

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>
24	2	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: an attached document relating to a Democratic National Dinner Committee. 4 pgs.
24	2	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a letter forwarded by Nofziger. 1 pg.
24	2	6/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From California Governor Ronald Reagan to Patricia R. Hitt RE: the Republican Party in California and support for RN. 1 pg.
24	2	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Mitchell RE: material on Henry Jackson and the 18-20 year old vote. 1 pg.

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24	2	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to RN RE: the possibility of Henry Jackson as the Democratic nominee for president in 1972. 4 pgs.
24	2	6/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tom Benham of the Opinion Research Corporation to Haldeman RE: the role of the youth vote in the election. Scenarios involving potential Democratic opponents of RN in 1972 included in attached tables. 12 pgs.
24	2	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: attached information. 1 pg.
24	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to Strachan RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
24	2	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to "Bruce" RE: information that Haldeman requested be sent to Mitchell. 1 pg.

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24	2	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Mitchell RE: a Buchanan memo on Henry Jackson. 1 pg.
24	2	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Kehrlie to Haldeman RE: memo forwarded to Mitchell. 1 pg.
24	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: attached information, comprised of a memo from Dent to Haldeman and a "Congressional Casualty List." 8 pgs.
24	2	6/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
24	2	6/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From unknown author to Mitchell RE: the campaign in Wisconsin. 1 pg.

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24	2	6/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From unknown author to Mitchell RE: state and local fundraising events. 1 pg.
24	2	6/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From unknown author to Mitchell RE: the poll results of trial heats in Rhode Island. 1 pg.
24	2	6/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McCarthy's plans in 1972. 1 pg.
24	2	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rita E. Hauser to Mitchell RE: McCarthy's political plans in 1972, including the possibility of a presidential run. 2 pgs.
24	2	6/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McCarthy's plans in 1972. 1 pg.

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24	2	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rita E. Hauser to Mitchell RE: McCarthy's political plans in 1972, including the possibility of a presidential run. 2 pgs.
24	2	6/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: an attached letter from Wallace. 1 pg.
24	2	5/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Copy of a letter from George C. Wallace to Edward H. Johns and his wife asking for support. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 1 pg.
24	2	6/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
24	2	6/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From J. Roy Goodearle to Dent RE: state governors loyal to RN. List of such governors attached. 2 pgs.

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24	2	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached memo forwarded by Dent involving South Carolina. 1 pg.
24	2	6/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman and Mitchell RE: South Carolina's possible support for Reagan as the 1972 Republican presidential candidate. 2 pgs.
24	2	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: McGovern's use of Senate stationery for fundraising letters. 1 pg.
24	2	6/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Timmons to Haldeman RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
24	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of Democrats supporting Congressman Mills for president. 1 pg.

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24	2	6/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: attached information. 1 pg.
24	2	6/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From W. Richard Howard to Strachan RE: a report from the Americans for Constitutional Action. 1 pg.
24	2	5/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Information on labor contributions to 1970 Senatorial campaigns. 2 pgs.
24	2	5/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: information from Jay Lovestone on the AFL/CIO. 2 pgs.
24	2	6/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Finch to RN RE: California's role in the 1972 presidential election. 4 pgs.

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24	2	5/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Mitchell RE: information from Congressman Lou Frey on Florida. 2 pgs.
24	2	5/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a report from Colson on Hartke. 1 pg.
24	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Information on campaign contributions to candidates in New Jersey, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania attached to newspaper articles on dissent within the Republican Party. (Duplicates not scanned.) 5 pgs.
24	2	4/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: an attached confidential document. 1 pg.
24	2	4/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Thomas B. Evans, Jr. to Haldeman RE: support for RN from Frank Dale and the Republican National Committee. 2 pgs.

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24	2	3/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Price to Haldeman RE: plans of Wilbur Mills to run for president. 1 pg.
24	2	8/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: key primary dates. Copy of memo attached. 2 pgs.
24	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Page from a "Newsweek" article on the 1972 presidential campaign. List of important presidential primaries included. 1 pg.
24	2	5/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ed DeBolt to Strachan RE: a request from Evans that the RNC handle reports relating to the 1972 primaries. List of key primaries and information on how they function attached. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 13 pgs.
24	2	4/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Magruder to Mitchell RE: enclosed information on presidential primaries. Handwritten note on original added by unknown. Information on primaries and nomination by a Secretary of State attached. 4 pgs.

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24	2	8/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From DeBolt to Strachan RE: filing deadline for the New Hampshire primary. 1 pg.
24	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Slip of paper reading "from H. Flemming." 1 pg.
24	2	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Report on important presidential primaries for the 1972 election. 7 pgs.

Did a  
copy go  
to cwc

July 16, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

no, Evans, G,  
?

The attached is for your  
information.

July 9, 1971

Democratic National Dinner Committee

This committee reported receipts of \$510,801.00 as of May 31, 1971. It is rumored that they will report another \$500,000 in their August 30th report. The dinner was held in early June. As of 5/31/70 this committee had expenses of \$112,268.34. It is interesting to note that BESS ABELL received \$10,000 on 5/10/71 for "services".

Of the total receipts, labor unions gave directly \$38,500. Other groups gave as follows:

TRW Good Government Fund	\$ 5,000
Life Underwriters Political Action Committee	1,000
Hughes Active Citizenship Campaign Committee	2,000
Bankers Political Action Committee	1,000
Savings Association Political Education Committee	5,000
Committee for Action (Contractors)	1,000
Physicians Committee for Good Government (D.C.)	5,000
American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC)	5,000
Action Committee for Rural Electrification	1,000
Trust for Agricultural Political Education (TAPE)	5,000
Massachusetts Nursing & Rest Home Education and Political Action Committee	1,000
Central National Bank Employees Good Government Fund (Cleveland, Ohio)	1,500
Ohio Contractors Political Action Committee (Columbus, Ohio)	1,000
CITIGO	5,000

Major contributors over \$3,000 were:

T.C.H. Murphy, Jr. 200 Jefferson Avenue El Dorado, Arkansas	5,000
Adolph J. Toigo 380 Madison Avenue New York, New York (Chairman - Lennen & Newell, Inc. advertising)	5,000
Leonard Davis 555 Madison Avenue New York, New York	5,000
E. H. Green Woodruff Building Springfield, Missouri	5,000

S. Harrison Dogole 2011 Walnut Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	5,000
Edward Bennett Williams 1000 Hill Building Washington, D.C.	5,000
Arnold M. Picker New York (United Artist Corporation)	5,000
Corbin J. Robertson 500 Jefferson Building Houston, Texas	5,000
Milledge A. Hart, III 4675 Edmondson Dallas, Texas	5,000
John D. Rockefeller, IV 1515 Barberrry Lane Charleston, West Virginia (He is Secretary of State of West Virginia)	5,000
Lee C. Howley 5430 Portage Drive Vermillion, Ohio (Vice President - Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.)	3,500
William G. Helis, Jr. 912 Whitney Building New Orleans, Louisiana	5,000
John B. Tache 1744 R Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.	4,000
David L. Kreeger 2401 Foxhall Road, N.W. Washington, D.C. (Vice Chairman - Government Employees Insurance Co.)	5,000
Scott P. Linder 2201 Hawthorne Trail Lakeland, Florida	5,000

William J. Taylor 1725 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. (Former Chairman REA Express)	3,000
Mrs. Jack Carnes 132 California Street, N. Camden, Arkansas (Democrat National Committeewoman)	3,000
Charles Emmett Lucey 3500 Raymond Street Chevy Chase, Maryland (He is a Washington attorney)	5,000
James J. Schiller One Erieview Plaza Cleveland, Ohio	3,000
Henry Ford, II Michigan (Mr. Ford is Chairman of the Ford Motor Company. Although he gave only \$2,000 we included his name since he seems to give to both sides.)	2,000
Dr. Pedro L. Rodriguez 953 Southern Building Bronx, New York	5,000
R.M.S, Consolidated 10800 Brookpark Road Cleveland, Ohio (This may be a company)	5,000
Edward J. De Bartols 7620 Market Street Youngstown, Ohio	5,000
Thomas F. Fleming, Jr. 750 S.E. Lake Drive Boca Ratan, Florida	4,000
Charles W. Lockyer 1250 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. (President, Publishers, INC.)	5,000

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date July 1, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Nofziger forwarded this letter from Reagan to Pat Hitt which replies to her statements in California.

Reagan says "I will lead a delegation to the Convention, pledged to his renomination and reelection".

To Bob  
Helbman  
FBI  
R

Lyn - FYI  
Heene

June 22, 1971

Patricia R. Hitt  
3113 Woodley Road, Northwest  
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Pat:

I am enclosing the letter I sent to Y.A.F. regarding their proposal to advance me as a presidential candidate. I think you can see from this letter that I am doing everything I can to support the President; indeed I have so informed him, and have assured him I will lead a delegation to the Convention, pledged to his renomination and reelection.

This letter is actually in reply to reports I have read in the papers of your recent press conference here in California. Even allowing for the press and its desire to drive wedges between Republicans whenever possible, I have to say I am disturbed by the tone of the press conference, and what seemed to be your attitude of hostility toward my administration and what we are attempting to do in California. No useful purpose can be served by portraying the President and myself as at odds when California is so all-important in the 1972 election.

It is true, the President and I do not agree on the Welfare Reform Proposal, which, frankly, I find basically contrary to Republican philosophy as well as a program filled with booby traps by our opponents. But I have played this difference down and have defended the President's position on it on a number of occasions. He and I have discussed our difference on this and a cordial relationship does exist. If the H.E.W. party line is to be divisive, it certainly will not serve Republican goals or the President here in California.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN  
Governor

Enclosure

RR:nlh

cc: M. Deaver, B. Walker, J. Jenkins, Lyn Nofziger

June 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Mr. Haldeman asked that you receive this memorandum for the President, prepared by Pat Buchanan on "The Odds Against Henry Jackson."

Also enclosed is an analysis of the 18-20 year old vote prepared by Tom Benham of Opinion Research Corporation for your review.

Attachment: Memorandum for the President from Pat Buchanan,  
dated June 25, 1971  
Memorandum from Tom Benham to H. R. Haldeman,  
dated June 15, 1971

GS:elr

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN  
SUBJECT: The Odds Against Henry Jackson

That Senator Jackson is a candidate for his party's nomination -- there is no question. That he can win it -- there appears little hope. But Jackson has some very high cards to play which make him a strong contender for Vice President, and a powerful force at the Democratic National Convention.

JACKSON'S STRENGTHS

1. He has almost all the moderate and conservative columnists in the palm of his hand. They like, admire and respect Scoop Jackson. A cursory review of the last three months finds supportive presidential talk about Jackson from columnists White, both Alsops, Kilpatrick, Alexander, Cuneo, the Drummonds several times, Gould Lincoln, Chamberlain, Wilson -- and on and on. (Evans & Novak are solicitous.) They provide him with regular backpage support in most of the papers of the nation. Even columnists who disagree with him (Wicker, Viorst) respect him.

2. A choice not an echo: He is the single national Democrat who stands as a clear alternative against the crowd of Bayh, Hughes, Muskie, McGovern, Humphrey, Kennedy crowd. He emerges thus a visible rallying point for conservative Democrats at the '72 convention.

3. Having hired the capable adviser Ben Wattenburg, he is paralleling the Scammon-Wattenburg thesis. His attacks on "environmental extremists," his denunciation of fellow Democrats for paying "homage to the radical fringe," his focus on bread-and-butter issues, the economy and jobs, his call for Democrats to stay on the "Economic Issue," not the war; his rough terminology which is being described in liberal circles as "Agnewian" -- in all these instances, Jackson is setting himself up against the trendy,

bell-bottomed, elite of the left wing of his party -- and with the working man center and right of his party. On issues, he is carving out his own independent sector within the Democratic Party.

4. His super-hawkish anti-Soviet stand in the Middle East, his fight for SST, against the "environmental extremists," for space and defense, not only make him first choice of George Meany -- but guarantee a well-financed campaign from Aerospace, from Defense Industries, from the Jewish Community, from Big Labor.

5. He is well respected by his Senate colleagues. A Drummond Poll of the Senate found that 18 percent of Democrats felt Jackson "most qualified to be President" ahead of Humphrey -- second only to Muskie -- (interestingly, EMK got less than anyone, three percent or one vote of those polled.)

6. He gets excellent press coverage.

7. His hard-line on the Soviets, and on strategic defense, wins him publicity plaudits from the Republican Conservative Community. While such is of little use in a run for the nomination, it might be to any Democrat for his Vice President.

8. On Vietnam he is down-playing his support of the President, leaving it high enough to be visibly opposed to the rest of the pack, but shading it a bit. Domestically, he pays occasional obeisance to such myths as the "repression" by the Administration. Enough to keep his dues up -- but not nearly enough to close the sizable gap that exists between him and the liberal left of his party.

9. He is the best vote-getter in the Senate -- winning his primary against a Galbraithian type by 85 percent -- and beating our candidate in the general by the same margin -- 85 percent of the vote in a northwestern industrial state. This evidence of massive support across the party lines and throughout the ideological spectrum makes him especially attractive as a Vice Presidential nominee.

10. His strength with press was evident in a poll of editors at ASNE who felt he would probably have nearly best chance of any Democrat of defeating RN.

## DEFICIENCIES

1. He has almost no recognition nationally. This will force him to raise his profile rapidly, to announce fairly early, and probably to go the primary route -- and it is doubtful how well he can do against Democrats like Muskie.

2. He is apparently an unexciting speaker, who often bores even those audiences who agree with him. One friend called him a "Barry Goldwater without charisma."

3. His nomination would sunder the Democratic Party. And with left-wing strength greater at this convention than the past, difficult to see how his nomination could be swallowed by a Democratic Convention. (However, if a Teddy Kennedy were nominated and Democratic conservatives sufficiently outraged -- a Kennedy-Jackson ticket might do for the party what the Kennedy-Johnson ticket did in 1960, bring it together again. Where Johnson had the opposition of Labor and support of the South -- Jackson for Veep would have both the South and Labor in his corner.)

4. He is sixty years old, at least will be, when the Democratic Convention is over. This is his last chance to be on a national Democratic ticket, after three decades in the Senate.

## JACKSON'S CHANCE

Having carved out an independent Churchillian Position, if you will, on the Soviets, on the Middle East -- whence war is likely to come if it comes -- Jackson is dependent upon circumstances. If the Vietnam war is raging, and there is calm between East and West -- Jackson has next to nothing going for him.

But if Vietnam is removed as an issue, and the Soviets become belligerent in Europe or the Middle East or the Mediterranean or anywhere, then Jackson may very well appear the man for the times. If national focus turns upon American weakness in the face of a rapidly arming Soviet Empire, then Jackson could generate real support among Conservative Democrats, Many unions and the South -- and even conservative Republicans.

No other Democrat seems today capable of making credible a hard-line policy against the USSR.

