

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>
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: New Hampshire Primary Returns. 1 pg.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From G. Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: New Hampshire Delegates. 1 pg.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: New Hampshire Primaries. This document discusses results. 2 pgs.
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: New Hampshire Primary Returns. This document is similar to an earlier document, but contains notes [very light ink]. 1 pg.

<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>
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Statement to the Press Following the New Hampshire Primary Election. 3 pgs.
29	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses polls and memos. 1 pg.
29	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Hand Written Note. This document discusses poll results. 1 pg.
29	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note. This document discusses poll results. 1 pg.
29	6	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Murray M. Chotiner to the President. RE: 1972 Senate Races. This document discusses Senate predictions. 3 pgs.

<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>
29	6	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Mr. Timmons. RE: Young People on T.V. at Convention. This document discusses the Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
29	6	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses Timmons and Convention plans. 1 pg.
29	6	11/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	For John Mitchell (cc: Bob Haldeman). RE: Thoughts Concerning Republican National Convention. This document concerns suggestions. 32 pgs.
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Draft Statement for Issue by Jerry Warren, Wed. AM. This document discusses the New Hampshire Primary. 1 pg.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: New Hampshire. This document discusses results largely in favor of Nixon. 1 pg.

<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>
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Nixon Primary 270. This document discusses the New Hampshire Primary. 1 pg.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a statement by Frank Dale, Chairman of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 2 pgs.
29	6	2/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Paul Jones. RE: Campaign Plan for the Black Vote. 4 pgs.
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Flemming to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses a state chairman list. An attachment of said list is included. 32 pgs.
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Larry Higby. This document discusses the New Hampshire Primary and write-ins. 2 pg.

<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>
29	6	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: New Hampshire Youth Coordinator/Alleged Haldeman Telephone Call. 10 pgs.
29	6	2/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From W. Richard Howard to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses campaign rallies in Florida and New Hampshire. 1 pg.
29	6	2/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Mr. Haldeman. RE: Campaign Task Forces. 2 pgs.
29	6	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Distribution of Speakers' Kit. 2 pgs.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Gordon Strachan. RE: Copies of Latest Total Vote at 11:30, Vermont Primary, Copy of Handout Following Press Conference, UPI Wire, and Mock College Election. 7 pgs.

<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>
29	6	2/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bill Timmons. RE: Fred Divel. This document discusses Fred Divel, an employee of Walt Disney. 1 pg.
29	6	3/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to the Staff (bcc: Lawrence M. Higby). RE: Attached Inter-Office Telephone List. 11 pgs.
29	6	3/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>		Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Florida College Mock Elections. This document concerns a series of mock elections held at several Florida colleges. 10 pgs.
29	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From G. Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a GOP flight to Florida. 2 pgs.
29	6	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Florida Primary Ballot. 1 pg.

<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>
29	6	3/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Hiby. This document discusses campaign ideas. 2 pgs.
29	6	3/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: McCloskey. 1 pg.
29	6	3/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: New Hampshire Telephone Canvass. This document discusses Republican households contacted and support of the President. 3 pgs.
29	6	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: New Hampshire Victory Statements. 5 pgs.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	This document lists 96% of the 302 precincts and percentages with Nixon in the lead. [New Hampshire.] 1 pg.

<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>
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Final Vote in New Hampshire: As of 12 noon Today--. 1 pg.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document concerns voting percentages. 1 pg.
29	6	3/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: New Hampshire. This documents discusses results as of 2:30 p.m. 1 pg.
29	6	3/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Release of Campaign Expenditures in New Hampshire and Florida. 1 pgs.
29	6	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses an outline of a coneverations that included celebrities, McCloskey, and the Florida ballot. 1 pg.

<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>
29	6	3/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Florida Primary. 15 pgs.
29	6	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: "Muskie Leak." 2 pgs.
29	6	3/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: New Hampshire Final. This document contains the New Hampshire official results. 9 pgs.
29	6	3/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Robert Shlaudeman-Telephone Call- Mar. 11, 1972. 1 pg.
29	6	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Gordon Strachan. This document concerns the results of a Florida mock election. 2 pgs.

<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>
29	6	3/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: Florida Primary. This document discusses results of the unofficially counted vote. 10 pgs.
29	6	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Florida Primary Returns. 19 pgs.
29	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Primary States. This document discusses and lists primary dates, places, opposition, status, polls, etc. 12 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 309

Folder: [18 Campaign Part I March 3 Folder 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
119	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-7-72
120	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-8-72
121	Return Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 3-8-72
122	Return Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 3-8-72
123	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-7-72
124	Return Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 3-7-72
125	Return Private/Political Notes, "P not receive anything," n.d.
126	Return Private/Political Notes, "P wants results..." n.d.
127	Return Private/Political Notes, "HAK - leadership," n.d.
128	Return Private/Political Note, Murray to Bob, n.d.
129	Return Private/Political Memo, Chotiner to the President, 2-29-72
130	Return Private/Political Memo, Chotiner to the President, 2-29-72
131	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Timmons, 2-4-72
132	Return Private/Political Notes, "H has Timmons..." 2-10-[72]
133	Return Private/Political Memo for Mitchell, 11-27-71
134	Return Private/Political "Draft Statement for Issue..." 3-7-72
135	Return Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 3-8-72
136	Return Private/Political Newswire, "The White House said..." 3-8-[72]
137	Return Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 3-8-72
138	Return Private/Political Memo, Malek to Jones, 2-22-72
139	Return Private/Political Memo, Flemming to Strachan, 3-7-72
140	Return Private/Political Memo, Colson to Higby, 3-7-72
141	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2-29-72
142	Return Private/Political Memo, Howard to Strachan, 2-23-72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 309

143	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to HRH, 2-19-71
144	Return	Private/Political	Note, Strachan to HRH, 3-9-[72]
145	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to Strachan, 3-8-72
146	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to Timmons, 2-14-72
147	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Odle to the Staff, 3-1-72
148	Return	Private/Political	Note, Strachan to HRH, 3-10-[72]
149	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, n.d.
150	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-9-72
151	Retain	Open	
152	Return	Private/Political	Note, Strachan to Higby, 3-3-[72]
153	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-10-72
154	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 3-7-72
155	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 3-9-72
156	Return	Private/Political	"President, 96% of the..." 3-8-[72]
157	Return	Private/Political	"Final Vote in New Hampshire," 3-8-72
158	Return	Private/Political	"Flemming, 98% ..." 3-8-[72]
159	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Dent to the President, 3-8-72
160	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-13-72
161	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Higby to Strachan, 3-9-72
162	Return	Private/Political	Note, Strachan to HRH, n.d.
163	Retain	Open	
164	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Buchanan to HRH, 3-13-72
165	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Dent to the President, 3-13-72
166	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-13-72
167	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Rietz to Strachan, 3-9-72
168	Retain	Open	

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 309

169	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 3-15-72
170	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 3-14-72
171	Return	Private/Political "Primary States," n.d.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

March 7, 1972 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

New Hampshire Primary
Returns

Harry Dent will prepare a one page summary of the results for the President tomorrow morning at 6:00 a.m. I will pick up the memorandum at 7:00 a.m. and deliver the original for the President to the Ushers at 7:30 a.m. You will receive a copy of Dent's memorandum to the President simultaneously.

Tonight, Jeb Magruder and Harry Flemming will have an election watch at 1701. Al Kaupinen and Tom Girard will be at the New Hampshire Headquarters calling results to Flemming and Magruder.

The polls close at 8:00 p.m. Network projections are expected between 9:30 and 10:00 p.m. I will be in touch with Magruder at one-half hour intervals from 8:00 p.m. on. I can be reached at Larry Higby's home or my home through the White House Operator. Should you wish to talk to Jeb Magruder directly, he can be reached through 333-0920 or bellboy 381-1949.

John Mitchell will not be at the Committee tonight, and he told Magruder he would watch the results on T.V.

The New Hampshire Headquarters telephone numbers are: Area Code-603 224-6142; and, Area Code-603 224-7411.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM : G. STRACHAN G
SUBJECT : New Hampshire Delegates

Harry Flemming confirmed that the President won all 14 "pledged to" delegates for the Republican National Convention. Neither McCloskey nor Ashbrook received any delegates.

On the Democratic side, Muskie received 16 delegates and McGovern received 6 of the 22 delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

X

March 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: The President
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HS*
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Primaries

The President (69.5%) won a "solid and strong" victory -- according to Brinkley and other commentators -- while Muskie "failed to gain a majority" (48%) in winning. The networks proclaimed three winners -- the President, Muskie, and McGovern. Hailed as the surprise was McGovern with 36%. Yorty got 6.7%; Mills, 4.8%; Hartke, 3.1%; and Kennedy, 1%.

McCloskey won 19.6%, just under his "get out" 20% figure, and Ashbrook, 10%. On TV, McCloskey indicated uncertainty whether he would continue, but hinted he may. Ashbrook said he would stay all the way. Brinkley called this a big "center" victory for the President over a weak left and right.

The Post results showed 71% of the precincts and 68% for the GOP.

The Vice President was reported as boosting his credentials with a good write-in showing (75%) over Brooke and one other.

Kiker of NBC said "China helped." Harry Flemming thinks ITT cost us some votes and that the undecided vote went against us. He felt we put on a very good nuts and bolts operation, and that Lane Dwinell and Executive Director Alan Walker did a good job. (He recommends a call to Dwinell at 603/448-4410, 8:00 a.m. - noon).

Page Two
The President
March 8, 1972

In 1968 the President won 78% with no active opponents. Thus, compared to this, with two opponents (McCloskey there for months) and no Presidential appearance, the results do look very good. A Post story pointed out "this isn't 1968 so far as the incumbent is concerned."

All 14 RN delegates are safe. Our 18-year-old delegate was close.

Flemming and Dwinnell will have a better analysis on the youth vote, etc., later today.

In Vermont City, Vermont, the President won 40% of 772 votes, with McCloskey getting 109 and Muskie 84. This was a non-partisan city primary.

March 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

New Hampshire Primary Returns

Harry Dent will prepare a one page summary of the results for the President tomorrow morning at 6:00 a.m. I will pick up the memorandum at 7:00 a.m. and deliver the original for the President to the Ushers at 7:30 a.m. You will receive a copy of Dent's memorandum to the President simultaneously.

Tonight, Jeb Magruder and Harry Fleming will have an election watch at 1701. Al Kauninen and Tom Girard will be at the New Hampshire Headquarters calling results to Fleming and Magruder.

The polls close at 8:00 p.m. Network projections are expected between 9:30 and 10:00 p.m. I will be in touch with Magruder at one-half hour intervals from 8:00 p.m. on. I can be reached at Harry Wigby's home or my home through the White House Operator. Should you wish to talk to Jeb Magruder directly, he can be reached through 333-0920 or bellboy 381-1949.

John Mitchell will not be at the Committee tonight, and he told Magruder he would watch the results on T.V.

The New Hampshire Headquarters telephone numbers are: Area Code-603 224-6142; and, Area Code-603 224-7411.

JSM 3/7 8:15: doubts CBS Radio - 26% for Mell
→ JSM doubts above 70%

9:06: Mus - 48
McG - 33
Yorty - 6

RN 70
Mell 19
Ash 10
CBS projection

CBS 1045
RN - 67
Mell - 19
Ash 10

G → H 940

CA 5: 30% Dem
Wp.
Mus - 47
McG - 32
Yorty - 8
Mills - 7

Rep 13%
RN - 70%
Mell - 19%
Ash - 10%

1015
71
18
9

VP -
agnew - 75%

JSM -

Tally of Geo Herman's projections - for West
1025 (H) - all CBS projections thru evening.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: March 7, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Magruder requests authority to call members of the White House Staff (Colson, Finch, Dent, Rumsfeld, Klein, Safire, Buchanan, Price, Clawson, Flanigan, Garment, and MacGregor) to ask them to refer political reporters' calls on the New Hampshire Primary to 1701. Van Shumway, Tom Girard and ~~Jeh~~ Magruder will act as spokesmen.

Yes, Magruder to call staff H

No, White House Staff to take political calls _____

Other _____

Ziegler agrees and will work with Magruder and Shumway on the line.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER *JSM*

SUBJECT: Statements to the Press Following the New Hampshire Primary Election

The Campaign Strategy Group has discussed the question of what our "line" should be to the press in the aftermath of the New Hampshire Primary Election. The recommendations that follow are based on the assumption that the contest will come out as predicted by published polls: the President will win a solid victory and Senator Muskie will show the results of some recent erosion of support.

It was agreed that no one in the White House should make a statement on New Hampshire. The President, or Ron Ziegler, will naturally be asked at the next news conference, and their answer should reflect Mr. Nixon's gratification at the strong support demonstrated by the people of the Granite State. In all other cases, the press should be directed to the Re-Election Committee for a statement. *Right*

On Tuesday evening, Frank Dale will fly to Washington to act as spokesman for the Re-Election Committee. Lane Dwinell will be the spokesman in Concord, New Hampshire. In addition, we feel it would be appropriate for Senator Dole, Senator Scott, Representative Ford, Governor Rockefeller, Governor Reagan and Governor Milliken to release statements to the press on Tuesday night or Wednesday morning. ✓

On the Republican side, our statement should not mention McCloskey or Ashbrook in any context. We are gratified by the results of the election. It was a stunning victory which has proven once again that New Hampshire is Nixon Country. Lane Dwinell will express his thanks to the large number of volunteers whose hard

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

work and dedication led to victory for the President.

On the Democratic side, our comments should not single out any candidate by name. Our objective is to keep as many candidates as possible in the race for as long as possible, both for the devisive effects of their campaigning and for the continuing drain of campaign dollars. Our line should be that the results were inconclusive and showed that no candidate has succeeded in demonstrating his ability to lead the party.

Recommendation

That you concur with the plan outlined above, as to the designated spokesmen and the position they will take with the press on the New Hampshire Primary Election results.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

- P not receive anything
 - Returns in 1 p memo → P from Harry Dent by 7:45 in P. hands. cc H. on his desk
 - Jerry Warren brief state at morning briefing
 - L has text.
-

H. tonight.
 G → H w/ mechanism
 G → JSM

Results:

10 o'clock
 Polls close at 8 p.
 → 9, 9:30, 10 9:30-10 projection

381-1949 JSM page
 JSM 2 switchboard 333-0920
 Flemming, La Rue
 Jm will watch on tube

al
 Kauponen -
 Tom Guard
 Nixon Hdqrs

P wants results ~~at before~~

7:45 before leadership mtg.
- plus cc for H.

Dent or AG.

G figure ~~is~~ out

P does not want results
tonight but H. does

HAK = leadership

Gowis - win 9 lose 9

Dent ~~not~~ not 29 21
rather 28 22

From the desk of . . .

MURRAY M. CHOTINER

Bob-

This is the season
for predictions.

Murray

P.S. Welcome back.

SUITE 500
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
TELEPHONE 202 298-9030

February 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MURRAY M. CHOTINER
RE: 1972 Senate Races

As of February 29, this is my prediction of the 1972 Senate races. I reserve the right to change my opinion as we get closer to election day.

Present Senate -- 45 Republicans
55 Democrats

Republican seats in 1972 election -- 19

Democratic seats in 1972 election -- 14

Rep. - Reasonably Safe

Alaska - Stevens
Colorado - Allott
Delaware - Boggs
Idaho - Jordan not running
Illinois - Percy
Iowa - Miller
Maine - Smith
Massachusetts - Brooke
Michigan - Griffin
Nebraska - Curtis
New Jersey - Case
Oregon - Hatfield or McCall
R.I. - Chafee to defeat Pell
South Carolina - Thurmond
Tennessee - Baker
Texas - Tower
Wyoming - Hansen

Total: 17

Dem. - Reasonably Safe

Arkansas - McClellan
Georgia - Gambrell
Louisiana - Ellender
Minnesota - Mondale
Mississippi - Eastland
North Carolina - Jordan
West Virginia - Randolph

Total: 7

Doubtful - Leaning Republican

Kansas - Pearson (Docking may run)
Kentucky - (Nunn)
New Hampshire - McIntyre
New Mexico - Anderson not running
Oklahoma - Edmundson (Bartlett)
Virginia - Spong

Total: 6

Doubtful - Leaning Democratic

Alabama - Sparkman (Blount should stop running against
Wallace. His opponent is aged
Sparkman.)
Montana - Metcalf
South Dakota - Mundt

Total: 3

Total Prognostication

Republicans	23
Democrats	10

If predictions are correct, Senate will consist of:

49 Republicans

51 Democrats

MMC:a

Timmons

H
FU
3/1

February 4, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. TIMMONS
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Young People on T.V. at Convention

✓
never sent
L Gas

Bob read your proposal on the uses of T.V. at the RNC Convention. One of the aspects which particularly concerns him is how we plan on being sure that on all the T.V. shots plenty of young people are seen rather than the old delegates.

Harry Flemming has been working on the delegate selection process in the states. He has received some rather specific instructions from the Attorney General as to the large number of young people who will serve as delegates.

Bob asked that you, Flemming, and members of your Convention T.V. task force prepare a brief plan as to how T.V. will concentrate on young rather than old delegates.

cc: Harry Flemming

GS:dg

1 2/10 G-FU ~~4/10~~ 12/31

H has Timmons Convention
Plan ~~4/12~~

G → L 1/7 re
H still holds

D C / L 1/27

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.N. 1000, ROOM 8-102
By 2/2, Date 12-30-82

November 27, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

Several weeks ago, I asked a young man on my staff if he had any thoughts concerning the 1972 Republican Convention. The attached memorandum was the result of that comment I made to him. While it is long, it is worth reading. After you have a chance to look it over, I would like to discuss it with you by phone. It strikes me that there are some interesting suggestions and also that a perspective is presented, which is substantially different from that of many of us involved and interested in the subject.

cc: Bob Haldeman

*Bob -
It is worth reading -
DH*

The 1968 election showed conclusively the power of TV in politics. That power has, if anything, grown in the years since then.

