknesses of that performance. This memorandum summarizes the salient observations on each facet of the campaign.

Overall Objectives

There were three major political objectives which could be hoped for in the New Hampshire Primary campaign:

1. An overwhelming win for the President that would be so recognized by the press.
2. A victory decisive enough to force McCloskey out of the race.
3. An indecisive result on the Democratic side (although not within the control of our campaign activities).

Although there were some recognized shortcomings in our New Hampshire campaign, these must be viewed against the fact that all of our stated political objectives were realized.

Overall Planning

In general, the planning process did provide useful guidelines for the New Hampshire Primary. There was, however, insufficient planning lead time allowed for major activities of the campaign. In part, this was caused by the fact that key managers, such as those

for telephone and direct mail, did not join the Washington Committee until after the first of the year. Better coordination in the planning stage could have been achieved between Washington and the New Hampshire campaign.

The Strategy Meetings which we are now having between the Strategy Planning Group and the Re-Election Committee leadership of individual states have proven to be quite effective in developing coordination between the national and state levels. This planning technique had not been perfected at the time the New Hampshire plan was developed. As a result, the New Hampshire Committee, in several instances, did not fully realize the scope of various activities that were being proposed. They did not recruit enough key people to direct the various activities in the state, and an excessive management burden fell on Allan Walker.

As the campaign progressed, two distinct efforts evolved: the Washington-based efforts, primarily Youth activities and the telephone operations, and the New Hampshire-based activities directed by Allan Walker. There was not sufficient coordination between the two, and, as a result, neither one was as effective as it might have been. The situation can be rectified in the future by more thorough planning at the start and by conducting meetings on a regular basis between the political people and the program people when the campaign activities are in high gear.

State Organization

Although New Hampshire is a small state, there are several factions within the Republican Party which had to be taken into account in developing the State Re-Election Committee leadership. For that reason, Lane Dwinell, an elder statesman of the party with close ties to no faction, was chosen as the Chairman, and Allan Walker, a relative newcomer to politics, was chosen as Executive Director.

It was generally agreed that Governor Dwinell did a fine job as spokesman for the Committee and as liaison with important political people in the state. Allan Walker devoted a great deal of personal effort to managing the campaign but met with a variety of operating difficulties along the way. Many of these difficulties stemmed from the fact that Allan's style was to retain all line responsibility directly to himself rather than to recruit capable people and

delegate meaningful portions of the job to them. Thus, at one stage, he was taking calls from several functional directors in Washington at the same time. Later on, a conscientious effort was made to consolidate the number of calls made from Washington to New Hampshire, and Allan was persuaded to delegate some of his responsibilities to others in the New Hampshire organization.

Even so, the coordination with Washington-based activities never reached the level which will be necessary for important states in the general campaign. As the state organization was built, there was not sufficient opportunity for the involvement of representatives of the various factions within the state. Therefore, when volunteers were needed for the telephone operation and other activities, many were not immediately available because they had no ready access to the Committee through their normal political leaders. Several weeks were lost while liaison was established with some of these factions.

In addition, Senator Cotton, Congressman Wyman and Congressman Cleveland were not involved in the campaign at an early date, and some political leaders who have been associated with their campaigns did not become fully involved in the President's effort.

Delegation Selection

The delegate selection resulted in a better balanced slate than had ever before been sent to the Convention from New Hampshire. They included 4 women and a good representation of young people. Most important, all pledged delegates were elected. On the negative side, the delegates did not involve themselves actively or visibly in the campaign.

Budget and Fund Raising

The budget which was forecast by the New Hampshire Committee was unrealistically low. There probably should have been more technical help from Washington to assure that the true operating expenses would be accurately anticipated.

In the early weeks of the campaign, there were significant delays in transferring funds from Washington to the New Hampshire Committee. This caused problems in meeting payrolls and operating

expenses and necessitated large cash advances from the personal funds of Lane Dwinell and Allan Walker.

The fund raising activities in New Hampshire were moderately successful, particularly in a state which traditionally views the Presidential Primary as a source of income. The financial objective of the dinner with Rogers Morton was substantially reduced, and, as a result, it was a successful political event with revenues more than covering the costs involved.

As of March 10, \$7,730 was collected as a result of a low-key appeal for funds in a letter which was sent out primarily for the purpose of asking for votes.

A breakdown of the expenses of the New Hampshire Primary follows:

Spokesmen Resources	\$43,000
Youth	5,000
Direct Mail	56,000
Field Operations	34,850
Telephone Operation	33,700
Advertising	56,500

Advertising

Advertising was limited to newspapers and radio. The decision to maintain the image of a low-profile campaign without television, conducted primarily by a grass-roots effort within the state, proved to be the correct course of action. Moreover, the theme of the advertising was successful in that it presented a positive image of the President without providing a target for the Democrats to attack.

Surrogate Speakers

There is no substitute for the presence of the candidate in the states, particularly in the case of New Hampshire where voters are

used to the presence of those seeking the Presidential nomination. However, the participation of important political speakers appearing in behalf of the President went far toward gaining the publicity and voter attention which, otherwise, would have gone to other contenders by default.

Some very good techniques were developed for making maximum use of speakers while they were in the state. They were programmed for several events in one day, including major speaking engagements, press conferences, walking appearances through towns, etc. The program was difficult to coordinate from the New Hampshire point of view, largely because of the time required to advance each of the speaking engagements. As a result of this experience, it will be recommended that a full-time advance man from the Washington Committee be placed in each important primary state to coordinate the series of visits of the surrogate speakers. It would be the job of this person to achieve coordination with the local people for the events and to otherwise provide liaison between various activities in the state and the Washington Committee.

The Appreciation Day activities, for which several speakers were brought into the state in one large, coordinated event, had substantial impact within the state. Each of the speakers gained a great deal of voter and media attention by his day-long activities. It may have been that the climaxing rally in the evening featured too many of these speakers. However, it was the severe snowstorm during the day which greatly reduced the crowd that was most responsible for any negative aspects of that event.

Some thought will be given to involving more youth-oriented entertainment at future rallies.

Direct Mail

The direct mail was thought to have been well-timed and well-executed to have the best possible effect on the campaign. The relatively concise format of our letters contrasted favorably with the several-page letters which were sent by Ashbrook.

Telephone Operation

The telephone operation had a positive effect on the campaign, both by its contact with large numbers of voters and by its involvement of many volunteers throughout the state. It was put into operation with a shorter lead time than would have been desirable, and, therefore, caused considerable stress, both on Nancy Brataas who directed the operation and on Allan Walker. Because the scope of the operation had not been fully appreciated during the early planning, many of the key people who had originally been assigned other jobs had to be utilized. In the end, however, it achieved the involvement of a large number of people who had not previously participated in a political campaign and found it to be a rewarding experience.

One of the early deficiencies in the telephone campaign which caused difficulty later on was that the delegated state telephone chairman was not technically capable of directing the planned activities. We feel that in the key states it will be necessary for Nancy Brataas to participate with each state chairman in the selection of the director of telephone operations.

Press Relations

Substantial difficulties were experienced in this area because the individual responsible for communications in New Hampshire did not perform well. The experience pointed out clearly the absolute necessity of selecting a top-quality person for this job in each state organization. He must be able to handle all public relations and communications activities well in a technical sense, but, in addition, have the judgment to know when to seek advice from Washington on what line to take regarding issues and political positions throughout the campaign. We feel that Van Shumway should be actively involved with the state chairmen in selecting the public relations director of each key state.

Youth

The objectives of the Youth Campaign were to supply volunteers to other campaign activities within the state, such as telephone and headquarters operations and door-to-door canvassing, and to attract coverage by the media of young people supporting the President. Those objectives were realized; in particular, the favorable mock

election results on several college campuses had a very positive effect.

On the negative side, the Youth Campaign did not meet its objective on the initial plan for obtaining enough signatures from first-time voters to put the President on the ballot. Further, there was less coordination than desirable between the youth activities and those of Allan Walker's organization.

Volunteer Activities

The volunteer activities as programmed to be directed by the state co-chairman never became a factor in the campaign. This was a direct result of the fact that the person selected to be co-chairman turned out to be ineffective in that role. Volunteers were recruited directly by the activities requiring their services, such as the telephone operation.

Acknowledgement by the President

By Friday night, the leadership for the New Hampshire campaign had received no communication from the President acknowledging the favorable results of the primary election. A letter was sent out by the President on Thursday, which probably arrived Saturday morning. However, by that time, much of the campaign organization had been disbanded and many had been disappointed by no official word from Washington. A telephone call or a much more rapidly delivered letter would have a much greater effect on the New Hampshire organization.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 14, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Planning for the Primary States

You have set the guidelines that we will participate in all primaries where the President's name must appear on the ballot, or where the results of the primary are binding on the delegation for at least one vote at the convention. There are 17 such states in all. Plans have already been developed in detail for New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin. After meeting with the respective State Re-Election Committee leadership, separate plans will be submitted for California, Oregon, Indiana, Maryland and Michigan.

The following review covers the remaining nine states. In most of the states, it is recommended that we use the primary as an opportunity to begin building a strong volunteer organization. In some states, the use of surrogate speakers to speak on behalf of the President is proposed. Other activities, such as the use of media, telephone operations or direct mail, are not generally recommended. However, direct mail will be held as a contingency in two states where delegate slates opposed to the President may receive organized support.

A summary of the recommendations by state, ranked in chronological order of primary, is shown in Tab A.

STATES WHERE THE PRESIDENT'S NAME IS ON THE BALLOT BY LAW

Tennessee (May 4) - There is no serious problem in the Republican party in Tennessee. Like most other border states, Nixon has great potential strength. As Tennessee has a Republican Governor and two Republican Senators who can campaign for the President, a high level campaign will not be necessary. A joint press conference with Senator Baker, Senator Brock and Governor Dunn endorsing the President would be appropriate.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Arrange joint press conference with Senator Baker, Senator Brock and Governor Dunn.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Nebraska (May 9) - Nebraska is the most Republican state in the nation. Nixon received his best percentage in 1960 (62%) and 1968 (60%) in Nebraska. With the improving farm situation, 1972 should be a good year for Nixon, too. Little primary activity is required.

Recommendation

Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

STATES WHERE THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY IS BINDING ON THE DELEGATION

North Carolina (May 6) - Any candidate receiving 15% or more in the primary will receive a proportionate share of the delegates. This should not present any real problems as only McCloskey is opposing the President. Ashbrook did not make the March 10 filing deadline.

The Democratic party has dominated politics in North Carolina in the past. The Governor, both Senators and seven of the eleven Congressmen are Democrats. This year, however, Republicans have a good chance of winning the Governor's race if the Republican primary is not divisive. The Presidential Preference Primary affords us an excellent opportunity to build an organization to provide a large Nixon margin which will benefit the gubernatorial candidate.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

South Dakota (June 6) - Nixon did very well in South Dakota in both 1968 (53%) and 1960 (58%). However, the Republican party has eroded considerably in the past several years. A battle is beginning to develop to determine who will run for Senator Mundt's seat. One of the most important issues in South Dakota has always been farm policy. This should always be kept in mind when sending Administration speakers into the state. Due to the fact that Republican party strength is eroding, a strong organizational effort should be made in the primary.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

New Mexico (June 6) - Delegates shall be allotted to the two top candidates in proportion to the vote received in the primary. McCloskey is on the ballot. Ashbrook has not filed yet but is considering the possibility of running in New Mexico. Particular attention should be given the U.S. Senate race. A strong Nixon effort will certainly improve our chances of taking a Democrat-held Senate seat.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

STATES WHERE THERE IS AN ELECTION OF PLEDGED DELEGATE SLATES

Massachusetts (April 25) - Under a new law, the Presidential contender polling the most support in each of the state's 12 Congressional districts will gain control of the elected delegation from the district, no matter how he fares in the statewide contest.

We have worked closely with the state organization in the selection process to assure a strong delegation. Little activity will be required unless McCloskey's residual forces surface in a strong effort to embarrass the President. In an effort to avoid this type of situation, we should hold targeted direct mail and Administration spokesmen as contingencies.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Contingency plan to use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Contingency plan for targeted direct mail.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Ohio (May 2) - We have worked closely with the state organization in the selection process to assure a strong delegation. No actual primary involvement is required in Ohio. However, the state Republican party is fractured between the Taft and Rhodes forces. All efforts should be made to build an organization that will not alienate either side. We should be alert to this deep split and avoid any activity that could be construed as favoritism.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

District of Columbia (May 2) - We will work closely with the party in delegation selection. No primary involvement is required.

Recommendation

No activity.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Rhode Island (May 23) - We have worked closely with the state organization in selecting a pledged delegate slate. Just as in Massachusetts, little activity will be required unless McCloskey forces attempt a protest campaign, even though McCloskey has withdrawn. A targeted direct mail campaign and Administration spokesmen should be held as a contingency.

Recommendations

1. Encourage the State Re-Election Committee to begin building

a volunteer organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Contingency plan to use Administration spokesmen.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

• 3. Contingency plan for targeted direct mail.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

PROPOSED PRIMARY ACTIVITY

<u>Date</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Volunteer Organization</u>	<u>Spokesmen</u>	<u>Direct Mail</u>
April 25	Massachusetts	X	(C)	(C)
May 2	Ohio	X	X	0
May 2	D.C.	0	0	0
May 4	Tennessee	X	0	0
May 6	North Carolina	X	X	0
May 9	Nebraska	X	0	0
May 23	Rhode Island	X	(C)	(C)
June 6	South Dakota	X	X	0
June 6	New Mexico	X	X	0

X - Activity

0 - No Activity

(C) - Hold as a contingency plan

Magruder, Malek, LaRue, Huter, Marik, Neff, Shumway,
Kaupinen, Morgan, Evans, Porter, Riets, Fleming
Bill Novelli (Bailey's)

2/26

California

JSM

Poll - not one of our strongest
states, Muskie does quite well
as does EMK

- more probis in So Cal than
usual due to aerospace +
it wing discontent

- approval rating of elected
officers have fallen - RR etc

Ashbrook definitely in beef

Def

of \$

McCl - probably not in P
primary - could run
in his Cong + P primary
beef no people or \$

Riets

- ① Voter Regis drive - 12 days
begin 3/15 - LA cnty + SD cnts
- ② 6 mil unregis voters
- ③ St Party will not do adequate
job but Riets \$50,000
special fund.

Keyn - Nixon camp has taken
over regis thro thru party cnty org's
- some unhappy people
② Must regis Rep who support Klor no

③ CRA + UROC will not do
separate Registerive
JSM④ Emphasize So Calif in primary
week w/ Ashbrook, votes
there, + we have powers

Key

- Reagan camp in 1970 - not
a good indicator -
- There is no existing Organization

Media

Bill Novelli

- Key opposed to heavy TV
or media, rather
\$ into org

- maybe a Sp TV plan

No spe max by Cal Cent Ga
unneeded max. 1,360 - media
10¢ per voter

Wide level of camp = 650,000
Minimum level

- Where # 3 of Object - hi visibility
to protect ag/further Dem lead

May

ad - package like NH - news
radio, option but prefer
no TV w/ Rec's for Target
Key groups Spun-Sp, blacks, Young

Madd-
why not
Bailey

Polziger - Organization

400,000 - to primary.
800,000 - to November.
100 paid people -

St - 5 Exec 3 Field 6

Imm 1 Com 10

Reg 8 Reg 7-13

450,000 40-46 people - Mar-Je
Thru fe - 438,000 - everything
Thru Nov - 889,000 - everything
1/2 for people + money |
1/2 for media

Direct Mail

- Very targeted to Chi Rep. precinct plus voter blues
- Use voter regis lists + only to Reps
keep reservations regarding target to Jewish vote.
- NH + Fla - better chance of getting \$ back than bodies when dir mail
- P'tial commil program.
- Who to sign - in to Cal - not RR;
if to go Cal RR;

* Telephone - Nancy Brataas?