But in such times Jackson will have a long shot for the top position, and an inside track for the Vice Presidency.

#### THE FLORIDA PRIMARY

Jackson cannot win in New Hampshire; his lack of public recognition requires him to step out early if he is to have any hope at the Convention. Thus he is forced, it seems into the primaries. Thus Florida -- according to two writers -- which is the same day as New Hampshire -- becomes crucial to Jackson.

If Jackson wins in Florida, and Muskie is defeated, then the Muskie opening day becomes a flop; Muskie's candidacy is damaged; the Jackson candidacy becomes interesting -- and the stage is set for a bitter division at the Convention.

While we may be desirous ourselves of having a massive turnout for RN in Florida -- there may be something worth while for us in assisting the efforts of Scoop Jackson in that State. Something we ought to keep in mind.



JH

June 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: TOM BENHAM, OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

SUBJECT: POTENTIAL EFFECT OF THE 18 TO 20 YEAR OLD VOTE ON 1972  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS.

Because of the postwar "baby boom", the numbers of newly eligible voters rose abruptly to over 12,000,000 in 1968. Of this number, Census Bureau estimates indicate that approximately one-half (51%) actually went to the polls to cast their ballots. They comprised some 7% of all voters in the 1968 election.

Present estimates indicate that the newly eligible group will increase to 25,000,000 in 1972, including more than 10,000,000 in the age group 18 to 20 years. If every age group votes the same way in 1972 -- including the newly eligible voters -- then those voting for the first time will account for some 13% of the total vote. This is shown in Table 1.

A number of conflicting claims have been made about the potential effect of these new voters on the outcome of the election -- ranging from the prediction that they will mean nothing at all to the idea that they will surely determine the outcome. The recent Gallup discussion in the May, 1971 Gallup Opinion Index is valid as far as it goes. It indicates

that 18-20 year olds are heavily Democratic and tend to favor Nixon opponents. However, there has been no attempt, so far as we know, to estimate exactly what the effect might be in key states comprising most of the electoral votes. That is the purpose of this memorandum.

The Analysis and Assumptions Used

We selected the 15 states with the largest electoral votes (omitting Georgia, which was carried by Wallace in 1968). A total of 320 of 1972's electoral votes are accounted for by these 15 states. We studied the effect on the vote in each state in two ways -- with Wallace in the race and without Wallace. We also have applied two different assumptions about the probable voting participation of the newly eligible voters:

- (1) Assuming 50% of the age group 18 to 24 will vote in 1972, and
- (2) Assuming 70% of this age group will vote in 1972

It is our fairly strong feeling that 50% participation will be much closer to the actual voting participation than 70%, despite the extravagant claims of some youth leaders that as many as 90% of the newly eligible voters will be voting.

Our final assumption is that other age groups will vote in the same proportions and numbers in 1972 as they did in 1968 -- in other words everything else being equal.

We are basing our estimate of how the new voters will vote on the preferences of 18-20 year olds in four recent ORC surveys (telephone surveys of January 25-28, March 1-3, April 12-13, and the personal interview study of May 12-23, 1971 all combined). A total of 361 respondents were available for the analysis as it pertains to Muskie and Kennedy, and 327 as it applies to Humphrey, since he was not included in all the trial heats.

Kennedy enjoys a wide margin over President Nixon, among the 18-20 year age group. Muskie enjoys a slight edge, and Humphrey runs somewhat behind. This is true both with Wallace in the race, and without Wallace. These trial heat results are shown in Table 2.

#### Some Conclusions

1. With Kennedy in a three-way race, including Wallace, present indications are that the results could be a disaster for the Nixon candidacy, assuming all things equal except the newly eligible voters. (Additional assumptions, are, of course, that the national data for young voters will apply equally to each state and that the present preference of the young voters will remain the same at election time, as in recent surveys.)

With Kennedy in a three-way race, including Wallace, and 50% of the newly eligible voters actually going to the polls -- among the key states President Nixon carried in 1968, he would lose California, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, and Wisconsin. President Nixon would receive only 55 of the 320 electoral votes in the fifteen states.

With 70% actually getting to the polls, Nixon would also lose North Carolina and Virginia, and receive only 30 of 320 electoral votes.

In a two-way race against Kennedy, results at the 50% level are exactly the same. With 70% voting the only difference is found in the State of Virginia, which stays in the Nixon column.

Note: Obviously, this analysis does not take into account the campaign that could be mounted against Kennedy, including some of his failings in time of crisis. Basically, this analysis assumes he will run in 1972 as Humphrey ran in 1968. In actuality, he

would probably not do as well in the South. (In recent trial heats in the South, he runs about 10 points below his average for the rest of the country.) Also among older voters, he scores notably poorer.

2. Against Muskie -- and again assuming young people vote on election day the way they indicate their preferences today -- there will be little difference <sup>from</sup> for 1968 in the number of electoral votes President Nixon carries in these states. He will receive 191 out of 320 votes. There is this one exception: with Wallace in the race, and 70% actually getting to the polls, President Nixon would lose Missouri, but would carry the 15 states overall by 179 electoral votes to 141.

Against Muskie, President Nixon's plurality declines in the various states but not enough to throw them into the Democratic column.

3. Should Humphrey be the opponent the plurality for President Nixon in each state will increase although this will not make any change in the gain or loss of states compared to 1968.

\* \* \*

Obviously many things can change this picture. The voters, other than the newly eligible, can swing much more for or against President Nixon in 1972 than in 1968. Young voters may change their preferences. New voters comprise 13% of the whole whereas the age groups of 35 to 74 comprise two-thirds of the vote, and turn out at the 71%-75% level. Should this later group become more solidly pro-Nixon it could affect the youth vote. <sup>affect</sup>

Nevertheless, the following seem valid:

- o Kennedy seems to be the most dangerous opponent as of now -- youth could swing the balance in his favor in a close election.
- o Against Muskie, pluralities become thinner, and any downturn in favor for Nixon overall could be a serious problem.
- o Wallace could be an important factor. He appeals to about 15% to 20% of youth in three-way trial heats. Should Wallace withdraw, Nixon would tend to benefit, against all three opponents.

Table 7 shows a summary of the electoral vote estimates for all of these various possibilities. Table 5 shows the disposition of electoral votes for each state with Wallace in the race. Table 6 shows the disposition of electoral votes without Wallace. Tables 3 and 4 show the same data in terms of the actual pluralities generated with the addition of new voters.

*See Tables*

Table 1

New Voters as a Percent of Total Vote

	<u>1968 Election</u>		<u>1973 Election (Estimate)</u>	
	<u>Percent That Voted</u>	<u>Percent Of All Voters</u>	<u>Percent That Will Vote</u>	<u>Percent Of All Voters</u>
New voters: 18-20 years of age	--	--	51%	6%
New voters: 21-24 years of age	51%	7%	51%	7
25-34 years	63%	18	63%	18
35-44 years	71%	21	71%	18
45-54 years	75%	22	75%	20
55-64 years	75%	17	75%	16
65-74 years	71%	10	71%	10
75 and over	56%	5	56%	5
Total all age groups	68%	100%	66%	100%

(Census Department Series P-20, #192, p. 10)

Table 2

Trial Heats -- 18-20 Years of Age

<u>Without Wallace</u>			<u>With Wallace</u>		
Nixon	43%	9	Nixon	34%	
Muskie	47	7	Muskie	40	
Undecided	10	4	Wallace	20	
			Undecided	6	
Nixon	31%	8	Nixon	23%	
Kennedy	62	3	Kennedy	59	
Undecided	7	1	Wallace	12	
			Undecided	6	
*Nixon	47%	1	*Nixon	39%	
Humphrey	44	6	Humphrey	38	
Undecided	9	2	Wallace	16	
			Undecided	7	

(From ORC Surveys)

## (15 Key States)

State	Electoral Votes in 1972	Nixon's '68 Plurality (000's)	Estimated New Voters in 1972 (000's)	50% Voting			70% Voting		
				Nixon's Plurality Against ...			Nixon's Plurality Against ...		
				Muskie (000's)	Kennedy (000's)	Humphrey (000's)	Muskie (000's)	Kennedy (000's)	Humphrey (000's)
California	45	223.3	2500.4	148.3	-226.8 ✓	235.8	118.3	-406.8	240.8
New York	41	-370.5	2070.0 <i>lost</i>	-432.6	-743.1	-360.1	-457.4	-892.1	-356.0
Pennsylvania	27	-169.4	1371.1 <i>lost</i>	-210.5	-416.2	-162.5	-227.0	-514.9	-159.8
Illinois	26	135.0	1306.9	95.8	-100.2 ✓	141.5	80.1	-194.3	144.1
Texas	26	-39.5	1454.0 <i>lost</i>	-83.1	-301.2	-32.2	-100.6	-405.9	-29.3
Ohio	25	90.4	1303.2	51.3	-144.2 ✓	96.9	35.7	-238.0	99.5
Michigan	21	-222.4	1114.7 <i>lost</i>	-255.8	-423.0	-216.8	-269.2	-503.3	-214.6
Florida	17	210.0	758.4 <i>win</i>	187.2	73.5	213.8	178.1	18.9	215.3
New Jersey	17	61.3	783.1	37.8	-79.7 ✓	65.2	28.4	-136.0	66.8
Massachusetts	14	-702.4	694.5 <i>lost</i>	-723.2	-827.4	-698.9	-731.6	-877.4	-697.5
Indiana	13	261.2	650.9 <i>win</i>	241.7	144.0	264.5	233.9	97.2	265.8
North Carolina	13	163.1	708.9 <i>win</i>	141.8	35.5	166.6	133.3	-15.5	168.1
Missouri	12	20.5	556.8	3.8	-79.7 ✓	23.3	-2.9	-119.8	24.4
Virginia	12	148.0	621.5 <i>win</i>	129.4	36.1	151.1	121.9	-8.6	152.4
Wisconsin	11	61.2	550.2	44.7	-37.8 ✓	64.0	38.1	-77.5	65.1
Nixon's Electoral Vote				191	55	191	179	30	191
Opponent's Electoral Vote				<u>129</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>129</u>
Total				320	320	320	320	320	320

## (15 Key States)

State	Electoral Votes in 1972	Nixon's '68 Plurality (000's)	Estimated New Voters in 1972 (000's)	50% Voting			70% Voting		
				Nixon's Plurality Against ...			Nixon's Plurality Against ...		
				Muskie (000's)	Kennedy (000's)	Humphrey (000's)	Muskie (000's)	Kennedy (000's)	Humphrey (000's)
California	45	246.6	2500.4	196.6	-141.0	284.1	176.6	-296.0	299.1
New York	41	-403.8	2070.0	-445.2	-724.7	-372.7	-461.8	-853.0	-360.3
Pennsylvania	27	-180.4	1371.1	-207.8	-392.9	-159.8	-218.8	-477.9	-151.6
Illinois	26	147.8	1306.9	121.7	- 54.8	167.4	111.2	-135.8	175.2
Texas	26	- 49.3	1454.0	- 78.4	-274.7	- 27.5	- 90.0	-364.8	- 18.8
Ohio	25	103.0	1303.2	76.9	- 99.0	122.5	66.5	-179.8	130.4
Michigan	21	-251.3	1114.7	-273.6	-424.1	-234.6	-282.5	-493.2	-227.9
Florida	17	293.2	758.4	278.0	175.6	304.6	272.0	128.6	309.1
New Jersey	17	69.0	783.1	53.3	- 52.4	80.7	47.1	-100.9	85.4
Massachusetts	14	-732.2	694.5	-746.1	-839.8	-721.8	-751.6	-882.9	-717.6
Indiana	13	297.3	650.9	284.3	196.4	307.1	279.1	156.1	311.0
North Carolina	13	238.1	708.9	223.9	128.2	248.7	218.3	84.3	253.0
Missouri	12	21.7	556.8	10.6	- 64.6	30.1	6.1	- 99.1	33.4
Virginia	12	196.0	621.5	183.6	99.7	205.3	179.6	61.1	209.1
Wisconsin	11	67.7	550.2	56.7	- 17.6	76.0	52.3	- 51.7	79.3
			Nixon's Electoral Vote	191	55	191	191	55	191
			Opponent's Electoral Vote	<u>129</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>129</u>
			Total	320	320	320	320	320	320

Table 5

Expected Victory in Each State  
With Wallace in the Race

	1968	With 50% Voting			1968	With 70% Voting		
		Muskie	Kennedy	Humphrey		Muskie	Kennedy	Humphrey
California	R	R	(D)	R	R	(D)	R	
New York	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
Pennsylvania	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
Illinois	R	R	(D)	R	R	(D)	R	
Texas	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
Ohio	R	R	(D)	R	R	(D)	R	
Michigan	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
Florida	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	
New Jersey	R	R	(D)	R	R	(D)	R	
Massachusetts	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
Indiana	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	
North Carolina	R	R	R	R	R	(D)	R	
Missouri	R	R	(D)	R	R	(D)	R	
Virginia	R	R	R	R	R	(D)	R	
Wisconsin	R	R	(D)	R	R	(D)	R	

Electoral Votes

Nixon	191	191	55	191	191	179	30	191
Opponent	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>129</u>
Total	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320

( ) = Indicates change from 1968

Table 6

Expected Victory in Each State  
Without Wallace in the Race

	1968	<u>With 50% Voting</u>			1968	<u>With 70% Voting</u>		
		<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>		<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>
California	R	R	(D)	R	R	R	(D)	R
New York	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Pennsylvania	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Illinois	R	R	(D)	R	R	R	(D)	R
Texas	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Ohio	R	R	(D)	R	R	R	(D)	R
Michigan	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Florida	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
New Jersey	R	R	(D)	R	R	R	(D)	R
Massachusetts	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Indiana	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
North Carolina	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Missouri	R	R	(D)	R	R	R	(D)	R
Virginia	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Wisconsin	R	R	(D)	R	R	R	(D)	R
<u>Electoral Votes</u>								
Nixon	191	191	55	191	191	191	55	191
Opponent	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>129</u>
Total	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320

( ) = Indicates change from 1968

Table 7

320 Electoral Votes -- 15 Key States

(Assuming newly eligible voters will vote in '72 as they presently indicate, and that the Nixon percent of the remaining vote will be the same in '72 as in '68)

	<u>With Wallace</u>		<u>Without Wallace</u>	
	<u>50%</u>	<u>70%</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>70%</u>
	<u>Voting</u>	<u>Voting</u>	<u>Voting</u>	<u>Voting</u>
<u>Vs. Muskie</u>				
Nixon	191	179	191	191
Muskie	129	141	129	129
<u>Vs. Kennedy</u>				
Nixon	55	30	55	55
Kennedy	265	290	265	265
<u>Vs. Humphrey</u>				
Nixon	191	191	191	191
Humphrey	129	129	129	129

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/28

TO: Larry Higby

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Should we forward  
this to the Attorney  
General ~~or~~  
~~Magruder?~~

Yes  No

Other

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO: G.S.

