

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>
32	6	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Political Matters. 3 pgs.
32	6	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Richard L. Fore through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: An Analysis of the McGovern Campaign Organization in the California Primary. 4 pgs.
32	6	6/9/1973	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title" George C. Wallace (GCW) Status Report 6/9/72. 1 pg.
32	6	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to John Mitchell (copy: H.R. Haldeman). This document discusses George C. Wallace and ballots. 1 pg.

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32	6	6/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses State Representatives, organizing, mailings, and polling. 2 pgs.
32	6	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses poll meetings. 1 pg.
32	6	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to H.R. Haldeman (cc: Alexander P. Butterfield). RE: McGovern. 2 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** H. R. Haldeman  
**Box Number:** 312

**Folder:** Campaign 21 June 7-14, 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
114	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRTH, 6/14/72
115	Return Private/Political MEMO, FOLEY TO MITCHELL, 6/12/72
116	Return Private/Political GEORGE C WALLACE STATUS REPORT, 6/9/72
117	Return Private/Political GEORGE C. WALLACE STATUS REPORT, 6/9/72
118	• Retain Open
119	Return Private/Political MEMO, DEWIT TO MITCHELL, 6/12/72
120	Return Private/Political NOTES, "NOF - WON'T WORRY..," 6/13/[72]
121	Return Private/Political NOTES, "H - TICKETS...", 6/14/[72]
122	Return Private/Political MEMO, KEHRLI TO HRTH, 6/12/72

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: Political Matters

Finances

1) Herb Kalmbach returned from Europe yesterday. At Stans' request he selected a European fundraising chairman, Pier Talenti, a close friend of John Mitchell's as well as the President. Talenti has a 1,000 quota. Kalmbach met his 10,000 quota and is resisting Stans' efforts to have him accept another 3,000 quota. Kalmbach is meeting with Ehrlichman in California today and hopes to receive some "special, non-fundraising assignments".

2) Concerning the Stans-Nunn request to keypunch the White House Support List (the 300,000 who have written in supporting the President), you asked me to check Dean. He responded on June 12 with his approval to using these names for a direct mail fundraising effort by Stans.

Recommendation

That you authorize Lee Nunn to have the White House Support List keypunched for a mailing after the Democratic National Committee Convention subject to your approval of the text of the letter.

\_\_\_\_\_ Approval      \_\_\_\_\_ Disapproval      \_\_\_\_\_ Comments

3) Sloan has discussed the suggestion of having the publicly known contributors to the President appear on the next public record with Stans. He is receptive and will try to get a broad group with varying amounts to permit their names to appear publicly on August 4, 1972.

John Mitchell

1) He addressed the 60 top people at 1701 this morning for ten minutes. The tone was quite tough emphasizing that 1701 has been in the process of organizing and by and large done a pretty good job. But now its nuts and bolts; forget big meals, media and fun stuff. McGovern has an excellent voter identification and canvassing operation. The staff at 1701 that wants to work on registration and follow on should get to work; others should leave. The transition from planning to activation is complete.

2) Mitchell then introduced Rick Fore, who is a 26-year old from Virginia, who worked in Shafron's Virginia Lieutenant Governor campaign and was an assistant to Congressman William Cramer (R-Fla.) and Phillip Crane (R-Ill.); he now works directly for Bob Marik. Fore had completed an analysis of the McGovern campaign (attached at Tab A). A quick summary will indicate that McGovern will be a worthy opponent: 40,000 volunteers in the field; 140 store front headquarters, manned by volunteers seven days a week; three computer centers monitoring the canvassing; two million direct mail pieces; telephone banks to duplicate canvassing; personally contacting 4 million of the 5.1 million Democrats.

3) Al Kaupinen described the new registration drive system with Illinois as an example. Results will be available July 8.

4) An updated talking paper incorporating the changes you made on the June 12 talking paper is attached at Tab B. You may want to cover some of the points in this Mitchell talking paper with the Ehrlichman political group tomorrow at 10 a.m.

Harry Dent

1) He had a long discussion with Bob Teeter about the advertising slogan testing Dailey and Teeter are conducting on "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever". Dent was concerned that the slogan was too sophisticated for the average man and you asked that it be tested. Results should be available from Teeter next week.

2) Mitchell has not given Dent an answer on whether John Rollins should conduct a special fundraising effort for Governors and Senators we are interested in supporting.

3) Dent's main contact in the Wallace organization, Tom Turnipseed, is convinced that Wallace will not run on a third party ticket for physical as well as ballot reasons. (Wallace ballot status summary is attached at Tab C.) Dent is trying to obtain information on the McGovern-Wallace meeting.