Sum Speakers

Lyn - diversified at so need
diverse speakers

- ① Non-partisan groups
Town Hall, Commonwealth
- ② Who, backup, notice
- ③ Zan Thompson - no
words for Lyn trouble
w/ Finch - Klein.

Mall - Voter Bloc activities
plan in Cal

Hutar - women's groups in Cal.

S.D. real probs - back fu/commit
screwing us

A G concerned

Glens uptight on \$

F prob - Cole / IBM / Malek

Cole, Colson, Gifford, Malek - Mon's
regular Exec Review of Camp.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 22, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: Planning for the Primary States

You have set the guidelines that we will participate in all primaries where the President's name must appear on the ballot, or where the results of the primary are binding on the delegation for at least one vote at the convention. There are 17 such states in all. Plans have already been developed in detail for New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin.

The following review covers the remaining 14 states. After you have indicated your decision on the strategy proposed for each state, we will proceed to develop the plans in more detail.

For each state, five possible areas of activity are reviewed: media advertising, direct mail, telephone operations, volunteer organization and surrogate speakers. The recommendations are indicated by

- X activity recommended
- 0 no activity
- (C) hold as a contingency plan in the event that the President is challenged strongly by one or both of the Republican contenders. (The recommendations have been made on the assumption that after Wisconsin, McCloskey and Ashbrook will not continue to mount strong campaigns in other states.)

In most states some volunteer organization activity is recommended. If the President is not strongly challenged, it might be confined to a few areas of the state. The important consideration is that the Primary should be used as an opportunity to test the ability of key state people to perform in a campaign situation.

A summary of the recommendations by state, ranked in chronological order of primary is shown in Tab A.

STATES WHERE THE PRESIDENT'S NAME IS ON THE BALLOT BY LAW

Tennessee (May 4) - There is no serious problem in the Republican party in Tennessee. Like most other border states, Nixon has great potential strength. As Tennessee has a Republican Governor and two Republican Senators who can campaign for the President, a high level campaign will not be necessary.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail 0 Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen 0

Nebraska (May 9) -- Nebraska is the most Republican state in the nation. Nixon received his best percentage in 1960 (62%) and 1968 (60%) in Nebraska.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail 0 Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

- Atg
- VP

Maryland (May 16) - Many people write off Maryland as a probable loser for Nixon. The President, however, only lost Maryland by 2% in 1968. Serious attention should be given to the primary in preparation for the general election campaign. Maryland's two Republican Senators should offer a great deal of assistance as they both have their own constituency. Both Mathias and Beall should be mobilized, from pre-primary to Election Day, in an effort to encourage Maryland voters to vote for the President.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail X Telephone X Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

McCall
not to
run per
Flannery

Oregon (May 23) - Oregon has a Republican Governor and two Republican Senators. However, the relationship between these office holders has not been harmonious. Governor McCall has threatened to run against Senator Hatfield in the Republican Primary. Regardless of whether McCall runs, a significant split in the party is apparent. The Oregon

Wendell Wyatt

Primary will also receive national attention because Senator Kennedy's name will be on the ballot.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail (C) Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

STATES WHERE THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY IS BINDING ON THE DELEGATION

Indiana (May 2) - A high level campaign should not be required to assure victory for the President. However, the Republican party is badly split. Our primary activity should be geared toward building a strong organization for the General Election.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail (C) Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

North Carolina (May 6) - Any candidate receiving 15% or more in the primary will receive a proportionate share of the delegates. This factor would make the North Carolina primary attractive to the Ashbrook forces.

The Democratic party has dominated politics in North Carolina in the past. The Governor, both Senators and seven of the eleven Congressmen are Democrats. This year, however, Republicans have a good chance of winning the Governor's race if the Republican primary is not divisive. The Presidential Preference Primary affords us an excellent opportunity to build an organization to provide a large Nixon margin which will benefit the gubernatorial candidate.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail (C) Telephone (C) Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

Michigan (This primary was just approved and will be held on May 16. Each candidate will receive a share of the delegate votes in proportion to the primary vote.) As Michigan is considered an anti-Nixon state, the primary may be appealing to McCloskey forces. Regardless of our effort in the primary, it would be unlikely that Nixon could carry the

*Have
Bulkin
Read*

*- Gardner v.
Holshouser
for Gov -
very divisive*

*- Spokesmen
- Dir Mail*

*Not all
state
some
newsp
ads*

state in the General Election.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail (C) Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

South Dakota (June 6) - Nixon did very well in South Dakota in both 1968 (53%) and June (58%). However, the Republican party has eroded considerably in the past several years. A battle is beginning to develop to determine who will run for Senator Mundt's seat. One of the most important issues in South Dakota has always been farm policy. This should always be kept in mind when sending Administration speakers into South Dakota. Due to the fact that Republican party strength is eroding, a strong organizational effort should be made in the primary.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail 0 Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

New Mexico (June 6) - Delegates shall be allotted to the two top candidates in proportion to the vote received in the primary.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail 0 Television 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

STATES WHERE THERE IS AN ELECTION OF PLEDGED DELEGATE SLATES

Massachusetts (April 25) - We will work closely with the state organization in selecting the delegates to assure a strong delegation. No actual primary involvement is required unless McCloskey enters the race. The President is unlikely to carry the state in the General Election.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail (C) Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

*Special
st. u.
special
org. to
run
by natl
com. Feb-68*

Ohio (May 2) - We will work closely with the state organization in selecting the delegates to guarantee success in the election. No actual primary involvement is required in Ohio. However, the Republican party in Ohio is fractured between the Taft and Rhodes forces. All efforts should be made to build an organization that will not alienate either side. We should be alert to this deep split and avoid any activity that could be construed as favoritism.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail 0 Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

District of Columbia (May 2) - We will work closely with the party in delegation selection. No primary involvement is required.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail 0 Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization 0 Spokesmen 0

Added

Rhode Island (May 23) - We will work closely with the state organization in selecting a pledged delegate slate. No actual primary involvement is necessary unless McCloskey enters. As the President received only 32% in 1968 and 34% in 1960, there is very little hope for Rhode Island in the General Election.

Recommendation

Media 0 Direct Mail (C) Telephone 0 Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

California (June 6) - We have worked closely with the state organization in selecting the delegates in order to guarantee a representative group at the convention. California's 45 electoral votes could well be the key to the re-election of the President. Nixon won California by 3.1% in 1968 and by less than 1% in 1960. He lost the Governor's race to Pat Brown in 1962. The southern section of the state is where Republicans must get their vote. This area has a high degree of technological and white collar employment. Therefore, it was hit the hardest by the white collar recessions of recent years. California is the state where Muskie forces claim they will beat Nixon. The Committee for the Re-election of the President should utilize all of its resources, beginning in the primary, to win California. If we do not show this high degree of visibility in the primary and an impressive Democrat wins in California, we will be hard pressed to close the gap created between the highly visible Democrat who has momentum, and the President.

Recommendation

Media X Direct Mail X Telephone X Volunteer Organization X Spokesmen X

JEB S. MAGRUDER



PROPOSED PRIMARY ACTIVITY

=====

Date	State	Media	Direct Mail	Telephone	Volunteer Organization	Spokesmen
Apr 25	Mass.	0	(C)	0	X	X
May 2	Indiana	0	(C)	0	X	X
May 2	Ohio	0	0	0	X	X
May 2	Dist. of Col	0	0	0	X	0
May 4	Tennessee	0	0	0	0	0
May 6	No. Carolina	0	(C)	(C)	X	X
May 9	Nebraska	0	0	0	X	X
May 16	Maryland	0	0	X	X	X
May 16	Michigan	0	(C)	0	X	X
May 23	Rhode Island	0	(C)	0	X	X
May 23	Oregon	0	(C)	0	X	X
June 6	So. Dakota	0	0	0	X	X
June 6	California	X	X	X	X	X
June 6	N. Mexico	0	0	0	X	X

X - activity

0 - no activity

(C) - hold as a contingency plan

MEETING OF THE STRATEGY PLANNING GROUP

February 26, 1972

The attached draft plan for the California Primary has been prepared to serve as an agenda for this planning meeting. It reflects the scope of the campaign activities which are being contemplated. However, detailed plans and commitments have not yet been developed by the State Re-election Committee or by the directors of functional activities in Washington. Therefore, the events on the attached operating schedule are tentative and are intended only to serve as a basis for the discussions today.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 25, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

(DRAFT)

SUBJECT: Preliminary Operating Plan for the California Primary

The California Primary election will be held on June 6, 1972. It is a state where there is an election of a pledged delegate slate. From all indications, the President will have opposition in the Republican Primary. As in the past, the American public will watch both the Democratic and Republican Primaries with a great deal of interest. Most important, California, with its 45 electoral votes, is often considered the key to the re-election of the President.

*ask
me ll?*

Background

Both the present political situation in California and past voting patterns indicate that California would be rated as a toss-up for the general election. President Nixon won California by 3.1% in 1968, lost to Pat Brown in 1962, and won by less than 1% in 1960.

*'68 +3.1
'60 >1*

The election of 1970 proved to be as contradictory and confusing as California generally is. The defeat of incumbent Senator George Murphy left California with two Democratic Senators. Governor Reagan, however, was re-elected with 52.8% of the vote. One of the most significant losses suffered by the Republicans was the loss of both Houses in the State Assembly. Democrats now control the Senate by a 21 to 19 margin and the House by a 43 to 37 margin. Republicans did hold the line on the Congressional races and even picked up a vacant seat, giving the Democrats a 20 to 18 edge.

Due to the confusing outcome of the election of 1970, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions. The voting trend in the U.S. Senate races (Tab A) has fallen drastically for Republicans. Senator Kuchel achieved a recent high point in 1960 with 56.5% of the vote for the Republicans. This Republican percentage has decreased steadily to a low point in 1970 when Senator Murphy received only 44.3%.

Although there has also been a decline in the Republican vote for Governor, it has not been so severe as the Senate vote. Governor Reagan dropped from 57.6% in 1966 to 52.8% in 1970.

Factors other than trends and percentages must be considered in analyzing California politics. California's political climate has been one of

throwing the "ins" out. Only three of nine incumbent Senators have been re-elected since World War II. The defeat of the ultra-conservative Max Rafferty in 1968 did not really reflect a weakening of the Republican Party because he was simply too far to the right and not a particularly strong candidate. Likewise, in the 1970 race, Senator Murphy had been tainted with a scandal and could not be considered a highly desirable candidate. In the case of Governor Reagan, it would have been very difficult to maintain as high a percentage as he achieved in his first election in 1966.

Another major factor in the 1970 election was unemployment. This is an especially difficult problem for Republicans as it has been a white-collar recession that has affected Republicans employed in the space industry and related businesses. This remains a key issue in 1972 with the re-election of the President.

Demographic and Voting Analysis

California's population in 1970 was 19,696,840. It is the largest state in the nation in terms of population. The state is 7% Black, 9% Mexican and Spanish, 2% Oriental. Total foreign stock is 25%, with Mexicans 4%, Germans 2%, Canadians 2%, British 2%, Italians 2%, being the largest ethnic groups.

In political terms, California is very much a North versus South state. The southern section of the state (Tab C), which is the larger of the two, tends to be very conservative, while the northern portion tends to be rather liberal. Orange and San Diego counties in the south, for example, were the only two heavily populated counties in the country that gave Goldwater a plurality in 1964. The southern part of the state has been described as the "Sun Belt State", similar politically to Southern Florida and Central Texas. It was settled by "Bible Belt types" and has taken on that political mold. San Francisco, on the other hand, being the center of liberalism and Democratic strength in California, is also the headquarters for many far left organizations, such as the Black Panthers. The Central Valley of the state, generally agricultural and desert, was settled from Oklahoma plains during the Dust Bowl Era.

Nixon's greatest vote totals in 1968 came out of Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, Santa Clara and Alameda counties. The President received 2,159,656 votes from these five counties, or 62.3% of his total California vote (Tab D).

Humphrey's best counties were northern counties of San Francisco (plurality - 76,539), Alameda (66,260), Sacramento (21,592), Santa

Clara (10,065). These four best Humphrey counties, in terms of raw vote, gave Humphrey a total plurality of 174,456 which is only 8,000 more than the plurality given Nixon from Orange County alone.

Wallace received 6.7% of the total vote in 1968. His vote appears to have come most heavily, percentage wise, from that area of the state north of Sacramento. This would make it appear that the Wallace vote probably helped Nixon in 1968. A recent field poll in California indicates that most of the vote which Wallace now receives in three-man head-to-head contests, would go to the Democrat in a two-man race.

The conventional wisdom of the Republican politicians is that one must get large portions of the vote downstate to offset the upstate margins of the Democrats. In 1968 the Presidential contest followed that pattern. Nixon carried Southern California by about 376,000 votes, lost Northern California by about 143,000 votes and lost the Central Valley by about 9,000 votes (Tab C).

The Primary Election

At this time it is not clear who the President will face in the Republican primary. Ashbrook looks as if he will be one Republican contender. Almost all the Democratic contenders will be in the California primary.

Objectives of the Primary Campaign

As California is a key state for the re-election of the President, it is vital that we work toward the following three objectives in the primary:

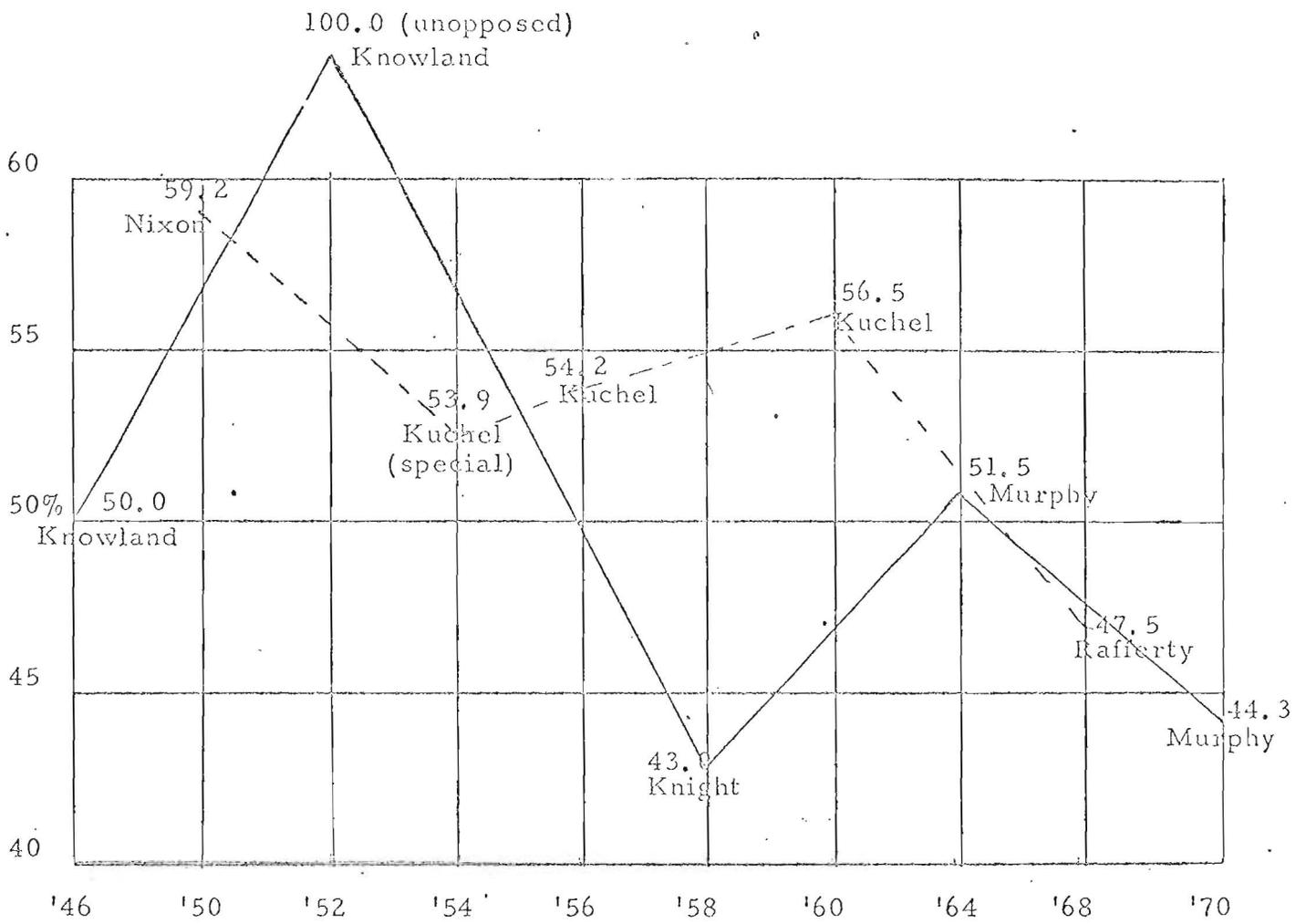
1. Defeat any Republican opposition by a large margin and still not split the Republican Party.
2. Build and ~~utilize~~^{test} a large cadre of volunteers in the primary in order to have the personnel required for a general election effort.
3. Conduct an active and highly visible campaign so that a gap will not occur between Nixon and the winner of a highly publicized Democratic primary, who will possibly have a great deal of momentum.