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

Suggest you send Beaman

(1) IT will Build you with  
AGF.

(2) Set up AN Easy Route for  
Information

However, only IF IT  
will NOT BE MAde  
out of shape too much.  
What do you think? <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/28

TO: Bruce

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

-are you sure  
H. wants this  
to go to the AG  
over my signature  
with the note  
similar to that which  
I drafted?  
-what about via Maguder?

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1971

65.  
6.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

~~H. R. HALDEMAN~~ Gordon Stradan

~~I thought you would be interested in the attached.~~

Mr. Haldeман asked that Pat Buchanan's memorandum on ~~Sen~~ Henry Jackson be forwarded to you.

Done  
Send THIS TO A.G.  
INDICATE THAT THAT  
ASKED THAT THE ATTACHED  
Be forward to you on senator  
TO THE EFFECT.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: June 25, 1971

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

Your copy attached.

*Sending to  
Mitchell*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

To :

MS

From : L. Higby

Political file.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 2/18/70

To Bob Haldeeman

From Harry Dent BSD

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information ✓

Hold for Clert Mtg.

Hold

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONGRESSIONAL CASUALTY LIST:

Calif-9	Edwards	retiring
Del-AL	Roth	Senate
Fla-8	Cramer	Senate
Minn-3	MacGregor	Senate
Ohio-19	Kirwan	retiring
SD-1	Reifel	retiring
SD-2	Berry	retiring
Tenn-3	Brock	Senate
Calif-38	Tunney	Senate
Ohio-1	Taft	Senate
Ill-3	Murphy	retiring
Calif-24	Lipscomb	died
Utah-1	Burton	Senate
Ill-6	Ronan	died
Ohio-24	Lukens	Governor
Calif-29	Brown	Senate
NJ-6	(Cahill)	(Governor)
Ill-1	Dawson	retiring
Tex-7	Bush	Senate
SC-2	Watson	Governor
Conn-1	Daddario*	Governor

\*Candidate chosen by convention--may remain in House seat

DEMOCRATIC MARGINAL AND RETIRING  
INCUMBENT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

District	GOP Vote % 1968 Cong.	Nixon % 1968	
9th California (California filing deadline, March 20)	43.4	37.3	Incumbent Don Edwards (D) not seeking re-election. Larry Fargher, 1968 GOP candidate is running again. Congressman Gubser is taking a personal interest in helping in this district. District consists of parts of Alameda, Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties.
15th California	46.2	47.0	Incumbent John McFall (D) serving 7th term. District consists of San Joaquin, Stanislaus and part of Merced County. 1968 candidate is a nice guy but weak politician. Shouldn't run again.
17th California	48.1	42.3	Freshman incumbent Glenn Anderson (D). In Los Angeles area, including harbor district. Joe Blatchford district.
29th California	47.7	42.0	Incumbent George Brown (D) serving 4th term. In Los Angeles County, part of Los Angeles, plus Monterey Park, most of Alhambra, most of San Gabriel, etc. Brown has announced for the Senate.
34th California	49.1	54.7	Incumbent Richard Hanna (D) serving 4th term. District consists of north central part of Orange County and an adjoining area in Los Angeles County. Bill Teague, 1968 GOP candidate running again. Good prospects.
3rd Colorado	47.9	47.5	Incumbent Frank Evans (D) serving 3rd term. District consists of 21 counties in southeastern Colorado. Includes Pueblo and Colorado Springs.

2nd Connecticut (Candidate selected at June convention)	45.3	44.3	Incumbent William St. Onge (D) serving fourth term. District consists of the eastern part of Connecticut including New London.
3rd North Carolina (North Carolina filing deadline, February 21)	46.0	31.7	Incumbent David Henderson (D) serving fifth term. District consists of eight counties in eastern North Carolina including Goldsboro. Good GOP candidate in 1968 running again.
4th North Carolina	48.5	39.5	Incumbent Nick Galifianakis (D) serving second term. District consists of five counties in central North Carolina including Raleigh and Durham.
6th North Carolina	46.4	40.8	Incumbent freshman is L. D. Preyer (D). District consists of four counties in north central North Carolina including Greensboro.
19th Ohio (Ohio filing deadline, February 4 and Primary is May 5)	30.3	31.8	Incumbent Mike Kirwan (D) is not seeking re-election. District consists of parts of two counties in northeastern Ohio including Youngstown and Warren.
2nd Oklahoma (Oklahoma filing deadline, July 9)	45.1	45.1	Incumbent Ed Edmondson serving ninth term. District consists of 18 counties in eastern Oklahoma including Muskogee. Probable GOP candidate popular Western singer, Leon McAuliffe.
4th Oklahoma	46.4	40.7	Incumbent Tom Steed (D) is serving his 11th term. District consists of 12 counties in the southwestern part of the state plus part of Oklahoma County. Jay Wilkerson will be the Republican candidate.
6th Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania filing deadline, March 10)	47.5	47.4	Incumbent is Gus Yatron (D). District consists of Berks and Schuylkill Counties including Reading. (freshman)

Delaware at Large (August convention selection)	58.7	45.1	Incumbent William Roth (R) is seeking the Senate seat in 1970. District includes the entire state.
4th Florida (Florida filing deadline, August 3)	47.2	39.7	Freshman incumbent William Chappell (D). District consists of nine counties in north central Florida.
7th Florida	45.0	47.9	Incumbent James Haley (D) is serving eighth term. On lower West Coast, including Sarasota and Fort Myers.
23rd Illinois	46.0	49.5	Incumbent George Shipley (D) serving sixth term. District consists of 14-1/2 counties in southern Illinois. Conservative Republican Phyllis Schlafly is the only Republican to file and is expected to give Shipley a real run for his money.
3rd Indiana	47.8	50.6	Incumbent John Brademas (D) serving 6th term. District consists of four counties in northern Indiana including South Bend.
9th Indiana (Indiana filing deadline, March 26)	45.6	48.5	Incumbent Lee Hamilton (D) serving third term. District consists of 16 counties in southern Indiana.
11th Indiana	46.9	44.3	Incumbent Andrew Jacobs, Jr., (D) serving third term. District consists of most of Marion County (Indianapolis).
3rd Minnesota	64.8	44.3	Incumbent Clark MacGregor (R) is seeking a Senate seat. District consists of Hennepin County outside of Minneapolis plus Anoka County. The primary is September 15 and there are already three Republicans in the race. We should be able to hold this seat no matter who wins the primary.

2nd Missouri (Missouri filing deadline, April 28)	49.5	47.0	Freshman incumbent is J. Symington (D). District consists of part of St. Louis County.
5th Missouri	45.6	48.4	Incumbent W. R. Hull (D) serving 8th term. District consists of 23 plus part of another county in northwestern Missouri including St. Joseph.
9th Missouri	47.5	47.1	Incumbent William Hungate (D) serving fourth term. District consists of 21 plus parts of three other counties in northeastern Missouri.
10th Missouri	46.6	44.1	Incumbent freshman Bill Burlison (D). District consists of 22 plus part of another county in southeastern Missouri.
1st Montana (Montana filing deadline, April 23)	46.4	48.4	Incumbent Arnold Olsen (D) serving fifth term. District consists of 24 counties in western Montana including Butte and Helena.
4th New Jersey	46.4	44.3	Incumbent Frank Thompson (D) is serving eighth term. District consists of four counties in northwestern New Jersey including Trenton.
9th New Jersey	48.6	52.9	Incumbent Henry Helstoski (D) is serving third term. District consists of part of Bergen County.
15th New Jersey	44.8	42.8	Marginal in 1968 in three-way race. Incumbent Edward Patten serving fourth term. District consists of most of Middlesex County including New Brunswick.
5th New York (N. Y. filing deadline, May 12)	49.3	47.5	Freshman incumbent is Allard Lowenstein (D). District consists of part of Nassau County - south shore. Should be vulnerable after redistricting.

16th New York	46.0	48.0	Incumbent John Murphy (D) serving fourth term. District consists of Staten Island and part of Brooklyn.
17th New York	42.8	36.5	Marginal in 1968 in three-way race. District is located in Manhattan. Old Lindsay seat.
34th New York	43.8	50.7	Marginal in 1968 in four-way race. Incumbent James Hanley (D) is serving fourth term. District consists of Onandoga County including Syracuse.
1st West Virginia	46.1	39.9	Incumbent Robert Mollohan (D) was elected to the 91st Congress after previous service in the 83rd and 84th Congresses. Pro-football player, Sam Huff, is running against Mollohan in the Democratic primary on May 12.

The following three districts are marginal as a result of special elections in 1969:

District	GOP Vote % Cong. Sp. El.	Nixon % 1968	
6th Massachusetts (Massachusetts filing date is July 28)	47.6	37.0	Freshman incumbent is Michael Harrington (D). This is the former Bill Bates seat. Several Republicans has indicated an interest in running.
2nd Montana (Montana filing deadline, April 23)	48.9	53.4	Freshman incumbent is John Melcher (D). District consists of eastern and central Montana. There are several Republicans interested in the nomination and the State Chairman thinks we can win this former Battin seat back this year.
7th Wisconsin (Wisconsin filing deadline, July 14)	48.4	50.1	Freshman incumbent is David Obey (D). District consists of 15

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD 

DATE: June 17, 1971

For your Information  X

Message:

P. S. read: "This came to me as is.  
It's unevaluated" DR



CONFIDENTIAL

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL  
SUBJECT: Wisconsin

Political effort in Wisconsin is entirely voluntary. There is virtually no patronage to sustain a political organization. The history of the Republican Party's strength in recent years has been somewhat cyclical depending principally on the individuals who are on the scene and the personal organization they are able to develop.

The most recent example is Warren Knowles, who won election for the first time as Governor in 1964. His close friends and their connections throughout Wisconsin re-elected him in 1966 and 1968. His group was a competent bunch and included John McKiver, a Milwaukee lawyer, Bill Kraus, a Stevens Point insurance executive and Ody Fish, a small manufacturer of heating goods in Hartland, Wisconsin. Ody became State Chairman and assumed prominence on the national scene as the Chairman of the State Chairman. He is highly regarded and very able. It was this group that was enlisted in mid-1967 for the President's 1968 campaign. The contact was made through Jerris Leonard. The group did themselves proud. However in 1970, they took a bath. The candidates weren't good, and the party ended the year in deep debt. The party is now more than \$500,000 in the hole (the price of 1 Statewide campaign for Governor or Senator). There is currently a lot of soul searching going on in the party and some expensive intra-party warfare (notably a battle for position of State Chairwoman).

The party is now deep in the valley and I am not sure that the leadership that brought it to the long period of victory is necessarily the one that can bring it out of its present low point. There is a tendency of individuals to hold on to positions of authority obtained through hard work after the individuals are not willing to put in the same effort. In short, even though the group may not want to give up, I think they are track-sore. Most disturbing is the fact that nowhere can there be located a crop of fresher leaders who can put in the necessary effort to make the Wisconsin primary and the general election victories. I would be concerned about relying on the old leadership without some very direct efforts aimed to draw in fresher middle level workers that can make it happen. It should start soon.

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12812, Section 6-102  
By EP Date 9-18-82

June 21, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Fundraisers

A number of officeholders and state and local party organizations have major fundraising events scheduled for this summer and fall. Governor Ogilvie in Illinois, for example, has scheduled a major effort for September in Chicago.

In checking both with the Citizens' Committee and here in the White House, I find that the question of what percentage of the take should accrue to the national organization has not been answered with firmness. A number of Administration officials may be accepting invitations to speak at fundraisers without the desired arrangements being made concerning the disposition of funds.

There are two issues which need attention immediately, recognizing that the decisions may be changed at a later date:

1. What percentage should be required for the national organization. In the past, we have followed a general policy of 10%. If we are to continue that policy, it should be communicated to the Administration officials likely to be involved in these affairs.

2. Who receives the 10%? Should it be the Republican National Committee, the Citizens' Committee, or some other organization?

June 21, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING

E.O. 12812, 10/6/82

CONFIDENTIAL

By

lp

3-18-82

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Poll Results from Rhode Island

It has been reported to me that a recent poll conducted in Rhode Island on possible statewide races indicated the following:

In a trial heat for Senator, Chaffee got 53%, Pell got 25%, 22% were undecided.

In a trial heat for Governor, also up in 1972, Chaffee got 67%, Licht, the incumbent Democrat, got 16%, and 17% were undecided.

In a trial heat for DeSimone, who lost to Licht in 1970 by only a few hundred votes, DeSimone picked up some 60% and Licht received only about 25%.

I have no specifics on the size of the sample or the polling organization.

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING  
E.O. 13526, 5-102  
By EP, 3-18-82  
THE WHITE HOUSE

*TTH*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: McCarthy Plans for 1972

Rita Hauser (a member of the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President), sent the attached memorandum to the Attorney General. She met with Howard Stein of Dreyfus Fund about Gene McCarthy's plans for 1972. The following points are made:

- 1) McCarthy is disenchanted with the Democratic Party and he would be the philosopher, but not the organizer, of a third party;
- 2) McCloskey, Lindsay, and Common Cause have not captured McCarthy;
- 3) McCarthy could be brought into "the Nixon Administration only if he could indicate satisfaction on Vietnam, but this may not be too difficult to get."

Rita Hauser suggests that the Attorney General approach the President about this intriguing possibility.

CONFIDENTIAL

June 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM

To: John N. Mitchell  
From: Rita E. Hauser *REH*  
Re: McCarthy Plans for 1972

Howard Stein asked me to breakfast with him today at the Dreyfus Fund Offices. We spent two hours in quiet talk about the political scene, and I derived the following of interest to you:

1. McCarthy has absolutely no intention of doing anything concrete for 1972. He plans to speak out to push the Democratic Party in the "right" direction, and will suggest frequently that if the Democratic contenders do not change their views, only a third party can save the Nation. He, McCarthy, will not organize such a party. Rather, he hopes to be the philosopher of such a movement which, if it did develop, will naturally choose him as its leader. Under no circumstances will he enter any primaries.

Dick Goodwin, who is on consultative status and payroll of the Dreyfus Fund, is writing McCarthy's major speeches. He wrote the one in Minneapolis which got wide interest. It is planned that McCarthy will announce a series of positions on major issues sometime in the fall. Goodwin is drawing them up over the summer.

2. Stein is not impressed with McCloskey (this derives from the fact that McCarthy is very down on McCloskey), and has no interest in Lindsay, who he thinks has done a bad job in New York. Common Cause is all talk and no action. Consequently, Stein has not committed himself to anyone other than McCarthy.

3. Stein repeated to me several times that he had voted for Nixon in 1968. He is satisfied, but not totally, as to the Nixon record on Vietnam. Here, too, his line is strictly McCarthy's.