Lyn Nofziger

Discussion with Nofziger on June 13 developed several points:

1) Although Governor Reagan is unhappy about Finch moving to California, Lyn claims he won't worry about it and will use him in the campaign;

2) The 29,000 volunteers developed by the direct mail effort will be used for precinct organization, while the regular party will conduct registration. (I got the impression that very little was in fact happening.);

3) He still has problems with 1701 because "it never went together very well", but believes Mardian is a very positive addition;

4) He complains that Bill Horton has not delivered on several requests and is now taking a five week vacation;

5) California Democrats and Independents will not come out and support the President.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: RICHARD L. FORE  
SUBJECT: An Analysis of the McGovern Campaign  
Organization in the California Primary

Attached you will find a report on the McGovern Campaign Organization that is a result of my observations while in California.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

ANALYSIS OF THE MCGOVERN CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION  
IN THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY

GENERAL ORGANIZATION

Many of McGovern's national campaign staff arrived in California as early as October, 1971 to raise money, recruit volunteers, and build an organization for the June, 1972 primary. By May of this year, Senator George McGovern already had between 20,000 and 40,000 volunteers working in the precincts of California.

The McGovern staff operated from three central headquarters in California: the Southern California Headquarters in Los Angeles, the Northern California Headquarters in San Francisco, and the State Headquarters in Los Angeles. In addition, the McGovern organization took their campaign to the people with 140 store front headquarters located over the entire state (Tab A). Most of the headquarters were located on an assembly district basis with full time volunteers manning the store front operations 7 days a week, 13 hours a day including holidays.

In most areas the store front headquarters were staffed by semi-professional organizers (McGovern volunteers who had been through primaries in other states and who had a firm grasp of grassroot politics) and local California volunteers who will be the trained organizers for the general election in November. The store front headquarters' staff were articulate, bright, and extremely effective organizers who placed major emphasis on canvassing.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION

The McGovern staff began their voter identification program by securing lists of registered Democrats. These names were fed into a computer which generated a computer print out of the registered Democratic voters, with telephone numbers. The format of the computer print out was such that it could be used for door-to-door canvassing and telephoning. It was developed in precinct walking order with an area for marking a coded response: (1) strong McGovern, (2) leaning McGovern, (3) undecided, (4) anti or leaning against McGovern. Another area of the print out was reserved for issues and comments (Tab B).

McGovern volunteers placed each computer print out into a McGovern '72 Precinct Campaign Kit which gave instructions for door-to-door canvassers. The general rules emphasized that all precincts should be walked, not telephoned. Specific instructions included a canvass conversation and coding procedure (Tab C).

Each McGovern '72 Precinct Campaign Kit was enclosed in an envelope with a map of the precinct attached to the outside (Tab D). The envelope also contained McGovern literature, bumper stickers, and an identification badge. The kits were distributed to the appropriate assembly district store front headquarters.

For the most part, precinct captains were not designated for canvassing. Blitz teams and individual "walk-in" volunteers were assigned precincts. The McGovern Campaign found that while it was difficult to recruit a precinct captain who would take full responsibility for each precinct, it was much easier to find a volunteer who would give 4 to 6 hours to canvass a precinct (Tab E).

The McGovern staff maintained strict accountability and control over all canvassers. Specific times were designated for returning the McGovern '72 Precinct Campaign Kit. Control Boards were used in store front headquarters so that the staff could determine the status of canvassing at any time.

Volunteers also used telephone banks to canvass voters. Telephoning did not substitute for door-to-door voter identification. Its purpose was to supplement and often duplicate the door-to-door canvass. Although the telephone banks were not located in the store front headquarters, close coordination existed with telephone banks reporting the results of their day's work to the staff of the store front operation.

The state level staff also used a telephone bank in the Central Headquarters to call local headquarters across the state and check on the status of canvassing. This served as both a check and prodding mechanism. In addition, state field staff made regular trips to local headquarters to assist in problem areas and provide an additional system of control and accountability.

When the volunteers completed canvassing and returned the McGovern '72 Precinct Campaign Kit, the computer print outs that had been coded were sent to the computer center so that "personalized" computer letters could be mailed to those identified in the canvass as being favorable or undecided. After all information from the canvass had been fed into the computer, the print outs were returned to the local headquarters within five days for recanvassing purposes. During the last days of the campaign, headquarters' volunteers hand addressed mailings to those who were canvassed because there was not sufficient time for computerized letters.