The question →

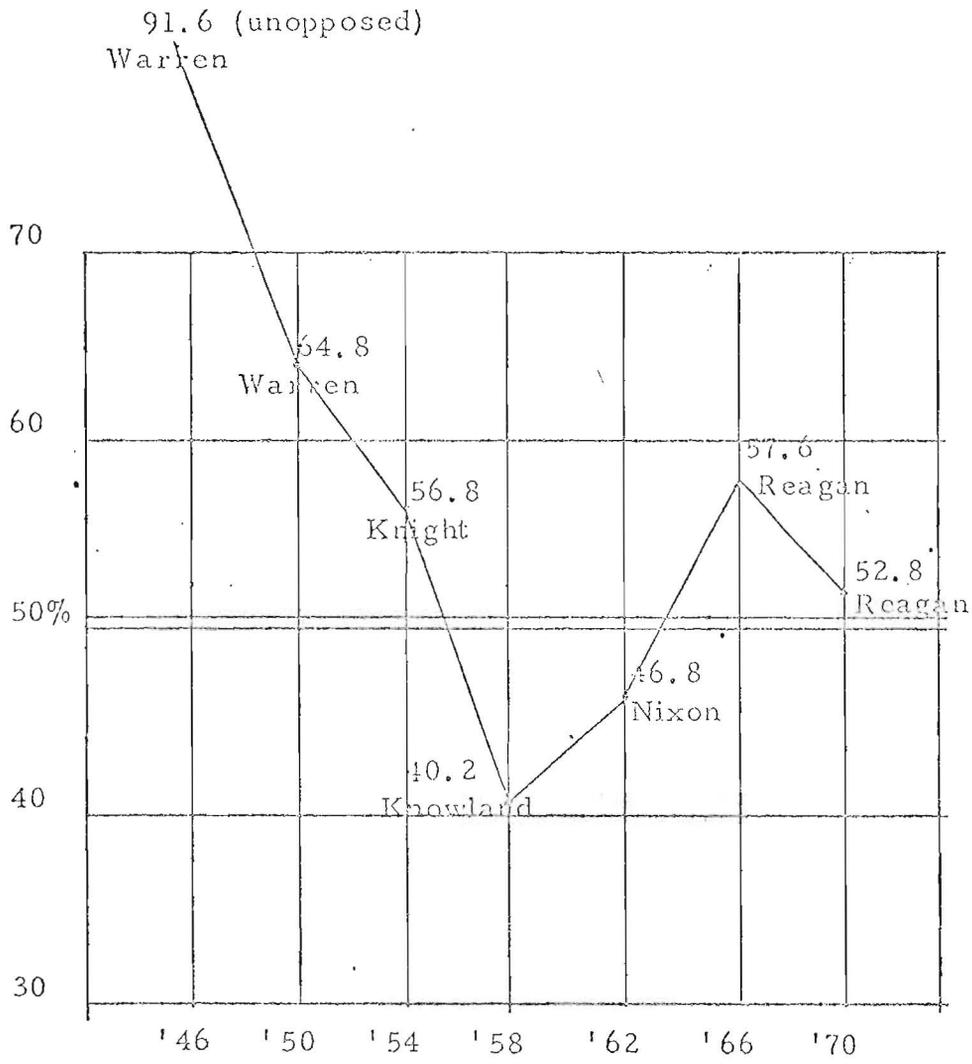
Planned Activities

1. State Organization: The California Committee for the Re-election of the President will coordinate all of the activities in the state. They will establish headquarters and attract volunteers in the primary, who will be instrumental in building an organization for the General Election. The Primary will also allow the State Organization to test its key people before the November election effort.
- ✓ 2. Media Advertising: TV, Radio, Newspapers
3. Direct Mail: It is the present thinking that there would be a target mailing into Republican areas. The targeting program will be coordinated with the state organization. The direct mail program would probably consist of two pieces. The first would be a personalized computer letter that would convey a message to persuade the voter to vote for Nixon. The second would be a get-out-the-vote mailing designed to increase the Nixon turnout at the polls.
4. Appearances in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers
5. Voter Registration by the Youth Campaign: This program is already under way and will extend past the primary in order to register Nixon supporters for the General Election.
6. Telephone Operation: The telephone operation would be centered in targeted areas and would be run by the California organization. It would identify the favorable Nixon vote via a telephone canvass and turn out the Nixon vote by recalling all of the favorables to remind them to vote. Technical assistance and advice will be available from Washington.

CALIFORNIA U. S. SENATE RACE



CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR'S RACE



Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities TAB C

(38 Districts)

(1968 VOTE TOTALS IN THOUSANDS)

STATEWIDE RESULTS

NIXON	3,468	(49%)
HUMPHREY	3,244	(44%)
WALLACE	487	(7%)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
(27% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON	830	(43%)
HUMPHREY	973	(50%)
WALLACE	132	(7%)

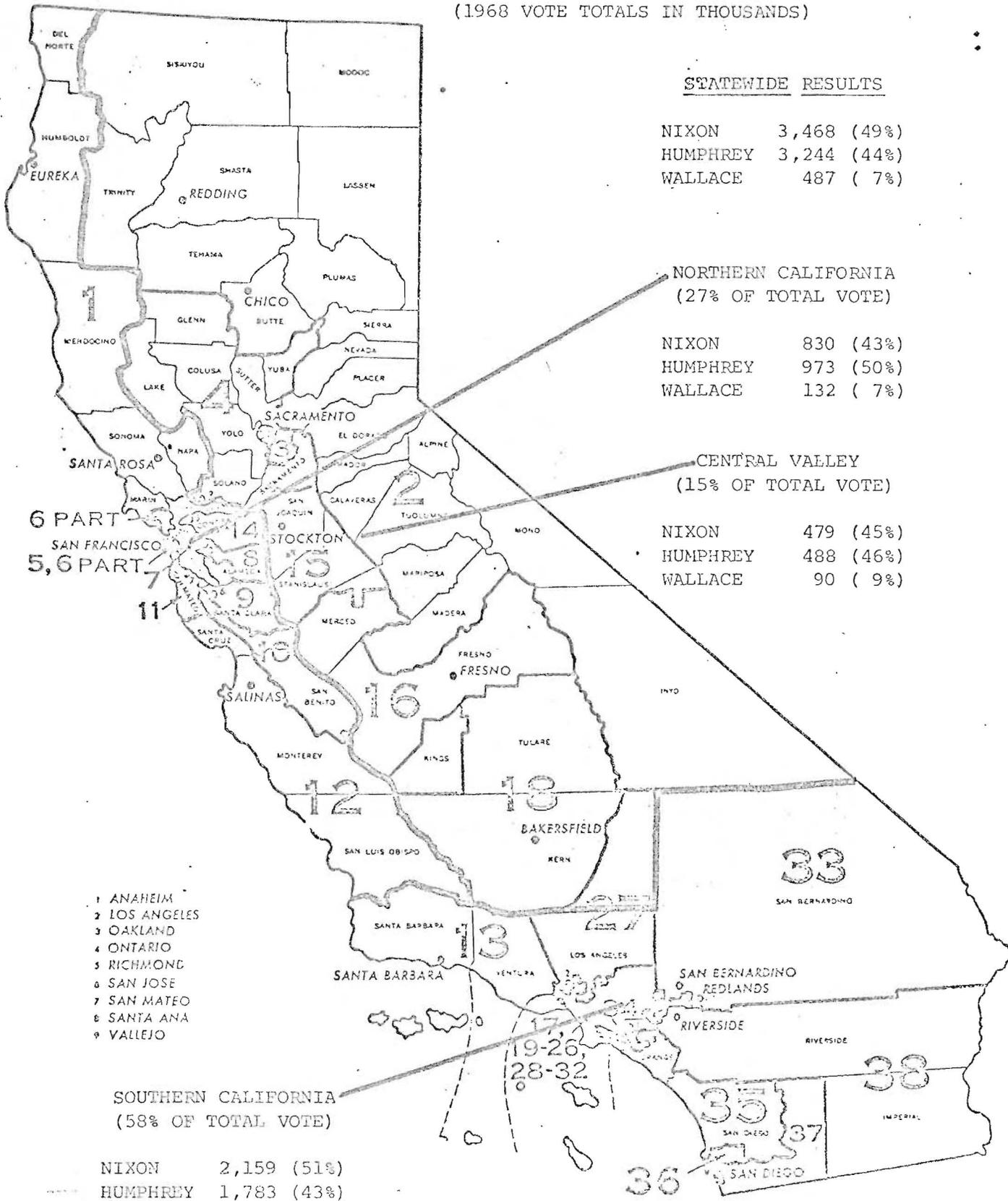
CENTRAL VALLEY
(15% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON	479	(45%)
HUMPHREY	488	(46%)
WALLACE	90	(9%)

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
(58% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON	2,159	(51%)
HUMPHREY	1,783	(43%)
WALLACE	265	(6%)

- 1 ANAHEIM
- 2 LOS ANGELES
- 3 OAKLAND
- 4 ONTARIO
- 5 RICHMOND
- 6 SAN JOSE
- 7 SAN MATEO
- 8 SANTA ANA
- 9 VALLEJO



1968 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(California Counties Providing the Largest Number of Votes for Richard Nixon)

COUNTY	<u>CANDIDATES</u>			<u>PLURALITY</u>
	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	
Los Angeles *	1,266,480 (47.6%)	1,223,251 (46.0%)	151,050 (5.7%)	43,229 (R)
Orange	314,905 (63.1%)	148,869 (29.9%)	33,034 (6.6%)	166,036 (R)
San Diego	261,540 (56.3%)	167,669 (36.1%)	33,340 (7.2%)	93,871 (R)
Santa Clara	163,446 (45.6%)	173,511 (48.4%)	18,754 (5.2%)	10,065 (D)
Alameda	153,285 (37.6%)	219,545 (53.9%)	28,426 (7.0%)	66,260 (D)

* Nixon's plurality vote from Los Angeles accounted for 36.5% of his total Republican vote.

Oregon

Long Wendell Wyatt, Waven _____, Anna _____

Tetter - polls: gen'l elec - much closer than in '68; poll done in Jan during local strike

- Mus the strongest cand + very well among Tulet Spl
- Econ Digger is in Orelan other sts esp among those 45-65 yr old.

Odle - G continue meet to be held.

- 20% people will vote for minor party cand.
- P approval lower natlly.
- Credibility a prob
- U P approval as high as P's one of few sts where that hi
- Gov - very hi apt + Hatfield can

McKee - top for China cup.

- Filing - Ore. Flemming Wyatt File for a News Event. Next Fri

Wyatt - U P not avail for primaries + not wanted in OR
 Bob O' Bell - finance mtg w/ Slans, grp.
 No storefront bidets beca of threat of bombings.

Indiana

4 ads under Hailey, 6 Ind under Bales,
1 RNC, Maguder, Porter, Flemming,
Lakue, Porter, Molell

NH Rally - excellent coverage attributable
to Tom Girard - 1500

JSM - Men Nite Mtg + NH % on Black Bel
Wise + Cal - a major effort
in spite McCl + Ash being out

- Ind: youth campaign in N.H.
But lo key

Bales - can't get 1/2 mil
in primary as in '68,
but Ashbrook will get 75,000
votes w/ no expenditure of \$
Palliam will support Ashbrook
- RN must pull more
than Dem winner

Flemming - Test push certain
primary org pol's

Tetter arrive + JSM opens "seasonal shape"
that will be in better shape than
we are; Mus strongest. P doing letter in No

- Teeter - must unify P camp + the Gubern camps
- Wallace Aelp's P in Inel when on ballot
 - St Issues - Econ + Tax have carry over
 - Doc _____, probably will be cand for Gov but Bulen an elect prob need Reel.
 - Gov - marginal w/ best horse, hugar, who want be seen
 - Bulen - decision in 2 weeks

- Finance + Funds - Lee Neenn + Inel ^{will} _____
- Flemming projected budget forms w/a St quota
- all contrib's of \$101 above to rail + applied ag/ quota - this were stars swooping in w/ heavies in st
 - Each st will not report Inel keep records of gross receipts on \$100 and below
 - No credit for past expenses
 - Lee Neenn - St Finance orgs control + separate in Pol

- No write-in;
can cross-over
over mail → Berroq's
not to Rep's list
no list of Rep's Reps
No party regis in Wisc
Direct mail 2 pieces
400,000

- All activity in primaries
minimal.

→ - JM - not spend \$
gently

No camp decision in
4 wks - over 70
Decisions pending
① Counter activities
② Calif operating plan
- other primary.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WRITING

E.O. 12958, Sec. 1.6-102

By AP Date 3-30-82

JS
*What is the
story here -
Please translate*

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR LARRY HIGBY

The attached is the list Jeb put together of the states that permit write-ins. Let us know if you want us to take any further action. .

- Dick -

W. Richard Howard

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 13, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: G. GORDON LIDDY 4
SUBJECT: Write-In Opportunities in Remaining
Primary States

The following is submitted at your request as relayed by Mr. Magruder.

Of the 22 remaining presidential primary elections, state law permits write-ins in the following states:

→ California
Illinois
Massachusetts
→ Nebraska
New Jersey
New York - Write-in votes allowed only when delegate is unopposed
Oregon
Pennsylvania
→ Tennessee
West Virginia
Wisconsin - Open

Note that all but Wisconsin are "closed" primaries. This means that voters must have established membership or connection with the party in whose primary they wish to vote. For this reason it is only in Wisconsin that Republicans could vote in the Democratic primary and write in the name of a particular Democratic candidate.

In the remainder of the states should we wish Democrat write-ins, we would be limited to working with Democrat voters only.

Attached at Tab A is an excellent summary of the dates and details on state primaries which appeared in the Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report for January 22, 1972.

CONFIDENTIAL

CAMPAIGN '72: DATES, DETAILS ON STATE PRIMARIES

Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia will have some form of presidential primary in 1972. All 50 states will have a primary of some kind.