Partly because of the McGinnis book, and partly because we won, and partly for some other reasons, I think that we have convinced ourselves that we're pretty darn slick salesmen, and that, having "sold" a President once, we can do it again. It is my conviction that this ain't necessarily so.

In the public eye, as far as "selling the President" is concerned, we have already been hung for a goat.* But I'm sorely afraid that, finding ourselves up against someone who really, instinctively, in the McLuhan sense, "understands media" (e.g. EMK), we could well, unless we have planned carefully and creatively against just such a thing, find ourselves left at the starting line just staring at his dust. This is what we must plan against, and we have everything to gain and little to lose. If you're going to be hung anyway, you might as well be hung for a goat as hung for a sheep.

We must be wary and remember that HHH, who didn't

*The book will probably be reissued in a large paperback printing for the campaign. McGinnis will probably become a syndicated column of campaign commentary and may even become a TV commentator. And the musical comedy (?) based on his book will be opened just about this time.

after all do so badly, started with many of the same kind of media disadvantages as did the President; that many of the media tried to shift the emphasis to Agnew-Muskie not only because of the ideological aspects of that confrontation, but because the two were better media packages.

The News Twisters has shown (even assuming that it's only 80% accurate as Ephron now claims) that we would be naive to expect anything but the usual fair deal from the media in 1972.

What we should set out to do, therefore, is to beat the media at its own game. Such turnabout would not only be fair play, it would be long overdue just desserts. We should use Beelzebub to cast out the Devil.

This year we will have two particular advantages going into the Convention. We will know who their nominee is, and we already know who our's will be.

I think that we should view the whole campaign as a kind of seamless cloth, of which the Convention is a part. The campaign image that we want to project of our Administration should begin when the Chairman lifts the gavel in San Diego, not on Labor Day.

We have a product to sell; it happens to be a great product; certainly the best in living memory; it has a good track-record regarding delivery and performance; we know its strengths and weaknesses, and have the data from two earlier test-marketings (one successful, one not) to draw upon -- remembering that the product has improved and developed in the last few years.

We know from years of marketing experience that the ultimate check on false advertising is that you can only sell a bad product once: to paraphrase Lincoln, you can only fool most of the people once. We don't have anything to worry about in that department. We've washed whiter than white and we can prove it.

But we also know from years of marketing experience that a fancy new package on the shelf next to an old faithful one can lead the consumer's roving eye astray.

So what we have to do, it seems, to me, is exactly what so many people accuse us of doing -- as if there were anything wrong in it (except, perhaps, that it's us doing it). We have to do what has to be done to elect a President today. We hav

to psych out the TV medium and approach it on its own terms. Knowing all the time that it will be an uphill battle because we don't even start out with the advantage of its being neutral; as Edith Ephron has shown, even with the supposedly "kid gloves" media treatment of 1968, we still got screwed again. So we have to re-think our approach to the tools available in the 1972 campaign, and use each according to its possibilities and limitations...and our possibilities and limitations.

This is saying nothing new, and it has undoubtedly been done many times over already.

Since you asked me, however, I will venture the following observations and suggestions. I put in this disclaimer at the beginning because a paper like this has to come off sounding presumptuous. It isn't meant to be. But it would be otiose to keep putting modest self-deprecations in every other paragraph. So if the tone is sometimes strident and know-it-all, it isn't meant to be --- and the motives for writing are obviously laudable.

VIOLENCE A PROBLEM

Rennie Davis and that crowd have promised/threatened that the largest demonstration in the history of the world will be held at San Diego during the Convention. The time and place are as bad as can be from that point of view: school will be out, and there should be fine weather for beaching during the day and demonstrating during the night; and no hassle about accommodations, with endless beaches to sleep out on.

The media, aware that some of its finest and most dramatic hours occurred at Chicago in 1968, will not be loath (a) to come by the same good stuff again, and (b) sock it to the Republicans and the President rather than the Democrats this time around. From the media point of view, the biggest thing that could happen at either Convention would be for Dan Rather to get punched in the gut again, but this time by a Republican cop.

Since whatever else you plan in terms of media image and presentation will be junked in favor of any violence which the cameras can detect occurring or even a-stirring in or around Convention Hall, our first and foremost thought should be given to

finding ways of forestalling that violence. If any such ways exist. Perhaps if some of the leader-agitators could be temporarily removed, the demonstrations would either fall apart or come to nothing anyway; the outcry at something like this would be great, but the potential image damage such violence could do us could be inestimable.

PIZZAZZ

The President is not keen on too much pizzazz and rightly so. However, since we've removed virtually every issue from the campaign (and, especially, if EMK is the opponent), pizzazz is going to be the name of the 1972 game.

Now this doesn't mean that Mrs. Nixon should play touch football in suede hot pants on the South Lawn; but a few more TV moments like those with the surfers in California and the exchanges that took place then would be worth their weight in media gold.



Our Convention, especially since there will be little excitement about the choice of the Presidential nominee, must focus on providing as much viewing interest, entertainment, and diversion as possible.

Another thing: even if violence occurs at the Convention and becomes a prime media focus, this could create a paradoxical viewing disadvantage for us. The viewers may have become tired out by the violence which may take place at the Democratic Convention. Thus, if there has been violence during theirs and is (a) none at ours or (b) our violence is of the same kind, the viewers will in either case be let down since televised night riots are only interesting up to a point.

The two inhering elements of Convention excitement for us are: (1) the Vice-Presidential nomination and (2) whether the President will attend or not. We may have decided long before hand that either or neither of these two can be exploited. If they can, however, they should be.

I think that the nuts and bolts business of the Convention should be done during the day, leaving the prime-time TV hours on each night for a well-produced and packaged program of purposeful and high level political entertainment and uplift.

The elements of such a program are: structure, development, and excitement. The structure is provided

by the issues which are, in effect, the plot. Since we do seem to have pre-empted the issues, this gives us both a foot up and a foot down. A foot up because we can pick and choose among them; a foot down because while we will be saddled with having to address at least some of them, the Democrat will be relatively free (an especially welcome freedom in the case of EMK who is building his national image on the basis of "concern" for groups, e.g. Indians, POWs, the poor, etc.) to address the issues as pure drama rather than as substantive political concerns.

I see the campaign as a whole, and don't think that any element of it (the convention, the pacing of the campaign itself, the choice of issues, their presentation) should be considered separately apart from the others.

I think that we should aim to present a consistent, coherent, well-planned, responsive, and entertaining picture to the American people of who we are, what we've done, and what we want to do. The sum of the campaign -which is to get the President re-elected- should be greater than any of its parts, but every part should contribute directly to that sum.

We should aim not only at showing the already faithful how we have exercised our stewardship over the last 3 1/2 years, but we should also aim at addressing and overturning a lot of long and strong-held stereotypes about Republicans, the President, and this Administration.

The campaign, the Convention, should have a tone. A media tone. A media tone of aware, concerned confidence.

This tone will emerge out of the issues and the way we choose them and treat them. To be a good media issue, an issue must have three qualities: IT MUST BE EMOTIONAL, REDUCABLE, AND DRAMATIZABLE.

This, it seems to me, is the fact of media life with which we must deal. Would it were otherwise, but ignore it at our peril. But since it is a fact of life, and since we must deal with it, we should deal with it honorably, responsibly, sensibly, squarely, and creatively.

From this point of view, it is useful briefly to assess and rate the issues and potential issues in this campaign.

THE ISSUES

THE ECONOMY. Most peoples' perception of this issue is measured by the amount of cash they have in their pocket at a given moment. This will possibly be the toughest issue of all for us to sell, even if Phase II has already had great success by the time of the Convention.

Because where money is concerned, people know and don't like it if they have less, but if they have the same amount, then, like Oliver Twist, they just want more. So if Phase II hasn't yet succeeded, we'll be in trouble, but even if it has succeeded in restoring the status quo ante the inflationary spiral, we'll get precious little thanks for our efforts, and just demands for more money. And as far as such demands are concerned, we're at a disadvantage vis a vis the Democrats who are better promisers than we are. The economy is just not a sexy issue, and we should not delude ourselves that it will be a strong selling point for us.

X

THE PRESIDENT. People have short memories, and the President will get little credit for perhaps his most notable accomplishments: For having restored a confidence, security, and dignity to the office.

And just three years after LBJ was a prisoner of the White House, it is already taken for granted that RN can and does move around - in fact, he's even criticized for it!

The President is not an exciting media personality. This fact was successfully countered in the inspired "lone man in the arena" format of 1968. But of course we are now starting at a disadvantage in that regard since the McGinnis has laid all those techniques out, and the media (with or without McGinnis) will be poised ready to pounce as soon as they appear again. We will have to be very smooth and subtle in selling our selling this time.

Since the President is at his best in small groups, part of the programming should aim at showing him off in such settings, leading up to the climax of his in-person acceptance speech, where this man who has been shown in personal, intimate, and decisive settings, will suddenly be addressing a crowd of cheering thousands - with all the right camera angles, and faces in the background.

VIETNAM. I suspect that this is going to still be one of the biggest -possibly, in fact, the biggest- issues.

You will recall the ferocity and directness of the questions at the Presidents to Presidents conference; and this is what I was told by various young faculty people out at Central State; and it will certainly be the main issue for most of the protesters and demonstrators who will come to San Diego.

The trouble with this issue, and the reason for its persistence, is that it is one with which people feel at home. It has been developed for them over a long period of time, and many of the responses to it have been reduced to the level of pre-conditioned cliché. But that is what a lot of people feel most at home with.

You will recall Lowenstein's simplistic, unfair, unethical and lousy, and incredibly emotional and effective remarks at that Presidents to Presidents meeting. We got the same thing when we went to talk with EMK.

And John Kerry and his crowd are, if nothing else, media-created, media-directed, and media-sustained over the issue of Vietnam. There is, too, of course, a tie-in with the drug question.



To counter this issue effectively, we must be prepared to put forward dramatic and graphic representations of (a) why we have to stay in Vietnam yet awhile, and (b) how quickly we're getting out in the meantime.

This is by no means a dead issue, and it would be unwise to think that as long as casualties are down and troops are on the way out that it will be removed from the campaign.

I'm not sure of the best way to dramatize this issue. Would it be possible to have, say, a good-looking, slightly mod-looking Vietnam veteran who is also a delegate address the Convention on our policies as they work out in the field; or even one of the

Vietnamese students to speak briefly and feelingly about the history of the conflict and the importance of the American presence throughout Asia as a bulwark against repression; or a POW/MIA wife to talk about the heroism in a forgotten war. Perhaps this could be a good issue; I think that the factual material in Counsellor Finch's speech to the Downers Grove meeting is pretty good stuff.

EMK will be using the POW/MIA issue prominently, and his line is a significant one: "We must develop more daring and creative means of negotiation, as did my brother, and as did Robert Kennedy." There are hysterical wives on the other side, and they make great TV, so we had better be ready to deal with this issue. I think we can count on its being used to emotionalize the war issue once again, so we must be ready to deal with it humanely and constructively, but emotionally as well.

DRUGS. The actual evidence about the drug epidemic seems to be somewhat conflicting: is it growing still apace or is it slightly slowing down? At any rate, it doesn't seem to be as immediate an issue as it was several months ago. It might be anticipated, however, that as the spring and summer approach, there will be more cases of flagrant abuse or even

deaths.

At any rate, it seems to me that this is a very important issue, a very dramatizable issue, a very emotional issue, and, perhaps sadly, a very reducible issue. It is also an issue on which we have a good record, but one which could also offer us some good inroads against the opposition.

Could we have an ex-ghetto addict address the Convention on the horrors of the spread of drugs? Did you read John O'Connor's piece about Geraldo Rivera, the Puerto-Rican news commentator, lawyer, and OEO recruiter, in last Sunday's New York Times? (See page following.) He won the Press Broadcasters Award for his ABC news series on drugs in Harlem. (He really is very good and engaging in an attractive unprofessional way, just like Jim Bouton, who does the sports on the same award-winning show.) Perhaps we should go after him -- even if only on the drug issue. Could we get Dr. Jaffe to talk bluntly and forcefully about our programs; and how about Bud Krogh who is young and, I think, good TV, as our drug spokesman? How about an ex-military addict? How about Gov. Cahill (whose son, as you may recall, was prominently busted) talking directly

He's at Home in the City Jungle

By JOHN J. O'CONNOR

HERE are several things about Geraldo Rivera to distinguish him from your average run-of-the-mill television newsmen. He has a mustache and longish hair. He dresses in a style that might be dubbed super-cool swinging. He's a bit of a ham and unabashedly sentimental, even going so far as to cry on camera. And he insists that he's got "the crappiest voice on television."

He has also been called "a special kind of individualist in a medium which too often breeds the plastic newsmen." That citation was recently conferred on him by the New York State Associated Press Broadcasters Association. Rivera received the group's first-place award for "general excellence of individual reporting."

Rivera joined New York's WABC-TV in June, 1970. After being introduced to the newsroom and after completing a special three-month orientation and training course at Columbia University's School of Journalism, he became part of the Monday-through-Friday local news team putting together the local "Eyewitness News."

On that news program, his duties have included the coverage of fashion shows and various off-beat events peculiar to the controversial style of "Eyewitness News." But Rivera's strongest impact has been made in illuminating the human dimensions of New York City's crime pressing problems, particularly those involving the city's large population of Puerto Ricans and blacks.

The award from the A.P. was given specifically for a three-part special report called "Drug Crisis in East Harlem." It presented direct portraits of three drug addicts. The result, again ac-

ording to the A. P. citation, was "a moving account of disillusionment, hopelessness and degradation of not only the addicts themselves but the very slum conditions that encircled their lives."

The secret of Rivera's rapid success? He knows New York City and he knows what he is talking about. Unlike many newsmen who have difficulty telling the difference between a drunk and a heroin mainliner, he is knowledgeable about all aspects of the city jungle. He is not an outsider relying on "official sources" for a story; he sees the story "at the level that it happens."

Born in Manhattan 28 years ago, Rivera was raised on the other side of the East River, in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn. "I could see the Manhattan skyline from my roof," he recalls, "but as far as I was concerned, that was another country, rarely visited."

Today Rivera lives on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Coming from a Puerto Rican family, he maintains strong ties with the Puerto Rican community in New York. And on the Lower East Side, he declares, that community and all others have been just about abandoned by city authorities. As tenements decay and ordinary services disintegrate, hopelessness mounts. Two out of every three males over age 18, he estimates, are addicted to hard drugs.

For many of the people in the area, the rest of Manhattan still remains "another country," a source perhaps of menial jobs and menial wages but of little else. Cultural and psychic safety resides in the neighborhood, and as poverty, joblessness, drugs and violence spread, that safety becomes a trap

which increasingly few can escape.

The route taken by Rivera to broadcast journalism was hardly direct. A graduate of the city's public schools, he joined the Merchant Marine and entered a community college. Then, after wandering around California for a while, he wound up at the University of Arizona, where his interest began to focus on law.

He has law degrees from Brooklyn Law School and, as a Smith Fellow, from the University of Pennsylvania School of Law. In addition to being a member of the New York State and Puerto Rican bar associations, he still recruits minority lawyers for the Office of Economic Opportunity and is vice-chairman of the Black and Brown Lawyers Caucus.

For a few years, Rivera was heavily involved as an attorney in various poverty programs, sometimes juggling as many as 50 cases at a time and always learning more about the awesome legal barriers faced by the poor. He also achieved some prominence as a maker of news when he became a legal spokesman for the Young Lords, a group of Spanish-speaking young people dedicated to "revolutionary action" in coping with the problems of the city.

Finally, though, he began to feel that he was in a losing battle. When he finished 50 cases, another hundred were waiting for help. And when television reporter Gloria Rojas told him last year that a station was looking for a bilingual reporter, he began the negotiations that led to his position with WABC-TV.

As for the TV trip so far, he is completely enthusiastic. Television news is part of television show business,

and Rivera is not the just bit shy about becoming a star, about instant recognition off camera. Besides boosting his own ego, he points out, it is an essential development for the Puerto Rican community.

For one thing, New Yorkers can get to see that the stereotype of the Puerto Rican as some sort of what is nonsense. For another, Puerto Ricans get a sense of pride and personal identity in his own success. When his Lower East Side neighborhood occasionally erupts in street violence, Rivera's house invariably goes untouched. In fact, instead of using Gerald or Gerry as a first name, he insists on Geraldo (pronounced Hair-AL-Loe) because he likes the idea of his audience getting to hear Spanish.

As he steadily carves his own distinctive niche on "Eyewitness News," he is also gaining the power and clout to concentrate his work on more relevant issues than fashion shows. He is convinced that the television viewer has become immune to statistics—on drug addicts or welfare rolls or moon shots. The people count, he says, and it is the people who must be shown, be given access, on television.

Next door to his own home is a tenement typical of the Lower East Side at its worst. Empty apartments are used as "shooting galleries" by addicts; the remaining tenants, too poor to escape, live in constant terror. Rivera simply brought a camera crew to the building and recorded the scene for the news program. (That particular scene triggered the real tears on camera.)

More recently, he interviewed several neighborhood addicts who agreed to appear on camera, in a display of trust and confidence available to most reporters. In a follow-up commentary, Rivera said:

"There are approximately 125,000 heroin addicts in the city. Nobody, no matter where he lives, is safe from the heroin epidemic. . . . Today I showed only a sampling of what their lives are like. But for every guy you saw, there are hundreds waiting to rob or kill to satisfy their habits. We can't ignore them, because they aren't going to ignore us."

Rivera himself refuses to be type-cast. If he is encouraged at certain social conditions, he is equally encouraged when a policeman is shot in the back—and gets threatening letters when he says so on television. If he is a first-rate "activist" reporter, he also throws himself into celebrity interviews that bring "some entertainment and a change of pace" to the program. And in the weekly "Like It Is," which he co-hosts with Gil Noble, Rivera focuses directly on black and Puerto Rican subjects, ranging from entertainment to a recent hard-hitting 90-minute treatment of the tragedy at Attica.

He is not a man who is easily discouraged. He is a man who is easily encouraged.