Most canvassing had been completed a week before election day. The last week of the campaign was used to recanvass "not at homes" and undecideds.

GET OUT THE VOTE (VOTER TURN OUT)

Computer centers generated a second print out on the Sunday before election day (Tab F). These print outs of the 1, 2, and 3's - favorable, leaning favorable, and undecided, were enclosed in a Democratic Presidential Primary Election Canvass Kit. (Tab G). Volunteers used these kits to go door-to-door and to call voters reminding them to vote. Volunteers offered rides to the polls and baby sitters to those at home. Volunteers left door knob hangers indicating the appropriate polling place to those not at home (Tab H).

ADDITIONAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Although the McGovern staff and volunteers concentrated primarily on voter identification and voter turn out, the following activities were also well planned and coordinated.

**RALLIES:** McGovern staff and volunteers used leaflets and sound trucks to promote McGovern speaking events, headquarters openings, etc. well in advance of the day of the event (Tab I). Because of the importance of their assigned task, McGovern volunteers engaged in canvassing were asked not to attend rallies.

**DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIALS:** McGovern volunteers followed a well planned program for saturating the entire state with bumper stickers, posters, and brochures which were brief and to the point. (Tab J).

**VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT:** McGovern headquarters' staff was composed of volunteers of all ages who were cordial and extremely effective in recruiting other volunteers. Most prospective volunteers who entered a McGovern headquarters were recruited immediately and asked to do the most meaningful work - canvassing.

CONCLUSION

As indicated throughout this analysis, canvassing for voter identification and get-out-the-vote was the highest priority in the McGovern campaign in the California Primary. As a result, 20,000 to 40,000 volunteers effectively canvassed 4 million of the 5.1 million voters in 19,000 of the 23,000 precincts in a state that was thought to be too large to organize. Just as in other primary states, the McGovern campaign organization has left behind a residual force of trained volunteers in California for the general election.

GEORGE C. WALLACE (GCW)  
STATUS REPORT: 6/9/72

STATE	CAN GCW RUN	AS CANDIDATE OF	ACTION REQUIRED	DATE	Mo.	Yes	New party	Petition: (See text)	7/31
Ala.	Yes	AIP	Convention	9/9	Mont.	Yes	AP	Convention	9/23
Alas.	Yes	AIP	Request	8/10	Neb.	No	All applicable filing dates passed.		
Ariz.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1/3 last vote	7/14	Nev.	Yes	New party	Petition: 6,882 sigs.	7/7
Ark.	Yes	AIP	Convention	9/4-9/24	N.H.	Yes	AP	Certify	7/13
Cal.	Yes	AIP	Certifica- tion	Open	N.J.	Yes	AP	Already qualified	
Colo.	Yes	New party	Petition: 300 sigs.	9/24	N.M.	Yes	AIP	Certify & Petition: 3/4 last vote	9/12
Conn.	Yes	George Wallace Party	Nom. papers	9/20	N.Y.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 20,000 sigs.	8/28-31
Del.	Yes	AIP	Convention & Certify	7/22 9/1	N.C.	Yes	AP	National Convention	(See text)
D.C.	Yes	New party	Petition: 260,000 sigs.	8/15	N.D.	Yes	New party	Petition: 300 sigs.	9/29
Fla.	Yes	New party	Petition: 1/3 last vote	8/15	Ohio	Yes	AIP	Convention	8/25
Ga.	Yes	AIP	Convention & Petition: 98,022 sigs.	5/9 6/14	Okla.	Yes	AP	Convention	8/10
Hawaii	Yes	New party	Petition: 1/3 reg. voters	6/9	Ore.	No	Ran in primary and lost.		
Idaho	Yes	AIP	Convention	6/30	Pa.	No (See text)	All applicable filing dates passed.		
Ill.	Yes	New party	Petition: 25,000 sigs.	7/31-8/7	R.I.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 500 sigs.	7/28
Ind.	See text	New Party	Petition: 8,500 sigs.	9/1	S.C.	Yes	AP	Certify	10/4
Iowa	Yes	AIP	Convention	8/4-9/3	S.D.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 2/3 prior vote	9/2
Kans.	Yes	Conservative	Convention	6/20	Tenn.	Yes	AP	Convention	9/7
Kty.	Yes	AP	Already qualified		Tex.	Yes	New party	Petition: 22,300 sigs. & Convention	7/2 9/19
La.	Yes	AP	Certify	9/18	Utah	Yes	AIP	Convention	7/31
Me.	Yes	New party	Petition: 3,254 sigs.	6/19	Vt.	Yes	New party	Petition: 1,535 sigs.	9/20
Md.	No	No Certificate of Candidacy Filed			Va.	Yes	AIP	Petition: 9,105 sigs.	9/8
Mass.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 56,038 sigs.	7/5	Wn.	Yes	New party	Convention & Petition: 100 sigs.	9/19 9/26
Mich.	No (See text)	Ran in primary and lost.			W. Va.	No	All applicable filing dates passed.		
Minn.	Yes	New party	Petition: 2,000 sigs. (See text)	7/5-9/12	Wisc.	Yes	AP	Already qualified	
Miss.	Yes	New party	Petition: 1,000 sigs.	9/27	Wyo.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 5,815 sigs.	9/27