- 2 -

I would react to the thought of the President "putting McCarthy to use" in the negotiations on Vietnam in Paris. McCarthy feels a coalition government can be negotiated, and that he has the general formula.

I told Stein I would get back to him later on this matter, and he obviously understood that I would talk it over with various people.

I have the firm impression that McCarthy can be grabbed by the President, as he is totally down on all the Democratic contenders. This would take nursing. It might be worthwhile to discuss with the President the possibility of an informal talk between him and McCarthy as a first step.

Nothing would be more sensational than our taking him over. He has no particular employment, other than lecturing, and I got a clear message from Stein that he would like to do something for his country as the next step. McCarthy could come into the Nixon Administration only if he could indicate satisfaction on Vietnam, but this may not be too difficult to get.

4. Stein asked me to keep him posted on things of interest and that I meet with him every now and then. I agreed.

SUGGESTION: Would you sound this out with the President and give me a general feeler? Played right, I think McCarthy can be more or less with us or, at the least, neutralized in 1972.

June 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: McCarthy Plans for 1972

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GS:elr

June 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM

To: John N. Mitchell  
From: Rita E. Hauser *REH*  
Re: McCarthy Plans for 1972

Howard Stein asked me to breakfast with him today at the Dreyfus Fund Offices. We spent two hours in quiet talk about the political scene, and I derived the following of interest to you:

1. McCarthy has absolutely no intention of doing anything concrete for 1972. He plans to speak out to push the Democratic Party in the "right" direction, and will suggest frequently that if the Democratic contenders do not change their views, only a third party can save the Nation. He, McCarthy, will not organize such a party. Rather, he hopes to be the philosopher of such a movement which, if it did develop, will naturally choose him as its leader. Under no circumstances will he enter any primaries.

Dick Goodwin, who is on consultative status and payroll of the Dreyfus Fund, is writing McCarthy's major speeches. He wrote the one in Minneapolis which got wide interest. It is planned that McCarthy will announce a series of positions on major issues sometime in the fall. Goodwin is drawing them up over the summer.

2. Stein is not impressed with McCloskey (this derives from the fact that McCarthy is very down on McCloskey), and has no interest in Lindsay, who he thinks has done a bad job in New York. Common Cause is all talk and no action. Consequently, Stein has not committed himself to anyone other than McCarthy.

3. Stein repeated to me several times that he had voted for Nixon in 1968. He is satisfied, but not totally, as to the Nixon record on Vietnam. Here, too, his line is strictly McCarthy's.

- 2 -

I would react to the thought of the President "putting McCarthy to use" in the negotiations on Vietnam in Paris. McCarthy feels a coalition government can be negotiated, and that he has the general formula.

I told Stein I would get back to him later on this matter, and he obviously understood that I would talk it over with various people.

I have the firm impression that McCarthy can be grabbed by the President, as he is totally down on all the Democratic contenders. This would take nursing. It might be worthwhile to discuss with the President the possibility of an informal talk between him and McCarthy as a first step.

Nothing would be more sensational than our taking him over. He has no particular employment, other than lecturing, and I got a clear message from Stein that he would like to do something for his country as the next step. McCarthy could come into the Nixon Administration only if he could indicate satisfaction on Vietnam, but this may not be too difficult to get.

4. Stein asked me to keep him posted on things of interest and that I meet with him every now and then. I agreed.

SUGGESTION: Would you sound this out with the President and give me a general feeler? Played right, I think McCarthy can be more or less with us or, at the least, neutralized in 1972.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** June 9, 1971

**TO:** BOB HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT

*HED*

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information \_\_\_\_\_

*If need not  
see G 6/12*

GEORGE C. WALLACE

POST OFFICE BOX 1972  
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36103

May 13, 1971

Mr. & Mrs. Edward H Johns  
115 Se 13th St  
Ft Lauderdale FL 33316

*Bill - don't know whether  
he is running or fund raising -  
asked for contributions -  
in return  
envelope*

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Johns,

Florida and Alabama have a lot in common. They share a common border. Their people share many of the same interests, cultural and political.

You and I also have a lot in common. We care about our children. We are disturbed about what is happening to this great country of ours. We probably agree that those in office in Washington have not done much--except to make promises--to help the situation.

Let me give you an example. In 1968 President Nixon made campaign commitments to restore local control and freedom of choice to our schools. Now, in 1971 the Supreme Court, led by the Nixon appointee as Chief Justice, has handed down a decision calling for more forced busing, zoning and pairing of schools. In 1968 Mr. Nixon said he opposed these things. Now he is as silent as the Sphinx.

We have something else in common, you and I. WE BELIEVE IN ACTION, Mr. & Mrs. Johns.

THE WALLACE STAND, which I am asking my secretary to send to you, outlines my plan of action as I speak through it and in the political arena against all such threats to our freedoms. If you will join with me today, together we can become strong enough to effect the changes which we desire. ACT TODAY. You must not delay. I need your support, Mr. & Mrs. Johns.

I will be waiting for your answer.

Sincerely,

*George C. Wallace*  
George C. Wallace

GCW-pk

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** June 9, 1971

**TO:** BOB HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT

*ASD*

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information \_\_\_\_\_



*Palmer  
Caldwell*

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

HARRY S. DENT

The list of Governors has been reviewed here, and the attached list is composed of those believed to be Presidential loyalists. We have no reason to feel that any of this group are more hard core than others.

*J*  
J. Roy Goodearle  
Assistant to the  
Vice President

GOVERNORS

Jack Williams	Arizona
Ron Reagan	California
John Love	Colorado
Tom Meskill	Connecticut
Dick Ogilvie	Illinois
Louie Nunn	Kentucky
Bill Cahill	New Jersey
Nelson Rockefeller	New York
Winfield Dunn	Tennessee
Deane Davis	Vermont
Lin Holton	Virginia
Arch Moore	West Virginia
Stan Hathaway	Wyoming

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date June 8, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN ✓

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

-Harry Dent sent you the attached  
as an FYI matter.

-A discussion with him indicated  
that he is watching the South  
Carolina situation closely and  
will see to it that the President  
and Senator Thurmond are pro-  
tected.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1971

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
BOB HALDEMAN ✓

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT *ASD*

The Los Angeles Times had an article May 30 quoting the South Carolina GOP Chairman as indicating an interest in Reagan for President. He and Drake Edens were the leaders in rebelling against the appointment of a Nixon Democrat (son of the powerful House Speaker) to one of two judgeships in South Carolina. They publicly called the Attorney General a liar.

Last weekend I appeared before 75 upstate GOP leaders to scotch the Reagan idea, to sell the President, to show how generous this Administration has been to them (there would be no judgeships under HHH), to urge broadening their base, and to offer some pragmatic points on winning. With the State Chairman present, there was a long standing ovation, and they agreed to full support for the campaign. The same thing will be done in the middle and lower parts of the state. We are having a big unity dinner July 9 with Bob Dole as speaker.

It is known publicly that Watson could have had the ICC job with approval of Scott and Griffin. We lost nothing there on not nominating him for the district or military courts.

The State Chairman is up before the Grievance Committee of the State Supreme Court for representing both a black insane man and a white couple in a 250-acre land transaction in which the black man got no money and the land had been appraised for \$53,000. His divorced wife got \$12,000. The state Democrats are biding

their time, but we hope to at least have him out by next spring (state convention). He is a flop.

Credible blacks are being organized privately for the President. They will field a black candidate against Thurmond, if necessary, to aid in his re-election. That's the reason we came close in the Rivers' seat race -- it was a three-way race.

Thurmond's biggest threat, former Governor McNair, now appears not to be running; that was part of our judgeship matter. He should be re-elected. He will run his own campaign since the Wallace people may be after him, but he will not renounce or hurt the President. Watson will be our best help with the Wallace types in South Carolina and other states. He makes a great martyr -- better than Carswell. That's why I want to get him some help.

*Your copy*

June 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HIGBY  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: George McGovern's Fund Raising Letter

A check with John Dean indicates that the use by George McGovern of reproductions of Senate stationery for fund raising appeal is not legally challengeable.

However, that would not necessarily prevent the valuable use of this issue by Colson.

Should I contact Mr. Colson regarding this opportunity?

GS:elr

65 ✓  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
Date 6-4-71

TO: H.R. Haldeman

FROM: William E. Timmons

Please Handle \_\_\_\_\_

For Your Information X

Other

*A great hiding  
place.*

"MILLS FOR PRESIDENT"

The following Democrats have announced their support of  
Congressman Mills for President:

Congressman

Walter S. Baring (Nevada)	Kenneth J. Gray (Illinois)
James A. Burke (Massachusetts)	Richard Fulton (Tennessee)
Robert N. E. Nixon (Pennsylvania)	James Delaney (New York)
Al Ullman (Oregon)	Ray Roberts (Texas)
John C. Watts (Kentucky)	W.R. Poage (Texas)
Joe D. Waggoner, Jr. (Louisiana)	Wayne Aspinall (Colorado)
Ray Blanton (Tennessee)	Bill Alexander (Arkansas)
Omar Burleson (Texas)	Watkins M. Abbitt (Virginia)
Phil Landrum (Georgia)	John Slack (West Virginia)
Martha Griffiths (Michigan)	Edward A. Garmatz (Maryland)
Bill Alexander (Arkansas)	John J. Rooney (New York)
James A. Haley (Florida)	O.C. Fisher (Texas)
Louise Day Hicks (Massachusetts)	John L. McMillan (South Carolina)
Tom Steed (Oklahoma)	Frank A. Stubblefield (Kentucky)
Claude Pepper (Florida)	William Jennings Bryan Dorn (South Caro.)
Richard H. Ichord (Mo.)	
Harrold Runnels (N.M.)	
Joe L. Evins (Tenn.)	
Mendel J. Davis (S.C.)	

Senator J. William Fulbright (Arkansas) and Governor Dale Bumpers.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/3

TO: *Harry Higby*

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

*FYI, then  
please return  
for my files*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

Attached is the ACA report  
that you requested.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dick", written in a cursive style.

W. Richard Howard



# Americans for Constitutional Action

955 L'Enfant Plaza North, S.W., Suite 1000

Washington, D.C. 20024

202-484-5525

## A STUDY OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY ORGANIZED LABOR TO THE 1970 SENATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

The figures below represent organized labor's financial contributions to Senatorial candidates in the 1970 Elections.

They do not at all reflect the Union's total financial effort in the Senatorial campaign -- they are only those recorded.

These individual and total contributions were compiled by Americans for Constitutional Action's (ACA) research staff from records at the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives and Secretary of the Senate, Washington, D. C. and various State and County offices throughout the country where recording laws require such disclosure to incumbents and candidates for the office of the United States Senate.

The Chiles, Kennedy, Goodell and Ottinger totals represent figures from the Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate only -- State records are not included.

### SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES

Senator Ted Stevens	Alaska	\$ 4,800.00
Senator John Tunney	California	\$104,150.00
Senator Lawton Chiles	Florida	\$ 14,500.00
Senator Hiram Fong	Hawaii	\$ 7,250.00
Senator Adlai Stevenson	Illinois	\$ 70,844.20
Senator Vance Hartke	Indiana	\$ 93,531.85
Senator Edmund Muskie	Maine	\$ 39,350.00
Senator Edward Kennedy	Massachusetts	\$ 26,165.00
Senator Philip Hart	Michigan	\$ 81,521.25
Senator Hubert Humphrey	Minnesota	\$ 58,200.00
Senator Stuart Symington	Missouri	\$103,060.50
Senator Mike Mansfield	Montana	\$ 11,300.00
Senator Howard Cannon	Nevada	\$ 35,455.21
Senator Harrison Williams	New Jersey	\$150,966.00
Senator Joseph Montoya	New Mexico	\$ 41,104.70
Senator Quentin Burdick	North Dakota	\$ 44,781.00
Senator Hugh Scott	Pennsylvania	\$ 21,150.00
Senator John Pastore	Rhode Island	\$ 16,100.00
Senator Frank Moss	Utah	\$ 70,421.95
Senator Winston Prouty	Vermont	\$ 1,300.00
Senator Henry Jackson	Washington	\$ 13,825.00
Senator Robert Byrd	West Virginia	\$ 7,150.00
Senator William Proxmire	Wisconsin	\$ 46,381.00
Senator Gale McGee	Wyoming	\$ 34,240.00
		<u>\$1,097,547.66</u>

UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES

Sam Grossman	Arizona	\$ 34,450.00
Senator Tom Dodd	Connecticut	\$ 10,300.00
Joseph Duffey	Connecticut	\$ 36,841.84
Jacob Zimmerman	Delaware	\$ 8,750.00
Cecil Heftel	Hawaii	\$ 10,000.00
Senator Ralph Smith	Illinois	\$ 1,900.00
Senator Joseph Tydings	Maryland	\$ 59,145.00
Frank Morrison	Nebraska	\$ 5,250.00
Richard Ottinger	New York	\$ 16,500.00
Charles Goodell	New York	\$ 6,800.00
William Sesler	Pennsylvania	\$ 19,400.00
Senator Albert Gore	Tennessee	\$103,960.51
Senator Ralph Yarborough	Texas	\$101,765.84
George Bush	Texas	\$ 5,000.00
Philip Hoff	Vermont	\$ 52,981.00
George Rawlings	Virginia	\$ 24,360.40
Howard Metzenbaum	Ohio	\$172,092.48
		<u>\$669,497.07</u>
	Grand Total	<u>\$1,767,044.73</u>

A financial breakdown by party labels show the Democrats received \$1,718,744.73 and the Republicans \$48,300.

May 17, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Handwritten initials and scribbles, possibly "AS" and "note".*

May 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*  
SUBJECT: Jay Lovestone - AFL/CIO

The latest intelligence from Jay Lovestone, which is generally accurate although sometimes colored is:

1. Meany has really become very antagonistic toward Muskie and is becoming increasingly outspoken for Scoop Jackson. In a recent meeting at which Meany was in attendance, Lovestone announced emphatically that he was a Jackson Democrat and that if Jackson weren't nominated he (Lovestone) would vote for Richard Nixon. It provoked a considerable discussion. Meany simply smiled benignly.
2. Meany now really believes that Jackson is a viable candidate and can be nominated; the Democratic Party would as a result be disastrously split, there would obviously be a new left candidate, the Democrats would be beaten, but would have purged themselves.
3. Meany would support however Ted Kennedy or Humphrey, but is having growing doubts about whether he could or would personally work for Muskie.
4. In one private conversation, Meany and Lovestone both agreed that unless Jackson is nominated, that the labor machinery will be relatively inactive. It may endorse Muskie or Kennedy or even McGovern but there would be very little enthusiasm in the rank and file and the organizers would not make an all out effort.
5. Lovestone's views have become so outspoken within the AFL/CIO hierarchy with respect to his choice of Jackson first, Nixon second, that he stands a very good chance of not having his contract renewed next February. We might consider ways we can use Jay if this happens. He said that Meany would try to protect him but doubted that he would be able to.