His success on television, the awards, I suspect, are only just beginning.

WABC's Geraldo Rivera, right, interviews a Lower East Sider about the drug problem. Drug addiction on the Lower East Side? Two out of three males over 18



to parents about the problem of the spread of drugs in the middle-classes? That would be lead-story news, and someone like him would be the ideal person to make our points:

- that we have an excellent and innovative and enlightened record in treating hard drug abuse as a medical problem;
- that we have been very successful on the diplomatic and law-enforcement front, in curbing the spread of illicit narcotics (how about having a French and Turkish anti-drug leader there to congratulate us and also to add some cosmopolitan exotica to the Convention program?);
- that we have been sensible and "liberal" in our legislation on marijuana (making simple first offense possession an expungable misdemeanor rather than a felony, etc.)

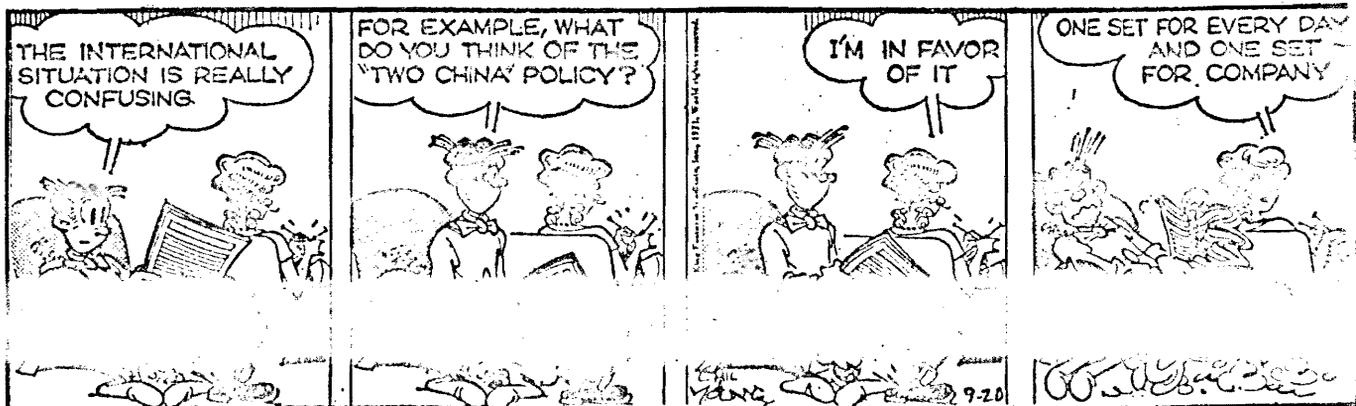
AND

- that on this issue we can call the bluff of the Democratic trendies who court a youthful constituency with their plastic grooviness, but who have thus far avoided defining their own stand on marijuana. Why not force EMK or HHH or McGovern or Muskie to come out and say that either they would legalize the stuff, or else they can only approve

what RN has done. In either case, it would clear the air and set up this issue which is, I think, both important, favorable, and dramatizable.

Do you remember the ABC show "Heroes and Heroins"? It had footage of RN in a Cabinet meeting which was, to my mind, except for the terrible grainy soundtrack, some of the most forceful political television in a long time, showing RN in concerned, informed, non-nonsense action. Could we use some of that? Or something like it?

CHINA. I don't see this as being a terrifically big issue. No, I don't. Unless, as we all hope, the President brings back some incredibly big concessions from the Chinese - say, our prisoners of war released - I believe that it is something the American people are aware of, and approve of, but something that they don't feel really affects them, or would cause them to cast or change a vote.



Otherwise, I should think that the disaffected conservatives will not warm to the "bridging-the-gaps-opening-the-lines-of-communication" line which doesn't, after all, answer the basic moral/ideological issue as they see it, or the difficult questions of our responsibility to Taiwan.

Besides, this is the kind of ball which the Democrats are better at running with than we are. From a media standpoint, EMK in the Forbidden City or patting a Chinese baby on the head or Joan Kennedy wearing a Chinese silk slit skirt to the Peking Opera is just inherently more exciting TV than Dr. Kissinger dining with Mr. Chou or even RN supping with Chairman Mao. And the Democrat line will just underscore this: "It took a Republican anti-communist to open up these lines, but now it will take us to make anything out of them..." This will be especially successful with the youth vote which so vociferously approved our initiative. It's a case of promises, promises again, but that's where it seems to me this kind of issue is at.

It seems to me, in fact, (and maybe this is just my own hobbyhorse) that there is cause for grave concern in this area. The argument about the importance of the Chinese presence at the UN will be

sorely tested. And they themselves have sent one of their leading intelligence men (who has already been expelled from two countries, I think) to the UN, and as yet (admittedly early) show little sign of doing anything there which will prove how right we were in helping them get in.

What there will be regarding this issue, I think, is a considerable interest on the part of the American people about what China really looks like. This is a travelog issue. I suggest that we see that a top-level camera crew accompanies the President, and that one way or another they get footage of him and China and of him-and-China which can be premiered as one of the feature film highlights of the Convention. This might be part of a "Charting the Unknown" film which could deal dramatically, powerfully, and (yes) theatrically with things like: Space (a good collection of the best NASA footage), China (strikingly done travelog/image stuff), and, say, something like cancer research (using microphotography, etc.) stressing RN's interest and determination to put our efforts behind curing it.

THE GREENING ISSUES. I suspect that a group of issues which seem to have very little profile now will be very important in this campaign. Because they are already important media issues. I call them the "greening issues", because they partake of the liberal-oriented greening of America psychology which informs so much of the liberal establishment, from the universities right through to the media.

These are the knee-jerk reflex issues which anyone who purports to be "concerned" and groovy must stand up and salute. They are eminently and possibly infinitely emotional, dramatizable, and reducible.

As such, they have been given considerable time and space in the media; from special reports on the evening news to segments of TV news magazines to Sunday afternoon talk fests to network specials. They have been constantly hammered into the American people who probably aren't concerned with or interested in them as real issues as such. But issues they are.

And, to date, they have virtually been the home turf of the opposition.

These issues are: ecology/pollution; Indians; social concerns; surveillance in American society.

Ecology/pollution.

Republicans, stereotypically associated with big business, have taken a bad rap on industrial polluting. The Alaska pipe line, and the Black Mesa project haven't helped in the combined Ecology/Indian axis of issues.

The President has stated the theme, "This is a beautiful country...", and this could be the theme of a whole line of Convention activities and campaign publicity. (A good theme song for this issue might be "What A Country" from the musical comedy All American - with some slight lyric changes, it would really convey the sweep and movement and enthusiasm of the American character and countryside.)

We have a good spokesman in Secretary Morton, and anything to be done to build up his Paul Bunyan proportions and lumberjack-jacket credibility would be effort well spent. Our Legacy of Parks is a good phrase and already a successful program - we should make this a major feature of our image. This could be tied in with the President moving around (captured on film for the Convention) bringing the Presidency to the people in scenic places.

Indians.

Here again, we've either been slapped with a bad name, or have been unsuccessful in making our concern seen and felt. EMK seems to have carved out this particular segment for his very own.

This could be made into a very important and very emotional issue. And we could get a very wide spectrum of support from unlikely and useful places if we really went all out to be seen to help the Indians.

What a fantastic convention moment (i.e., TV media moment) it would be if a dozen full-dressed Indians representing the tribes of America came on with John Wayne and Robert Redford, after a song by Buffy Sainte Marie, to thank the Republicans for what they have done for the first Americans.*

*Writing in the Washington Post of 26 September 1971 about Robert Redford, Rex Reed wrote, inter alia: "Redford, the first motion picture name since Brando to combine charisma, sexuality, and super-stardom with exceptional acting talent, owns acres of land in Utah... He has just been off shooting the rapids for two weeks and harrassing the Utah government about not damaging the ecology with a superhighway that would actually have benefitted his own growing ski complex, Sundance.....Redford has done this himself with his search for privacy and peace in Utah, his rabid love of outdoor sports, his interest in the Indians of Black Mesa whose land and customs are being doomed by a power plant." About his new film, Hot Rock,

Social concern.

Once again the old stereotypical guilt by association

Redford said, "We made it in New York, though that's probably the end of that. It's too difficult, costly, tragic. The unions are their throats. (sic) The only good buy is Mayor Lindsay. He honestly tried, bent over backwards. There hasn't been any political person who has done as much for the arts except President Kennedy." Reed continued: "Redford's next film will be about politics, though he is on record as being the most apolitical of actors. 'I don't want to talk about this movie,' he says, proceeding to talk. 'It is apolitical; no it's not, its antipolitical. That's the way I am too. With the exception of a few people who are honestly trying to do good things, I'm pretty much against the system that controls this country at the moment. It's not working. But I'm not an activist, absolutely not. Still this movie will just put the whole system up to look at, try to get inside more than television or the press can. Get a grasp on what the politicians don't want us to know. We are living in an age of deception. There's a barrier between the people who administrate this country and the public. The film won't take a political stance on one side or the other -- that's death to me, boring, uninteresting. But we've got to look at the system that controls this country."

Well, the bigger they come the harder they fall. And in star terms they don't come much bigger than Redford, and I have the feeling that if he were approached on a direct, one-to-one help the Indians basis, he might really give what we're doing an honest once-over. After all, the President's State of the Nation doesn't sound too different from his own comments on the failure of the current system to deliver satisfaction to the people.

This has been a long digression, but it serves two purposes: it indicates the kind of approach we might take to the Indian problem; it points to the kind of new, relevant celebrity we should be trying to reach, even if only on one particular issue or another, like Sammy Davis Jr. on drugs.

has paired off Republicans with big cigar-chomping businessmen in their mahogany and plush boardrooms figuring out new ways to screw the poor. (As Marvin Gaye sings in his new chart-climbing hit "Inner City Blues", "Money, we make it/ Before we see it, you take it...").

With social concern as with ecology/pollution and Indians, there's a direct proportionate ratio between making promises and being perceived as "caring". And it's hard to fight such will o' the wisp promise politics. But that's what we'd better do. Let's hoke it up a little if necessary. Good hoke; our hoke.

There are considerable dramatic possibilities here. There was an excellent documentary on poverty which Westinghouse sponsored (paid for too?) about two years ago which was strikingly photographed in black and white, and which used Judy Collins' recording of "I Think It's Gonna Rain Today" to great dramatic effect. That kind of thing, which is true, low-keyed, useful, and dramatically powerful, with a Republican name-tag on the end of it, is what we should be looking for.

Can we get some Black businessman -wearing an Afro and mod clothes or dashiki, not a Brooks Brothers

suit and a crew cut- and/or businesswoman who have benefitted from the "piece of the action" we've provided. That kind of direct address at the Convention could make very good and very colorful -no pun intended- TV.

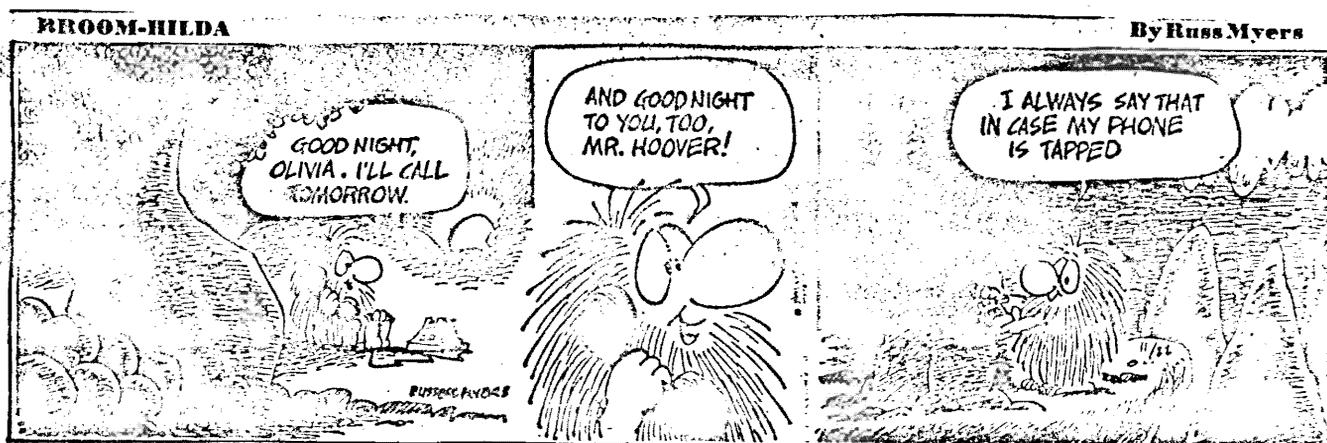
Surveillance in the society.

This may seem like a ringer in this group. But even if it doesn't get off the ground with most people, it will still be used - is, indeed, being used right now.

You may remember, for example, that this was one of the most prominent points in Mayor Lindsay's statement about why he was leaving the Party: "To me, the most troubling development has been the government's retreat from the Bill of Rights. Washington has tapped phones without court order; spied on our citizens with military agents; arrested thousands of people -protesters and bystanders alike- without legal authority; given "minimum enforcement" to the rights of minorities; and even tried to censor what we see on television and read in our newspapers." (My italics.) That's pretty strong language. And a lot of it undoubtedly has to do with run-of-the-mill New York papers like which has spread

under Lindsay and from which there's no reason to expect that Lindsay himself should be totally immune. And a lot of it has to do with the immediate liberal constituency to which Lindsay was partly addressing himself.

But there's an awareness of this kind of concern in society (again, the media's imposition of an issue on the national consciousness) even if it isn't a widespread issue -- yet. But when newspaper cartoons tackle it



and when popular novels and films like The Anderson Tapes deal with it, there's something there ready to blossom with enough coaxing and fertilization. We should be ready.

Key figures relating to this issue are Mr. Hoover and the AG. Both are long-standing targets. To this kind of polyglut attack will be added the

President's determination to find strict construction-
ist Supreme Court Justices* and his "obsession"
with Patton , etc., etc., to build up the image of
a repressive administration aiming at its own
kind of version of a wired nation.

*Cf. EMK's speech in New York a few weeks ago -excerped,
natch, on the op ed page of The New York Times- on
"The 'Burden' of the Constitution"; and containing
passages like:

"They (i.e., we) wear buttons that say, 'We care
about Congress'. But they will not tell Congress
the whole story about military spying on civilians,
about foreign-aid plans, or about so-called
national-security wire-tapping.....They argue
that bugging and tapping and undercover spying
are necessary to get intelligence on dangerous
groups.....They deny that they are repressing
dissent, but they issue an unprecedented and pro-
bably unlawful Executive Order directing the dor-
mant and powerless -but dangerous- Subversive
Activities Control Board to start checking up
not only on dissident groups but also on those who
have 'sympathetic association' with them." etc.
Can there be any doubt that EMK is trying out an
issue? A big issue?

SOME SUGGESTIONS

You asked for some suggestions about staging the Convention. I doubt that you anticipated this 29-page harangue. There's more.

At the Convention particularly, I think that we should make optimum use of:

(a) our best in-Party media personalities.

-yourself, Mr. Finch, Sen. Percy, Gov. Rockefeller, Sen. Goldwater, Gov. Reagan, Sec. Morton, Sec. Connally, Sen. Baker, and how about finding good-looking people like the Governor of Tennessee, Mayors, young State officials, etc., and seeing if they have any media savvy. And how about the AG who many people probably haven't seen or heard speak live on TV?

-we should also get all the White House under-30 staff and under-35s, and parade them around that Convention wherever a TV camera is placed; we should give them virtual media schedules, to making themselves available for interviews...and let them drop the occasional bit of news which will make them desirable for further interviews. This is a very important factor in the campaign's and Convention's tone. There should be a lot of young faces in the TV background on the Convention platform - the Hanzliks and Bradbeers and Blecksmiths and Cheneys, etc.

-in this regard, the White House Fellows will probably go to both Conventions. They should be prominently placed at ours - the more young faces (including, incidentally, a Black woman, a Chicano, and an Indian) the better. And I daresay that they would be quite enthusiastic about their impressions of Nixon's Washington if they were interviewed by the media - and the more valuable for being non-political.

- (b) studio-produced entertainment as an actual part of the Convention proceedings during prime-time hours.

-something like an all-star half-hour show to kick things off after the Keynote. Paying the performers if necessary and allowable. And a big show. The Supremes or the 5th Dimension and Charley Pride, Jonathan Winters, and, say, Bred, welcoming the Republicans to San Diego. But not a corny political show. Just good entertainment that the average viewer might actually choose to tune in - with a few Republican zingers every now and then.

Could something like this be done as a paid fundraising dinner, say in New York with Mrs. Eisenhower there, and relayed live on a giant screen to the Convention, and direct to the networks?

- (c) feature films and documentaries as part of the Convention proceedings during prime time hours.

(See above, under ISSUES.)

We should aim at getting the support of important celebrities and public figures even, or, in fact, especially, if it is only on one particular aspect of our program. This is both a more sensible goal, and will create a real impression of purposeful action across a wide spectrum. In doing this we should also aim at presenting an up-to-date image. John Wayne on his own won't do any more.

These are some of the kind of people I have in mind:

PRICE

March 7, 1972

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR ISSUE BY JERRY WARREN, Wed. AM

The President was pleased by the strong support he was shown in the New Hampshire Presidential primary. He deeply appreciates the efforts of those who, in his absence, campaigned on his behalf, and he is grateful to the voters of New Hampshire for their expression of continued confidence.

####

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*
SUBJECT: New Hampshire

*Results as of 2:30 p.m.:

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McCloskey</u>	<u>Ashbrook</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>McGovern</u>
69.12%	20.33%	10%	48%	37%

The Youth Vote

Conclusion at N. H. campaign headquarters is that we did better in this area than expected. Hanover, site of Dartmouth College, provides a gauge. Of 1,349 ballots, the President won 595, McCloskey 707 and Ashbrook 47. This is in contrast to 1968, when the President tallied 388 votes to 406 in a write-in for Rockefeller and 229 in a write-in for Eugene McCarthy on Republican ballots. Dwinell feels the youth vote overall was not a big factor.