Types of primary and election rules differ widely from state to state. So do methods for selecting delegates and alternates to the national political conventions. Some states have yet to complete their plans.

Democrats and Republicans differ in their systems for choosing convention delegates. In small states that are entitled to fewer than 20 convention votes, the Democrats permit a minimum of 20 delegates. Larger states have the same number of Democratic delegates as convention votes for those states. The Republicans base the size of their convention delegations on the number of votes for each state, without minimums.

Details on the primaries, current through mid-January, are contained in the alphabetical list below. States with presidential primaries are first, followed by non-presidential-primary states.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY STATES

Alabama

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.

Filing deadline: March 1.

Voter registration deadline: April 21.

Type of primary: Non-binding, open election of delegates who may be informally pledged to candidates; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Candidates' names do not appear on ballot.

Number of delegates: 37 D (29 alternates)—at least 29 single-member district delegates elected in primary, six at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates, two automatic delegates (national committeeman, committee-

woman); 17 R (alternates)—13 or 14 congressional district delegates, three or four at-large delegates elected in primary.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 2; runoff May 30.

Filing deadline: March 1.

Voter registration deadline: April 21.

Arkansas¹

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 27.

Filing deadline: April 18.

Voter registration deadline: June 6.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed election of unpledged delegates; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Candidates' names do not appear on ballot.

Number of delegates: 27 D (24 alternates)—22 elected in primary, five chosen by elected delegates; 18 R (18 alternates)—15 elected in primary, three automatic delegates (national committeeman, committee-woman, state chairman).

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 27; runoff July 11.

Filing deadline: April 18.

Voter registration deadline: June 6.

California

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 6.

Filing deadline: March 24.

Voter registration deadline: April 13.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates until released; election of slates of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 271 D (117 alternates)—238 delegates elected in primary, 11 congressional district delegates, 22 at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates; 96 R (96 alternates)—86 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Kennedy slate, 46.3 percent; McCarthy slate, 41.8 percent; Thomas C. Lynch slate, 11.9 percent.

1968 Republican results: Reagan slate, 100 percent.

¹ The Democratic National Committee has specified that all delegates to the national convention should be chosen by June 20. The Arkansas Legislature is expected to meet in special session at the end of January to change the date.

Definitions

Closed Primary. Voters must have established membership in or connection with the party in whose primary they wish to vote.

Open Primary. Any voter may participate in either party's primary.

Binding Primary. Delegates to the national conventions are obligated to vote, on a designated number of convention votes, for the candidate who wins their state (or congressional district).

Non-binding Primary. Delegates are not obligated to vote for any candidate at a national convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.
 Filing deadline: March 10.
 Voter registration deadline: April 13.

District of Columbia

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: March 18.
 Voter registration deadline: April 2.
 Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots; election of slates or individual delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes not allowed.
 Candidate consent: Required.
 Number of delegates: 20 D (15 alternates); nine R (nine alternates)—all elected in primary.
 1968 Democratic results: Full slate of delegates pledged to Kennedy defeated organization slate pledged to Humphrey and a third slate also favoring Humphrey.
 1968 Republican results: District Republican organization agreed before primary to divide the nine delegate votes, with six for Nixon, three for Rockefeller.

CONGRESSIONAL

Primary date: May 2; runoff two to six weeks after primary.
 Filing deadline: March 18.
 Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Florida

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: March 14.
 Filing deadline: Feb. 10.
 Voter registration deadline: Feb. 12.
 Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate is nominated, receives less than 35 percent of convention vote or releases delegates; candidates may submit slates of delegates by March 1; write-in votes not allowed.
 Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by Feb. 15; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.
 Number of delegates: 81 D (51 alternates)—61 congressional district delegates chosen at district caucuses, 12 at-large delegates chosen at state caucus, eight at-large delegates chosen by State Democratic Committee; 40 R (40 alternates)—30 congressional district delegates chosen by State Republican Committee and other state party officials, four at-large delegates chosen by chairman of State Republican Committee with approval of executive board, six at-large delegates chosen by state and other state party officials.
 1968 Democratic results: George A. Smathers slate, 46.1 percent; McCarthy slate, 28.7 percent; unpledged slate headed by former State Sen. Scott Kelly, 25.2 percent.
 1968 Republican results: Unpledged Republican organization slate, 100 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12; runoff Oct. 3.
 Filing deadline: July 25.
 Voter registration deadline: Aug. 12.

Illinois

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: March 21.
 Filing deadline: Jan. 3.
 Voter registration deadline: Feb. 21.
 Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.
 Candidate consent: Required.
 Number of delegates: 170 D (84 alternates)—160 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates; 53 R (58 alternates)—48 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.
 1968 Democratic results: McCarthy*, 38.6 percent; Edward M. Kennedy* and Robert F. Kennedy* (together), 33.7 percent; Humphrey*, 17.1 percent; Wallace*, 6.4 percent; Johnson*, 1.3 percent; others*, 2.9 percent.
 1968 Republican results: Nixon*, 78.1 percent; Rockefeller*, 9.7 percent; Reagan*, 7.1 percent; Wallace*, 2.6 percent; McCarthy*, 0.7 percent; Percy*, 0.5 percent; Romney*, 0.1 percent; others*, 1.2 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: March 21.
 Filing deadline: Dec. 20, 1971.
 Voter registration deadline: Feb. 21.

Indiana

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: March 23.
 Voter registration deadline: April 3.
 Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.
 Candidate consent: Required.
 Number of delegates: 76 D (48 alternates)—57 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 19 at-large delegates chosen by state convention; 32 R (32 alternates)—22 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.
 1968 Democratic results: Kennedy, 42.3 percent; Gov. Roger D. Branigin, 30.7 percent; McCarthy, 27 percent.
 1968 Republican results: Nixon, 100 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: March 23.
 Voter registration deadline: April 3.

*Write-in votes

Maryland**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: May 16.

Filing deadline: March 23.

Voter registration deadline: April 17.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate releases delegation or receives less than 35 percent of convention vote; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by April 3; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 53 D (37 alternates)—48 congressional district delegates elected in primary, five at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates; 26 R (26 alternates)—24 congressional district delegates elected in primary, two at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 16.

Filing deadline: March 6.

Voter registration deadline: April 17.

Massachusetts**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: April 25.

Filing deadline: Feb. 8.

Voter registration deadline: March 25.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by Feb. 11; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 102 D (61 alternates)—82 congressional district delegates, 20 at-large delegates elected in primary; 34 R (34 alternates)—24 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy, 49.3 percent; Kennedy*, 27.6 percent; Humphrey*, 17.7 percent; Johnson*, 2.8 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.9 percent; Wallace*, 0.7 percent; Nixon*, 0.2 percent; others*, 0.8 percent.

1968 Republican results: Rockefeller*, 30 percent; Gov. John A. Volpe, 29.5 percent; Nixon*, 25.8 percent; McCarthy*, 9.2 percent; Reagan*, 1.7 percent; Kennedy*, 1.1 percent; Humphrey*, 0.8 percent; Wallace*, 0.3 percent; others*, 1.6 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 19.

Filing deadline: July 11.

Voter registration deadline: Aug. 19.

* Write-in votes

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Nebraska**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: May 9.

Filing deadline: March 10.

Voter registration deadline: April 28.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; pledged delegates bound for two ballots, unless candidate receives less than 35 percent of vote or releases delegates; other delegates not bound; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by March 10; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 24 D (22 alternates)—six congressional district delegates, 16 at-large delegates elected in primary; 16 R (16 alternates)—six congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Kennedy, 51.7 percent; McCarthy, 31.2 percent; Humphrey*, 7.4 percent; Johnson*, 5.6 percent; Nixon*, 1.7 percent; Reagan*, 1.2 percent; Wallace*, 0.8 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.3 percent; others*, 0.1 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 70 percent; Reagan, 21.3 percent; Rockefeller*, 5.1 percent; Stassen, 1.3 percent; McCarthy*, 0.8 percent; Americus Liberator, 0.7 percent; Kennedy*, 0.4 percent; Wallace*, 0.3 percent; Humphrey*, 0.1 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 9.

Filing deadline: March 10.

Voter registration deadline: April 28.

New Hampshire**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: March 7.

Filing deadline: Jan. 6.

Voter registration deadline: March 1, large towns; March 6, small towns.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged, favorable to candidates or unpledged; binding on pledged delegates until released; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 20 D (18 alternates)—all congressional district delegates elected in primary; 14 R (14 alternates)—four congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Johnson*, 49.4 percent; McCarthy, 42.2 percent; Nixon*, 4.6 percent; Kennedy*, 1.1 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.4 percent; Wallace*, 0.4 percent; others*, 1.9 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 77.6 percent; Rockefeller*, 10.8 percent; McCarthy*, 5.3 percent; Johnson*, 1.7 percent; Romney, 1.7 percent; Reagan*, 0.3 percent; others*, 2.6 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 13.

Voter registration deadline: Sept. 6, large towns;
Sept. 11, small towns.

New Jersey**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: June 6.

Filing deadline: April 27.

Voter registration deadline: April 27.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by May 3; candidate's supporters may submit a petition for him without his permission.

Number of delegates: 109 D (63 alternates)—all elected in primary; 40 R (40 alternates)—30 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy*, 40.5 percent; Kennedy*, 35.2 percent; Humphrey*, 22.8 percent; Johnson*, 1.5 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon*, 83.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 13.4 percent; Reagan*, 3.2 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.

Filing deadline: April 27.

Voter registration deadline: April 27.

New Mexico**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: June 6.

Filing deadline: March 15.

Voter registration deadline: April 25.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required; state nominating committee places candidates' names on ballot; must submit filing fee.

Number of delegates: 20 D (18 alternates)—all chosen by state convention; 14 R (14 alternates)—four congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.

Filing deadline: April 4.

Voter registration deadline: April 25.

New York**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: June 20.

Filing deadline: May 4.

*Write-in votes

Voter registration deadline: Oct. 2, 1971.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed election of unpledged delegates; write-in votes allowed when delegate is unopposed.

Candidate consent: Candidates' names do not appear on ballot.

Number of delegates: 278 D (120 alternates)—all congressional district delegates elected in primary; 88 R (88 alternates)—78 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by Republican State Central Committee.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 20.

Filing deadline: May 4.

Voter registration deadline: Oct. 2, 1971.

North Carolina**PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY**

Primary date: May 6.

Filing deadline: March 7.

Voter registration deadline: April 7.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required; state board of elections places candidates' names on ballot; must submit filing fee.

Number of delegates: 64 D (42 alternates)—48 congressional district delegates chosen at district conventions, 14 at-large delegates chosen by state convention, two automatic delegates (national committeeman, committeewoman); 32 R (32 alternates)—22 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 6; runoff June 3.

Filing deadline: Feb. 21.

Voter registration deadline: April 7.

Ohio**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: May 2.

Filing deadline: Feb. 2.

Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed election of delegates who specify their first and second candidate choices; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 153 D (78 alternates)—115 congressional district delegates, 38 at-large delegates elected in primary; 56 R (56 alternates)—46 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: 125 delegates pledged to Sen. Stephen M. Young, a favorite-son candidate, and one delegate pledged to Kennedy elected.

1968 Republican results: 55 delegates pledged to Gov. James A. Rhodes, a favorite-son candidate, elected; one delegate pledged to Harold Stassen elected by default.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 2.
Filing deadline: Feb. 2.
Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Oregon

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 23.
Filing deadline: March 14.
Voter registration deadline: April 22.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate releases them or he receives less than 35 percent of convention vote; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; no withdrawal; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 34 D (27 alternates)—32 congressional district delegates elected in primary, two automatic delegates (national committeeman, committeewoman); 18 R (18 alternates)—14 congressional district delegates elected in primary, four automatic delegates (national committeeman, committeewoman, state party chairman, vice chairman).

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy, 44.1 percent; Kennedy, 38.1 percent; Johnson, 12.1 percent; Humphrey*, 3.3 percent; Nixon*, 0.8 percent; Reagan*, 0.8 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.8 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 65.1 percent; Reagan, 20.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 11.6 percent; McCarthy*, 2.3 percent; Kennedy*, 0.6 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 23.
Filing deadline: March 14.
Voter registration deadline: April 22.

Pennsylvania

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: April 25.
Filing deadline: Feb. 15.
Voter registration deadline: March 6.

Type of primary: Closed, non-binding presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; Democratic pledged candidates bound for one ballot; Republican delegates not bound; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 182 D (88 alternates)—137 state senatorial district delegates elected in primary, 27 at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates, 18 at-large delegates chosen by state committee; 60 R (60 alternates)—50 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state committee.

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy, 71.6 percent; Kennedy*, 10.9 percent; Humphrey*, 8.7 percent;

* Write-in votes

Wallace*, 4.0 percent; Johnson*, 3.6 percent; Nixon*, 0.6 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.3 percent; Reagan*, 0.1 percent; others*, 0.4 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon*, 59.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 18.3 percent; McCarthy*, 6.5 percent; Wallace*, 4.6 percent; Kennedy*, 3.6 percent; Reagan*, 2.8 percent; Humphrey*, 1.6 percent; Johnson*, 1.1 percent; Gov. Raymond P. Shafer*, 0.4 percent; others*, 1.7 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: April 25.
Filing deadline: Feb. 15.
Voter registration deadline: March 6.

Rhode Island²

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: April 11.
Filing deadline: Jan. 31.
Voter registration deadline: Feb. 11.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; pledged delegates bound for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 22 D (21 alternates)—all at-large delegates elected in primary; eight R (eight alternates)—all at-large delegates elected in primary.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12.
Filing deadline: June 30.
Voter registration deadline: July 14.

South Dakota

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 6.
Filing deadline: April 21.
Voter registration deadline: May 22.

Type of primary: Closed election of slates of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; pledged delegates bound for three ballots; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 20 D (17 alternates)—all at-large delegates elected in primary; 14 R (14 alternates)—four congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Kennedy slate, 49.5 percent; Johnson slate, 30.1 percent; McCarthy slate, 20.4 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon slate, 100 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.
Filing deadline: April 21.
Voter registration deadline: May 22.

² A bill is pending in the Rhode Island Legislature to change some of the procedures relating to the presidential primary. If the bill passes, the presidential primary will be held on May 21 and candidates will be placed on the ballot by the Rhode Island secretary of state.

Tennessee³

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 4.

Filing deadline: March 9.

Voter registration deadline: April 4.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate receives less than 20 percent of convention vote or releases delegates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; no specific withdrawal date; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 49 D (35 alternates)—39 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention; 26 R (26 alternates)—16 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Aug. 3.

Filing deadline: June 1.

Voter registration deadline: July 4.

West Virginia

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 9.

Filing deadline: Feb. 5.

Voter registration deadline: April 8.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of unpledged delegates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 35 D (28 alternates)—26 congressional district delegates, nine at-large delegates elected in primary; 18 R (18 alternates)—eight congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic, Republican results: No candidates entered either party's preference poll. Uncommitted slates were elected.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 9.

Filing deadline: Feb. 5.

Voter registration deadline: April 8.

Wisconsin

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: April 4.

Filing deadline: March 7.

Voter registration deadline: March 15, Milwaukee; March 22, rest of state.

Type of primary: Open presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one vote or until candidate releases them or receives less than one-third of con-

³ Tennessee's primary date and consequently all other related dates may be moved forward.

vention vote; election of slates of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by Feb. 29; 11-member commission places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 67 D (44 alternates)—56 congressional district delegates, 11 at-large delegates elected in primary; 28 R (28 alternates)—18 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

1968 Democratic returns: McCarthy, 56.2 percent; Johnson, 34.6 percent; Kennedy*, 6.3 percent; Humphrey*, 0.5 percent; Wallace*, 0.5 percent; "None," 1.6 percent; others*, 0.2 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 79.7 percent; Reagan, 10.4 percent; Stassen, 10.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 1.6 percent; Romney*, 0.4 percent; Wallace*, 0.1 percent; Kennedy*, .06 percent; "None," 1.4 percent; others*, 0.5 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 11.