2.

6. Meany refused to attend the Kennedy opening last night and refused to attend Muskie's pre-gala dinner party. Lovestone said it was because Meany did not want his appearance to have any political connotations. (Personally I suspect it is because Meany was smart enough to avoid a very boring evening.)

7. Labor's current projection is that it will control 17 to 20 percent of all of the delegates to the Democratic Convention next year. By control they mean these will be card carrying AFL/CIO COPE members. Obviously labor will influence a good many more delegates. According to Jay the bloc will go to the convention, solidly pledged to Jackson and will work throughout the convention for Jackson as long as he has any chance. Jay believes that this will be a very potent influence because the rest of the convention may be split badly and a solid bloc of well-disciplined union organizers can be very potent.

8. Muskie is having financial troubles, has been deserted by Fineberg and other rich NY Jews, and is now letting 14 people go from his staff.

9. Jay is convinced we can't trust the Soviets, that SALT can't be successful and anything negotiated can't be enforced. I tried hard but he is too hard-line for reason.

June 1, 1971

MSFYI  
J. Kelly

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB FINCH

RE: California Strategy (Action Memo P1214)

Factual Summary

1. The recent public and private polls taken in California which I have forwarded to you show that the Presidential race would be very close or that we would lose the State against any major Democratic contender at the present time. On the other hand, McCloskey has not exceeded 9% against the President among Republicans in any poll.
2. The California State Republican Central Committee and County Committees are in bad disrepair with generally a very poor quality of membership and leadership. Good talent has been absorbed into national and state government. Volunteer organizations are equally impotent and increasingly dominated by the far right.
3. Intense maneuvering vis-a-vis 1974 races (Governor and Senator) is going on by Reinecke, Younger, Flournoy in particular with a prejudicial effect in terms of fund raising, organizing and carrying the state for the President in 1972.
4. Against this background and the present vacuum of activities on behalf of the President, key members of the Governor's staff have been making contacts among corporate heads, party officials and prominent personalities in the following areas:
  - a. Seeking staff and speakers to support the Governor's welfare reform proposals as against the Administration.
  - b. Holmes Tuttle (after two meetings with the Governor) contacting prominent personalities with regard to serving on the Delegation.

- c. Calls from Bob Walker with prominent leaders saying "the Governor's office will run the campaign--Finch to have nothing to do with it" and discussions on his part as to who might be city and county chairmen in the Presidential campaign.

(Specific examples of the above with names, places and dates can be provided to support these contentions)

#### Recommendations

1. A decision should be made as soon as possible for a Nixon Advisory Committee headed by Firestone or someone else (clearly loyal to the President and acceptable to Reagan) to send out the broadest possible mailing for "Friends of Nixon" in California--getting people signed up with their indicated areas of interest and a chance to offer suggestions and comments. These lists are organized and ready to go and I believe the mailing should go forward immediately after the wedding. The Governor should be notified of the action just prior to the mailing but without any option to veto. This organizing committee should include the Governor and all appropriate elected Republican officials in California as well as the key "fat cats" and "movers and shakers." It should not include members of the White House staff or Cabinet from California. Wives of such key persons on the Federal payroll might be listed on the organizing committee.
2. The Governor in his key position as Chairman of the Delegation should be asked to submit some names he would like to have considered for the Delegation. At the same time, all other statewide officials should likewise be asked to submit names, i.e., Younger, Reinecke, Flournoy and Priest, as well as Congressmen, Monagan, Seantor Marler, State Chairman Livermore, Vice Chairman Luce and Ralph Rosedale, head of the County Chairmen's organization. These names could be considered for both Delegation and organizational purposes.

3. It should be made clear to Reagan and other key elected officials that he is not to head the Presidential campaign in California, even in a so-called honorary capacity. The President, in other words, will run his own campaign in his native state. If he is allowed to be "Honorary Chairman," his staff will take this as having the franchise for the whole campaign itself.
4. Movement should begin immediately following the mailing to put in place new blood as acting county and city Nixon chairmen, i.e. Russell Green, Forrest Shumway, etc.

#### Finch Role

In connection with his general campaign assignments, it should be made clear that Finch will have input in political decisions and campaign personnel affecting California. After discussion with the President, it has been concluded that since RHF is a possible 1974 candidate, he should not again serve as state chairman as the '74 implications would be counterproductive to the '72 effort. There have been discussions about Finch working with or chairing a small advisory strategy committee which I think from the standpoint of "overview" ought to be implemented as soon as possible. It would be anticipated that Finch would have a very important responsibility in helping select city and county chairmen which are the critical spots to be filled in carrying California.

Finch should campaign heavily and publicly, particularly between the convention and the election in California, as well as nationally, in those areas where he can be of assistance among youth, minorities, etc.

#### Present Status in California

We have a small beachhead operation tied to the Kalmbach law firm where John Flanigan is serving as a volunteer, working with various groups like Waller Taylor, George St. Johns, Fred Martin and others, in compiling lists, but without authority to take any definitive action at this time.

Immediate Recommendation

There should be a meeting as soon as possible with the President, Attorney General, H. R. Haldeman and Robert H. Finch to discuss.

If agreement along these lines is reached, another meeting with HRH, Kalmbach and RHF should be set for June 11 to implement.

Firestone will be here for Patricia's wedding and, if agreed, Mitchell could provide marching orders to Firestone and Kalmbach at that time.

cc: Attorney General  
H. R. Haldeman

RHF:bk1

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON  
May 24, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN **6**  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NARS, Date 9-19-82

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL  
FROM: DON RUMSFELD  
SUBJECT: Visit with Congressman Lou Frey  
of Florida, May 18, 1971

Congressman Frey has been traveling the State of Florida visiting with political leaders, civic leaders and the media. It is not his intention to run for Governor or Senate next year. He is interested in pulling the party together and certainly is interested in a state-wide race sometime in the future. He indicates that from Palm Beach north there is a desire to pull the party together. The southern part of the state is tougher. Gurney apparently feels that Cramer may run against him for the Senate in '72. Jack Eckert is presently moving around the state and may run again. Askew and Childs are both doing an excellent job. They have good press in the state, have pulled their party together, are working together personally and making good contacts in the business community.

The President is still popular in Florida, but the mail on Viet Nam is continuing its movement to an even stronger position against the war. Frey is concerned that the President will be in a squeeze again between GOP warring factions. He believes the State Chairman is for Cramer quietly, and that Gurney, who will be 64 when he runs again, will not be able to campaign hard because of his physical situation. Cramer is working hard and keeping his contacts in the state. The Young Republicans are having a testimonial dinner for him in the near future.

FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

Page 2

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

May 24, 1971

He feels that Scoop Jackson or Muskie would be the toughest for the President in Florida. Some right-wing types are talking Reagan, but it is not a serious problem. There's disillusionment in the Republican Party in Florida because of the 1970 disaster.

Frey is the most reliable person I know among the political leadership in the state to rebuild the party. He seems to have his head screwed on well.

cc: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Hartke Report

Chuck Colson was asked to prepare an analysis of Hartke's relationship to business on April 19. I checked with Dick Howard on April 21, 22 and 23. He kept trying to get the report from Colson and received a firm commitment on April 26 to submit the report. A check again on May 5 and 6 disclosed that Colson has not yet prepared the report and does not plan to because the answer is "too obvious (Hartke is a whore to business)." Colson says he has too many other important projects to do and will only write the report if it is characterized as "urgent" and pushed hard by you.

Recommendation:

Colson should be directed to prepare the report immediately only if the requirement for the analysis is in fact "urgent".

Direct Colson to prepare the report now \_\_\_\_\_

Forget the project \_\_\_\_\_

Secretary of State New Jersey

National Committee to Reelect Harrison A. Williams

Union Support

6/30/70	United Auto Workers COPE (Mich)	2,500
8/14/70	United Steelworkers of America	1,000
8/14/70	IBEW - COPE (DC)	220
9/17/70	ILGWU (NYC)	2,000
5/21/69	COPE	2,500
8/8/69	United Auto Workers COPE	2,500
10/20/69	COPE	2,500
2/12/70	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League	1,000
3/26/70	" " " "	2,500
4/2/70	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee	2,000
5/9/70	DRIVE	5,000
5/15/70	COPE	5,000
10/19/70	Amalgamated Meat Cutters	500
10/19/70	United Steelworkers of America	2,000
10/26/70	COPE	5,000
10/26/70	United Steelworkers of America Legislative Committee of NJ PAC	500
10/30/70	NJ State Carpenters Non-Partisan Political Committee	1,500
9/29/70	Active Ballot Club	5,000
9/29/70	UAW-Region O PAC Acc't. Camden, NJ	5,000
10/1/70	DRIVE Political Fund (DC)	5,000

---

48,220

other major contributors

6/30/70	NCEC	5,000
7/7/70	Philip J. Levin, N. Plainfield (Lawyer-owner various shopping centers) (Chairman, Bank of Bloomfield)	5,000
7/13/70	Mary Lasker, NYC (Big LBJ & HHH contributor)	1,000
9/14/70	Leon Hess, Perth Amboy	5,000
4/28/70	Paul Douglas (former Illinois Senator)	100
10/26/70	Mayo S. Sisler, Somerset	2,000
10/26/70	Michael Cohen, Short Hills	1,000
10/27/70	Stewart R. Mott, NYC	500
9/28/70	NCEC	5,000
9/30/70	Daniel Amster, Waldwick	1,000

Receipts	\$76,794.50	Expenses	\$58,870.97
	<u>37,200.00</u>		<u>31,713.50</u>
	113,994.50		90,584.47

Campaign Committee paid \$2,500 per month during campaign (\$7,500) to Mauer, Fleisher, Zon & Assoc. for PR. This is group that does work for AFL-CIO.

PRESERVATION COPY

Secretary of State      Minnesota

Expenditures for the US Senate Race

<u>Hubert Humphrey</u>	
Humphrey for Senate Committee	62,373.36
Humphrey Campaign Committee	318,290.84
Farmers for Humphrey Committee	7,104.20
Citizens for Humphrey Committee	102,339.58
Humphrey Volunteer Committee	<u>157,859.50</u>
	\$ 647,967.48

<u>Clark MacGregor</u>	
MacGregor Radio Committee	52,500
MacGregor Support Committee	35,155.50
Lawyers for MacGregor	7,383.43
MacGregor Volunteer Committee	124,503.08
MacGregor Volunteer Senate Campaign Committee	328,245.25
MacGregor TV Committee	28,500.00
Women for MacGregor	16,000
	<u>23,348.68</u>
	625,635.94

Secretary of State      Minnesota

Governor Race 1970

Anderson

Anderson for Governor Volunteer Committee      \$502,495

Head

Head for Governor Committee	173,955.84
Ramsey County for Head	28,760
Hennepin County for Head	<u>96,279.22</u>
	\$ 298,995.06

PRESERVATION COPY

Secretary of State      Pennsylvania

William Sesler      US Senate      (Dem against Scott)

Union support

Sesler for Senate Committee

6/17/70	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League	2,500
8/27/70	Pennsylvania Labor PAC	5,000
8/25/70	UAW-CAP Council	1,300
8/28.70	UAW-COPE	2,000
9/11/70	United Steelworkers of America PAC	2,500
9/23/70	ILGWU 1970 Campaign Committee	2,500
10/6/70	United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers PAC	100
10/5/70	Pennsylvania COPE	2,500
10/6/70	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen of America	500
10/20/70	UAW Region #2 Voluntary PAC	500
Receipts	\$67,679.05	

Secretary of State      Pennsylvania

Sesler for Senate (primary)

Receipts \$70,879.13

Secretary of State      Pennsylvania

Reece for Senate (Dem - primary)

Receipts \$39,887.86

PRESERVATION COPY

Secretary of Commonwealth      Pennsylvania

Broderick for Governor Committee

General Campaign showed receipts of \$767,556.42

Contributors of interest

Robert M. Mumma	
John Dorrance	5,000
(Chairman, Campbell Soup Co.)	5,000
Mr. & Mrs. Edward L. Gruber	
Anne Firestone	6,000
(wife of Roger Firestone, Chairman)	8,500
(Firestone Plastics, Pennsylvania)	
W. Clement Stone, Chicago	
F.K. Weyerhaeuser	10,000
(Weyerhaeuser Company)	2,500
Charles Luckman, Los Angeles	
Alan P. Magerman	2,500
	5,000

Marianne Means      4-7-71      PHILA EN 91

## Rockefeller Had Tip for Nixon

WASHINGTON.—Governor Nelson Rockefeller slipped quietly into the White House recently to warn that Mayor John Lindsay intends to challenge President Nixon next year either in the GOP primaries or as an independent fourth-party candidate.

The New York governor's secret visit was significant for two reasons. First, it indicated that Rockefeller is willing to line up with Nixon against Lindsay in any battle for control of the GOP liberal wing.

Secondly, it reinforced growing rumors that the New York mayor has gotten such a cold shoulder from Democratic leaders he has given up the idea of running for President as a Democrat.

Gov. Rockefeller told President Nixon he was convinced that Lindsay is trying to put together a new political coalition, led by himself and including such other disenfranchised liberal Republicans as ex-Sen. Charles Goodell and ex-Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel. The President was reported to be unsurprised.

Rockefeller, who challenged Nixon for the nomination two years ago, made an uneasy peace with the President early in his Administration. The two men are not always in agreement, but Rockefeller frequently has been helpful in lobbying for Administration programs. By contrast, Rockefeller's feud with

Lindsay over leadership of the Republican Eastern liberal establishment has steadily escalated since Lindsay became a national figure. The other day in a radio interview, Rockefeller, in effect, warned Lindsay he would fight him if Lindsay sought the Presidency. Rockefeller said he would support President Nixon for re-election but that if Nixon stepped down he might seek the nomination a third time himself.

Since Rockefeller and Lindsay scarcely speak, let alone confide in each other, Rockefeller might not be sizing up the mayor's plans accurately. However, there is a crucial link that could count for Rockefeller's information.

That link is J. Irwin Miller, the head of an international industrial empire. Miller, long active in the GOP liberal wing, directed the Rockefeller-for-President Committee in 1968.

Earlier this year he financed a new committee set up in Washington to help

liberal GOP Congressional candidates in 1972. The committee disbanded after only a few weeks, with the explanation that Miller had decided to concentrate his political contributions next year on Lindsay's bid for the Presidency.

Miller would not be interested in helping Lindsay conquer the Democratic Party. He is, however, very interested in restoring the dominance over the Republican Party which the liberal wing enjoyed until Barry Goldwater's nomination in 1964 but has not been able to regain under Richard Nixon.

A Lindsay candidacy, either independent or Republican, would force Nixon to pay less court to Southern conservatives and more to Northern moderates. For, with Lindsay abroad in the land, the rapidly growing ranks of those Republicans disenfranchised with the President will have an attractive alternative to consider.