The Undecided Voters

As far as can be judged from the telephone campaign, the undecided votes were divided evenly and not overly weighted toward any candidate.

Conclusion at this Point

Further analysis will be made of the youth and undecided votes. Our people on the scene still feel it was a strong victory, especially since the President did not go into New Hampshire and McCloskey spent 90 days there and considerable money.

*These results are with 99% of the precincts reporting, and are being given by the press as final. However, campaign headquarters say more are to report. We will maintain contact and update later today.

r

bylcyyxczxc wx

Nixon-Primary 270

WASHINGTON AP - The White House said Wednesday that President Nixon was pleased by his strong showing in the New Hampshire presidential primary.

"The President noted the results of the new Hampshire primary," press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said to the sound of laughter in the press room.

"The President was pleased by the strong support he was shown and he is grateful to the voters of New Hampshire for their continued support," Ziegler said.

Francis Dale, chairman of Nixon's campaign committee, said in a separate news conference that the primary voting Tuesday indicated a solid approval of Nixon's performance as President.

"It confirms that the voting populace is aware of the President's record and his performance," Dale said. "We gather that his performance has been weighed and given solid approval."

Nixon received 69 per cent of the Republican vote in the primary, first in the nation in the 1972 campaign.

Ziegler declined to comment on the Democratic side of the primary, but Dale said the result made it "clear that no one emerges from the crowd of Democratic contenders."

Ziegler also was reluctant to answer a question about the 38 per cent of Republican voters who gave their support to Reps. John Ashbrook and Paul McCloskey. Dale also would not comment on the immediate future of Ashbrook and McCloskey but said he expected them and their followers to back Nixon in the general election.

Dale is chairman of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. John N. Mitchell, who recently resigned as attorney general will

be Nixon's campaign manager, operating through the committee.

rz603pes march 8 we

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: March 8, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Frank Dale, Chairman of the Committee for the Re-Election, held a press conference at 1701 at 11:00 a.m. There was no formal statement. The attached UPI wire is the first to run.

UPI-63

ADD 1 POLITICS, WASHINGTON (UPI-54)

FRANCIS DALE, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE REELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, SAID NIXON'S VICTORY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE WAS AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT, SAID NIXON'S VICTORY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE WAS AN ENDORSEMENT BY THE VOTING PUBLIC OF HIS POLICIES, OBJECTIVES, AND PERFORMANCE.

"HIS PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN WEIGHED AND HAS BEEN OVERWHELMINGLY APPROVED," DALE SAID AT A NEWS CONFERENCE. HE SAID THE NEW HAMPSHIRE RESULTS "FORESHADOW A LONG SERIES OF CONTINUING VICTORIES."

DALE CONTENDED THAT ALTHOUGH NIXON GOT A LOWER PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTE THIS YEAR THAN IN 1968 WHEN HE POLLED 77.6 PER CENT OF THE VOTE, TUESDAY'S VOTE WAS EVERY BIT AS MUCH OF A VICTORY.

"THIS TIME THERE WAS ORGANIZED OPPOSITION," DALE SAID. "LAST TIME THERE WAS ONLY AN ORGANIZED LAST MINUTE WRITE-IN (FOR GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER OF NEW YORK)."

DALE SAID THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY SHOWED THAT "NO ONE HAS EMERGED FROM THE CROWD OF DEMOCRATIC CONTENDERS. IT (THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION) IS GOING TO BE OPEN, IT SEEMS TO ME, RIGHT DOWN TO THE CONVENTION."

3/8--GE1203P

MS
Atton Paul
Jones



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAUL JONES
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Campaign Plan for Black Vote

Having carefully reviewed your draft plan, I am quite impressed with the magnitude of the opportunity and the thinking that has gone into your plan. I am in agreement with most of your analysis and plan but feel we need to restructure the way the plan is presented and elaborate on a few points before it is ready to present to Mr. Mitchell. This memo roughly outlines my notes so we can start from the same point in our discussion tomorrow.

Let's take organization of the plan first. As structured, it is difficult to grab the major points; see the relationships between strategy, plans, and organization; and understand fully and clearly what is going to be done. I suggest you redraft along the following lines, using a ~~major~~ side heading for each of the 4 major sections:

1. Background on Black Vote. You cover this only briefly on page 1 and part of page 2 of your plan. I suggest a more comprehensive discussion of demographic data, issues of concern to Blacks, voting trends, and conclusions on this group and what they will respond to. This then sets the stage for the development of a strategy.
2. Strategy. This would start with a short statement of your strategy which, as I see it, is to increase the Black vote to 18% by publicizing the President's record of accomplishment for Blacks and, thereby, convince Blacks of the President's concern. You should, of course, be more specific if you can by stating the issues that will be exploited in this effort. Then, briefly cover the strategy for making this happen (e.g., a comprehensive PR program, Presidential involvement, and the mission of the field organization). Finish with a brief discussion of the key States you intend to focus on and those you expect to neglect. Provide decision blanks for the strategy.
3. Plan of Action. In the preceding section you told where you were going, and here you outline how you intend to get there. Your major suggestions should all be included here as elements of the plan (e.g., make Black appointees more visible, form groups of Black opinion leaders,

encourage Black GOP candidates, provide visibility to Blacks at convention, hold a fund-raising dinner, and elements of the communications plan. You should, however, also cover issues/initiatives you feel need to be modified or expanded by the Administration, new initiatives needed, the objectives of the field operation and how they will be reached, and your rough timetable for establishing a field operation. Provide decision blanks at relevant places within this section.

4. Organization. Outline here the organization needed to carry out the plan of action. Start with the overall team that will coordinate the efforts (i. e., Jones, Brown, Scott, and Black appointees). Then, cover the organization and duties of the Washington and field staffs and make your case for additional staff. Also cover the plan for the overall national committee. Provide decision blanks as appropriate.

Now let me get into a few other comments and observations that we should be sure to discuss tomorrow:

1. It is important to recognize that the campaign plan is a general approach aimed at a broad appeal toward the Blacks to be taken now. Later, as the State Victory Plans are developed, you will tie in with these and develop a specific Black action plan in each key State. To my mind these are the most important plans, and they will govern your later actions. Some recognition of this should be built into the current plan - perhaps as a preamble or built into the plans section.

2. Selection and Reporting of State Black Director. I think we are clear on this, but just to be sure, the State Director will be a joint selection of you and the State Nixon Chairman. He will report directly to the State Nixon Chairman but will receive functional guidance and direction from you. Thus, you are just as responsible as the State Chairman for the selection of quality Directors and for the success or failure of the Black effort in each State.

3. Black Spokesman. You hit this hard both with Administration appointees and outside opinion leaders. I fully agree, but to get maximum visibility we need to develop at least 1 star who can command national attention. This would be someone who could really hit the theme that the Dems take Blacks for granted and they way to real power is to show some independence. I don't know who this should be or how we will do it, but you should begin giving serious attention to the problem. Without 1 real star we just won't generate the publicity needed.

4. Opinion Leaders. You aim at forming 5 groups initially and more later. I like the idea a lot, but there are several questions:

-- How will these be related to the regular citizens' groups? For example, we will most certainly have an Educators for Nixon group which will include some Blacks. Won't this overlap, and how do we rationalize this?

-- Why do you choose real estate brokers as a major group? They are hardly a major force in our society.

-- Where can we fit in leaders such as Art Fletcher and Jim Farmer who may be with us?

-- What is the ultimate cost likely to be? You mention \$18,000 as a start-up budget.

5. Local Republican Organizations. I really don't understand this section. What are these organizations and what are we really trying to do?

6. Black GOP Candidates. This is a good idea, but it will obviously depend on cooperation in the States and the ability of our men to get through the primaries. Also, who would take on this project and how much financial support do you feel is needed?

7. Fund-Raiser. I'm not sure this is the best way to spend your time, and it could backfire on us. First, money is not the key factor for us. Second, it would take a hell of a lot of yours and Brown's time that may be more productively used elsewhere. Finally, the Dems could criticize the GOP for taking money away from the Blacks while Dems favor the reverse. Perhaps we should convert this idea into a testimonial for the President sponsored by Black appointees. We could set up regional tie-ins and use this as a vehicle for publicity and for recruiting volunteers. If we do anything here, I suggest you have omitted some of our best people from your proposed list of sponsors (e.g., Jackson, Pierce, Ben Davis, Koontz).

8. Communications. I agree that we will want to use paid ads, but only on a selective basis. This will be decided case by case based on the needs pointed up in the State Victory Plans. All media commitments for all groups will be decided in this way. On the brochure, I like the idea but wonder whether 20 pages isn't twice as long as need be. Let's be sure to discuss this one so an early decision can be made.

9. Operation "Put-Up." I don't completely understand this concept and need some elaboration.

10. Field Operations. Your emphasis on field operations is right on target, and in my gut I feel you need the 3 field coordinators. However, you have to make the case more clearly and relate the coordinators to key States before we can make a request to Mr. Mitchell.

11. Other Staff. I do not agree with the need for a scheduling coordinator. This should be done through Bart Porter and Stan Scott. You need to make your case stronger for the 2 staff assistants.

I look forward to seeing you tomorrow when we can cover the above and other points in greater depth.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 6

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

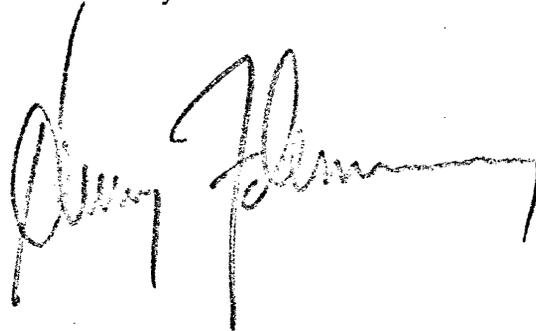
March 7, 1972

TO: *Gordon Strachan*

FROM: Harry Flemming

Attached is the new confirmed state chairmen list. Please note the new format, i.e., one state to each page. As additional information is made available on headquarter's offices, etc. a new sheet on that state will be forwarded to you. PLEASE KEEP THE ATTACHED LIST AS YOUR MASTER LIST, ADDING THE NEW PAGES AS THEY ARE RECEIVED.

If there are any difficulties regarding phone numbers, names and addresses as listed please contact Barbara Fierce (Ext. 283) so that corrections may be made.



March 6, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ARIZONA

Announcement date: Not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

office: Mr. Sam Mardian
P. O. Box 1032
Phoenix, Arizona 85001

(602) 264-5981

home: 7310 North Fourth Drive
Phoenix, Arizona 85021

(602) 944-7110

March 6, 1972

CALIFORNIA

Announcement date: February 4, 1972

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
Airport Marina Hotel
Los Angeles, California 90045

(213) 641-6612

* * * * *

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

Governor Ronald Reagan
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

(916) 445-2841

* * * * *

address
mail to:

EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR:

Mr. Lyn Nofziger
c/o of HEADQUARTERS
(address above)

* * * * *

temporary
residence:

Mr. Lyn Nofziger
Airport Marina Hotel
Los Angeles, California 90045

(213) 670-8111

March 6, 1972

COLORADO

Announcement date: January 11, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Governor John Love (303) 892-2471
Executive Chambers
office: Colorado State Capitol Bldg.
Denver, Colorado 80203

• home: Executive Mansion (303) 892-2471
400 E. 8th Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80203

* * * * *

VICE-CHAIRMAN Mrs. Robert K. Michael (Pat) (303) 443-7389
7075 Roaring Fork Trail
Boulder, Colorado 80301

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

CONNECTICUTANNOUNCEMENT DATE: January 25, 1972NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Nathan G. (Gus) Agostinelli (203) 566-5565
State Comptroller
office: 30 Trinity Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06115
home: 95 Olcott Street (203) 643-8683
Manchester, Connecticut

* * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Charles Coe (203) 249-9661
office: c/o Republican State Central Committee
410 Asylum Street, Room 315
Hartford, Connecticut 06103
home: Morgan Road (203) 693-4727
Canton, Ohio 06019

March 6, 1972

FLORIDA

Announcement date: none

* CONTACTS THROUGH PRIMARY

* PRIMARY COORDINATOR: L. E. (Tommy) Thomas
office: P. O. Box 490 (904) 785-7920
Panama City, Florida
home: 2814 Canal Drive (904) 785-7834
Panama City, Florida

* * * * *

GOP STATE HEADQUARTERS: P. O. Box 311 (103 Call Street) (904) 222-7920
Tallahassee, Florida 32302

* * * * *

* PRIMARY CONTACT: Mrs. Walter E. Hawkins (Paula) (305) 644-0390
241 Donmerich Drive
Maitland, Florida 32751

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Announcement date: February 1, 1972

INDIANA

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

INDIANA COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
2nd Floor
Five Indiana Square
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

(317) 635-7302
or
(317) 632-7886

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Will H. Hays, Jr.
c/o of Headquarters

* * * * *

HOME: 413 Crawford Street
Crawfordsville, Indiana 47933

(317) 362-2416

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

ILLINOIS

Announcement date: January 10, 1972

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

ILLINOIS COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
110 South Dearborn, Room 200
Chicago, Illinois 60603

(312) 263-2353

* * * * *

CAMPAIGN MANAGER:

Thomas Houser
if not at headquarters:
Office, Suite 3200
One First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois

(312) 329-7603

residence:

219 N. Hickory
Arlington Heights, Illinois

(312) CL3-7395

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

IOWA

Announcement date: February 21, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Churchill Williams
office: Oelwein State Bank (319) 283-3361
Oelwein, Iowa 50662
home: 9 Hillside Drive West (319) 283-2331
Oelwein, Iowa 50662

* * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Elmer M. (Mary Louise) Smith
home: 654 59th Street (515) 279-5390
Des Moines, Iowa 50312

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

MAINE

Announcement date: not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Ned Harding
office: P. O. Box 2011 (207) 773-1775
24 Free Street
Portland, Maine 04104
home: South Freeport (207) 865-6565
Maine

* * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN: Mrs. David R. Tibbetts (Donna)
home: 9 Central Street (207) 947-7905
Bangor, Maine

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

MARYLAND

Announcement date: December 15, 1971

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

MARYLAND COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
7979 Old Georgetown Road
Bethesda, Maryland

(no phone at present)

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:

Edward P. Thomas
Senate of Maryland
office: Carroll and Frederick County
Annapolis, Maryland

(301) 662-0713

or

(301) 662-2777

home: 710 Wyngate Drive
Frederick, Maryland

(301) 663-5765

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

MICHIGAN

Announcement date: March 6, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE AT
PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	Jack Gibbs	(313) 965-0620
office:	c/o BBDO 211 West Fort Street Detroit, Michigan 48226	
home:	2755 Sommerset Blvd Troy, Michigan 48084	(313) 646-2326

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

MISSOURI

Announcement date: December 22, 1971

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

MISSOURI COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
130 South Bemiston, Suite 309
St. Louis, Missouri 63105
Exec.Secy. - Mrs. Mildred Huffman

(314) 862-2460
if no answer at
headquarters call:
(314) 727-7963

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:

Lawrence K. Roos
c/o of Headquarters
(address above)

office: Supervisor, St. Louis County

(314) 889-2016

home: 943 Tirrill Farms Road
St. Louis County, Missouri

(314) WY3-3766

* * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Ed. Jones (Jean)
home: 301 Price Street
Harrisonville, Missouri 64701

(816) 884-3234

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

MONTANA

Announcement date: Not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: G. W. Deschamps (State Senator)
District No. 26, Missoula County (406) 549-0535
Route 2, Mullen Road
Missoula, Montana 59801

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

NEBRASKA

Announcement date: January 7, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: George Cook
office: Chairman and Chief Executive Officer (402) 467-1122
Bankers Life of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska
home: 3070 Sheridan Blvd. (402) 423-6272
Lincoln, Nebraska

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

NEVADA

Announcement date: January 13, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	C. Clifton (Cliff) Young	
office:	P. O. Box 1361	(702) 786-7600
	232 Court Street	
	Reno, Nevada 89501	
home:	2085 Regent Street	(702) 329-0587
	Reno, Nevada 89502	

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Announcement date: November 1, 1971

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT (603) 224-7411
New Hampshire Highway Hotel
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Governor Lane Dwinell
c/o Headquarters
home: 94 Bank Street (603) 448-1121
Lebanon, New Hampshire 03766

* * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: G. Allan Walker
c/o Headquarters
home: #5 Millpond Drive (603) 888-0713
Nashua, New Hampshire

* * * * *

ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Bedford Spaulding (Roma)
home: 8 Maple Avenue (603) 543-3449
Claremont, New Hampshire

* * * * *

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 6, 1972

NEW JERSEY

Announcement date: not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
TO DATE

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Governor William T. Cahill (609) 292-6000
State House
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

March 6, 1972

NEW MEXICO

Announcement date: Not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Ed Hartman (505) 256-9848
office: Suite 100, Merrill Bldg.
131 Adams, NE
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108

home: (505) 265-0021

* * * * *

NIXON CAMPAIGN MANAGER: Willard Lewis
office: Santa Teresa Corporation (505) 523-7527
965 First National Tower
Las Cruces, N.M. 88001

home: P. O. Box 209 (505) 526-6387
Las Cruces, N.M. 88001

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

NORTH CAROLINA

Announcement date: 1971

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE: NORTH CAROLINA COMMITTEE FOR
THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
916 E. Morehead Street (704) 372-9500
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN Charles Jonas, Jr.
c/o headquarters (704) 372-9516
office: Reynolds and Company
330 S. Tryon Street (704) 377-3651
Charlotte, N.C. 28202
home: 302 Colville Road (704) 332-7018
Charlotte, North Carolina

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 6, 1972

NORTH DAKOTA

Announcement date: Not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
TO DATE

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: John Rouzie (701) 223-7750
216 Avenue F or
West Bismarck, North Dakota 58501 (701) 523-3261

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

OKLAHOMA

Announcement date: not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
TO DATE

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Rex Moore (Rita)
home: 7210 Waverly Drive (405) 843-9597
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73120

if no answer, please leave message:
Mr. Clarence Warner (405) 528-3501
Chairman, Republican State
Committee of Oklahoma

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

OREGON

Announcement date: December 17, 1971

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: OREGON COMMITTEE FOR THE
 RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT (503) 226-6727
 Room 505, Terminal Sales Bldg.
 1220 S.W. Morrison Street
 Portland, Oregon 97205

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Congressman Wendell Wyatt
 c/o Headquarters
 Wash. office: (202) 225-2206
 home: 1209 Huntley Place (703) 765-5421
 Alexandria, Virginia

* * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mr. Warne Nunn
 c/o Headquarters
 home: 2405 Bellwood Drive (503) 636-5415
 Lake Oswega, Oregon 97034

* * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN Mrs. Roy Payne (Anna)
 home: 2320 9th Avenue
 Milwaukie, Oregon (503) 659-1020

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

PENNSYLVANIA

Announcement date: February 14, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT (see below under Exec.Director)

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arlen Specter
District Attorney's Office (215) 686-2660
Room 666, City Hall (24 hr. service)
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

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

CONTACT: John Steinberg (215) MU6-3964

* * * * *

ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN: Herman Bloom
Office, home 1822 Spruce Street
and temporary Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103
headquarters: (215) 965-8072

TELE.