Voter registration deadline: Aug. 23, Milwaukee; Aug. 30, rest of state.

NON-PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY STATES

Alaska

Primary date: Aug. 22.

Filing deadline: June 1.

Voter registration deadline: Mail, July 23; in person, Aug. 8.

Number of delegates: 20 D (10 alternates)—selection procedure not yet decided; 12 R (12 alternates)—all at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

Arizona

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 13.

Voter registration deadline: July 11.

Number of delegates: 25 D (23 alternates)—19 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, six at-large delegates chosen by state convention; 18 R (18 alternates)—eight congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

Colorado

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 28.

Voter registration deadline: Aug. 11.

Number of delegates: 36 D (23 alternates)—selection procedure not yet decided; 20 R (20 alternates)—10 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

*Write-in votes

March 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

Per our conversation Dick Howard reports from the attached that we did not do anything in New Hampshire although most reporters predict that there will be a Democratic write-in for Nixon. According to Magruder, there are no write-ins possible in Florida and in Wisconsin it is handled by cross-overs. I would think for very good reasons that we would not want to encourage cross-overs.

In the event this should be pursued as far as other states are concerned, I have asked Jeb to compile a list of those primaries where write-ins are possible.

Dick

March 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

Chuck Colson called to report that he had talked with the President last night and the President raised the following subjects:

1. Did we have a write-in campaign going in New Hampshire to get Democrats to write in RN. Colson said he didn't know but he would check. The President said that Colson should report to you what he found out.

Colson found out that there was no write-in effort going. He had told the AG that the President had requested this a month ago but Colson guesses the AG decided it shouldn't be done.

2. The President then raised the question of whether or not we had write-in efforts going in Florida and Wisconsin.

Colson checked on these and finds that we can't have write-ins in Florida, and that in Wisconsin you can't write in but you can cross over. He indicates, however that we probably don't want Democrats for Nixon crossing over, but voting for candidates that will hurt the Muskie vote.

3. The President said he told you that he wanted write-in efforts on behalf of Democrats for Nixon in every state. Is there something that should be done here?

The President also indicated to Colson that he wanted to see Sidlinger today when Sidlinger was in seeing Colson. Colson said he would work this out with Parker.

LH:pm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 13, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: G. GORDON LIDDY 4
SUBJECT: Write-In Opportunities in Remaining
Primary States

The following is submitted at your request as relayed by Mr. Magruder.

Of the 22 remaining presidential primary elections, state law permits write-ins in the following states:

California
Illinois
Massachusetts
Nebraska
New Jersey
New York - Write-in votes allowed only when delegate is unopposed
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Tennessee
West Virginia
Wisconsin - Open

Note that all but Wisconsin are "closed" primaries. This means that voters must have established membership or connection with the party in whose primary they wish to vote. For this reason it is only in Wisconsin that Republicans could vote in the Democratic primary and write in the name of a particular Democratic candidate.

In the remainder of the states should we wish Democrat write-ins, we would be limited to working with Democrat voters only.

Attached at Tab A is an excellent summary of the dates and details on state primaries which appeared in the Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report for January 22, 1972.

CONFIDENTIAL

CAMPAIGN '72: DATES, DETAILS ON STATE PRIMARIES

Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia will have some form of presidential primary in 1972. All 50 states will have a primary of some kind.

Types of primary and election rules differ widely from state to state. So do methods for selecting delegates and alternates to the national political conventions. Some states have yet to complete their plans.

Democrats and Republicans differ in their systems for choosing convention delegates. In small states that are entitled to fewer than 20 convention votes, the Democrats permit a minimum of 20 delegates. Larger states have the same number of Democratic delegates as convention votes for those states. The Republicans base the size of their convention delegations on the number of votes for each state, without minimums.

Details on the primaries, current through mid-January, are contained in the alphabetical list below. States with presidential primaries are first, followed by non-presidential-primary states.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY STATES

Alabama

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.
Filing deadline: March 1.
Voter registration deadline: April 21.

Type of primary: Non-binding, open election of delegates who may be informally pledged to candidates; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Candidates' names do not appear on ballot.

Number of delegates: 37 D (29 alternates)—at least 29 single-member district delegates elected in primary, six at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates, two automatic delegates (national committeeman, committee-

woman); 17 R (alternates)—13 or 14 congressional district delegates, three or four at-large delegates elected in primary.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 2; runoff May 30.
Filing deadline: March 1.
Voter registration deadline: April 21.

Arkansas¹

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 27.
Filing deadline: April 18.
Voter registration deadline: June 6.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed election of unpledged delegates; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Candidates' names do not appear on ballot.

Number of delegates: 27 D (24 alternates)—22 elected in primary, five chosen by elected delegates; 18 R (18 alternates)—15 elected in primary, three automatic delegates (national committeeman, committee-woman, state chairman).

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 27; runoff July 11.
Filing deadline: April 18.
Voter registration deadline: June 6.

California

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 6.
Filing deadline: March 24.
Voter registration deadline: April 13.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates until released; election of slates of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 271 D (117 alternates)—238 delegates elected in primary, 11 congressional district delegates, 22 at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates; 96 R (96 alternates)—86 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Kennedy slate, 46.3 percent; McCarthy slate, 41.8 percent; Thomas C. Lynch slate, 11.9 percent.

1968 Republican results: Reagan slate, 100 percent.

¹The Democratic National Committee has specified that all delegates to the national convention should be chosen by June 20. The Arkansas Legislature is expected to meet in special session at the end of January to change the date.

Definitions

Closed Primary. Voters must have established membership in or connection with the party in whose primary they wish to vote.

Open Primary. Any voter may participate in either party's primary.

Binding Primary. Delegates to the national conventions are obligated to vote, on a designated number of convention votes, for the candidate who wins their state (or congressional district).

Non-binding Primary. Delegates are not obligated to vote for any candidate at a national convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.
 Filing deadline: March 10.
 Voter registration deadline: April 13.

District of Columbia

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: March 18.
 Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots; election of slates or individual delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 20 D (15 alternates); nine R (nine alternates)—all elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Full slate of delegates pledged to Kennedy defeated organization slate pledged to Humphrey and a third slate also favoring Humphrey.

1968 Republican results: District Republican organization agreed before primary to divide the nine delegate votes, with six for Nixon, three for Rockefeller.

CONGRESSIONAL

Primary date: May 2; runoff two to six weeks after primary.

Filing deadline: March 18.
 Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Florida

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: March 14.
 Filing deadline: Feb. 10.
 Voter registration deadline: Feb. 12.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate is nominated, receives less than 35 percent of convention vote or releases delegates; candidates may submit slates of delegates by March 1; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by Feb. 15; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 81 D (51 alternates)—61 congressional district delegates chosen at district caucuses, 12 at-large delegates chosen at state caucus, eight at-large delegates chosen by State Democratic Committee; 40 R (40 alternates)—30 congressional district delegates chosen by State Republican Committee and other state party officials, four at-large delegates chosen by chairman of State Republican Committee with approval of executive board, six at-large delegates chosen by state and other state party officials.

1968 Democratic results: George A. Smathers slate, 46.1 percent; McCarthy slate, 28.7 percent; unpledged slate headed by former State Sen. Scott Kelly, 25.2 percent.

1968 Republican results: Unpledged Republican organization slate, 100 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12; runoff Oct. 3.
 Filing deadline: July 25.
 Voter registration deadline: Aug. 12.

Illinois

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: March 21.
 Filing deadline: Jan. 3.
 Voter registration deadline: Feb. 21.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 170 D (84 alternates)—160 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates; 58 R (58 alternates)—48 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy*, 38.6 percent; Edward M. Kennedy* and Robert F. Kennedy* (together), 33.7 percent; Humphrey*, 17.1 percent; Wallace*, 6.4 percent; Johnson*, 1.3 percent; others*, 2.9 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon*, 78.1 percent; Rockefeller*, 9.7 percent; Reagan*, 7.1 percent; Wallace*, 2.6 percent; McCarthy*, 0.7 percent; Percy*, 0.5 percent; Romney*, 0.1 percent; others*, 1.2 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: March 21.
 Filing deadline: Dec. 20, 1971.
 Voter registration deadline: Feb. 21.

Indiana

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: March 23.
 Voter registration deadline: April 3.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 76 D (48 alternates)—57 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 19 at-large delegates chosen by state convention; 32 R (32 alternates)—22 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

1968 Democratic results: Kennedy, 42.3 percent; Gov. Roger D. Branigin, 30.7 percent; McCarthy, 27 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 100 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: March 23.
 Voter registration deadline: April 3.

*Write-in votes

Jan. 22, 1972—PAGE 137

Maryland
PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 16.
Filing deadline: March 23.
Voter registration deadline: April 17.
Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate releases delegation or receives less than 35 percent of convention vote; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes not allowed.
Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by April 3; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.
Number of delegates: 53 D (37 alternates)—48 congressional district delegates elected in primary, five at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates; 26 R (26 alternates)—24 congressional district delegates elected in primary, two at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 16.
Filing deadline: March 6.
Voter registration deadline: April 17.

Massachusetts
PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: April 25.
Filing deadline: Feb. 8.
Voter registration deadline: March 25.
Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.
Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by Feb. 11; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.
Number of delegates: 102 D (61 alternates)—82 congressional district delegates, 20 at-large delegates elected in primary; 34 R (34 alternates)—24 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.
1968 Democratic results: McCarthy, 49.3 percent; Kennedy*, 27.6 percent; Humphrey*, 17.7 percent; Johnson*, 2.8 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.9 percent; Wallace*, 0.7 percent; Nixon*, 0.2 percent; others*, 0.8 percent.
1968 Republican results: Rockefeller*, 30 percent; Gov. John A. Volpe, 29.5 percent; Nixon*, 25.8 percent; McCarthy*, 9.2 percent; Reagan*, 1.7 percent; Kennedy*, 1.1 percent; Humphrey*, 0.8 percent; Wallace*, 0.3 percent; others*, 1.6 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 19.
Filing deadline: July 11.
Voter registration deadline: Aug. 19.

*Write-in votes

Nebraska
PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 9.
Filing deadline: March 10.
Voter registration deadline: April 28.
Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; pledged delegates bound for two ballots, unless candidate receives less than 35 percent of vote or releases delegates; other delegates not bound; write-in votes allowed.
Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by March 10; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.
Number of delegates: 24 D (22 alternates)—six congressional district delegates, 16 at-large delegates elected in primary; 16 R (16 alternates)—six congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.
1968 Democratic results: Kennedy, 51.7 percent; McCarthy, 31.2 percent; Humphrey*, 7.4 percent; Johnson, 5.6 percent; Nixon*, 1.7 percent; Reagan*, 1.2 percent; Wallace*, 0.8 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.3 percent; others*, 0.1 percent.
1968 Republican results: Nixon, 70 percent; Reagan, 21.3 percent; Rockefeller*, 5.1 percent; Stassen, 1.3 percent; McCarthy*, 0.8 percent; Americus Liberator, 0.7 percent; Kennedy*, 0.4 percent; Wallace*, 0.3 percent; Humphrey*, 0.1 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 9.
Filing deadline: March 10.
Voter registration deadline: April 28.

New Hampshire
PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: March 7.
Filing deadline: Jan. 6.
Voter registration deadline: March 1, large towns; March 6, small towns.
Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged, favorable to candidates or unpledged; binding on pledged delegates until released; write-in votes allowed.
Candidate consent: Required.
Number of delegates: 20 D (18 alternates)—all congressional district delegates elected in primary; 14 R (14 alternates)—four congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.
1968 Democratic results: Johnson*, 49.4 percent; McCarthy, 42.2 percent; Nixon*, 4.6 percent; Kennedy*, 1.1 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.4 percent; Wallace*, 0.4 percent; others*, 1.9 percent.
1968 Republican results: Nixon, 77.6 percent; Rockefeller*, 10.8 percent; McCarthy*, 5.3 percent; Johnson*, 1.7 percent; Romney, 1.7 percent; Reagan*, 0.3 percent; others*, 2.6 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12.
 Filing deadline: July 13.
 Voter registration deadline: Sept. 6, large towns;
 Sept. 11, small towns.

New Jersey

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 6.
 Filing deadline: April 27.
 Voter registration deadline: April 27.
 Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by May 3; candidate's supporters may submit a petition for him without his permission.

Number of delegates: 109 D (63 alternates)—all elected in primary; 40 R (40 alternates)—30 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy*, 40.5 percent; Kennedy*, 35.2 percent; Humphrey*, 22.8 percent; Johnson*, 1.5 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon*, 83.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 13.4 percent; Reagan*, 3.2 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.
 Filing deadline: April 27.
 Voter registration deadline: April 27.

New Mexico

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 6.
 Filing deadline: March 15.
 Voter registration deadline: April 25.
 Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required; state nominating committee places candidates' names on ballot; must submit filing fee.

Number of delegates: 20 D (18 alternates)—all chosen by state convention; 14 R (14 alternates)—four congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.
 Filing deadline: April 4.
 Voter registration deadline: April 25.

New York

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 20.
 Filing deadline: May 4.

* Write-in votes

Voter registration deadline: Oct. 2, 1971.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed election of unpledged delegates; write-in votes allowed when delegate is unopposed.

Candidate consent: Candidates' names do not appear on ballot.

Number of delegates: 278 D (120 alternates)—all congressional district delegates elected in primary; 88 R (88 alternates)—78 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by Republican State Central Committee.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 20.
 Filing deadline: May 4.
 Voter registration deadline: Oct. 2, 1971.

North Carolina

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

Primary date: May 6.
 Filing deadline: March 7.
 Voter registration deadline: April 7.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required; state board of elections places candidates' names on ballot; must submit filing fee.

Number of delegates: 64 D (42 alternates)—48 congressional district delegates chosen at district conventions, 14 at-large delegates chosen by state convention, two automatic delegates (national committeeman, committeewoman); 32 R (32 alternates)—22 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 6; runoff June 3.
 Filing deadline: Feb. 21.
 Voter registration deadline: April 7.

Ohio

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 2.
 Filing deadline: Feb. 2.
 Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed election of delegates who specify their first and second candidate choices; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 153 D (78 alternates)—115 congressional district delegates, 38 at-large delegates elected in primary; 56 R (56 alternates)—46 congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: 125 delegates pledged to Sen. Stephen M. Young, a favorite-son candidate, and one delegate pledged to Kennedy elected.

1968 Republican results: 55 delegates pledged to Gov. James A. Rhodes, a favorite-son candidate, elected; one delegate pledged to Harold Stassen elected by default.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 2.
Filing deadline: Feb. 2.
Voter registration deadline: April 2.

Oregon

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: May 23.
Filing deadline: March 14.
Voter registration deadline: April 22.
Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate releases them or he receives less than 35 percent of convention vote; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; no withdrawal; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 34 D (27 alternates)—32 congressional district delegates elected in primary, two automatic delegates (national committeeman, committeewoman); 18 R (18 alternates)—14 congressional district delegates elected in primary, four automatic delegates (national committeeman, committeewoman, state party chairman, vice chairman).

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy, 44.1 percent; Kennedy, 38.1 percent; Johnson, 12.1 percent; Humphrey*, 3.3 percent; Nixon*, 0.8 percent; Reagan*, 0.8 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.8 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 65.1 percent; Reagan, 20.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 11.6 percent; McCarthy*, 2.3 percent; Kennedy*, 0.6 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: May 23.
Filing deadline: March 14.
Voter registration deadline: April 22.