Lindsay has vacillated, with full publicity for each mental quiver, for so long that in the end he may simply not get up the gumption to do anything.

In any event, it is easy to understand why President Nixon tried to avoid including Lindsay in his invitation to mayors to visit the White House the other day.

PRESERVATION COPY

William S. White

# An Unflattering View of the Ripon Society

PHILA INQ 4-10-71

WASHINGTON—It is an immutable law of politics that in the spring the saps begin to rise. The season being right, the race is now on among the fringe groups as to which can defer to the law the quickest—and this time the easy winner is something called the Ripon Society.

The Ripon Society calls itself a Republican organization and indeed it might well be one, considering that Ripon, Wis., was the birthplace of the G. O. P., but for certain inconvenient realities. Chief among these is that the Ripon Society opposes practically everything for which a Republican President, Richard M. Nixon, and a great majority of the Republicans in Congress, are trying to stand.

## Claims to Be a "Conscience"

Ripon is one of those letterhead and telephone-booth outfits that regards itself as "the conscience" of a political party—in this case the Republican Party—much as does the Americans for Democratic Action to the party across the street.

Ripon is the clear winner this year in getting there first with the least. It has just announced that preparations are

afoot for a dinner in Seattle on April 21 to present its "Man-of-the-Year" award to guess who? To Walter J. Hickel, that's who—the man whose distinction is that of a failed and fired secretary of the interior in the original Nixon cabinet.

The choice of Hickel by an ostensibly Republican group might seem odd to some—but never to Ripon—having in mind that he was discharged by a Republican President for blatant disloyalty and, furthermore, that his record resembles the movements of a revolving door.

For Hickel entered Nixon's service as the ordained villain of the professional liberals everywhere—of whom the Ripon Society was, naturally, well in the van—and then suffered a conversion to their views so blinding and sudden as to be notable even in a city like Washington.



Not in Seattle, where it is proposed by Ripon to Seattle, however, if the dinner include some of the President's most vocal critics upon many matters, such as Sen. Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.) and Rep. Paul McCloskey Jr. (R., Cal.). But while conservation "in the environmental field" is the assigned keynote of it all, there is rather more evidence of plain old anti-Viet Nam warism than concern for the noble redwoods.

There is a faint smell of attempted king-toppling (this would be Nixon) and of kingmaking (this perhaps would be Hickel, Hatfield or McCloskey). Indeed, the open anti-Nixonites in both parties [the Ripon Society would not so describe itself] are already beginning a buildup for McCloskey, who is undeniably both decent and attractive.

## Not Much of a Chance

There is about as much chance that President Nixon will be "dugged" for renomination, always assuming that he wants renomination when the time comes, as there is, say, that Sen. George McGovern (D., S. D.) will be nominated by the Democrats for President of the United States.

All three of the fringe organizations now in motion are united in their hostility to the President because of good, old topic A—Viet Nam. Of the other two, Americans for Democratic Action is incontestably American, it is incontestably—and incessantly—in action. But it is not democratic with a small D, but rather authoritarian-liberal.

The second, called Common Cause, might alone give the President some genuine trouble, because it is headed by the first-rate mind of John Gardner.

United Feature Syndicate

## Indianapolis, Indiana Election Board

### Roudebush Campaign Senate, 1970

Roudebush for Senate Committee  
various small committees  
Hoosiers for Roudebush  
Roudebush Booster Committee

125,367  
139,500  
102,774.79  
65,944.93  
433,586.72

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

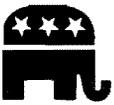
Date: 4/19/71

To:

MS

From: L. Higby

Shortly after this  
arrived Egan's asked  
that it be destroyed  
and that it be covered  
later in a meeting. No one  
should see this, but I  
thought you might like to be aware  
of it. L



Republican  
National  
Committee.

Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

April 19, 1971

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable H. R. Haldeman,  
FROM: Thomas B. Evans, Jr. 

One of the real keys for 1972 is a team effort up and down the line. It is understandable that Citizens groups must be set up in every State. However, it is imperative that the operation, at least in our key target areas, be coordinated with the Republican National Committee operation.

According to the Washington Post, Frank Dale, Chairman of the Citizens Committee, made the following comment: "Something should be done by a private group because the Republican National Committee cannot formally back a 1972 Nixon candidacy in advance of the Republican Party Convention, and the Republican Finance Committee cannot raise funds specifically to aid the President."

As you know, our mission at the Republican National Committee is to re-elect President Nixon in 1972. Statements of the type made by Frank Dale have the following effect:

- (1) They dampen the enthusiasm of Republicans around the country.
- (2) They jeopardize our ability to raise funds for the Republican National Committee.
- (3) They create a credibility gap since we have firmly stated for the record that our primary mission is to re-elect the President.
- (4) They reduce the overall effectiveness in accomplishing this mission.

Page Two

The Honorable H. R. Haldeman  
April 19, 1971

I suggest that the President ask his key advisors in the White House and in the various departments to attend a meeting at which we will explain the role of the Republican National Committee as it relates to the 1972 campaign effort.

cc: The Honorable John N. Mitchell

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By 4 NAK, Date 3-17-82

G

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Confidential

March 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JOHN R. PRICE *JRP*

I learned today from friends of mine who are close to him that Wilbur Mills is apparently quite serious about running for the Presidency. He has asked my friends, who have extensive contacts in the banking and international trade world, to provide lists of possible contributors to his campaign.

Furthermore, they are apparently taking delight in scaring Muskie: a friend of mine was shown four un-retuned call slips on calls from Muskie to Mills.

Confidential

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

August 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Primary Dates

To confirm our hasty telephone conversation, the primary dates, which have been checked with John Dean, Harry Flemming, and Ed DeBolt are:

	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Date</u>
New Hampshire	March 7	February 3*
Florida	March 14	February 10
Wisconsin	April 4	January 31
California	June 6	April 7

\*A special session of the New Hampshire legislature will begin on September 22 to consider changing this date.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Jeff Lowenthal

### McCloskey: Memories of McCarthy

formed "Citizens Committee to Re-elect the President" is chaired by an amateur, Francis L. Dale, publisher of Cincinnati's Enquirer and president of the baseball Reds, who was allowed to announce the group's formation from his base in Cincinnati—but the treasurer and head man of the committee in Washington is Jeb S. Magruder, 36, a former deputy director of communications under Presidential aide Herb Klein and "a special favorite of Haldeman," according to a White House insider. Over-all, the President will be committing his first-string team, and its goal is obviously not merely Mr. Nixon's nomination but his re-election. The only man missing is Murray Chotiner, a Nixon crony since the '40s—and Chotiner is expected back as soon as he makes enough money in private law practice to pay off a heavy divorce settlement.

It is too early to say whether the Administration will need even a fraction of this firepower to head off Pete McCloskey and his Republican renegades. Right now, McCloskey's GOP allies are relatively few and unprepossessing. Among the biggest names in the rump bloc are Charles Goodell, the senator from New York purged by the Administration last year, and Michigan Congressman Donald Riegle, 33, an ambitious young man who has run afoul of the Nixon team. Even Walter Hickel, the former Interior Secretary who was sent packing back to Alaska after differing with the President, has been chary about promising support.

**Allies:** The insurgents have also struck up an alliance of convenience with anti-war Democrat Allard Lowenstein, who engineered the dump-Johnson move in 1968. Lowenstein would like to see a Democrat elected in 1972, and even an abortive dump-Nixon drive within the GOP might well weaken the President in the November election.

At bottom, McCloskey is riding on much the same dream, and much the same strategy, that carried Eugene McCarthy so far in 1968, but it is doubtful whether that same strategy will play in 1972—especially on a Republican field. McCloskey's appeal is obviously to the GOP liberal branch, and that may not be where the deciding vote hangs. Mr. Nixon is known to think of California Gov. Ronald Reagan as his main potential threat within his own party, and he has stepped up his attentions to Reagan and the whole conservative GOP wing. If this is the true picture, McCloskey could show well in an early primary and still be dismissed as a radical upstart by the party's conservative majority.

But McCloskey is not without weapons. What he is selling is primarily a picture of himself—an earnest, guileless, selfless underdog who has taken on without much apparent hope of profit the commitment of putting all the most embarrassing questions about Vietnam straight up to the Administration. He attacks "their willingness to lie"—and it sounds far more convincing coming from a Republican than from the Democrats. McCloskey has enough money behind him—notably from California millionaire Norton Simon—to last out the first stages, and undoubtedly he will have more if he decides to try the primaries. The long road to Mr. Nixon's second term may prove to be far bumpier than anyone imagines right now.

### Obstacle Course

Campaign '72 already promises to be the most costly, complex and confusing Presidential sweepstakes in the nation's history. There are more than half a dozen serious Democratic contenders, and there has been a sudden and equally unusual proliferation of states planning Presidential primaries—23 at last count. It all adds up to an obstacle-strewn pre-convention campaign sure to sap the strength and finances of every contender. And, ironically, with so many candidates and contests, the primary results may be even less conclusive than ever.

Like the candidates themselves, some states seem to be tripping over each other to grab a piece of the action. Half a dozen states have set up Presidential primaries for the first time. Just last week, the Alaska Legislature voted to hold its first such contest on Feb. 29, 1972, two weeks before New Hampshire's traditional first-in-the-nation match. And the Florida Senate is currently considering a measure, already passed in the House, that would further infringe on New Hampshire's fame by scheduling the new Florida primary on the same day, March 14. In retaliation, New Hampshire threatened to reschedule its primary as early as necessary in order to stay at the top of the list.

Some other states entering the Presidential primary field for the first time are Rhode Island, New Mexico, Tennessee

and North Carolina. Maryland, which abolished the primary after 1964, is reviving it. New York and Alabama are seeking to add elements of a Presidential preference poll to long-standing primaries that previously have focused on the selection of convention delegates.

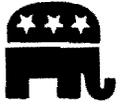
**Pyrrhic:** The rewards of becoming a political battleground can be rich. Every state hopes to build its share of political clout while siphoning off some of the millions that will be spent by the candidates and the media covering them. For the candidates, the goal is far more than the number of convention delegates that may be captured. A well-fought, well-won primary (or even a surprisingly strong near miss) can generate excitement and support. But the skyrocketing cost of campaigns these days could conceivably turn a string of primary successes into a Pyrrhic victory. "If all the money is burned up in the primaries, who will pay for the general campaign?" asks a Democratic National Committeeman.

Complicating the situation is the spread of "forced primaries" in which likely contenders are entered regardless of their wishes—and from which they may find it embarrassing, if not impossible, to withdraw officially. Originally, only Oregon followed this practice. Now Maryland, Nebraska, Tennessee and Wisconsin have taken it up. Oregon has no provision for a candidate to withdraw. The other states

### THE PRIMARY CALENDAR '72

Feb. 29	Alaska
March 14	Florida *
	New Hampshire *
March 21	Illinois
April 4	Wisconsin
April 11	Rhode Island
April 25	Massachusetts
	Pennsylvania
May 2	Alabama
	District of Columbia
	Indiana
	North Carolina
	Ohio
May 4	Tennessee
May 9	Nebraska
	West Virginia
May 16	Maryland
May 23	Oregon
June 6	California
	New Jersey
	New Mexico
	South Dakota
June 20	New York *

\* Date may be changed  
 / Mandatory for recognized candidates



Republican  
National  
Committee.

May 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO:

FROM: Ed DeBolt

SUBJECT: 1972 Presidential Preference Primaries

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Co-Chairman Tom Evans has asked that the Research Division take the responsibility of watching and reporting on the continuing developments pertaining to the 1972 presidential preference primaries in the various primary states.

The report attached is the summary analysis of these states' election laws relating to such primaries.

It should be understood that these election laws are not engraved in stone, that this particular report is current to date, and that several states are now changing or may change in the near future their election laws. Thus, as new developments occur, Primary Status Reports will be issued.

I have asked Lauri Isley to take the responsibility for this project. If you have any questions do not hesitate to contact Lauri. (X6660) or me.

*Deell  
L. De Pault  
Flemming  
L. Dean*

RNC RESEARCH DIVISION  
MAY 13, 1971

1972 PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES  
AND  
NATIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATION SELECTION

The presidential preference primaries  
scheduled for 1972 are as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
<del>New Hampshire</del>	<del>March 14</del>	February 3
<i>Florida</i>	<i>Mar 7</i> <i>Mar. 14</i>	<i>Feb. 10</i>
Illinois	March 21	January 3
<del>Wisconsin</del>	April 4	January 31
Rhode Island	April 11	January 31
Massachusetts	April 25	February 29
Pennsylvania	April 25	February 15
District of Columbia	May 2	March 18
Indiana	May 2	March 23
Ohio	May 2	February 2
North Carolina	May 2	March 7
Tennessee	May 4	March 9
Nebraska	May 9	March 10
West Virginia	May 9	February 5
Maryland	May 16	March 24
Oregon	May 23	March 14
<del>California</del>	June 6	April 7
New Mexico	June 6	April 7
South Dakota	June 6	April 22
New Jersey	June 6	April 29

*Sept 22  
Special  
Session  
on Filing  
Date*

Other possible presidential primaries that may be scheduled for 1972 are:

Florida

Alaska

Detailed information pertaining to these two State's election laws follows at the end of this report.

There are two kinds of presidential primaries. The presidential preference poll determines which of the prospective candidates actually listed on the ballot the majority of the registered voters of a political party prefer for presidential nominee.

In delegate selection, voters choose the delegates to the party's National Convention. Sometimes these delegates are elected by slate, and other times individually. Delegates may be unpledged, favorable, or pledged to a particular presidential candidate. In some states, delegates may choose to support the winner of the statewide preference poll.

Some state laws provide for a non-binding primary election in which there is no legal responsibility placed on a convention delegate to vote for his declared choice for President on convention ballots.

The majority of presidential primaries are direct and closed primaries. In a closed primary only those voters registered as members of a specific political party are entitled to vote in that party's primary election. Individuals registered as Independent or Non-Partisan may not participate in the primary election of a particular political party.