March 6, 1972

RHODE ISLAND

Announcement date; February 14, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Mayor James L. Taft, Jr.
 office: Executive Chambers (401) 461-8271
 City Hall
 Cranston, Rhode Island 02910

home: 53 Fairfield Road (401) 785-1844
 Cranston, Rhode Island 02910

CONTACT

Robert C. Connaughton office: (401) 461-8271
 Director of Administration
 City of Cranston home: (401) 785-2024

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

SOUTH CAROLINA

Announcement date: Not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Hal C. Byrd
office: P. O. Box 1926 (803) 585-4221
Deering-Milliken Corporation
Spartanburg, South Carolina 29302
home: 1009 Glendalyn Circle (803) 582-1676
Spartanburg, South Carolina 29302

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

SOUTH DAKOTA

Announcement date: Not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN	W. E. "Obie" O'Brien	
	office: Dakota State College	(605) 256-3551
	c/o Karl Mundt Library	Ext. 228
	Madison, South Dakota	
	home: 215 North Chicago Avenue	(605) 256-4898
	Madison, South Dakota 57042	

* * * * *

VICE-CHAIRMAN - EAST SOUTH DAKOTA

	Mrs. M. O. Lee (Wanda)	
home:	438 Jefferson Blvd.	(605) 352-5038
	Huron, South Dakota	

VICE-CHAIRMAN - WEST SOUTH DAKOTA

	Mrs. Robert Lee (Dode)	
home:	Boulder Canyon Route	(605) 347-3225
	Sturgis, South Dakota 57788	

* * * * *

March 6, 1972

Announcement date: January 14, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN	Dick Richards	
office:	2610 Washington Boulevard	(801) 399-3303
	Ogden, Utah 84401	
home:	4735 Madison Avenue	(801) 621-4163
	Ogden, Utah 84403	

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

VERMONT

NO HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE AT PRESENT

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN Russell F. Merriman
 office: Chairman, Republican State (802) 223-3411
 Committee
 P. O. Box 70
 Montpelier, Vermont 05602

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

WISCONSIN

Announcement date: February 18, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: WISCONSIN COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT (414) 278-0262
c/o Railway Exchange Bldg.
229 E. Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN John K. MacIver
c/o Headquarters
(address above)

office: Michael, Best & Friedrich (414) 271-6560
626 East Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

home: 5498 North Lake Drive (414) 962-2475
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53217

* * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR Mr. Charles Davis
McDonald, Davis & Assoc., Inc. (414) 273-2500
office: 411 E. Mason Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

home: 1776 Church View Drive (414) 782-4031
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

* * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN Mrs. Mary Kay Hansen
home: 8241 North River Road (414) 352-2900
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1972

WYOMING

Announcement date: March 7, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
TO DATE

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Robert (Barbara) Gosman (307) 243-9166
c/o Republican State Headquarters
Box 241
Casper, Wyoming 82601

home: 120 East 15th Street (307) 234-2801
Casper, Wyoming 82601

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

good

March 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: CHARLES COLSON *CC*

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

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

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

HIGH PRIORITY

March 6, 1972
8:15 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK HOWARD

FROM: CHUCK COLSON

Did we have a write-in campaign on the Democratic side -- write-ins for Nixon? Did we use mail or advertise? Check Magruder immediately. Also find out for me first thing -- are write-ins possible in Florida and Wisconsin and let me know by mid-morning.

HIGH PRIORITY

THE WHITE HOUSE

Administratively Confidential ^{WASHINGTON}

February 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

New Hampshire Youth Coordinator/
Alleged Haldeman Telephone Call

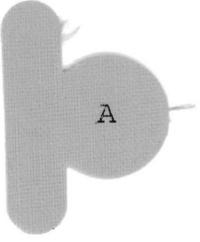
The February 28th news summary refers to a Sunday POST (February 27th) article on the New Hampshire Campaign (attachments at Tab A). The article emphasizes the youth activities for the President. The President's New Hampshire Youth Coordinator, Mike Scully, works for Ken Rietz. Jeb Magruder and Ken Rietz granted Scully authority to talk to the press about the youth activities. Magruder received a "blank" memorandum (orally explained to Magruder as being from the President) that the campaign should win some mock elections (copy attached at Tab B). I have talked with Magruder and Rietz several times about the importance of winning mock elections. This New Hampshire college mock election was the first that Rietz thought we could win and publicize if there were an all out effort (memorandum attached at Tab C regarding the New Hampshire mock election). Rietz personally went to New Hampshire to emphasize to his youth campaigners the importance of this election.

On the day of the election I called Magruder and Rietz at 1:30 p.m. to find out how the voting was going. Rietz called his New Hampshire contacts and said he had just had a call from Mr. Haldeman and wanted to know the results. My telephone call to Rietz and Magruder served as the basis of the statement in the newspaper. Rietz and Magruder admit they inappropriately used your name but Rietz felt he needed the extra "clout" to push his people in New Hampshire.

The Attorney General was also quite anxious to receive the results and Magruder called him at 2:30 p.m., one-half hour after the polls closed with the results. The Attorney General referred to the results that evening in a story that was picked up by the POST on February 11.

The net result is that I should have instructed Rietz more carefully never to use your name for "clout". Rietz and Magruder and I talked about this on Sunday when the POST story appeared.

The mock election at Dartmouth, scheduled for February 28, was cancelled because the President would have lost. He would have lost because the Muskie students are in a very rough battle with the McGovern students over fraudulent polls. The result of this battle would have been a maximum turnout and no assurance that the President would win.



The following is the missing page 6 of China News Summary No. 28: Wires, Saturday pm and early Sunday D.C. papers and Saturday night specials:

When Muskie got to the Newsweek piece reprinted by the Union Leader on Mrs. Muskie's dirty jokes, smoking and drinking remarks, he broke down and wept. Several times, applause came as he sought to compose himself. Loeb responded that his paper had said nothing itself on Mrs. Muskie and Newsweek says it has no complaint from Muskie's camp when the article first appeared.

Also p. 1 in Post: Miss. Gov^t. Waller buys some more time as he seeks to put together a bi-racial delegation to the Dem. Convention; Thurmond receives credit from Veteran civil rights leaders in S.C. for securing grants which help blacks; Mansfield and Scott summon entire Senate for Tuesday attempt to defeat Griffin's measure.

Unprecedented slashing of Holton budget request (\$136 M of \$5.2 B) and analysis of what's happened to intellectuals and their overinflated hopes and capacities to influence the Gov't close out p. 1.

P. 2 features RN's NH effort -- its biggest asset is RN in China; its "biggest surprise" is the strength of the youth for Nixon operation which has mobilized as many weekend volunteers as McGovern, and in New Hampshire college's mock election, RN received 32 percent, Muskie 28 percent, McGovern 15 percent. Note by RN Youth Coordinator of the President's interest in the vote as seen by an HRH call even before results were in... Gallup says it's 43-42 RN over Muskie with 10 percent for Wallace, 47-39 RN over EMK.

Becker poll in Mass. gives Muskie 46 percent, HHH 15 percent, McGovern 11 percent, Lindsay 8 percent...Muskie is featured interviewee in Outlook's continuing series on candidates. He says his peace proposal -- set date for end of all US actions -- hasn't been made. He says RN's wasn't new and had been rejected before. Muskie feels Saigon should start acting as if there could be an end to US aid -- that is US public's attitude. The interview closes with Muskie saying he doesn't have a formula to handle the backgrounder controversy. He could have answered similarly on questions on busing, the economy, and disclosure of contributors. Of interest is his denial of "Trust Muskie" slogan. Credibility is an issue -- but "I don't really think that as a man I'm more trustworthy than other men."

####

WASHINGTON POST - February 27, 1972

N.H. Drive Kept Rolling For Absent President

By Mary Russell

Washington Post Staff Writers

MANCHESTER, N.H.,

Feb. 26—Up to last Tuesday, there were no TV spots, no billboards, no radio ads here pushing President Nixon's candidacy for reelection. There were, of course, the multitudinous hours of television coverage of the President in China, the kind of publicity that no other candidate could buy.

It has been, in the words of Mr. Nixon's New Hampshire coordinators, a low-key but not low-effort campaign.

Perhaps the biggest surprise in the Nixon campaign is the strength of the Youth For Nixon organization. Some of it can be attributed to two politically savvy New England field directors who have been concentrating on New Hampshire.

Mike Scully, a graduate from Colgate, worked for Sen. Lowell Weiker (R-Conn.) from June until October and then took on the job of New England field director of Youth for Nixon.

His co-director is Ted Wigger, who graduated from the University of New Hampshire and worked for a California congressman until returning to New England last fall.

The two of them began visiting New England colleges and universities in December.

"Part of the problem for Republican kids, or those who think they like Nixon, is pressure from their peer group. That's not a popular stand. So we visited colleges, telling students that they had to have the guts to be vocal if they were backing President Nixon; that it took courage, but it was irresponsible not to participate, not to speak out," Scully said.

As a result, he said, "we set up active Nixon for President club on 11 or 12 campuses."

Thus when the Youth for Nixon decided to canvass Republican wards of Manchester one weekend recently they drew 400 to 500 students, comparable to the largest number that came in for Sen. George McGovern up to this weekend.

"I have a feeling attitudes are changing," Scully said. "With the draft and Vietnam defused as issues, students just aren't monolithic in their thinking any more. Besides there's no real star in the Democratic party to attract them, and they're looking around. When they do, they sometimes conclude President Nixon isn't doing such a bad job after all."

Scully thinks on the whole the new voters—18 to 21—have shown "mostly apathy." He thinks less than 50 per cent of these potential

new voters in New Hampshire have registered. But he thinks a fair number of those who have will go to President Nixon.

Scully says he doubts there is such a thing as a youth block vote and cites a mock election conducted by the student government of New Hampshire College in Manchester.

There President Nixon received 32 per cent of the vote, Sen. Edmund Muskie, 28 per cent, Sen. George McGovern, 15 per cent with others getting six per cent or less.

"Boy was the President ever interested in that. The balloting was supposed to end at 2 p.m. that day. And at 1:30 p.m. Bob Haldeman was on the phone asking for results. When he got them I know they went straight to the President's desk.

"I guess even with the China trip the President is still keeping an eye on New Hampshire."

"Obviously, we don't have a recognition problem," said John Sias, president of the New Hampshire Committee for the Reelection of the President. What the committee does consider "of real concern" is the possibility that Nixon supporters might be apathetic about turning out at the polls, figuring that the President has it all sewed up. They are concerned, to a lesser extent, about the 18-21-year old voters.

Two Taken Seriously

They also say they take seriously the President's two opponents in the March 7 primary here, Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) and Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio), and have hedged their predictions accordingly.

They begin by noting the 1968 campaign, when New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller was only a write-in candidate and Michigan Gov. George Romney had dropped out.

"In 1968, with no competition, we got 79 per cent of the vote," Sias said. "It's not reasonable to expect 79 per cent this time."

"McCloskey's serious, articulate and sincere and he's been spending a lot of time here. That's bound to have an effect. And, of course, there are people who think the President is not conservative enough."

But there is also a line of thought that charges by McCloskey that the President is not liberal enough and by Ashbrook that he's too liberal are offsetting, giving the President the appearance of occupying the favored middle ground.

Preservation Copy

So the goal of the Nixon campaign is to keep up interest, take advantage of the President's image as a statesman and ward off any feeling of neglect New Hampshire voters may have since the President has taken himself out of active campaigning until after the Republican National Convention in August and will make no personal appearance here.

To reach these goals the campaign has been organized into an effort that consists of:

- A volunteer telephone campaign that aims at reaching almost all of the 110,000 registered Republican voters in the state.

- A well-planned Youth for Nixon effort to get the vote of young people.

Visits by nearly a dozen "surrogates"—cabinet members, congressmen, senators and agency heads who come to the state to speak for the President.

A media campaign with some radio spots, TV spots and newspaper ads has just begun. It will intensify up to primary day and will feature, according to Sias, endorsements of the President by others.

The climax of the surrogate appearances in the state will be March 3 with an "Appreciation Day Rally" for the President.

Gov. Rockefeller will be the keynote speaker, radio and TV star Art Linkletter will be master of ceremonies. At least 14 cabinet officers, governors, congressmen and senators will also attend the rally.

It is rumored that Vice President Spiro Agnew and movie star John Wayne will also be brought in.

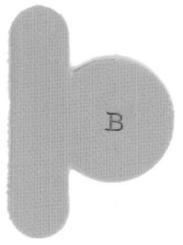
The New Hampshire Committee for the Reelection of the President, headed by former New Hampshire Gov. Lane Dwinell, with main headquarters in Concord, New Hampshire, handles most of the operations.

The telephone survey was organized by Nancy Brataas, a Minnesotan with the National Committee for the Re-election of the President in D.C.

Volunteers mostly housewives—work out of eight headquarters scattered around the state. They keep from two (Wolfborough) to 16 (Manchester) phones manned twelve hours a day (from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.).

Working from voter registration lists they call those in their districts listed as Republicans and ask, "In the primary election can President Nixon count on your support?" Computerized file cards are then marked for Mr. Nixon, against and undecided. If they are against, they are asked whether they will support Ashbrook or McCloskey. If they are undecided, they are asked which of a number of issues are bothering them—Vietnam, the economy, the environment, drugs, foreign policy, crime and health care. The issue is then checked, they are sent literature on the issue. All undecideds are called back again.

A get-out-the-vote drive will be launched from the phone centers a few days before the election.



January 11, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

SUBJECT: Campaign Activities

What is happening with our effort to start to get good trial heat polls out of colleges and high schools.

We need to try to develop an effort here on both counts, particularly going for some high school support in New Hampshire so we don't get all negative stories.

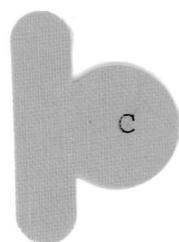
It is ridiculous to let the McCloskey people get the kind of story they got out of the one high school poll which was obviously a heavily loaded operation.

Perhaps we should try one high school in New Hampshire and maybe one college to test operations since the overall effort has zero results today. See if we can't generate out of each one of these a major effort and if that effort is productive, get several other schools doing the same thing and get some polls out on them.

On a different subject, we now need to see that there is a maximum interest developed in the Democratic primary and try to get all the news media focusing there instead of on the Republicans.

One line we should be using is "because of the lack of significant competition in the Republican primaries, we don't expect any large vote turn out".

LH:kmt



Administratively Confidential

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Mock Election

The Committee to Re-Elect the President conducted a mock election at New Hampshire College in Manchester, New Hampshire today. Sample ballots were given to 150 students (total enrollment 950). The results were:

Nixon-----	32%
Muskie-----	28%
McGovern-----	15%
Ed Cole (local)-----	6%
Humphrey-----	3%
Lindsay-----	3%
McCloskey-----	3%
Ashbrook-----	1%
Hartke-----	1%
Yorty-----	1%

At the direction of Jeb Magruder and Ken Rietz, Van Shunway and Tom Sias, the New Hampshire PR Director for the Committee to Re-Elect the President, are handling publicity in Washington and New Hampshire respectively.

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1972

L
✓ H-FYI

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By ep NARS, date 3-30-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

The Campaign Committee is extremely anxious to get the word to all people necessary that they have two key events upcoming -- a rally in New Hampshire on March 3 and a rally in Miami, Florida on March 9. They are extremely hopeful that these two significant events are not overshadowed by some announcement or action by the President following his return from China.

In our news planning operation, we can keep these two dates open so that the rallies are significant news items; however, because some significant news events are scheduled by much higher authorities it has been requested that you at least inform Bob Haldeman of these two events and dates for his and the President's planning.

Thanks.

- Dick -

W. Richard Howard

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Campaign Task Forces

As you may know many of our staff political operatives both here at the White House and outside are thinking about Campaign 72. Each is haphazardly pursuing his own area of interest.

One approach to this problem is the pre-emptive Task Force. By establishing a Task Force in each of the key areas, the right thinkers are put on the right projects and the free-lancer is pulled into the system. This approach establishes target areas and thereby enables the Attorney General to establish a time frame for the campaign. One advantage is that it requires no one's full time effort so no elaborate outside organization need be established.

Suggested areas for the Task Force approach to be applied include:

Advertising and Direct Mail;
Polling, Computers and Research;
Citizens Committees and the State by State Campaign Organizations;
The 18 - 21 year old vote;
The Black and Women's Vote;
Middle America;
And Democratic Contenders.