Pennsylvania

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: April 25.
Filing deadline: Feb. 15.
Voter registration deadline: March 6.

Type of primary: Closed, non-binding presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to candidates; Democratic pledged candidates bound for one ballot; Republican delegates not bound; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 182 D (88 alternates)—137 state senatorial district delegates elected in primary, 27 at-large delegates chosen by elected delegates, 18 at-large delegates chosen by state committee; 60 R (60 alternates)—50 congressional district delegates elected in primary, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state committee.

1968 Democratic results: McCarthy, 71.6 percent; Kennedy*, 10.9 percent; Humphrey*, 8.7 percent;

*Write-in votes

Wallace*, 4.0 percent; Johnson*, 3.6 percent; Nixon*, 0.6 percent; Rockefeller*, 0.3 percent; Reagan*, 0.1 percent; others*, 0.4 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon*, 59.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 18.3 percent; McCarthy*, 6.5 percent; Wallace*, 4.6 percent; Kennedy*, 3.6 percent; Reagan*, 2.8 percent; Humphrey*, 1.6 percent; Johnson*, 1.1 percent; Gov. Raymond P. Shafer*, 0.4 percent; others*, 1.7 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: April 25.
Filing deadline: Feb. 15.
Voter registration deadline: March 6.

Rhode Island²

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: April 11.
Filing deadline: Jan. 31.
Voter registration deadline: Feb. 11.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; pledged delegates bound for one ballot; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 22 D (21 alternates)—all at-large delegates elected in primary; eight R (eight alternates)—all at-large delegates elected in primary.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12.
Filing deadline: June 30.
Voter registration deadline: July 14.

South Dakota

PRESIDENTIAL

Primary date: June 6.
Filing deadline: April 21.
Voter registration deadline: May 22.

Type of primary: Closed election of slates of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; pledged delegates bound for three ballots; write-in votes not allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 20 D (17 alternates)—all at-large delegates elected in primary; 14 R (14 alternates)—four congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic results: Kennedy slate, 49.5 percent; Johnson slate, 30.1 percent; McCarthy slate, 20.4 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon slate, 100 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL STATE

Primary date: June 6.
Filing deadline: April 21.
Voter registration deadline: May 22.

² A bill is pending in the Rhode Island Legislature to change some of the procedures relating to the presidential primary. If the bill passes, the presidential primary will be held on May 23 and candidates will be placed on the ballot by the Rhode Island secretary of state.

Tennessee³**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: May 4.

Filing deadline: March 9.

Voter registration deadline: April 4.

Type of primary: Closed presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for two ballots unless candidate receives less than 20 percent of convention vote or releases delegates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; no specific withdrawal date; secretary of state places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 49 D (35 alternates)—39 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention; 26 R (26 alternates)—16 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

CONGRESSIONAL, STATE

Primary date: Aug. 3.

Filing deadline: June 1.

Voter registration deadline: July 4.

West Virginia**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: May 9.

Filing deadline: Feb. 5.

Voter registration deadline: April 8.

Type of primary: Non-binding, closed presidential preference poll; election of unpledged delegates; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Required.

Number of delegates: 35 D (28 alternates)—26 congressional district delegates, nine at-large delegates elected in primary; 18 R (18 alternates)—eight congressional district delegates, 10 at-large delegates elected in primary.

1968 Democratic, Republican results: No candidates entered either party's preference poll. Uncommitted slates were elected.

CONGRESSIONAL, STATE

Primary date: May 9.

Filing deadline: Feb. 5.

Voter registration deadline: April 8.

Wisconsin**PRESIDENTIAL**

Primary date: April 4.

Filing deadline: March 7.

Voter registration deadline: March 15, Milwaukee; March 22, rest of state.

Type of primary: Open presidential preference poll, binding on delegates for one vote or until candidate releases them or receives less than one-third of con-

³ Tennessee's primary date (and consequently all other related dates) may be moved forward.

vention vote; election of slates of delegates who may be pledged to a candidate; write-in votes allowed.

Candidate consent: Not required; may withdraw by Feb. 29; 11-member commission places candidates' names on ballot.

Number of delegates: 67 D (44 alternates)—56 congressional district delegates, 11 at-large delegates elected in primary; 28 R (28 alternates)—18 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

1968 Democratic returns: McCarthy, 56.2 percent; Johnson, 34.6 percent; Kennedy*, 6.3 percent; Humphrey*, 0.5 percent; Wallace*, 0.5 percent; "None," 1.6 percent; others*, 0.2 percent.

1968 Republican results: Nixon, 79.7 percent; Reagan, 10.4 percent; Stassen, 10.4 percent; Rockefeller*, 1.6 percent; Romney*, 0.4 percent; Wallace*, 0.1 percent; Kennedy*, .06 percent; "None," 1.4 percent; others*, 0.5 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL, STATE

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 11.

Voter registration deadline: Aug. 23, Milwaukee; Aug. 30, rest of state.

NON-PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY STATES**Alaska**

Primary date: Aug. 22.

Filing deadline: June 1.

Voter registration deadline: Mail, July 23; in person, Aug. 8.

Number of delegates: 20 D (10 alternates)—selection procedure not yet decided; 12 R (12 alternates)—all at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

Arizona

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 13.

Voter registration deadline: July 11.

Number of delegates: 25 D (23 alternates)—19 congressional district delegates chosen by district caucuses, six at-large delegates chosen by state convention; 18 R (18 alternates)—eight congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

Colorado

Primary date: Sept. 12.

Filing deadline: July 28.

Voter registration deadline: Aug. 11.

Number of delegates: 36 D (28 alternates)—selection procedure not yet decided; 20 R (20 alternates)—10 congressional district delegates chosen by district conventions, 10 at-large delegates chosen by state convention.

*Write-in votes

H-FU 3/10
3/14
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/7/72

To: MS

From: L. Higby

Please talk to jet re:
the attached. It's too
late for N.H. + Fla. - make
sure this is done where appropriate
in the other - full week
G → Mauld 3/8 + Jgm 3/9

TALKING PAPER - ATTORNEY GENERAL

Has there been a mail campaign for Democratic write-ins in
Florida? No

Was there one in New Hampshire? No

It's important that we build the importance of Democratic support
in the key primary states, and certainly in Indiana and some of the
other places where there is already considerable strength. There
should be a Democratic mailing in all primaries as a good investment
for the general.

HRH

3/7/72

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : L. HIGBY *L*

Chuck Colson called to report that he had talked with the President last night and the President raised the following subjects:

1. 'Did we have a write-in campaign going in New Hampshire to get Democrats to write in RN? Colson said he didn't know but he would check. The President said that Colson should report to you what he found out.

Colson found out that there was no write-in effort going. He had told the AG that the President had requested this a month ago but Colson guesses the AG decided it shouldn't be done.

2. The President then raised the question of whether or not we had write-in efforts going in Florida and Wisconsin.

Colson checked on these and finds that we can't have write-ins in Florida, and that in Wisconsin you can't write in but you can cross over. He indicates, however that we probably don't want Democrats for Nixon crossing over, but voting for candidates that will hurt the Muskie vote.

3. The President said he told you that he wanted write-in efforts on behalf of Democrats for Nixon in every state. Is there something that should be done here?

The President also indicated to Colson that he wanted to see Sidlinger today when Sidlinger was in seeing Colson. Colson said he would work this out with Parker.

TALKING PAPER - ATTORNEY GENERAL

You have the
answer to part
of this. HS
can follow up w/
Magruder.

OK

~~Has there been a mail campaign for Democratic write-ins in
Florida?~~

~~Was there one in New Hampshire?~~

✓ It's important that we build the importance of Democratic support
in the key primary states, and certainly in Indiana and some of the
other places where there is already considerable strength. There
should be a Democratic mailing in all primaries as a good investment
for the general.

HRH:pm

3/7/72

The 3/15 ✓

TALKING PAPER - ATTORNEY GENERAL

Has there been a mail campaign for Democratic write-ins in Florida?

Was there one in New Hampshire?

Report due 3/15 by State W/COSTS

It's important that we build the importance of Democratic support in the key primary states, and certainly in Indiana and some of the other places where there is already considerable strength. There should be a Democratic mailing in all primaries as a good investment for the general.

HRH:pm

3/7/72

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 22, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the Michigan Primary

Michigan's Presidential Preference Primary will be held on May 16. Each candidate who receives over 5% of the primary vote will receive a proportionate share of 48 delegate votes. Delegates are bound until released.

General Background

In 1970 the population was 8,875,083, of which 4,059,807 were registered to vote. Of the total population, 26.6% is considered to be rural and 73.8% urban.

The SMSAs are as follows:

Ann Arbor	234,103
Bay City	117,339
Detroit	4,199,931
Flint	496,658
Grand Rapids	539,225
Jackson	143,274
Kalamazoo	201,550
Lansing	378,423
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights	157,426
Saginaw	219,743
Toledo, Ohio-Mich. (part)	118,479

Michigan has a Black population of 11%, which is centered in major southeastern cities, particularly Detroit. Total foreign stock is 24% with a significant number of Italians, Poles, Germans, Swedes and Eastern Europeans. Catholics comprise 27% of the population. The state has 60% blue-collar employment and is very union oriented.

Political Background

The 1970 U.S. Senate race in Michigan represented a continued upswing by Democrats and a low point for Republicans. Lenore Romney only polled 33% against incumbent Senator Philip Hart. Governor Milliken fared better in 1970, but he still won only with 50.6% of the vote. The 1970 election had little effect on the State Legislature. The Senate is divided evenly between 19 Republicans and 19 Democrats. Democrats control the House by a 58 to 52 margin.

Republicans control the Congressional delegation with a 12 to 7 margin over the Democrats. A list of the Congressional delegation follows: (Tab A is a map showing Congressional districts.)

<u>Congressmen</u>	<u>1968 Presidential Vote*</u>			
	<u>1970 %</u>	<u>RN</u>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>GCW</u>
1st John Conyers (D)	86.9	16,655	134,437	5,743
2nd Marvin Esch (R)	62.6	85,262	74,021	18,158
3rd Gary E. Brown (R)	56.2	95,522	66,035	18,244
4th Edward Hutchinson (R)	61.9	90,599	55,196	20,422
5th Gerald Ford (R)	61.5	94,435	67,946	12,845
6th C. Chamberlain (R)	60.3	88,645	66,322	15,113
7th D. W. Riegle, Jr. (R)	70.3	72,814	80,373	26,620
8th James Harvey (R)	65.4	87,375	60,015	16,719
9th G. Varder Jagt (R)	64.6	100,798	61,539	14,763
10th E. A. Cederberg (R)	59.2	93,778	63,392	13,043
11th Philip Ruppe (R)	61.7	78,025	79,327	9,241
12th J. G. O'Hara (D)	76.9	63,837	115,903	29,634
13th Charles Diggs (D)	87.9	11,302	88,625	5,313
14th Lucien Nedzi (D)	70.0	59,930	96,737	20,717
15th William Ford (D)	80.0	59,930	93,045	27,022
16th John Dingell (D)	78.2	47,202	95,603	20,268
17th Martha Griffiths (D)	79.7	43,432	106,860	17,695
18th William Broomfield (R)	64.5	55,093	102,817	17,150
19th Jack McDonald (R)	58.5	100,114	84,889	23,238

* Districts subject to boundary changes for reapportionment. Figures are for '70 districts.

Senator Griffin is up for re-election in 1972. His race was, until recently, considered to be a very difficult, uphill battle. In the last several months, his position has improved considerably.

Voting Analysis

In relation to the 1968 Presidential vote, the Republican Party fell rather drastically throughout the state. In 1960, Kennedy received 1,687,269 (51%), Nixon received 1,620,428 (49%). In 1968, Humphrey carried the state by 222,417, receiving 1,593,082 or 48%, Nixon received 1,370,665 or 42%, and Wallace received 331,968 or 10%. Nixon's totals fell throughout the state in every county. Traditional Republican areas in the mid-section of the state and in the south-western part of the state gave Nixon much smaller margins than in 1960. Meanwhile, in Wayne County (Detroit), Nixon received only 26.2% of the vote to 63.2% for Humphrey and 10.2% for Wallace. Humphrey received a plurality of 383,591 and 41% of his total vote in Wayne County, In Detroit proper, Nixon received only 20% of the vote to 71.2% for Humphrey. In Black districts of Detroit, Nixon lost by as much as 96%.

Political Analysis

Due to the fact that the Democratic majorities in many of the major counties were so large in 1968 and the overall trend in Michigan so Democratic, the state originally looked very difficult for 1972. However, more recent survey information indicates that the Michigan election would be a close one. There are two areas on which the Committee should concentrate its efforts. An attempt should be made to reassert Republican loyalties in the out state areas. The other tactic would be to seek votes on the fringes of the major cities. Many of these voters are ethnic and quite conscious of the social issues.

The Primary Election

Although McCloskey formally announced that he was terminating his bid for the Presidential nomination, he did file for the Michigan Primary on March 17th. At this time, McCloskey should not pose a serious threat. Regardless, the Primary will give the Michigan Committee an opportunity to organize for what will surely be a close general election.

Our objectives in the primary are as follows:

1. Defeat McCloskey by an impressive margin.
2. Recruit key personnel and a cadre of volunteers in the Primary so that we will have a strong Nixon organization for the general election.

Planned Activities

The Primary Campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with Jack Gibbs, Chairman of the Michigan Re-election Committee, in a meeting on March 18, 1972. All Directors of relevant activities from the Washington Committee were also present.

Four areas of activity are contemplated:

1. State organizational activity
2. Appearances in the state by pro-Administration speakers
3. Targeted volunteer commitment program
4. Voter bloc activities

The time schedule for the total operating plan is given in Tab B. The individual elements are discussed in more detail below:

1. State Organizational Activity - The Michigan Committee for the Re-election of the President will have headquarters for the primary. Key campaign personnel will be recruited and tested during the primary campaign. Deadlines for selection of the personnel will be established by the Washington Committee. Volunteers will be recruited and utilized in the Volunteer Commitment program. This will provide a cadre of volunteers for the General Election.

Recommendation

That you approve the state organizational activity plan as outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers - Well known Administration speakers will visit Michigan to speak on behalf of the President. A headquarters grand opening in Detroit is planned for April 13. A speaker has not been scheduled for April 13th as yet. The Washington Committee is presently awaiting speaking requests. Therefore, a full schedule of speakers and events will be presented at a later date.

Recommendation

That you approve the utilization of surrogate speakers in Michigan.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Targeted Volunteer Commitment Program - The Michigan Committee has requested a direct mail program for this primary. It was further recommended that the direct mail piece be part of a volunteer commitment program similar to that used in Florida. A more detailed account of the program can be found in Tab C.