In a direct election, the names of the candidates for the particular office appear on the ballot and the voter casts his ballot directly for his choice among the names listed for the office being contested. This is in contrast to an indirect primary in which the voter casts his ballot for an individual, who, if elected, will vote for the candidate for the office being contested.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
New Hampshire	<del>March 14</del> mar 7	February 3

State law provides for a non-binding, direct, closed presidential preference poll and for the direct, closed election of convention delegates and alternates. Candidates for delegate may be pledged, favorable or unpledged to a specific presidential candidate. If a delegate candidate is favorable to a specific candidate, it is so printed on the ballot; if he is pledged to vote for a particular candidate, it is also printed on the ballot and said presidential candidate must give his written consent. Consent of the presidential candidate is not required for his name to appear on the ballot -- but he must take action himself if he wishes to withdraw his name from the presidential preference poll. Write-ins are permitted. The results of the preference poll are only advisory to the National Convention delegates.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Illinois	March 21	January 3

Illinois has a non-binding, direct, closed presidential preference poll. Any presidential candidate may place his name on the ballot by filing a petition containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures with the Secretary of State. There is a direct, closed primary election for unpledged district delegates and alternates to the National Convention. At-large delegates and alternates are chosen by State convention. The result of the vote for president in the preference poll is strictly advisory to the delegates.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Wisconsin	April 4	January 31

State law provides for a direct presidential preference poll in which voters are able to choose among nationally recognized contenders for the presidential nomination. An 11-man bipartisan committee determines which candidates' names are placed on the ballot. If a candidate wishes to withdraw his name, he must file an affidavit with the Secretary of State. If a candidate not nominated as indicated above wishes to place his name on the ballot, he must file a petition signed by the appropriate number of qualified voters with the Secretary of State. Each presidential candidate may submit to the Secretary of State a slate of convention delegates. The final convention slate is composed

of the delegates-at-large submitted by the winner of the preference poll and those district delegates submitted by the candidate who won in each district. However, if the preference poll is won by either (1) a write-in candidate, or (2) a candidate who did not submit a list of delegates to the Secretary of State, or (3) "None of the Names Shown," on the ballot, then the Executive Committee of the Republican Party of Wisconsin selects the delegates. This slate must be approved by the statewide winner of the presidential preference poll.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Rhode Island	April 11	January 31

New election laws provide for a non-binding, direct, closed presidential preference poll. A candidate desiring to be placed on the ballot must file a declaration of candidacy with the Secretary of State containing an authorization to have nomination petitions circulated and filed in his behalf. There is a direct, closed primary election of delegates and alternates to the National Convention who may be pledged or unpledged to a specific presidential candidate. If a candidate for delegate pledges to vote for a specific candidate for President at the Convention so long as that candidate's name is before the Convention, it will be so noted on the ballot. The results of the presidential preference poll are advisory to the delegates.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Massachusetts	April 25	February 29

Massachusetts has a direct, binding, closed presidential preference poll. Candidates' names may be submitted to the Secretary of State by the State Chairman or a petition with the appropriate number of qualified signatures contained therein may be presented to the Secretary of State in order to be placed on the ballot. A candidate must give his consent for his name to appear on the ballot. Write-in candidates are permitted. District delegates and alternates to the National Convention are chosen by the voters in a direct, closed primary election. Delegates-at-large and alternates may be nominated by the State Committee. Delegate-candidates' names must be submitted by the State Chairman to the Secretary of State. This slate will automatically become the delegation-at-large to the Convention unless an opposition slate files a nominating petition. In that event, all the opposing delegates-at-large slates appear on the primary ballot. Delegates may run pledged to a specific presidential candidate. This is noted on the ballot. However, consent of the candidate to whom the delegate is pledged is required. By law, all delegates are required to vote for the winner of the preference poll on the first ballot at the Convention unless released by the candidate.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Pennsylvania	April 25	February 15

Pennsylvania has a direct, closed presidential preference poll. A candidate may be nominated via petition in order to have his name placed on the ballot. His consent is not required. Delegates-at-large and alternates are chosen by the State Central Committee. District delegates and alternates are elected in a direct, closed primary. Write-ins are permitted. The ballot must state whether or not the candidate for district delegate pledges to support the winner of the preference poll in his district.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
District of Columbia	May 2	March 18

There is no direct presidential preference poll. There is a direct, closed primary election of unpledged delegates and alternates to the National Convention. Delegate candidates generally make known their presidential choice.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Indiana	May 2	March 23

State law provides for a direct, closed, binding presidential preference poll. A candidate must file with the Secretary of State a written request accompanied by a petition containing the acceptable number of qualified signatures in order to place his name on the ballot. Delegates-at-large and alternates to the National Convention are chosen by the State Convention. District delegates and alternates are selected by the State Convention delegates from each Congressional district. District delegates must support, on the first ballot at the National Convention, the presidential candidate who won in their respective districts, provided said winner is a candidate before the convention. Delegates-at-large must support the statewide presidential preference poll winner on the first ballot, provided that said winner is a candidate before the convention.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Ohio	May 2	February 2

Ohio does not have a direct presidential preference poll. Delegates and alternates to the National Convention are elected in direct, closed primaries. Delegates must state their first and second choices for presidential nominee and need the consent of these presidential candidates. Delegates are not legally bound to support their choices; however, it is assumed a delegate is morally bound to support his declared choice. A delegate can file with his declaration of candidacy a statement that, if elected, he will "to the best of his judgment and ability" support that presidential candidate who won the most statewide votes in the primary.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
North Carolina	May 2	March 7

New state election laws provide for a direct, binding, closed presidential preference poll. The State Board of Elections nominates those individuals who are generally advocated and nationally recognized as being serious contenders for the nomination to the office of President. A candidate not so nominated may petition to the State Board of Elections to have his name placed on the ballot. The petition must contain the appropriate number of qualified signatures. The State Board of Elections is required to contact each individual nominated either by the State Board or by petition that his name shall be printed on the ballot provided candidates nominated by the State Board submit a \$1,000 filing fee along with a "Notice of Candidacy" form to the State Board. Candidates nominated by petition are not required to submit the filing fee. Failure of those nominated by the State Board of Elections to submit the filing fee and the "Notice of Candidacy" results in their names not being placed on the ballot. The four presidential candidates receiving the highest vote -- or, if there are less than four candidates, the candidates winning at least 15% of the total votes cast -- will receive delegate votes in direct proportion to their portion of the total votes cast. Delegates are bound to vote for their pledged candidate for the first ballot, or until they are released.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Tennessee	May 4	March 9

The Tennessee General Assembly recently ratified a law providing for a presidential preference primary. The law calls for a direct, closed, binding presidential preference poll. The Secretary of State has sole

discretion to nominate those individuals he feels are generally advocated and nationally recognized candidates for the office of President. If a candidate so nominated wishes to withdraw his name from the ballot, he must submit an affidavit to the Secretary of State declaring he "is not now nor does he intend to become a candidate for" the office of President. If an individual has not been nominated as described above and wishes to become a candidate, a petition containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures may be submitted by or on behalf of the candidate to the party State Chairman or to the Secretary of the primary election commission. The results of the preference poll are binding on the delegates to the National Convention; district delegates are bound to support on the first and second convention ballots the winner of the preference poll in their respective districts. At-large delegates are bound to support on the first convention ballot the winner of the statewide preference poll. Thereafter, the delegates-at-large are bound to support their candidate as long as he, not to exceed two convention ballots, has 20% of the Convention vote or until he releases the delegation. Delegates-at-large and alternates are selected by the State convention. District delegates and alternates are selected separately in district conventions.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Nebraska	May 9	March 10

Nebraska has a non-binding, closed, direct presidential preference poll. The Secretary of State may place on the ballot any names he wishes -- without the consent of the candidate. Names of candidates may also be placed on the ballot by authorized petition -- with the consent of the candidate. District and at-large delegates are elected in a closed, direct primary. A delegate candidate may run pledged to a presidential candidate or remain unpledged; in either case, the decision is noted on the ballot. If a delegate is running pledged, he is legally bound to vote for said candidate unless (a) said candidate receives less than 35% of the Convention vote for nomination, (b) the candidate releases the delegate, or (c) two convention ballots have been taken.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
West Virginia	May 9	February 5

West Virginia has a direct, closed, non-binding presidential preference poll. Candidates file an announcement of candidacy with the Secretary of State. Delegates to the National Convention are elected in a direct, closed primary. Delegates-at-large are elected by voters in the entire state. District delegates are elected by voters in each of the respective Congressional districts. Each delegate selects his own alternate. Write-in votes are not counted. Delegates do not pledge themselves to any partic-

ular presidential nominee candidate. The result of the preference poll is considered advisory to the delegates.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Maryland	May 16	March 24

State law provides for a direct, binding presidential preference primary. The Secretary of State has sole discretion to place the names of candidates on the ballot who are generally advocated and nationally recognized as being serious contenders for the presidential nomination. A candidate so nominated may withdraw his name from the ballot by filing an affidavit with the Secretary of State declaring without qualification that he "is not and does not intend to become a candidate for" the office of President. A candidate not placed on the ballot by the Secretary of State may file a petition containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures with the State Administrative Board of Election Laws. District delegates to the National Convention are elected in a direct primary in each Congressional district. Each delegate may run pledged to a specific presidential candidate and have it so noted next to his name on the ballot provided he has the written consent of said candidate. The elected district delegates then elect the at-large delegates. The final slate of delegates elect the alternate delegates. All district delegates are bound to vote for the presidential candidate who won the highest number of votes in their respective districts. The at-large delegates are bound to vote for the candidate who won the highest number of votes in the statewide preference poll. Both district and at-large delegates are bound to support their candidates until (1) the candidate received less than 35% of the convention vote, (2) the candidate releases the delegation, or (3) two convention ballots have been taken.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
Oregon	May 23	March 14

Oregon election laws provide for a direct, closed, binding presidential preference poll. The Secretary of State has sole discretion to place on the ballot the names of any generally advocated and nationally recognized serious contenders for the presidential nomination. A candidate not placed on the ballot in the manner described above may file a petition containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures with the Secretary of State. Write-ins are also permitted. All delegates to the National Convention are elected in a direct, closed primary except (1) any political party officers designated by the national committee of the political party, (2) the national committeeman and committeewoman, and the chairman and vice chairman of the party's state central committee.

The remainder of the number of delegates allotted to the State of Oregon are elected from each congressional district. Alternate delegates are selected by each of the delegates. All delegates must pledge to support the candidate who wins the highest number of votes in the statewide preference poll until (1) said candidate receives less than 35% of the convention vote, or (2) said candidate releases the delegation, or (3) two convention ballots have been taken.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
California	June 6	April 7

There is no direct presidential preference primary. There is a direct, closed primary to elect slates of delegates to the National Convention. The slates may or may not be pledged to a particular presidential candidate. The names of the delegates on the slates do not appear on the ballot. Instead, the name of the preferred presidential candidate, or the name of the chairman of each slate that is unpledged to any presidential candidate, appear on the ballot. A presidential candidate must give his consent for the slate of delegates to be pledged to him. Alternate delegates are appointed by each committee that supports a slate of delegates. Each delegate who has pledged to support a specific candidate must sign an affidavit declaring that he will support his presidential choice at the National Convention to the "best of his judgment and ability."

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
New Mexico	June 6	April 7

New Mexico state law provides for the first direct, closed presidential preference poll in the state. A bi-partisan nominating committee may place on the ballot the names of all generally advocated and nationally recognized serious contenders for the nomination for President. Other candidates or groups organized on behalf of, and with the consent of, a candidate may submit a petition to the Secretary of State containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures in order to be placed on the ballot. The Secretary of State is required to notify all candidates nominated either by committee or by petition that their names will be printed on the ballot if they pay a \$500 filing fee. New Mexico voters may cast their ballots for one of the presidential candidates of their party or for "None of the Names Shown." A vote of this type expresses the voter's preference for an uncommitted delegation to the National Convention. Delegates and alternates to the National Convention are selected by the State Central Committee of each political party. These delegate votes are allotted to the two top preference poll winners, or to the top one candidate and the unpledged category, as the case may be, in direct proportion to the total

vote each candidate or category polled in the preference poll. A delegate that is pledged to support a candidate at the Convention must do so on the first ballot.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
South Dakota	June 6	April 22

There is no direct presidential preference poll. Slates of delegates are elected in a closed primary. The slates of delegates may run pledged or unpledged to a particular presidential candidate. The candidate may designate which slate he desires to appear on the ballot if two or more file in support of his candidacy. The nominating petition for the particular slate, if it is pledged to a candidate, must include a statement that each delegate thereon will vote for his declared choice for President until (1) said candidate receives less than 35% of the convention vote, (2) said candidate releases the delegation, or (3) three convention ballots have been taken.

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>
New Jersey	June 6	April 29

State laws provide for a closed, indirect, non-binding presidential preference poll. However, there are provisions in which presidential candidates may submit to the Secretary of State a petition containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures in order to be placed on the ballot. When this occurs, the preference poll becomes direct. There is a direct, closed, primary election for delegates to the National Convention. Delegates-at-large and alternates are voted on by the entire State electorate. District delegates and alternates are elected by voters in the respective districts. Candidates for delegate and alternate may group themselves together on the ballot as slates. They may also have placed opposite their names the name of their preferred presidential candidate, provided said candidate gives his consent. It is assumed that delegates are morally bound to support their declared presidential choice. However, in the past, the results of the presidential preference poll have often been disregarded by the New Jersey delegates.

## PRIMARY STATUS REPORT

### Florida

Tuesday, May 12, 1971, the Florida House of Representatives passed a bill revising the State's presidential preference primary laws. The bill calls for the establishment of a direct, closed, binding preference poll to be held on the second Tuesday in March -- March 8, 1972.

A bi-partisan committee composed of the Speaker of the House, President of the Senate, the Minority Leaders of both Houses, the State Chairmen of both major political parties and the Secretary of State as non-voting Chairman places the names of candidates of both parties on the ballot. Prior to this meeting, however, the Secretary of State draws up a list of those names he feels are generally advocated and nationally recognized candidates for the office of President. The Committee votes on this list. If a candidate wishes to be included on the list and has not been nominated by the Committee, he may write a letter of request to the Secretary of State. The Committee then meets again to vote on the request. If a candidate is nominated and wishes to withdraw, he must sign an affidavit stating he "is not now and does not intend to become a candidate for" the office of President.

The candidates may submit to the Secretary of State a slate of delegates to the National Convention prior to March 1, 1972. This slate is bound to support the candidate until said presidential candidate (1) releases the delegation, (2) receives less than 35% of the convention vote, or (3) two convention ballots have been taken. If the candidate who wins the preference poll did not submit a slate of delegates, then the rules of the State Executive Committee abide in the selection of the delegate slate. The State Executive Committee must adopt rules for such a contingency at least 90 days prior to the primary election. This slate is bound to support the winner of the preference poll as described above.

However, delegates and alternates to the National Convention may also be selected in the following manner: (1) at least two-thirds of the total number of delegates allotted to the State of Florida must be elected from the congressional districts; (2) at least two delegates but not more than 10% of the total number of delegates may be elected by the party's State Executive Committee; (3) the remainder of the delegates must be elected from the state-at-large. The district delegates are bound to support, to the extent described above, the winner of the preference poll in their respective districts. Delegates-at-large and delegates chosen by the State Executive Committee are bound to support the winner of the statewide preference poll to the extent described above.

This bill now goes to the Florida Senate for consideration. If the Senate passes the bill in its present form, it will be sent to the Governor for his signature. If Governor Askew (D) does not veto the bill, it will become law with or without his signature 20 days after its passage by the Senate.