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June 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

FROM: HARRY DENT 

Tom Turnipseed is substantially convinced Wallace will not run a third party effort for physical as well as ballot position reasons. He says John Decarlo, who is handling ballot position for Wallace, does not believe they can get on more than 30 state ballots now even with AIP help. Turnipseed told Decarlo he was thinking of joining the Nixon effort if Wallace did not run on the third ticket and Decarlo agreed this would be the thing to do.

Turnipseed says Decarlo is the only knowledgeable attorney type in the Wallace camp. He is an assistant district attorney in Jefferson County and expects to be named a state judge by Wallace.

Turnipseed can do nothing until after the Demo convention but is willing to go all out thereafter.

copy: H.R.Haldeman ✓

9/13

Not

- won't worry about R F in state, Gregs Soc but can't worry, use aim where we can

- Mail - went very well  
Donnelly - very bad

- Brand new precinct organiz

- Need Precinct Organiz + ~~Politics~~

- All Volunteers

Reps beef only  
- mailed to Reps

- Dems + Inds went  
come rushing to P  
but after Conven

\* Betty Nolan - "go after McG  
now"

- if want McG don't  
attack

- "won't move to Center"

- P doing so well postively,  
contrast is lovely

- Horten - not a hell of a lot  
really great enthusiasm +  
5 wds back across country

- Opposed management types.

1701- better w/ Mardian,  
- never went together  
very well. Didn't  
decide how to see  
nat'l camp w/ experts  
but not poles

-H - tickets Becker - Pat Salisbury 6/14

JSM re control of Mem supplies

E pol mty  
for na + ~~6/15 =  
H Fall Paper~~

1st. 200 for George - today.

D C - Connie Stuart to 1701  
populizing convention + Fall  
- Housing in convention.

Chico - re - re Kristine

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*  
SUBJECT: McGovern

Please note the attached comments from the June 12 Weekend News Review,

Magruder and John Mitchell are aware of this comment from Lyn Nofziger and will reprimand him for it.

cc: Alexander P. Butterfield

Semple, in NY Times, writes that "the men who are running RN's re-election campaign seem to worry about the prospect of a McG candidacy the closer they get to McG himself". While nat'l aides are confident they can pin 'radical' tag on George, Semple says others in primary states are cautious. One Calif.

RN worker said: "Contrived or real, McG is projecting an impression of freshness, seriousness of purpose and candor, building himself for a direct confrontation with the old politics in Nov." *H. It is good to run scared - but it is stupid to put out their line*

Semple, in earlier piece, says "the suspicion is that RN is richly enjoying the commotion" caused by his refusal to specify VP. He adds that new Connally mission, tho, has prompted some to ask if they aren't being conned "by a Pres whose taste for little surprises and grand theatre is beginning to make even the great Lyndon look like an amateur". Semple says WH staff feel VP Agnew will be on the ticket, but writers feels that the VP's ambiguity about whether he really wants the top job may affect RN's choice.

Ferguson writes that primary results "say clearly that moods and personalities matter far more to the voter in 1972 than issues and events". Thus RN, whose doing all he can to influence issues and events, may still face problems. RN "will be open to just the same kind of damaging contrast with McG" as HHH was in Calif. Says Ernest.

NY Times magazine has article by Rice on Sen. Smith of Maine. She faces a tough primary and/or reelection campaign, says author, as many feel she's old or hasn't done enough for Maine.

C.S. Monitor's Strout writes that the "much-criticized US presidential primary system seems once more to have vindicated itself". Its cruel but effective ordeal by publicity has cut down the supposed front-runner, and brought another from obscurity into lead. And further, primaries have delineated the "major issue of the campaign -- the depth of the current of unrest and dissatisfaction running through US". "Many criticize Presidential primaries but it's hard to find an alternative", he concludes.