Recommendation

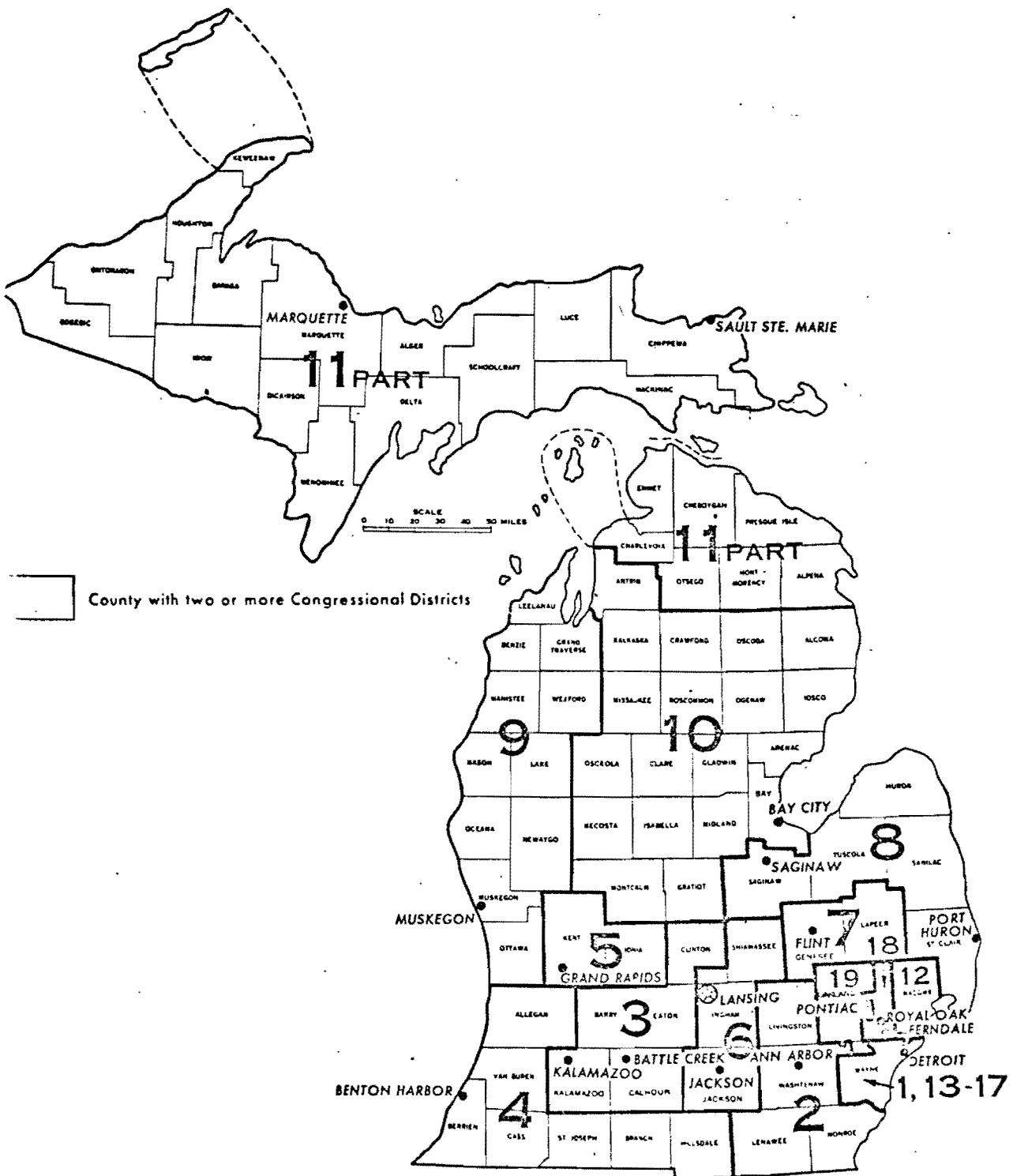
That you approve the volunteer commitment program outlined in Tab C at a cost of \$56,100.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

4. Voter Bloc Activities - Due to the large number of ethnics, Blacks and union workers, it was suggested that we send the appropriate voter bloc directors to Michigan during the primary, in an effort to increase the President's standing among these various groups. A more detailed plan for the voter bloc activities will be presented at a later date.

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities

(19 Districts)



U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Michigan Direct Mail Program

In the meeting on Saturday, March 18, 1972, with the Michigan Committee for the Re-election of the President organization, a direct mail effort was unanimously recommended. Since Michigan does not have a registered voter list, a universal list will be used. Therefore, the Commitment Program will be similar to Wisconsin. Our experience in Wisconsin shows that about 40% of the response is negative (the hard core Democrat) -- this indicates some minor changes to the program.

It is recommended that 350,000 mailings be sent out in Michigan to be arrayed in census tracts with the highest incidence of Republican voters. This information will be acquired with the assistance of Bob Teeter who will provide the historical polling data.

The mailing will include a 14" letter discussing the merits of the present Administration and will put emphasis on volunteers. It will be worded so that a bipartisan suggestion will be felt. A place on the volunteer card will be left for contributors if the respondent does not feel that he can actively participate. The mailing will also include a brochure on the President's record and a pre-addressed return envelope. The envelope will not have postage prepaid but will require a stamp. We strongly feel that this will cut down on the number of negative responses while not hurting our volunteer effort that much.

When the volunteer returns his card to the state headquarters, he will receive a letter asking him to contact twenty friends and get them committed to vote for President Nixon. The volunteer will then call these twenty people on Election Day to remind them to vote. The names, addresses and telephone numbers of the committed voters would be returned on a commitment form to state headquarters.

At the end of the program, a computer letter with a personalized Presidential Commitment certificate will be sent from our data center to each volunteer. The certificate will be suitable for framing. The volunteers will be told that the Michigan Committee looks forward to their help in the General Election and that they will be kept informed of developments with follow-up newsletters.

MICHIGAN PRIMARY BUDGET

350,000 Mailings
610,000 Voter
Contacts

Direct Mail

1st Mailing - 350,000 @ \$142.20/M
(Window envelope, computer letter
with attached volunteer card, BRE
and brochure) = \$50,000

Assume 2% volunteer response: (7,000)

1st Kit Mailing @ \$250/M = 1,750
Follow-up Certificates @ \$250/M = 1,750
3 Newsletters @ \$125/M = 2,600

Total \$56,100

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the Massachusetts Primary

The Massachusetts Primary election will be held on April 25. Ashbrook, McCloskey and Nixon will be on the ballot. Under a new law, the Presidential contender polling the most support in each of the state's 12 Congressional districts will gain control of the elected delegation from the district, no matter how he fares in the statewide contest.

General Background

As of 1970, Massachusetts' population was 5,630,224. It will cast 14 electoral votes in 1972. Massachusetts' population has a large percentage of foreign stock (40%) and few Blacks (3%). The ethnic population consists of a significant number of French Canadians, Italians, Irish, British, Poles and Russians. Much of the Black population is concentrated in Boston (13% of Boston is Black). Catholics comprise 52% of the state's population.

Political Background

The total voting registration in Massachusetts is 2,628,581. There are 1,135,103 (43%) Democrats, 547,393 (21%) Republicans and 946,085 (36%) Independents. Most of the Republican strength in Massachusetts is located outside of Boston in the Commonwealth's 300 cities and towns. In general, the state is regarded to be very liberal and Democratic.

However, Republicans do have one of the U.S. Senate seats (Brooke) and the Governor's office (Sargent). The State Legislature is controlled by the Democrats with a 178 to 62 ratio in the House and a 30 to 10 margin in the Senate. Democrats also outnumber Republicans in the Congressional delegation by an 8 to 4 ratio. A listing of Congressmen follows: (Tab A is a map of Massachusetts showing Congressional districts).

<u>Congressmen</u>	<u>1970 %</u>	<u>1968 Presidential Vote*</u>		
		<u>RN</u>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>GCW</u>
1st Silvio O. Conte (R)	un.	71,702	110,313	8,546
2nd Edward Boland (D)	un.	56,157	114,530	9,000
3rd Robert Drinan (D) (3-way)	37.7	67,648	124,927	5,051
4th Harold Donohue (D)	54.2	70,871	127,882	5,725
5th F. Bradford Morse (R)	63.0	70,760	134,795	6,869
6th Michael Harrington (D)	61.7	79,134	128,141	6,734
7th T.H. MacDonald (D)	72.8	60,258	34,490	6,619
8th T.P. O'Neill (D)	un.	32,246	119,205	5,547
9th L.D. Hicks (D)	59.2	18,194	93,954	7,555
10th Margaret Heckler (R)	57.0	80,088	122,626	6,863
11th James Burke (D)	un.	63,338	139,835	10,066
12th Hastings Keith (R)	50.4	95,529	118,184	8,504

*Figures for old districts.
Reapportionment not completed.

Presidential Voting Trends

Nixon did not fare well in 1960 or 1968 in Massachusetts. In 1968, Humphrey carried the state with 63% (1,469,218); Nixon received 33% (766,844); and Wallace took 4% (87,088). In 1960, Kennedy received 60% (1,487,174) and Nixon, 40% (976,750).

In the 1968 election, Humphrey carried all twelve Congressional districts and ten of the fourteen counties. Nixon carried four relatively small counties: Nantucket, Dukes, Barnstable and Franklin. In the larger counties, Humphrey received high pluralities. Middlesex and Suffolk provided the Democratic candidate a 336,400 plurality.

The Primary Election

Although McCloskey and Ashbrook are on the ballot, polls show that they do not present a serious challenge to the President. (Tab B) Little activity will be required unless McCloskey's residual forces surface in a strong effort to embarrass the President.

Planned Activities

The Primary campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with representatives of Secretary Volpe, Secretary Richardson, Senator Brooke, Governor Sargent and Bob Hahn, state G.O.P. chairman. The recommendations were discussed in a meeting on March 20, which was attended by the aforementioned parties and Paul Cronin who will act as coordinator. All directors of relevant activities at the Washington-based Committee were also in attendance.

Four areas of activity are contemplated:

1. State Organizational Activities

An effort will be made to utilize the personal political organizations of Volpe, Richardson, Brooke and Sargent in the Republican Primary. All campaign activity will be coordinated through Bob Hahn of the State Republican Party with the help of Paul Cronin. Pat Hutar is scheduled to work with Paul Cronin in the recruitment of volunteers from the Republican Women's Federation.

Recommendation

That you approve the state organizational activities as described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers

It was recommended that we use Administration spokesmen in Massachusetts in a fashion that would maximize media coverage. At this time we are awaiting the determination of appropriate events.

Recommendation

That you approve the use of surrogate speakers in Massachusetts.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Targeted Direct Mail

At the suggestion of the various representatives of Massachusetts officials, a direct mail program targeted to 10,000 Republican Town Committee members has been developed. The total mailing ensemble will include a personalized letter, a window envelope, and a Re-elect the President brochure. The letter will be signed by Senator Brooke, Governor Sargent, Secretary Volpe, and Secretary Richardson. The letter will ask the committee member for the following:

1. Accept the responsibility for a get-out-the-vote program for President Nixon in the Primary.
2. Call 20 fellow Republicans to show support for the President and to vote in the Primary on April 25.

Recommendation

That you approve the direct mail plans as outlined above, at a cost of \$2,500.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

4. Youth Campaign Activities

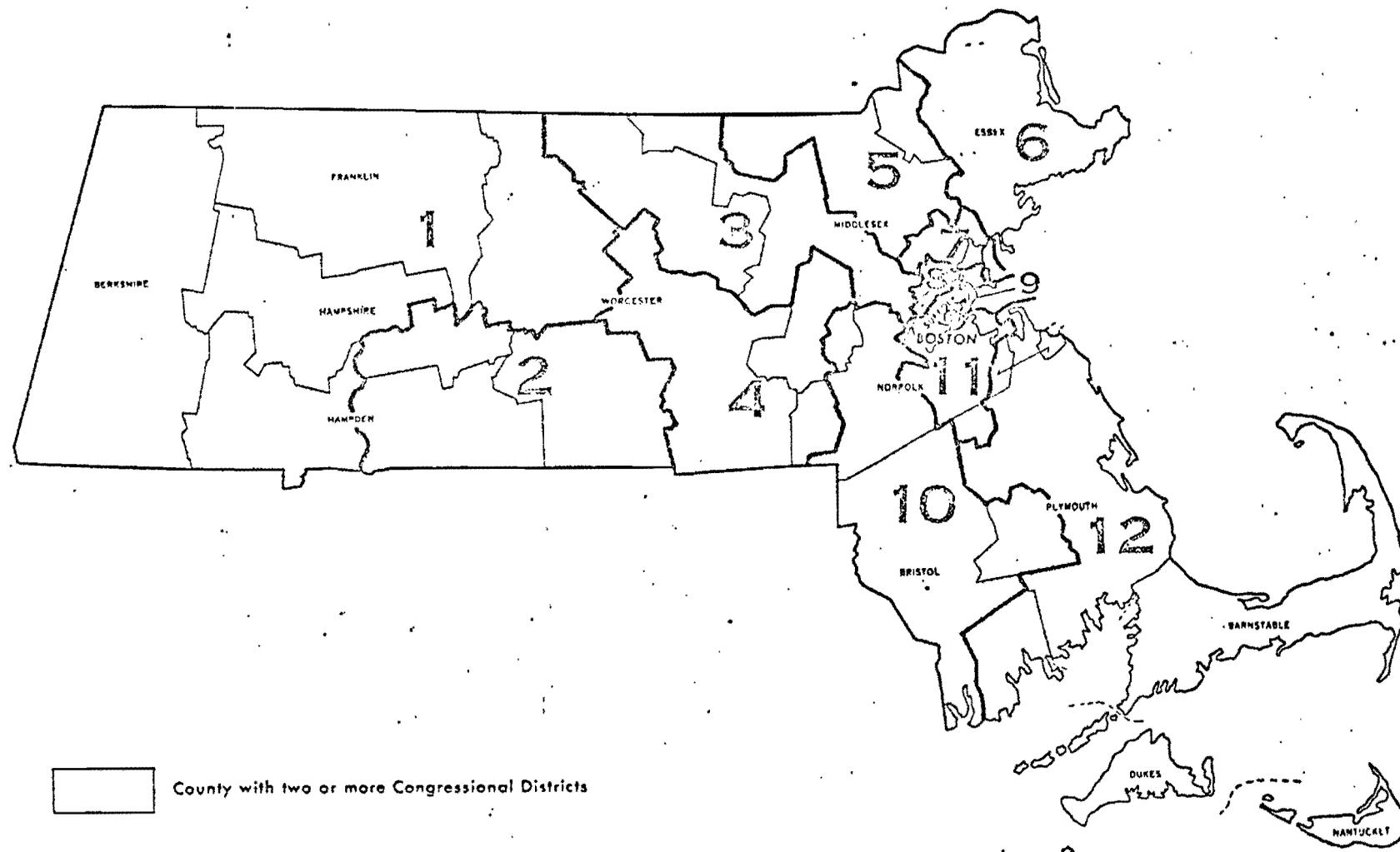
Over 200 of the young people who were involved in our New Hampshire campaign reside in Massachusetts. They will be active in attending Republican events and preparing for mock elections on the Massachusetts campuses.

Recommendation

That you approve of the youth campaign activities outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Map of Congressional Districts and Counties
(12 Districts)



-123-

County with two or more Congressional Districts

U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

DISTRICTS ESTABLISHED JULY 20, 1967

Tab A

STATE REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS, PRESIDENT NIXON AGAIN OUTPOLLED HIS TWO CHALLENGING REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN:

HOW BAY STATE REPUBLICANS WOULD VOTE --

QUESTIONS VOTERS WERE ASKED:

"I'm going to read you the names of the people who are listed as candidates in the Massachusetts Republican Presidential primary on April 25th. Please listen carefully and tell me which one you would vote for if that primary were being held today. If the Massachusetts Republican primary election for President were being held today and the candidates were John Ashbrook, Paul McCloskey and Richard Nixon which one would you vote for?"

"Suppose the candidates were Paul McCloskey and Richard Nixon. Then which one would you vote for?"