## PRIMARY STATUS REPORT

### Alaska

The Alaska State Legislature has sent to Governor Egan (D) for signature a bill creating the state's first presidential preference primary. The date set by the bill for the primary is the last Tuesday in February (February 29, 1972).

The Lieutenant Governor has sole discretion to place on the ballot the names of those individuals who are generally advocated and nationally recognized to be candidates for the office of President. Candidates not so nominated may file a petition with the Lieutenant Governor containing the appropriate number of qualified signatures. The filing deadline is the last Tuesday in January before the presidential election -- January 25, 1972.

A candidate nominated either by the Lieutenant Governor or by petition may have his name withdrawn if he so desires not later than the first Tuesday before the presidential primary -- February 22, 1972.

Delegates and alternates to the National Convention are chosen at the State Convention made up of members elected at district conventions, whose members are chosen at precinct mass meetings.

April 21, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NARS, Date 3-19-82

*Copy for  
Rob -  
Put in  
primary  
file*

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed is the remaining information on presidential primaries which you requested. This is the option open to the Secretary of State in a state where he has the ability to place individuals on the primary ballot.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

JSM:ger  
JSM Chron  
JSM *Primaries - Field Org.*  
JSM AG File

CONFIDENTIAL

## NOMINATION BY SECRETARY OF STATE

Where a candidate may be nominated by a Secretary of State the criteria usually outlined is that the candidacy be generally advocated or recognized by the news media. Sometimes it is permissible for the counsel of national political figures to be sought.

New Mexico and Massachusetts have added this condition since 1968 so there is no precedent as to what interpretation the Secretaries might take in fulfilling their role. In New Mexico, it is possible to withdraw but delegates are allotted and pledged in proportion to the vote a candidate receives. In Massachusetts it is also possible to withdraw but all delegates by law are required to vote for the winner of the primary on the first ballot unless released by the candidate.

In Nebraska, Secretary of State Frank Marsh, on February 14, 1968, announced he had placed on the ballot the names of three Democrats - Johnson, McCarthy and Wallace; and five Republicans - Nixon, Rockefeller, Reagan, Romney, and Stassen. Marsh said he had omitted the name of Senator Kennedy because the Senator, in a February 7 letter, had asked Marsh not to include his name on the ballot.

If a candidate wants to withdraw he must file an affidavit stating he is not now and does not intend to become a candidate for the office of President; however, if a delegate has stated his preference for a particular candidate, he is pledged for two ballots unless that candidate receives less than 35% of the vote or releases his delegates.

The Secretary of State of Oregon, Clay Myers, on March 11, 1968, placed on the ballot the names of four Democrats - Johnson, McCarthy, Kennedy, and Wallace; and four Republicans - Nixon, Rockefeller, Reagan, and Percy. On the Vice Presidential ballot he placed the names of two Democrats - Kennedy and Humphrey; and four Republicans - Reagan, Percy, Hatfield, and Lindsay.

If a candidate wants to withdraw, he must file an affidavit stating he is not now and does not intend to become a candidate for the office of President; however, the delegates are pledged to the winner of the primary unless that candidate receives less than 35% of the vote or releases his delegates. The Vice Presidential vote is only considered as being advisory.

NUMBER OF SIGNATURES NEEDED ON PETITIONS IN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES  
(Refer to April 6th memorandum on Delegate Selection and Presidential  
Primaries for details.)

CALIFORNIA: not less than 17,199 for slates pledged to a  
not more than 68,793. candidate which the candidate  
must approve.

ILLINOIS: not less than 3,000  
not more than 5,000.

INDIANA: 5,500 with a minimum of 500 per congressional district.

MASSACHUSETTS: 2,500 with no more than 500 from any one county.

Changes in the number of signatures are now under con-  
sideration.

(Also under a new law, the Secretary of the Commonwealth  
may now place a presidential candidate's name on the  
ballot. The date of withdrawal was also changed; it is  
now March 3rd.)

NEBRASKA: not less than 100 from each of the 3 congressional  
districts.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: not less than 50 from each of 2 congressional districts.

NEW JERSEY: not less than 1,000.

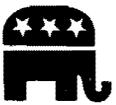
Number of signatures may be increased on recommendation  
of Kimmelman Commission.

NEW MEXICO: Equal but not less than 3,513 in 1st District and 3,033  
in 2nd District.

OREGON: not less than 1,000.

PENNSYLVANIA: 100 per county in at least ten counties.

RHODE ISLAND: 1,000 with a minimum of 25 in each county.



Republican  
National  
Committee.

August 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Gordon Strachan  
FROM: Ed DeBolt *Ed*  
RE: New Hampshire Primary  
Filing Deadline

The filing deadline of  
February 3, 1972, for the New Hampshire primary  
is firm to date.

However, the New Hampshire  
State Legislature will be called into special session  
on September 22, 1971, in order to amend part of the  
election code in order to provide for absentee voting  
procedures recently instituted in the State. That part  
of the election code being amended contains provisions  
for filing deadline dates.

Therefore, a change in the  
filing deadline date is expected to occur as a result  
of this special session.

The above information was  
provided by the Office of the Secretary of State in  
New Hampshire this morning.

from  
H. F. Fleming

1972 Presidential Preference Primaries  
and  
National Convention Delegate Selection

June 25, 1971

STATE	FILING DEADLINE	PRIMARY DATE
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NEW HAMPSHIRE	February 3	March 7
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Preference Poll: Direct, closed, non-binding. Candidate's consent is not required for his name to appear on the ballot and he must take action to remove it.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed election of delegates and alternates, who may be pledged, favorable or unpledged. If favorable or pledged, presidential candidate must consent and this is noted on the ballot.

FLORIDA	February 10	March 14
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Preference Poll: Direct, closed, binding. Secretary of State and a bipartisan committee place on the ballot the names of presidential candidates. To withdraw, a candidate must sign an affidavit.

Delegate Selection: Candidates may submit to the Secretary of State a slate of delegates prior to March 1. This slate is bound until said candidate releases them, receives less than 35 percent of the convention vote, or two ballots have been taken. If the candidate who wins the poll does not submit a slate of delegates, the rules of the state committee abide in their selection. The State Executive Committee must adopt such rules at least 90 days prior to the primary election. This slate is also bound as described above.

ILLINOIS	January 3	March 21
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Preference Poll: Direct, closed, non-binding. Candidate enters by filing petition with Secretary of State.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed election for unpledged district delegates and alternates. At-large delegates and alternates are chosen by state convention.

PRIMARIES--2

WISCONSIN

January 31

April 4

Preference Poll: Direct. Eleven-man bi-partisan committee determines which candidates' names are placed on the ballot. To withdraw his name one must file an affidavit with the Secretary of State.

Delegate Selection: Each presidential candidate may submit a slate of delegates to the Secretary of State. The final slate is composed of delegates at large submitted by the winner of the preference poll and those district delegates submitted by the winner in each district.

RHODE ISLAND

January 31

April 11

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, non-binding. To enter, candidate must file a declaration of candidacy with the Secretary of State.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed election of delegates and alternates who may be pledged or unpledged. If a delegate candidate is pledged for as long as his candidate's name is before the convention, it is so noted on the ballot.

MASSACHUSETTS

February 29

April 25

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, binding. Candidates' names may be submitted by the State Chairman or by petition to the Secretary of State. A candidate's consent is required before his name is placed on the ballot.

Delegate Selection: District delegates and alternates are chosen in a direct, closed election. At-large delegates and alternates may be nominated by the State Committee, and the names submitted by the State Chairman to the Secretary of State. This slate automatically becomes the delegation-at-large unless an opposition slate files a nominating petition. In that event, all opposing slates appear on the primary ballot. Delegates may be pledged. If so, this is noted on the ballot and the candidate's consent is required. By law, all delegates are required to vote for the winner of the preference poll on the first ballot unless released by the candidate.

PENNSYLVANIA

February 15

April 25

Preference Poll: Direct, closed. Candidates enter via petition, however, candidate's consent is not required.

Delegate Selection: Delegates-at-large and alternates are chosen by the State Central Committee. District delegates are elected in a direct, closed primary. The ballot must state whether or not a district delegate candidate pledges to support the preference poll winner in his district.

PRIMARIES--3

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

March 18

May 2

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed primary election of unpledged delegates and alternates.

INDIANA

March 23

May 2

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, binding. A candidate must file a petition with the Secretary of State to enter.

Delegate Selection: Delegates-at-large and alternates are chosen by the state convention. District delegates and alternates are selected by state convention delegates from each Congressional district. District delegates must support the winner in their respective districts on the first ballot, provided he is a candidate before the convention. At-large delegates must support the statewide winner on the first ballot provided he is a candidate before the convention.

OHIO

February 2

May 2

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed primary election of delegates and alternates. Delegates must state their first and second choices for presidential nominee and need the consent of the presidential candidates. Delegates are only morally bound to support their choices.

NORTH CAROLINA

March 7

May 2

Preference Poll: Direct, closed. The State Board of Elections nominates those individuals who are generally advocated and nationally recognized as being serious contenders. The Board then contacts each person nominated, either by the Board or by petition, that his name will be printed as a candidate provided that such candidate, within 15 days after receipt of the notification, submit a filing fee of \$1,000 along with a "Notice of Candidacy" form. Failure to submit such fee and "Notice of Candidacy" shall be a disclaimer and a withdrawal of the name from the primary.

Delegate Selection: Selection is determined by the parties. The four presidential candidates receiving the highest vote, or, if there are less than four candidates, the candidates winning at least 15 percent of the total votes cast, will receive delegate votes in direct proportion to their portion of the total votes cast. Delegates are bound for the first ballot, or until they are released.

TENNESSEE

March 9

May 4

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, binding. The Secretary of State has sole discretion to nominate those generally advocated and nationally recognized contenders. To withdraw, a candidate must submit an affidavit stating he "is not now nor does he intend to become a candidate for" the office of President.

Delegate Selection: In no section of the ratified bill are there specific provisions for the selection of delegates. Therefore, it is assumed by the Tennessee GOP State Committee that no changes have been made in this election code. Thus, district delegates and alternates are selected in district conventions, and at-large delegates and alternates are selected by state convention. District delegates are bound to support on the first and second ballot the winner in their respective districts. At-large delegates are bound to the statewide winner on the first ballot, and thereafter, as long as he, not to exceed two ballots, has 20 percent of the total convention vote or until he releases the delegation.

NEBRASKA

March 10

May 9

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, non-binding. The Secretary of State may place on the ballot any name he wishes, without consent of the candidate.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed election of district and at-large delegates. They may run pledged or unpledged; in either case, the decision is noted on the ballot. If pledged, the delegate is legally bound until his candidate receives less than 35 percent of the convention vote, releases the delegation, or two ballots have been taken.

WEST VIRGINIA

February 5

May 9

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, non-binding. Candidates file an announcement of candidacy with the Secretary of State.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed election of at-large delegates by voters in the entire state and district delegates in their respective districts. Each delegate selects his own alternate.

MARYLAND

March 24

May 16

Preference Poll: Direct, binding. The Secretary of State places names of candidates on the ballot who are generally advocated and nationally recognized as being serious contenders. To withdraw, a candidate must file an affidavit declaring without qualification that he "is not and does not intend to become and candidate for" the office of President.

MARYLAND, con't

Delegate Selection: District delegates are elected in a direct primary in each Congressional district. Each delegate may run pledged provided he has the consent of said candidate. The elected district delegates elect the at-large delegates. The final slate of delegates elect the alternate delegates. All district delegates are bound to vote for the winner in their respective districts. At-large delegates are bound to vote for the statewide winner. Both district and at-large delegates are bound until the candidate receives less than 35 percent of the convention vote, the candidate releases the delegation, or two convention ballots have been taken.

OREGON

March 14

May 23

Preference Poll: Direct, closed binding. The Secretary of State can place on the ballot the names of any generally advocated and nationally recognized serious contenders, with the written consent of the candidate. To withdraw, the candidate must submit an affidavit stating he "is not now and does not intend to become a candidate for" President.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed election of all delegates. However, the State Central Committee has the option of allowing the National Committeeman, National Committeewoman, Chairman and Vice Chairman of the State Central Committee to be delegates. If the Committee exercises this option, all delegates allotted to the State except these four positions are elected as indicated. Alternate delegates are selected by each of the delegates. Delegates must pledge to support the candidate who wins the statewide preference poll until he receives less than 35% of the convention vote, releases the delegation, or two ballots have been taken.

CALIFORNIA

April 7

June 6

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed primary to elect slates of delegates who may or may not be pledged. Candidate's consent is required. A pledged delegate must sign an affidavit declaring he will support his choice at the convention to the "best of his judgement and ability." Alternate delegates are appointed by each committee supporting a slate of candidates.

NEW MEXICO

April 7

June 6

Preference Poll: Direct, closed, binding. A bi-partisan nominating committee places on the ballot the names of all generally advocated and nationally recognized serious contenders. A candidate's name is then placed on the primary ballot with his consent and payment of the \$500 filing fee. A voter may choose between one of his party's nominees or "None of the Names Shown."

PRIMARIES--6

NEW MEXICO, con't

Delegate Selection: Delegates and alternates are selected by the state central committee of each party. Delegate votes are allotted to the two top preference poll winners, or to the top one candidate and the unpledged category, as the case may be, in direct proportion to the total vote each candidate or category polled in the preference poll. A pledged delegate is bound on the first ballot.

SOUTH DAKOTA

April 22

June 6

Delegate Selection: Slates of delegates, pledged or unpledged, are elected in a closed primary. Consent of candidate is required. A pledged delegate is bound for his declared choice until said candidate receives less than 35 percent of the convention vote, releases the delegation, or three ballots have been taken.

NEW JERSEY

April 29

June 6

Preference Poll: Indirect, closed, non-binding. It may become direct when a candidate submits a petition in order to place his own name on the ballot.

Delegate Selection: Direct, closed. At-large delegates and alternates, statewide; and district delegates and alternates by districts. Delegate candidates may run as slates, and may also state the name of their preferred Presidential candidate, with his consent. Delegates are assumed to be morally bound, but past experience indicates that the poll is often disregarded.

1972 Presidential Preference Primaries

The presidential preference primaries scheduled for 1972 are as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>
New Hampshire	February 3	March 7
Florida	February 10	March 14
Illinois	January 3	March 21
Wisconsin	January 31	April 4
Rhode Island	January 31	April 11
Massachusetts	February 29	April 25
Pennsylvania	February 15	April 25
District of Columbia	March 18	May 2
Indiana	March 23	May 2
Ohio	February 2	May 2
North Carolina	March 7	May 2
Tennessee	March 9	May 4
Nebraska	March 10	May 9
West Virginia	February 5	May 9
Maryland	March 24	May 16
Oregon	March 14	May 23
California	April 7	June 6
New Mexico	April 7	June 6
South Dakota	April 22	June 6
New Jersey	April 29	June 6