Each Task Force could have White House Staffers; individuals in Departments, such as Dick Moore, Stan Pottinger, and Don Santarelli; representatives from the RNC, such as Tom Evans or Lyn Nofziger and independent advisers such as Cliff Miller. Task Forces that should probably begin operating immediately include:

1. Advertising and Direct Mail The basic question seems to be what type of organization and approach is appropriate for the President in 1972. Suggested members for the group

include Chapin, Garment, Shakespeare, Rumsfeld and Nofziger. Rhatican could serve as the Project Manager for this Task Force.

2. Polling, Computers and Research Work has already begun on expanding our computer capabilities. A Task Force of Staff members who will know what we will need in 1972 as well as those with the technical background to determine the feasibility should be formed. The group could include Timmons, Huston, Price and Howard. Ron Baukol could act as Project Manager. The correct use and development of polling could be under the direction of Flanigan, Colson, Magruder, Dent and Safire. Dick Howard could serve as Project Manager.
3. Democratic Contenders They should be considered as a group as well as individually. The strategy of the group as coordinated by Lawrence O'Brien should be determined and appropriate responses developed. One member should be assigned to each contender to assure complete grasp on his strategy. The Task Force here for the group could include Buchanan, Price, Moore, Finch, and Nofziger. The Project Manager could be Rob Odle. The project Manager could also be a reliable person in one of the departments.

Since this is primarily a campaign tool which would draw on White House Staff members, if you approve I would like to discuss the idea with the Attorney General.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comment _____

Gergen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/9

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You received the speaking kit last weekend. Price and Harper asked for authority to grant limited distribution with individual veto power. Price is wondering if he can proceed on that basis.

OK
G → Gergen 3/10
Price does
the decision
with blend

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: DAVE GERGEN

SUBJECT: Distribution of Speakers' Kit

In the memo which Ray sent to Mr. Haldeman last week on the speakers' kit, he raised the question of whether distribution should be extended to various groups around the country.

Already we have a rather pressing request from Van Shumway about his State chairmen. I think he would like to resolve this one by having the Fact Sheets and Quotes sent out to the chairmen along with 3-4 general fresh speeches -- not the specific-type speeches already produced.

We shall probably make a decision on his latest request before the end of the week, but in the meantime, do you think we might obtain some guidance on Ray's question?

Many thanks.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dave G", with a horizontal line underneath.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON STRACHAN

As you requested this morning, I am attaching copies of the latest total vote as of 11:30 this morning, a copy of our handout following the press conference this morning, a copy of the UPI wire where the college mock election ran, and a copy of the piece that ran on the UPI wire at noon.

There no was no formal statement for Dale. For the most part he simply took questions.

JEB S. MACRIFER



Attachments

Nixon Wins Primary in Vermont City

RANDOLPH, Vt., March 7 (UPI) — President Nixon received 407 of the 772 votes cast here Tuesday to win what was believed to be the nation's only municipal presidential primary.

Rep. Paul N. McCloskey (R-Calif.) was a distant second with 109 votes and Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) the leading Democratic contender, was third with 84 votes in the winner-take-all, nonpartisan election.

The voting was lighter than expected, with only 772 of 1,900 registered voters casting ballots.

Behind Mr. Nixon, McCloskey and Muskie were James Boren of the Bureaucratic Party with 77 votes; Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey with 21; Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) 20; Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) 21; Alabama Gov. George Wallace, 8; Eugene McCarthy, 8; New York Mayor John Lindsay, 5; Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson, 4; Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) 4; Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) 4; Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) 0; and Democratic Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, 0.

Preservation Copy

UPI-63

ADD 1 POLITICS, WASHINGTON (UPI-54)

FRANCIS DALE, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE REELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, SAID NIXON'S VICTORY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE WAS AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT, SAID NIXON'S VICTORY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE WAS AN ENDORSEMENT BY THE VOTING PUBLIC OF HIS POLICIES, OBJECTIVES, AND PERFORMANCE.

"HIS PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN WEIGHED AND HAS BEEN OVERWHELMINGLY APPROVED," DALE SAID AT A NEWS CONFERENCE. HE SAID THE NEW HAMPSHIRE RESULTS "FORESHADOW A LONG SERIES OF CONTINUING VICTORIES."

DALE CONTENDED THAT ALTHOUGH NIXON GOT A LOWER PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTE THIS YEAR THAN IN 1968 WHEN HE POLLED 77.6 PER CENT OF THE VOTE, TUESDAY'S VOTE WAS EVERY BIT AS MUCH OF A VICTORY.

"THIS TIME THERE WAS ORGANIZED OPPOSITION," DALE SAID. "LAST TIME THERE WAS ONLY AN ORGANIZED LAST MINUTE WRITE-IN (FOR GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER OF NEW YORK)."

DALE SAID THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY SHOWED THAT "NO ONE HAS EMERGED FROM THE CROWD OF DEMOCRATIC CONTENDERS. IT (THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION) IS GOING TO BE OPEN, IT SEEMS TO ME, RIGHT DOWN TO THE CONVENTION."

3/8 --GE1203P

035A

FLORIDA 3-8
WITH POLITICS
BY DAVID L. LANGFORD

→ THE ELECTION ON 38 COLLEGE CAMPUSES WAS A VOTE BY STUDENTS WHO ARE REGISTERED DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS. WITH 36 OF THE 38 CAMPUSES REPORTING, PRESIDENT NIXON WON IN A LANDSLIDE OVER REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY, R-CALIF., ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE.
UPI 03-08 03:16 AES

039A

YORTY 3-8
WITH NEWHAMP
MANCHESTER, N.H. (UPI)--MAYOR SAM YORTY OF LOS ANGELES SAID TUESDAY NIGHT HE DEFINITELY IS NOT OUT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE DESPITE HIS POOR SHOWING IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY.
→ "I WILL DEFINITELY BE IN THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY AND MAYBE SOME OTHERS IN THE INTERIM." HE SAID.

105A

TAB 3-8

WITH NEWHAMP

MANCHESTER, N.H. (UPI)--POPULAR VOTE FOR REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT (264
315 PRECINCTS):
NIXON 71,237 69 PCT
MCCLOSKEY 21,101 20 PCT
ASHBROOK 9,758 10 PCT
PAULSEN 1,095 1 PCT

MANCHESTER, N.H. (UPI)--POPULAR VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT (264
315 PRECINCTS):
MUSKIE 38,130 43 PCT
MCGOVERN 29,650 37 PCT
YORTY 4,744 6 PCT
MILLS 3,314 4 PCT
HARTKE 2,223 3 PCT
KENNEDY 729 1 PCT
UPI 03-08 11:24 AES

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Rietz

TO: _____

YOU WERE CALLED BY— *g* YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization) *Kenn Rietz*

Miami (305) 377-1966

PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO. CODE/EXT. *ext 569*

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

1. we received 84% of vote in Fla. College mock Election.
2. More than any other candidate.
3. Lost only one campus

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME
<i>g</i>		<i>9:22</i>

the wires from this 1st of 24 primaries:

RN's results are variously described as: "sweeping to an easy victory"...
 "On the verge of crushing opposition from left and right with a margin almost as big as he had in '68 when running virtually unopposed."...
 "Scoring a runaway victory."... "Swamped 2 GOP challengers."...
 "Without even visiting the state,..." "Decisively defeated" Ashbrook and McCloskey.

Sen. Dole said the results reflect the judgment that the American people are going to make on RN and his leadership in Nov... And he added -- "The opposition race is obviously wide open, and the so-called 'leading' candidate isn't leading anymore." Dole said Muskie should have expected at least 2/3 considering his frontrunning status, virtually no opposition and his neighboring residence... UPI reports the Veep's statement that the results "overwhelmingly expressed their [NH GOP] confidence in RN's leadership."

In the nation's only municipal pres. primary -- Randolph, Vt. -- RN received 407 to 109 for McCloskey (who visited there at least once) and 84 for Muskie. (Only 770 of 1900 registered voted.)... And in Fla's student poll of registered voters on college campuses, RN won a landslide over McCloskey -- 1989 to 246. McGovern won the Dem race with 1784 to 1373 for Chisholm (!); 1096 for Muskie; 1085 for Lindsay; 986 for Wallace; 749 for Jackson; 643 for HHH and 160 for McCarthy. The anti-busing amendment was supported 6119-4334.

UPI (Milne) says "Muskie turned back a surprisingly strong surge by McGovern to win. However he failed to achieve a majority, putting in question his standing as the front-runner for the Dem nomination.... Heavily favored to win, ... Muskie ran into unexpectedly heavy opposition." An earlier UPI report says Muskie's totals "seriously threatened his role as the leading contender for the nomination." ... AP says McGovern's showing "has dimmed [Muskie's] victory."

In the GOP VP write-in race, VP Agnew had 74% with 40% tallied. Brooke was running a distant third with 7%. Chief Burning Wood had 19% -- he got the NH GOP VP nod in '68... Peabody, the only one on the Dem VP ballot, got 93% of their tallies.

Rick?
 -35 out of
 36 common
 -Regis Rep's
 vote for.
 -Dem

Post

J14
Timmons

Administratively Confidential

February 14, 1972

H
FC
Zwells
2/28
//

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL TIMMONS

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

FRED DIVEL

Fred Divel is another employee of Walt Disney. He is not in the Ziegler, Higby category, but he might be of use to you in San Diego. The next time you travel to San Diego you might want to interview him to determine if he would be of any service. I do not know him personally. Steve Bull and Larry Higby know him but are neutral.

GS:lm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is an updated inter-office telephone list.

Also attached are two copies of our new office staff directory. Please check the directory immediately to make certain your address and telephone numbers are correct, and report any corrections to me by the close of business tomorrow. You may wish to take one copy home.

Please encourage your callers to use your outside lines. Our system is built around these lines and is not designed for all your calls to come in on 333-0920. Modern telephone systems use direct lines such as those we have installed for each staff member, and our system will ultimately break down unless these outside numbers are given out and regularly used.

Additional copies of this directory are available from Sylvia Panarites.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and please let me know of any corrections you may have in the listings.

bcc: Mr. Lawrence M. Higby

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

STAFF DIRECTORY

<u>Name</u>	<u>Office Phone</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Home Phone</u>
Victoria T. Agnich (Mr. & Mrs. Richard)	333-5767	4203 Pickering Place Alexandria, Virginia 22309	780-0194
David J. Allen (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-7060	3426 South Wakefield Street Arlington, Virginia 22206	931-6975
Yvonne Allen (Mrs. Peter H.)	298-6850	10701 Meadowhill Road Silver Spring, Maryland 20901	593-5046
Arthur L. Amolsch (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-7060	2524 Paxton Street Woodbridge, Virginia 22191	(703)491-1448
Alex M. Armendaris	333-6560	1026 16th Street, N.W. Apt. 503 Washington, D.C. 20036	393-5165
		210 Wakewa South Bend, Indiana 46617	(219)232-6804
Louis W. Barnett	333-0941	Republican State Central Committee of L.A. County 1326 West Sixth Street Los Angeles, California 90017	(213)483-9550
		Home: 358 West Cedar Street Burbank, California 91506	(213)845-4898
Paul E. Barrick (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4550	7300 Lackawanna Drive Springfield, Virginia 22150	451-3636
Thomas D. Bell, Jr.	333-4570	122 11th Street, S.E. Washington, D.C.	546-5765
James W. Bennett	333-0920	9205 Long Branch Pkwy. Silver Spring, Maryland 20901	439-0690
Mildred Bighinatti (Mr. & Mrs. Enso V.)	333-2375	1301 Delaware Avenue, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024	484-8146
Katherine A. Black (Miss)	333-8280	2301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W, apt. 2 Washington, D.C. 20008	232-6298

Nancy L. Blair (Miss)	333-3104	53-A G Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024	628-4031
Mark A. Bloomfield	333-4560	10201 Grosvenor Place Apartment 1402 Rockville, Maryland 20852	493-6618
Henry M. Buchanan (Mr. & Mrs.)	652-0580	7613 Edenwood Court Bethesda, Maryland 20034	365-1983
Monico Bungato (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0920 PB 381-1946	7814 Livingston Road Oxon Hill, Maryland 20021	248-4189
Maxwell Calloway	(904)222-7920 (305-522-6219)	1658 North Ridge Road, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30338	(408)993-6622
Jack Caulfield (Mr. & Mrs.)		5205 Concordia Street Fairfax, Virginia	273-7211
Arden Chambers (Miss)	333-8280	2400 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Apartment C-316 Washington, D.C. 20037	296-3659
Victoria Lynn Chern (Miss)	333-2013	1435 Fourth Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024	484-6401
Murray Chotiner (Mr. & Mrs.)	298-9030	6606 Jenny Dee Place Springfield, Virginia 22152	
Patricia M. Cochran (Miss)	333-0820	1601 18th Street, N.W., Apt. 915 Washington, D.C. 20009	387-0256
Lois Jean Coleman (Miss)	333-4707	1423-S 27th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	
James E. Cooper	333-0920	4400 68 Place, Apt. B-2 Hyattsville, Maryland	772-6022
Sandra S. Cram (Mrs.)	333-0350	1900 South Eads Street, #815 Arlington, Virginia 22202	920-1107
Josephine L. Creighton (Miss)	333-2835	949-A 25th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	338-4813
Nancy Louise Crouch (Mr. & Mrs. Robert A.)	333-1265	2030 F Street, N.W., Apt. 903 Washington, D.C. 20006	293-7483
Connie Cudd (Miss)	333-0941	1207 33rd Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	337-9035
Peter H. Dailey (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-3515	1404 30th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	333-4111 (212)247-0300

Susan Ann Davis (Miss)	333-0350	1546 44th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	338-3066
Jane M. Dannenhauer (Miss)	333-1370	1600 South Eads Street Apartment 1230 South Arlington, Virginia 22202	521-2482
Maureen Devlin (Miss)	333-1669	3010 Q Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	333-3837
Charles E. Dexter, Jr.	333-3797 333-0696	5533 33rd Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008	363-3199
Ann L. Dore (Miss)	333-7060	2000 N Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	785-4875
Yolanda Dorminy (Mr. & Mrs. Jack)	333-4550	5434 Broad Branch Road Washington, D.C. 20015	363-6506
Martha H. Duncan (Miss)	333-3106	6171 Leesburg Pike Apartment 411 Falls Church, Virginia 22044	532-6179
Mrgan L. Elliott (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0920 PB 381-1945	490 Old Post Road Aberdeen, Maryland 21001	(301) 272-4420
Daniel F. Evans, Jr.	333-1265	3033 Woodland Drive, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008	234-6251 387-8477
Harold D. Fangboner (Mr. & Mrs)	333-0820	9018 Brierly Road Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015	652-2788
Barbara B. Fierce (Mr. & Mrs. Donald)	333-4560	1641 Fitzgerald Lane Alexandria, Virginia 22302	548-5659
Arthur Finkelstein	333-6478	1101 Midland Avenue Apartment 302 Bronxville, New York 10708	(914) 779-6981
Harry S. Flemming	333-4560 PB 381-1948	Post Office Box 1355 Alexandria, Virginia 22313	548-9308
John C. Foltz (Mr. & Mrs)	333-0650	5301 Remington Drive Mt. Vernon Terrace Alexandria, Virginia 22309	780-3230
Richard L. Fore	333-2667	2635 Wagon Drive Alexandria, Virginia 22303	960-2213
Kristin Forsberg (Miss)	333-0455	2100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008	234-4794

Laura Frederick (Miss)	333-2622	3250 N Street, N,W, Washington, D.C, 20007	338-0236
John B. Fuller (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-7060	209 Wolfe Road Alexandria, Virginia	683-4511
Theodore J. Garrish (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-1265	2914 Kings Chapel Road Falls Church, Virginia 22040	560-4250
Roy L. Gibson	333-0920 PB 381-1947	7804 Gradey Boulevard Springfield, Virginia 22150	451-4555
Thomas E. Girard (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-7060	8200 Tauton Place Springfield, Virginia 22152	569-9479
Lawrence Y. Goldberg	333-6433	2111 Jefferson Davis Hwy. Apartment 808N Arlington, Virginia 22202	892-2827
George K. Gorton	333-4570	706 Sixth Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024	638-1976
Anne Graham (Miss)	333-5767	1719 Oak Lane McLean, Virginia 22101	KE8-6242
Veronica Anne Haggart (Miss)	333-0650	4801 Kenmore Avenue Apartment 314 Alexandria, Virginia 22304	751-0793
Sally J. Harmony (Mrs.)	333-6575	4515 Willard Avenue Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015	652-6807
William M. Harper, Jr.	333-0820	700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Apartment 304 Washington, D.C. 20037	337-8399
Mary Angela Harris (Miss)	333-4212	5713 MacArthur Blvd., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016	244-6354
Rita E. Hauser (Mrs. & Mrs. Gustave)	333-3104	1 Washington Circle, N.W. Apartment 411 Washington, D.C. 20037 130 East End Avenue New York, New York 10028	296-5080 (212)744-1262
J. Curtis Herge (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0350	1102 Waynewood Blvd. Alexandria, Virginia 22308	360-7987
Judith G. Hoback (Mrs. James)	333-4550	9702 Montauk Avenue Bethesda, Maryland 20034	530-8629
Daniel W. Hofgren (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-2375	3006 P Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.	333-2995