	NIXON	MCCLOSKEY	ASHBROOK	UNDECIDED	NIXON	MCCLOSKEY	UNDECIDED	PERCENTAGE BASE
TOTAL MASS. VOTERS PLANNING TO VOTE IN MASS. REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY February, 1972	86	6	2	6	88	7	5	(577)
COUNTY								
Essex	83	9	4	4	84	10	6	(82)
Hampshire-Suffolk	88	5	3	4	91	6	3	(102)
Middlesex	86	7	1	6	87	9	4	(129)
Plymouth-Suffolk-Barnstable-Dukes	86	7	2	5	86	10	4	(115)
Worcester	88	3	0	9	90	2	8	(66)
Independent Hampshire-Franklin-Berkshire	91	2	1	6	90	4	6	(83)
POLITICAL PARTY (REGISTRATION)								
Republican	88	4	1	7	90	5	5	(401)
Independent--not registered to vote yet	83	10	3	4	86	11	3	(169)
	NIXON	MCCLOSKEY	ASHBROOK	UNDECIDED	NIXON	MCCLOSKEY	UNDECIDED	PERCENTAGE BASE
POLITICAL OUTLOOK								
Liberal	78	16	3	3	79	19	2	(88)
Conservative	92	3	1	4	93	4	3	(203)
Middle of the road	88	4	1	7	89	5	6	(274)
SEX								
Men	89	6	2	3	90	6	2	(307)
Women	85	5	2	8	87	6	7	(245)
AGE								
Under 30 years	76	13	5	6	79	14	7	(87)
30 to 44 years	89	6	1	4	89	8	3	(151)
45 to 64 years	91	4	1	4	91	6	3	(214)
65 years and over	85	3	1	11	89	4	7	(117)
ANNUAL INCOME								
Under \$1,000	79	9	1	11	83	11	6	(85)
\$1,000-\$1,499	83	9	6	2	83	13	4	(54)
\$1,500-\$1,999	94	2	1	3	95	3	2	(64)
\$2,000-\$2,999	88	6	2	4	89	8	3	(142)
\$3,000-\$4,999	89	7	0	4	89	6	5	(139)
\$5,000 and over								
REPUBLICANS WHO VOTED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY	89	4	1	6	93	5	5	(339)

THIS POLL CONDUCTED BY THE BUCKNER RESEARCH CORPORATION FOR THE NATIONAL CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA JULY 7, 1972

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the Oregon Primary

The Oregon Primary election will be held on May 23. The President's name as well as those of Ashbrook and McCloskey are on the ballot by law. Traditionally, Oregon has been one of the most important primaries. This year should prove to be no exception as all of the Democratic candidates, including Senator Kennedy, will have their names on the ballot.

General Background

As of 1970, Oregon's population was 2,110,810. The population is clustered in a line that runs from Portland through Salem to Eugene. Most of the remaining parts of the State are sparsely populated.

Oregon is a state virtually all white and all Protestant. The Black population totals only 1%. Foreign stock is 17%; however, much of this foreign stock is Canadian and English and really not ethnic in the political-ethnic sense.

There were 955,459 registered voters in Oregon as of 1970. Republican registrants numbered 410,693 (43%). The Democratic Party had 521,662 (54.6%) registered voters. All other voters totaled 23,104 (2.4%).

Political Background

The Republican Party in Oregon has had a relatively successful record. In the last 25 years, Republicans lost the Governor's chair only once. The Democrats did win the U.S. Senate races in 1954, 1956, 1960 and 1962. More recently, however, Republicans regained the Senate seats with the election of Senator Hatfield in 1966 and Senator Packwood in 1968. The State Legislature is split with the Democrats controlling the Senate 16 to 14, and the Republicans controlling the House 34 to 26.

The four Congressional seats are divided evenly between Democrats and Republicans. A brief description of the Congressional Districts follows. (Tab A)

1st District - Republican - Wendall Wyatt - Most of the district's population is in the Portland metropolitan area. Congressman Wyatt has proven to be quite popular as he received 72% of the vote in 1970.

2nd District - Democrat - Al Ullman - This district includes the sparsely populated eastern two-thirds of the state.

3rd District - Democrat - Edith Green - This district includes most of the city of Portland and the eastern suburbs.

4th District - Republican - John Dellenback - This district has the southwest corner of the state, which includes the University of Oregon in Eugene. As the 4th has alternated between Democratic and Republican Congressmen, it would be considered a marginal seat.

Even though Republicans won the last two U.S. Senate races, there certainly was not a strong Republican showing. Hatfield won with only 51.7% of the vote and Packwood received even less, 50.2%.

Senator Hatfield has announced that he is running for re-election in 1972. Governor McCall has indicated that he will not run against Hatfield in the primary. On the Democratic side, former Senator Wayne Morse and several others are presently seeking the nomination. U.S. Representative Edith Green has decided not to run.

The state of Republican politics in Oregon is far from good. The relationship between Governor McCall and Senator Hatfield is not harmonious. The Republican Party is weak and poorly organized. In addition, the Party has a splinter right-wing faction controlling several counties. The Committee for the Re-Election of the President should be aware of these problems in both planning and implementation of programs.

Presidential Voting Statistics

Oregon has given Nixon a good vote in both 1960 and 1968 primaries and General Elections. In the 1960 Republican Primary, Nixon ran

as the only candidate and received 211,276 (93%) of the 227,033 votes cast. In the 1968 Republican Primary, Nixon again ran as the only candidate on the ballot and received 203,037 (65%) of 312,159 votes cast. The drop-off in percentage was due to the increased primary activity and the write-in campaigns staged.

In Oregon, Nixon won rather handily in the 1968 General Election, receiving 49.8% of the vote (408,433) to Humphrey's 43.8% (358,866) to Wallace's 6.1% (49,683). The Nixon vote margin was 116 votes less than the total Wallace and Humphrey votes combined. Nixon's strongest raw vote counties were as follows:

- 1. Multnomah 106,832
- 2. Lane 39,563
- 3. Washington 34,105
- 4. Clackamas 32,363
- 5. Marion 30,417

These five counties accounted for 243,279 Nixon votes of his state total of 408,433 and represented 59.5% of his state total. Multnomah, the county in which Portland is, is by far the largest county and gave Nixon 26.1% of his state total. This county, however, was carried by Humphrey, giving the Democratic candidate a plurality of 17,820. It is the only county of the five largest counties which gave a plurality to the Democratic candidate.

The five counties which gave Nixon the largest raw vote plurality are as follows:

<u>County</u>	<u>Nixon Percentage</u>	<u>Plurality</u>
Washington	57.0	11,162
Marion	54.8	8,090
Jackson	56.2	6,863
Benton	61.3	5,116
Lane	49.1	<u>5,042</u>
		36,273 - 73.1% of total plurality

Only six counties in the state were carried by Humphrey. These counties form a line for the most part around the very northern and

and western portions of the state. Multnomah gave Humphrey his largest plurality of 17,820. After that, Coos gave him a plurality of 2,654; Columbia, 1,856; Clatsop, 433; Tillamook, 348; and Wasco, 76. Only in the first three counties mentioned did Humphrey receive more than 50% of the vote, and only in Coos and Columbia did Nixon receive less than 40% of the vote.

Political Analysis

Preliminary polling information indicates that the most important issues in Oregon are:

1. Economy
2. Unemployment (The poll was taken during the dock strike.)
3. Ecology

The survey also shows that Senator Packwood and Governor McCall have high approval ratings. Senator Hatfield's approval rating is much lower, and he may have trouble in the General Election.

The President's approval rating is substantially lower than his national average. In particular, the President is not receiving the normal Democratic support. This, combined with the disorganization of the Republican Party, suggests that Oregon cannot be considered a solid state for 1972.

The Primary Election

Due to recent developments with the McCloskey and Ashbrook campaigns, the President will probably not be seriously challenged in the Oregon Primary. However, we should be aware of the possibility of residual Ashbrook or McCloskey forces surfacing in an attempt to embarrass the President.

Our objectives in the primary are as follows:

1. Defeat any Republican opposition by an impressive margin.
2. Recruit key personnel in the primary so that we will have a strong Nixon organization in the General Election. This is particularly critical in light of the problems within the Republican Party in Oregon.

Planned Activities

The primary campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with the Oregon Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The recommendations were discussed in a meeting on March 4, 1972, attended by the Oregon Committee for the Re-Election of the President chairman, Congressman Wendall Wyatt, and the executive director, Warne Nunn. All directors of the relevant activities from the Washington Committee were also present.

Five areas of activity are contemplated:

1. State Organizational Activity
2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers
3. Targeted Telephone Operation
4. Contingent Plan for Radio Advertising
5. Youth Campaign Activity

The time schedule for the total operating plan is given in Tab B. The individual elements are discussed in more detail below:

1. State Organizational Activity

The Oregon Committee for the Re-Election of the President has established a headquarters for the primary, but they do not plan store front headquarters or high profile headquarters activity as there have been several headquarter bombings in Oregon. The primary should afford an opportunity to recruit key personnel for the General Election. Pat Hutar is scheduled to work with the Committee on establishing a volunteer program for the state. Deadlines for selection of key personnel will be established by the Washington Committee and progress reports will be required.

Recommendation

That you approve the state organizational activities as described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Appearance in the State by Pro-Administration Speakers

As in other primary states, well-known pro-Administration speakers will visit the state on behalf of the President. At the request of the Oregon Committee, the state will not be flooded with speakers. No rally activity is planned at this time. If Governor McCall, Senator Hatfield and Senator Packwood will participate, a joint press conference to endorse the President will be scheduled. The list of speakers scheduled up to this time follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 25	Republican Party Dorchester Conference, Lincoln City	Sec. Richardson
April 15-25	Girl Scout Council, Fund Raising Event	(Invitation Pending)
May 5	Oregon Cattlemen's Association, Pendleton	Sec. Butz (Invitation Pending)
May 6	Ad-Man of the Year Banquet, Portland	Mr. Klein (Invitation Pending)
May 10	Oregon Federation of Republican Women, Medford	Sec. Butz (Invitation Pending)
Date Open:		
Early May	Republican State Central Committee, Fund Raising Dinner, Portland	Senator Goldwater (Invitation Pending)
—	Lane County Republican Central Committee, Fund Raising Dinner, Eugene	Sec. Romney Sec. Peterson

Recommendation

That you approve the program for surrogate speakers as outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. Targeted Telephone Operation

The Oregon Committee expressed an interest in establishing a telephone operation in four areas of the Willamette Valley: Portland, Salem, Corvallis and Eugene. Due to the limited opposition in the Oregon Primary and telephone operation commitments in other states, we do not feel that it is practical to use a targeted telephone operation in the Oregon Primary.

Recommendation

That you agree that we should not use a targeted telephone operation.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

4. Contingent Plan for Radio or Newspaper Advertising

In the event that McCloskey or Ashbrook does begin to actively organize and campaign, a contingent plan will be necessary. Radio or newspaper advertising would serve as the most practical plan because of the short lead time required. The contingent radio or newspaper plan developed would be concentrated in the area of Salem, Portland, Eugene, Corvallis and Kalmath Falls. This advertising would run for a maximum of four weeks at a cost of \$23,000.

Recommendation

That you approve the contingent plan for radio or newspaper advertising.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

5. Youth Campaign Activity

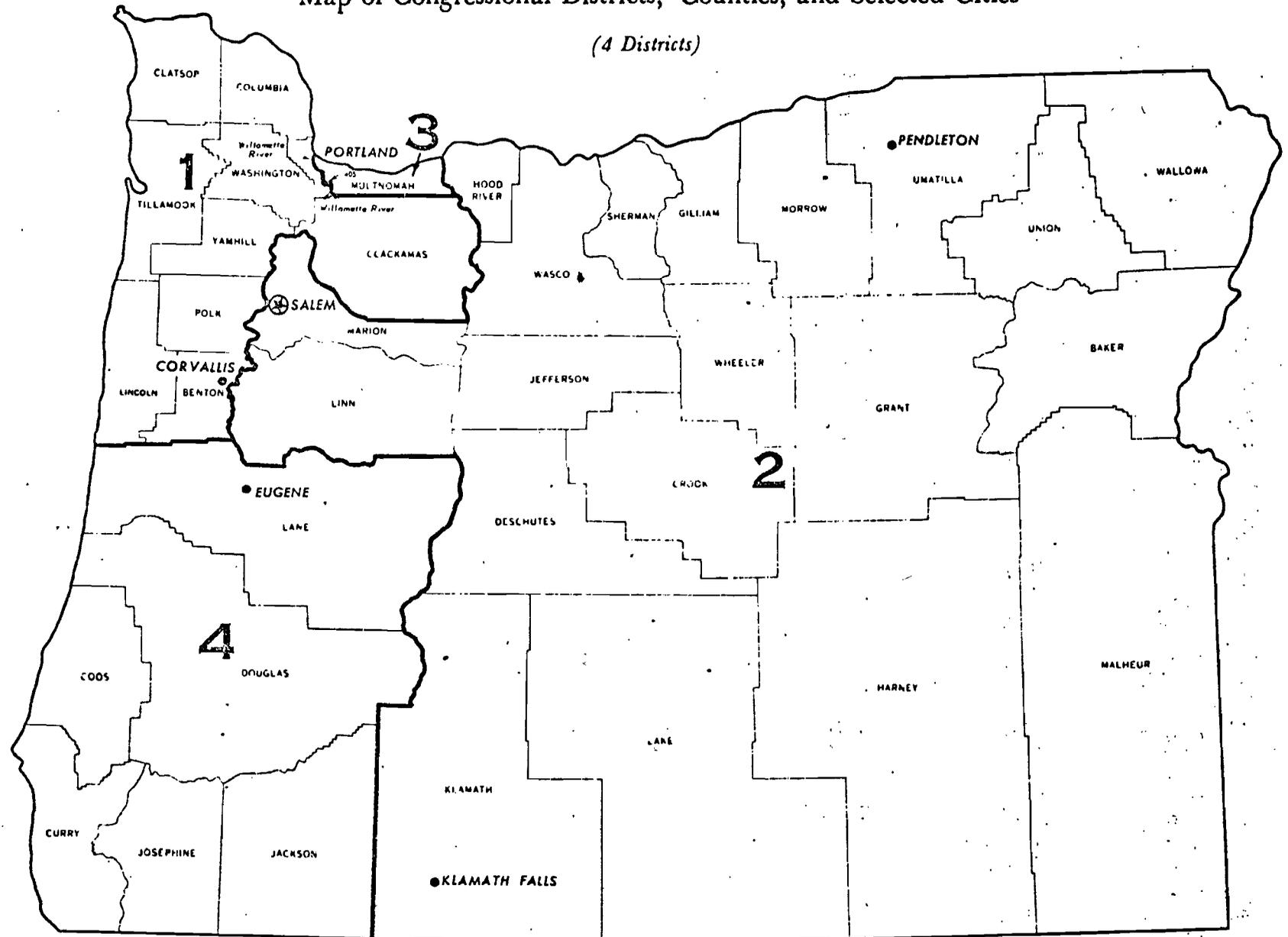
The youth campaign now has a field man, Ted Wigger, in Oregon. He will be working with the state organization in an attempt to organize registration drives and to prepare for mock elections on Oregon campuses.

Recommendation

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities

(4 Districts)



U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Mr. Peter H. Dailey & Mr. Phillip Joanou Copy to:
FROM: Clifford A. Miller Jeb S. Magruder
DATE: March 27, 1972

As we have discussed, I think it would be helpful if the strategy committee could review at one of its future meetings the television, radio, newspaper and direct mail being used in the primary states by the major opposition candidates -- Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, Lindsay, Wallace and McGovern.

If it is possible, the committee should examine the actual product -- the film, tape, tear sheet, or whatever -- as opposed to receiving a verbal or written report. In this way, the strategy group can have a very specific idea of the type and flavor of impressions being received by the voters.

For those of us not out in the field it would be useful to evaluate the objectives and techniques being used by the opposition at this early date and analyze the changes in media strategy from primary to primary.

Please call me if you would like to discuss this at further length.

CA

bcc: Mr. John N. Mitchell
~~Mr. Gordon Strachan~~