Carroll J. Holton (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-8280 PB381-1962	4001 Ames Street Washington, D.C. 20019	396-3479
Joseph Horacek III	(213)278-3233	125 N. Barrington Avenue Los Angeles, California 90049 Office: 9229 Sunset Blvd. Los Angeles, California 90069	(213)476-5353
Robert L. Houston (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0920	968 Fall Circle Way Gambrills, Maryland 21054	674-8829
Merlyn Hunger (Miss)	333-0016	4848 Chevy Chase Drive, #2 Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015	657-9274
Patricia G. Hutar (Mrs. & Mrs. Laddie)	333-3104	3800 Lakeshore Drive Chicago, Illinois 60613	(312)281-8329
Eveline M. Hyde (Mr. & Mrs. Henry)	333-4550	5807 Aberdeen Road Bethesda, Maryland 20034	320-3347
Lea Jablonsky (Miss)	333-4646	#7 Snows Ct. Washington, D.C. 20037	333-5311
Phillip Joanou (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-3053	5663 Bramblewood Road La Canada, California 91011	(213)790-4583 785-1176
Elizabeth Johansen (Miss)	333-3053	603 South Carolina Avenue, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	546-8274
Marilyn K. Johnson (Miss)	333-0941	2304 41st Street, N.W. Apartment 301 Washington, D.C. 20007	333-4181
Paul R. Jones (Mrs. & Mrs.)	333-7220	640 M Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024	484-1987
Herbert W. Kalmbach (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-1668	1056 Santiago Drive Newport Beach, California 92660 Madison Hotel	(714)646-0422 483-6400
A. Noelle Kantzer (Miss)	333-7060	3702 Quaint Acre Circle Falls Church, Virginia 22041	256-7231
Tina Karalekas (Mr. & Mrs. S. Steven)	333-6433	1200 North Nash Street, Apt. 828 Arlington, Virginia 22209	525-8273
Allan G. Kaupinen (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4560	700 Beverly Drive Alexandria, Virginia 22302	549-3835
Paul W. Kayser (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0820	Watergate South, Apt. 304 700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	337-8399

Catherine Koob (Miss)	333-0820	3577 Hamlet Place Chevey Chase, Maryland 20015	657-8270
Karen Koon (Miss)	333-7060	730 24th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	965-5628
Loughrey R. Kuhn (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-3564	1280 21st Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	833-1575
Fred C. LaRue (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-2622	310 Watergate West 2700 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	337-2520
Frank M. Leonard (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4212 298-7446	1112 16th Street, N.W., Apt. 701 Washington, D.C. 20036 Office: 1913 I Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 New York: 52 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10024	833-8627 (212)877-1317
G. Gordon Liddy (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-6575	9310 Ivanhoe Road Oxon Hill, Maryland 20022	567-3607
Charlotte Lyeth (Miss)	333-8280	1530 26th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	333-1544
Jeb S. Magruder (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4557 PB 381-1949	4814 Fort Sumner Drive Washington, D.C. 20016	229-3065
Robert H. Marik (Dr. & Mrs.)	333-2835	8600 Fenway Road Bethesda, Maryland 20016	365-2795
Jeanne C. Mason (Miss)	333-4567	5601 Seminary Road, Apt 117N Falls Church, Virginia 22041	820-1987
Margaret McClung (Miss)	333-0350	710 University Blvd., West Silver Spring, Maryland 20901	593-3566
James McCord (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0920 PB 381-1950	7 Winder Court Rockville, Maryland 20850	762-7678
Georgina McCormack (Miss)	333-6560	3616 Whitehaven Pkwy, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20017	333-1674
Angela Lee Miller (Miss)	333-4570	517 South Royal Street Alexandria, Virginia 22314	683-5229
Clifford A. Miller (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4707	2419 Westridge Road Los Angeles, California 90049 L.A. Office: Braun & Company 625 S. Kingsley Drive Los Angeles, California 90005	(213)472-1485 (213)385-3481

James E. Mills	333-3564	130 North Carolina Avenue, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	544-8240
William E. Minshall III	333-0350	2538 Queen Anne's Lane, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	338-5189
Daniel G. Mintz	454-2946	10612 Cavalier Drive Silver Spring, Maryland 20901	593-3213
Jeannie Downs Mitchell (Mrs.)	333-2592	Route #4, 1183 Latrobe Drive Annapolis, Maryland 21401	(301)757-4899
John N. Mitchell (Hon. & Mrs.)	333-4646	2510 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	
L. Robert Morgan (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0276	8315 Aqueduct Road Potomac, Maryland 20854	340-0272
Judith E. Myers (Miss)	333-0276	4201 South 31st Street Arlington, Virginia 22206	578-4830
Edward Nixon (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-3434	Lynwood, Washington	(206)743-5450
Betty A. Nolan (Miss)	333-5767	3811 W Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	337-2733
William D. Novelli (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-1889	6015 Jacob's Ladder Columbia, Maryland 21043	997-0625
Lee R. Nunn (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4550	Washington Hilton Hotel Washington, D.C. 20009 Weekends: Route One Cave City, Kentucky 42127	483-3000 Ext. 0-145 232-3046 (502)453-2231
Robert C. Odle, Jr. (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4567	8523 Westover Court Springfield, Virginia 22152	569-1009
Michael O'Donnell	(714)233-5775	853 Thomas Street, Apt. 3 San Diego, California 92109	(714)488-5196
Kathleen O. O'Melia (Miss)	333-0920	1213 29th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	338-3885
Sylvia Panarites (Miss)	333-1912	2016 North Adams Street, Apt. 604 Arlington, Virginia 22201	527-8233
Thomas A. Pappas	333-4560	450 Sumner Place Boston, Massachusetts Madison Hotel, D.C.	(617)542-4210 or (617)484-3524 483-6400

William W. Parish	456-6709 395-6033	1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W, Room 623A Washington, D.C. 20036	296-5550
Brenda E. Pettross (Mrs.)	333-7220	5455 16th Avenue, Apt T-2 Hyattsville, Maryland 20782	559-2682
Judith A. Plessner (Miss)	(213)278-3233	423 South Sherbourne Drive Los Angeles, California 90048	(213)271-6964
Ann Pinkerton (Miss)	333-5280	63 Van Dyke Road Princeton, New Jersey	
Robert A. Podesta	333-4570	2700 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	965-3000
Herbert L. Porter (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-2615	4340 Garfield Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	244-1823
Barbara Preve (Mrs.)	333-4570	3351 Breckenridge Court Annandale, Virginia 22003	560-7580
Patricia Price (Miss)	333-7060	3010 Q Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	338-3837
Robert A. F. Reisner (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-2013	2727 29th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008	667-6487
Kenneth C. Rietz	333-0941	128 Sixth Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	544-7150
Gene E. Roberts (Miss)	333-4557	5601 Seminary Road, Apt. 117N Falls Church, Virginia 22041	820-1987
Peter Rocchio	333-0820	338 8th Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	547-6128
Bruce N. Rogers	333-0350	128 G Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024	737-5370
Constance Santarelli (Mr. & Mrs. Donald E.)	333-2592	224 North Royal Street Alexandria, Virginia 22314	548-0821
Susan Schjelderup (Miss)	333-3053	1123 Neal Drive Alexandria, Virginia 22308	360-6488
Michael A. Scully	333-4570	618 Toilsome Hill Road Fairfield, Connecticut 06604	(203)333-7126
Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-6575	907 Leigh Mill Road Great Falls, Virginia 22066	759-3797

Pauline F. Sedlak (Mrs.)	333-3564	1900 Lyttonsville Road, Apt, 903 Silver Spring, Maryland 20910	585-8398
DeVan L. Shumway (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-7060	2224 Carmichael Drive Vienna, Virginia	938-3822
Hugh W. Sloan, Jr. (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-1370	7022 Alicent Court McLean, Virginia 22101	821-2353
Joseph Smith (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0920	1424 Varnun Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011	882-0676
Kenneth M. Smith	333-4570	3300 Pintail Court Alexandria, Virginia	780-9141
Nancy H. Steorts (Mr. & Mrs. James)	333-3104	4910 Rockmere Court Summer Washington, D.C. 20016	229-1766
Maurice H. Stans (Hon. & Mrs.)	333-8280	2500 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	
William W. Stover	333-0016	2800 Woodley Road, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008	234-1769
Patricia A. Strunk (Miss)	333-7060	2700 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Apartment 303A Washington, D.C. 20006	232-1589
Kenneth K. Talmage	333-8280	3320 R Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	333-3423
Robert M. Teeter (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-2832 (313)963-2414	880 Colliston Road Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105	(313)769-5677
Teri Anne Thayer (Miss)	333-4212	3221 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Apartment 408 Washington, D.C. 20037	362-8323
Webster B. Todd, Jr. (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-3564	5017 Fort Summer Drive Washington, D.C. 20016	229-6762
Dolores Ulman (Miss)	333-4560	1200 North Nash Arlington, Virginia 22209	527-6835
Laura B. Underwood (Mr. & Mrs. Robert L.)	333-7060	10415 Samaga Drive Oakton, Virginia 22124	(703)938-3611
Nora Lee Vandersommen (Miss)	333-2615	1322 15th Street, N.W., Apt, 24 Washington, D.C. 20005	265-9452

Richard Visceglia		1925-3 Rosemary Hill Drive Silver Spring, Maryland	589-0311
Carrie Elizabeth Wagner (Miss)	333-0727	1503 30th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	337-3877
Lucille A. Wagoner (Major & Mrs. Karl)	333-6575	6545 Beechwood Drive Camp Springs, Maryland 20031	449-7082
Susan Jean Whittier (Miss)	333-2667	1929 38th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	337-6572
Newell Weed (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-4550	Watergate West Washington, D.C.	333-0314
Ted J. Wigger	333-4570 (603)668-2253	3090 Brown Valley Road Napa, California 94558	(707)224-0129
Thomas Wince III (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0920 PB 381-1958	4600 Evandale Road Dale City, Virginia 22191	(703)670-6652
Clayton K. Yeutter (Mr. & Mrs.)	333-0650	1200 North Courthouse Road Apartment 311 Arlington, Virginia 22001 831 Hazelwood Drive Lincoln, Nebraska 68510	527-8973 (402)488-1086
Barbara W. Zapp (Mr. & Mrs. Brian)	333-0878 333-2338	7779 Riverdale Road, Apt. 102 New Carrollton, Maryland 20784	577-6928
Joan Donnelly (Miss)	333-7060	1566 33rd Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.	965-1299

Note: Some home telephone numbers require the use of area codes. The area code for Virginia is 703; for Maryland, 301; Washington, D.C., 202.

While the main Committee number is 333-0920, please use the direct-dial outside lines whenever possible.

"PB" means "Page Boy." To ring someone on his pageboy, dial the number on your telephone. The person will hear a buzzer and know to call his office.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*H. Wood
Reitz memo
to P +
Mellon
Reitz*

Date: 3/10

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You asked whether the Florida College mock election resulted from Ken Reitz and Committee for the Re-Election of the President activity.

Ken Reitz and two outside organizers developed the results reported in the UPI wire which appeared in the March 8 News Summary. Reitz' report on his organizers and methods is attached with the full UPI wire story.

The detailed description of the results and colleges is also attached. Frank Dale distributed this fact sheet to the Press on March 8.

008A

POLL 3-8 NX

ORLANDO, FLA. (UPI) --SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN FINISHED FIRST, WITH REP. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM A CLOSE AND SURPRISING SECOND, IN TUESDAY'S STATEWIDE COLLEGE STUDENT PRIMARY.

THE ELECTION ON 38 COLLEGE CAMPUSES WAS A VOTE BY STUDENTS WHO ARE REGISTERED DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS. WITH 36 OF THE 38 CAMPUSES REPORTING, PRESIDENT NIXON WON A LANDSLIDE WIN OVER REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY, R-CALIF., FOR THE GOP NOMINATION.

THE STANDING WERE:

DEMOCRATS: MCGOVERN 1,784; MRS. CHISHOLM 1,373; SEN. EDMUND S. MUSKIE, D-MAINE 1,096; NEW YORK MAYOR JOHN V. LINDSAY 1,085; ALABAMA GOV. GEORGE WALLACE 986; SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON, D-WASH., 749; SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, D-MINN., 643; FORMER MINNESOTA SENATOR EUGENE MCCARTHY 160; SEN. VANCE HARTKE, D-IND. AND REP. WILBUR MILLS, D-ARK., 24 EACH; AND MAYOR SAM YORTY OF LOS ANGELES, 16.

ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE: NIXON 1,989; AND MCCLOSKEY 246.

BILL CASTELLANO OF FLORIDA TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY WHERE THE ELECTION IS BEING COORDINATED SAID THE "STRAW VOTE" ON BUSING WAS PASSED 6,119 TO 4,334 AGAINST.

"THIS MEANS, I SUPPOSE, THAT THE GOVERNOR'S STAND ON BUSING AS A USEFUL TOOL FOR DESEGREGATION HAS BEEN VOTED DOWN BY SUPPOSEDLY LIBERAL COLLEGE STUDENTS," SAID CASTELLANO.

CASTELLANO SAID MRS. CHISHOLM'S SHOWING WAS THE BIGGEST SURPRISE. SHE NOT ONLY WON AT BLACK SCHOOLS SUCH AS FLORIDA A&M, BUT ALSO RAN WELL AT PREDOMINATELY WHITE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, WHERE SHE FINISHED SECOND BEHIND MCGOVERN.

MRS. CHISHOLM CARRIED PREDOMINANTLY WHITE FLORIDA ATLANTIC AND FLORIDA PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGES AS WELL.

"PERHAPS SHE CAMPAIGNED MORE STATEWIDE THAN WE REALIZED, AND I THINK THIS IS A PRETTY MUCH OF A SURPRISE TO ME. I THINK SHE DID BETTER THAN ANYONE THOUGHT. THE FACT THAT THE STUDENTS KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT HER TO PUT HER IN SECOND PLACE MIGHT BE THE SUBJECT FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS."

GA1225AES

UPI 03-08 12:42 AES

- NX

TRUST

The following are the results of the mock primary held in Florida colleges yesterday. 36 colleges participated.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY
(statewide totals)

Pres. Nixon	1970	votes-84	%
McCloskey	244		10.4%
Ashbrook	132		5.6%

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY
(statewide totals)

McGovern	1776	votes
Chisholm	1372	
Lindsay	1059	
Muskie	1054	
Wallace	953	
Jackson	708	
HHH	632	
McCarthy	157	
Hartke	24	
Mills	24	
Yorty	16	

The whole primary was sponsored by the Student Government of Florida Technical University, sanctioned by the State Legislature, and sponsored by various groups on the individual campuses. A list of the participating colleges and their results are attached.

Special items of interest in this election:

The President won 35 out of 36 colleges reporting.

The President received more votes than any candidate in either primary.

The President won both primaries at St. John's River Junior College in Palatka, Florida. The Democratic primary was won with write-in votes.

In addition to getting a higher vote than any candidate in either primary, the President won more campuses than any other candidate in either primary.

STATE TOTALS

Ashbrook	-	132
McCloskey	-	244
Nixon	-	1,970
<u>Democrat</u>		
Chisolm	-	1,362
Hartke	-	24
Humphrey	-	632
Jackson	-	708
Lindsay	-	1,059
McCarthy	-	157
McGovern	-	1,776
Mills	-	24
Muskie	-	1,034
Wallace	-	953
Yorty	-	16

KEY

- 1) Atlantic University
- 2) Central Florida Community College
- 3) Chippola Junior College
- 4) Embry
- 5) Florida Presbyterian College
- 6) Palm Beach Atlantic College
- 7) Lake Samter College
- 8) St. Petersburg Junior College
- 9) St. Leo College
- 10) Seminole Junior College
- 11) Florida A & M
- 12) Brevard Junior College - Gential Campus
- 13) Valecia Jnior College
- 14) Polk Community College
- 15) North Florida Junior College
- 16) Rollins College
- 17) Hillsborough Community College - Dale-Mabry Campus
- 18) Indian River Community College
- 19) Brevard Junior College - South campus
- 20) St. Petersburg Junior College
- 21) Florida Southern College
- 22) Palm Beach Junior College
- 23) Gulf Coast Community College
- 24) Miami Dade College (North)

KEY: cont.

- 25) Daytona Beach Junior College
- 26) Okaloosa - Walton Junior College
- 27) Stetson University
- 28) University of Miami
- 29) Florida Technological University
- 30) Bethomb Cookman College
- 31) Barry College
- 32) Florida Institute of Technology
- 33) Hillsboro Community College - Seminole Campus
- 34) Pensacola Junior College
- 35) Tallahassee Junior College
- 36) Florida State University

<u>Republican</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
Ashbrook	13	1	0	0	3	2	8	3	0
McCloskey	9	1	1	3	5	0	10	12	1
Nixon	44	36	15	47	16	98	50	67	7
<u>Democrat</u>									
Chisolm	37	17	18	2	105	18	9	51	3
Hartke		0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Humphrey	3	11	8	11	8	8	9	11	1
Jackson	8	17	18	13	2	16	12	14	2
Lindsay	13	13	11	7	26	4	14	81	0
McCarthy	4	1	4	0	5	0	4	8	3
McGovern	36	61	19	7	36	10	25	55	6
Mills		0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Muskie	21	12	17	7	60	8	11	51	8
Wallace	6	54	62	17	2	34	18	20	2
Yorty		1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0

<u>Republican</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>
Ashbrook	4	1	2	3	1	1	0	1	1
McCloskey	4	2	8	3	2	0	2	1	2
Nixon	60	1	31	75	20	13	18	33	40

Democrat

Chisolm	6	307	6	10	4	10	6	31	20
Hartke	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Humphrey	8	43	26	19	11	7	3	26	3
Jackson	18	2	17	13	4	6	2	18	7
Lindsay	22	92	21	13	27	10	12	40	9
McCarthy	4	2	7	2	0	0	3	3	3
McGovern	20	6	26	29	13	15	19	50	16
Mills	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Muskie	30	9	8	13	10	5	8	27	13
Wallace	21	1	19	19	8	11	3	11	25
Yorty	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0

<u>Republican</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>27</u>
Ashbrook	1	6	3	1	0	12	5	1	7
McCloskey	7	11	4	3	0	16	5	0	3
Nixon	50	48	48	94	14	52	39	43	48
<u>Democrat</u>									
Chisolm	9	5	6	73	10	70	7	13	46
Hartke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Humphrey	13	7	20	15	5	76	13	8	22*
Jackson	17	14	11	25	35	32	11	36	17
Lindsay	12	33	13	25	10	42	28	13	37
McCarthy	6	2	3	9	2	4	2	8	1
McGovern	9	47	25	62	4	126	31	22	178
Mills	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1
Muskie	10	24	15	45	18	38	48	31	64
Wallace	18	11	10	27	32	34	23	62	18
Yorty	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0

<u>Republican</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>36</u>
Ashbrook	9	15		1	0	0	1	3	24
McCloskey	9	36		2	2	1	6	10	62
Nixon	46	304		19	26	2	90	60	305
 <u>Democrat</u>									
Ghisolm	46	21	84	1	4	7	58	29	259
Hartke	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	14	0
Humphrey	22	41	32	6	13	3	25	15	108
Jackson	17	108	0	6	4	3	83	31	111
Lindsay	37	67	18	16	3	11	25	60	237
McCarthy	1	9	0	1	0	2	6	3	45
McGovern	178	133	22	4	6	5	68	63	575
Mills	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	6
Muskie	64	69	4	24	2	3	92	42	201
Wallace	18	68	1	1	7	5	88	121	129
Yorty	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : G. STRACHAN

John Mitchell is alleged to be very upset regarding the number of 1701 staffers who went on the charter flight to Florida.

The cost of the flight is approximately \$10,000 and a manifest is not available to us without stirring up a real hornet's nest in Magruder's operation.

DO NEWSMEN PAY?

GOP Flight to Miami Causes CAB Hassle

A gala charter flight to Miami today for Republican notables was on schedule despite a hassle over Civil Aeronautics Board regulations.

The flight is carrying guests to a Florida "Appreciation Day for the President," and members of the press are accompanying the GOP leaders to Miami for the rally.

That is what caused the problem.

Originally the reporters, thought to be sensitive about accepting the ride for nothing, were to be billed. Then a troublesome CAB rule cropped up that bans combining paying and non-paying guests on a charter flight.

"After several days of tossing over ideas, DeVan L. Shumway, press director for the Committee for the Re-election of the President, said yesterday the committee will take reporters along and decide later whether to charge them.

"We'll go ahead and take the guys down. As for the billing, I don't know what we're going to do," Shumway stated.

The rally will be attended, a committee source said, by Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton, California Gov. Ronald Reagan, several senators and House members, astronaut Frank Borman, Washington Redskins players Walter Rock and Jack Pardee, and Miss U.S.A., Debbie Shelton.

It was not immediately known which of these guests would be on the charter flight. The reporters making the trip include, Shumway said, Les Barrer of Today, Donald Larrabee of Griffin-Larrabee News Bureau; Richard Beeston of the London Telegraph and Hugo Perez of Imparcial in Guatemala City.

Shumway said lawyers so far have disagreed on whether the reporters can be charged. He asserted he felt he would have "come under fire" if he had initially sent out invitations saying "we'll give you a free ride to Florida." As it stands, this aspect remains up in the air.

Preserve a Copy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Administratively Confidential

March 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Florida Primary Ballot

The Florida ballot lists these candidates alphabetically for the Republican primary on March 14, 1972:

John M.
ASHBROOK
Paul N.
McCLOSKEY
Richard M.
NIXON

On the Democratic primary ballot, these names appear alphabetically:

Shirley
CHISHOLM
Vance
HARTKE
Hubert H.
HUMPHREY
Henry M. (Scoop)
JACKSON
John V.
LINDSAY
Eugene J.
McCARTHY
George
McGOVERN
Wilbur D.
MILLS
Edmund S.
MUSKIE
George
WALLACE
Sam
YORTY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/3

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

The Attorney General does not know about this unless Colson has mentioned the idea to him privately.

However, if Safire and Moore form it, Dick Moore will either keep the Attorney General advised or will protect the idea if Colson gets caught.

I am still of the opinion that two "competing" campaign organizations have value. So if Colson can get this set up to obtain good campaign ideas that's fine.

MS
Ch the
AG and
of this
should be
be ?
L

EYES ONLY

February 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK MOORE
BILL SAFIRE

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON

It has been suggested that we assemble a small group of political PR experts -- the Lou Guylay, Tex McCæary types -- who could be put together as a consulting group for campaign purposes and to give us an added dimension and perspective as we go along through this campaign year.

I personally am not very high on Guylay and I use that only because that was the type of illustration I was given as the type of person that we should try to get.

I would very much like to get your thoughts on this project so that perhaps we could assemble such a group while the President is away. Hopefully, out of it in time would emerge a couple of strong men whom we could rely on for ideas and, importantly, for reactions from the outside to what we are doing. I have four or five thoughts of my own. Perhaps if each of you would assemble your thoughts, we could meet sometime later this week and set about to put such a group together. I would think that the three of us -- certainly the two of you -- should act as liaison with the group once we have it set up.

Administratively Confidential

March 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

McCloskey

The UPI wire on McCloskey's news conference is attached. Although he will not continue to run for President, his name will remain on 10 ballots as a symbolic protest against the Vietnam War.

McCloskey will run for Congress in the 17th District, which is in Santa Clara County, south of his old district. His only competition is Bob Berry, a former congressman from New York, who has almost no chance of beating McCloskey in the primary. The only potentially strong challenger is Dr. Royce Cole. He is young and conservative and could win if Berry were out. Nofziger recommends that Berry be asked out of the race and that money be put into Cole's campaign to accelerate the attack on McCloskey.

According to Nofziger March 24 is the deadline for McCloskey to file a list of delegates for the California Presidential Primary. Nofziger thinks McCloskey is just unpredictable enough to file. Even if he doesn't file, Nofziger believes some Democratic group would be well advised to spend the money to get a slate of McCloskey delegates and then run an ad campaign to increase the anti-Nixon vote. Nofziger is trying to find out if this is happening.

Magruder believes that the mere fact that McCloskey will probably have an easy primary and general election is attributable to the factionalism in the California Republican Party. In particular, Nofziger has not implemented his assignment to counter McCloskey.

GS:lm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: New Hampshire Telephone Canvass

This memorandum summarizes the results of the New Hampshire telephone canvass through Monday. A total of 59, 293 Republican households were contacted. They supported the President by the following margin:

61%	For
9%	Against
30%	Undecided

The undecided voters were then called again, after having received a special mailing on the President's record. On the second telephone call to 12,360 households, the formerly undecided voters responded as follows:

30%	For
10%	Against
60%	Undecided

Finally, all voters who had indicated support for the President were called in a get-out-the-vote canvass (32,261 calls).

In total, then, 103,814 completed calls were made in the overall telephone operation through Monday. All remaining calls of undecided voters and get-out-the-vote calls were completed Tuesday.

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 8, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDE *JM*

SUBJECT: Project 7 March Mock Primary - Florida Colleges

Attached for your information is a memorandum from Ken Rietz reporting on the results of a mock primary held in 36 Florida colleges yesterday, March 7.

- Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER ✓
FRED MALEK

FROM:

KEN RIETZ

SUBJECT:

Project 7 March Mock Primary
Florida Colleges

The following are the results of the mock primary held in Florida colleges today (36 colleges participated):

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Nixon	1970	84 %
McCloskey	244	10.4%
Ashbrook	132	5.6%

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

McGovern	1776
Chisholm	1372
Lindsay	1059
Muskie	1054
Wallace	953
Jackson	708
HHH	632
McCarthy	157
Hartke	24
Mills	24
Yorty	16

Special items of interest in this election:

- we won 35 out of 36 colleges reporting
- we received more votes than any candidate in either primary
- we won the Democratic primary with write-in votes at St. John's River Junior College in Palatka
- in addition to getting a higher vote than any candidate in either primary, we won more campuses than any other candidate in either primary.

Individual results for individual campuses will be available. The whole primary was sponsored by the Student Government of Florida Technical University, sanctioned by the state legislature, and sponsored by various groups on the individual campuses.

cc: Van Shumway
Angela Harris

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 9, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information are additional New Hampshire victory statements by Congressman James Cleveland, Secretary Morton, Congressman Ford, and Senator Dole.

Attachments

CONFIDENTIAL

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN JAMES CLEVELAND OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

I am very pleased that President Nixon has received this vote of confidence from the state of New Hampshire. President Nixon has worked against tremendous odds in his first term of office: he inherited a major and unpopular war; rampant inflation had taken hold and both houses of Congress were controlled by a very vocal opposition party.

With all these difficulties, the President has succeeded in winding down the war and is getting the economy on the right track. Furthermore, his efforts to achieve a generation of peace are showing great promise of success.

Today the voters of New Hampshire have given the President and indeed our country a fine vote of confidence. Once again New Hampshire has made a common cause common sense.

D R A F T

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ROGERS C. B. MORTON

As one of those who went to New Hampshire to campaign on behalf of President Nixon, I am delighted at the great vote of confidence given him by the people of New Hampshire tonight. Four years ago, a similar landslide showing in New Hampshire started him on his way to the White House. Today's vote starts him on his way back for another term.

The voters in New Hampshire obviously recognized the President's great record. Those of us who campaigned on his behalf there campaigned on that record. I have said that President Nixon has built a great record as President of this country and the voters obviously share my conviction.

D R A F T

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN GERALD FORD
MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The voters of New Hampshire have shown the nation the the tremendous support President Nixon has not only within the Republican Party but also across the spectrum of our society.

President Nixon deserves the great vote of confidence he has been given today. He has been a great President who has built a great record of achievement in his first term.

On the other side, it doesn't appear that any of the Democratic candidates was able to demonstrate the capacity for leadership to New Hampshire voters.

D R A F T

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BOB DOLE
CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The returns from New Hampshire show a rousing vote of confidence for President Nixon. They clearly indicate that he has the support of New Hampshire voters -- a support based on the record of his performance in his first term.

The results on the Democratic side show just the opposite: they show that none of the current Democratic candidates has the confidence of the voters. The Democrats in the party are quite clearly confused as to the qualifications of the candidates they have been offered. This is natural, since the candidates themselves seem to be confused. They are finding it difficult to run against President Nixon's record and so in many cases have resorted to personal attacks on the President. Obviously that has not worked. And just as obviously such attacks are not the stuff of leadership -- as the hopelessly divided vote in the Democratic primary shows.

PRESIDENT

NIXON 96% of the 302 precincts
wire time: 5:40 p.m. 3/8

77,398
(69%)

Vice President 5:50 p.m.

McCloskey

22,675
(20%)

AGNEW
42,830
(70%)

Asbrook

10,740
(10%)

Burton
10,843
(18%)

Paulsen

1,146
(1%)

Brooke
7,196
(12%)

Muskie
40,425
(48%)

97% of the 302 precincts
5:39 p.m.

V.P/Peabody - 36,343 - (95%) Agnew 1,837 (5%) 5:50 p.m.

McGovern
31,812
(37%)

Humphrey
292
(0%)

Yorty
5,244
(6%)

Coll.
256
(0%)

Mills
3,508
(4%)

Jackson
87
(0%)

Hartke
2,326
(3%)

McCarthy
39
(0%)

Kennedy (Write-Ins)
794
(1%)

March 8, 1972
6:15 p.m.
Dent's Office

FINAL VOTE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE:
As of 12 noon today --

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McCloskey</u>	<u>Ashbrook</u>	<u>Paulson</u>
69.12%	20.33%	10%	1%

99% of the vote is in.

3/8

Flemming
988

R.N. ~~70.75~~
75997

69.12%



McCl 22,357

20.33%

Ashbro 10,474

10.7%

Purvisen 4,121

1%

- our 69% what had end of last wk,
- undecided vote split bet. Ash + McCl.

Fla - 80%

Campus Poll Day - Fla.

* Snyder - Results - CBS trend.

CBS →

- ① 7⁴² p.m. - P projected 63%
McCl 26%

1 election

Demo

Desk - ② 8⁴¹ p.m. P 66

McCl 20

- ③ 9³⁵

P 69

McCl 20

- NBC + ABC didn't project early
held off until 10 p.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT 
SUBJECT: New Hampshire

*Results as of 2:30 p.m.:

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McCloskey</u>	<u>Ashbrook</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>McGovern</u>
69.12%	20.33%	10%	48%	37%

The Youth Vote

Conclusion at N. H. campaign headquarters is that we did better in this area than expected. Hanover, site of Dartmouth College, provides a gauge. Of 1,349 ballots, the President won 595, McCloskey 707 and Ashbrook 47. This is in contrast to 1968, when the President tallied 388 votes to 406 in a write-in for Rockefeller and 229 in a write-in for Eugene McCarthy on Republican ballots. Dwinell feels the youth vote overall was not a big factor.

The Undecided Voters

As far as can be judged from the telephone campaign, the undecided votes were divided evenly and not overly weighted toward any candidate.

Conclusion at this Point

Further analysis will be made of the youth and undecided votes. Our people on the scene still feel it was a strong victory, especially since the President did not go into New Hampshire and McCloskey spent 90 days there and considerable money.

*These results are with 99% of the precincts reporting, and are being given by the press as final. However, campaign headquarters say more are to report. We will maintain contact and update later today.

Administratively Confidential

March 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Release of Campaign Expenditures
in New Hampshire and Florida

The question of whether to release the campaign expenditures in New Hampshire and Florida was considered by Magruder and Colson. The point would have been that less had been spent by the President in winning decisively than the Democrats had spent losing indecisively.

John Mitchell decided that in light of the Democrat's arguments about disclosure of fund sources it would be best if nothing were said about the expenditures for the President in either New Hampshire or Florida.

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

Per our conversation this afternoon, the following has been requested by the President:

- ✓ 1. A report by Friday at 5:00 p.m. on our celebrity situation.
- ✓ 2. A report on McCloskey and his situation in California.
- ✓ 3. With regard to McCloskey also find out whether or not his district has been redistricted so that he needs to run against another Republican incumbent or if he is in a safe district. Is there a candidate running against him? Does he have a chance, etc.

Bob would like this information, obviously, as soon as possible.

- ✓ 4. Also, find out who is on the Florida ballot who is on our side.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You asked for a brief recap of ~~our position~~ the P's position in Fla. and what the line should be in light of results would be.

Magruder checked Mitchell, Wilson, and Tiepler. The P's strong position is summarized in the attached memorandum. The line remains the same as in N. H. the P will win the primary ^{and by a comfortable} margin. ~~specific mention of the numbers, poll results or Ashbrook.~~ The attack should be on the Dems

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: The Florida Primary

This memorandum summarizes the programs we have implemented in the Florida Primary Campaign, and what we know of the activities of the opponents on the Republican side. It also outlines our recommendations for press activities on election night, based on given assumptions of the election results.

Campaign Activities

Thirty-two speaking engagements with 19 different speakers have been scheduled in Florida. The major event was the rally on Thursday night at the Dade County Auditorium. Governor Ronald Reagan gave the main speech before a crowd of more than 2,000 people.

The direct mail program began with a mailing to 382,000 Republican homes in the ten leading Republican counties in mid-February. The primary purpose was to urge support of the President on election day. In addition, the recipients were asked to volunteer either their time or financial support. To date, nearly 4,700 volunteers have responded and over \$26,000 has been collected. From all sources, nearly 6,600 volunteers are now in the process of contacting ten Republican households in their neighborhoods and asking for votes for the President next Tuesday. In addition, on their own initiative, local Republican leadership in many counties has developed a telephone get-out-the-vote operation which should reach several tens of thousands of households by election day. A get-out-the-vote telegram letter was sent into Pinellas County.

There has been no mass media advertising in the state. Buttons, brochures and bumper stickers have been distributed through the state organization.

The Youth Campaign has conducted a registration drive and participated in the volunteer voter canvass program. They have recruited more than 1,500 volunteers for a post-primary registration drive in the 18 major counties.

Opponents' Activities

Ashbrook has been campaigning extensively in Florida. He has sent at least three mailings into the state. There is very little evidence, however, of an Ashbrook campaign organization. We have talked to television and radio stations and newspapers in all media markets, and as of Thursday, Ashbrook has placed no orders for time or space. McCloskey has generated no campaign activity in the state.

Projected Results

In the light of the above, we feel that the final vote will show the President slightly stronger than he was in New Hampshire. He will probably suffer some erosion from the latest polls due to the continuing effect of Ashbrook's expanding name recognition. We would expect Ashbrook to come in second and McCloskey to finish a poor third.

On the Democratic side, our latest information is that George Wallace should win easily with 25-30% of the vote. Humphrey will very likely pass Muskie for second place with about 20% of the vote. Muskie should come in a close third. Jackson is closing fast and may wind up with 15% or more of the vote. There is an outside chance that he could finish higher than fourth. Lindsay and McGovern will finish well behind. McGovern is climbing on the momentum of his New Hampshire results, but will probably not beat Lindsay. A summary of the media expenditures of the Democratic contenders is shown in Tab A, along with ad copy for several commercials.

Florida Press Plan

In Florida - Tommy Thomas will be at the Hilton Hotel in Tallahassee with Harry Flemming and a few members of the state staff. Our press man, Roy Nilson, will be with Thomas, who will be our spokesman that evening. We will prepare a statement for Thomas. This will emphasize the President's success in the balloting and will not name other Republicans. If asked by newsmen about the Democrats, Thomas will follow the general strategy of citing the confusion in light of the expected Wallace victory and the inability of the Democrats to choose a leader.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

We will also seek statements from all Republican congressmen and from Senator Gurney. We are also trying to arrange for an appearance by Gurney on the Today show, which will be broadcast from Florida the start of next week.

In Washington - We will have another complete system set up in our office to follow returns. A small working press staff will be on hand. The wire service stories will be passed to key staff members. Frank Dale will be here to serve as our spokesman. On Thursday, he will be available to answer questions at the office at 11:00 a.m. We will arrange for statements by Senators Dole and Scott and Congressman Ford. The Vice President's staff will also be contacted for a possible statement.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

March 10, 1972

A

MEMORANDUM

TO: JEB MAGRUDER
 FROM: PHIL JOANOU
 SUBJECT: Florida Advertising Committed as of 3/9/72.

	<u>TV</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>
Muskie	\$62,000	\$12,000	\$31,000	\$105,000
Jackson	84,000	3,400	24,000*	111,400
Lindsay	67,000	8,800	21,000	96,800
Humphrey	43,000	5,600	71,000	119,600
McGovern	14,000	6,000	13,000	33,000
Wallace	34,000	2,800	87,000	123,800
Ashbrook	0	0	0	0
McCloskey	0	0	0	0

* Jackson - eight page newspaper insert in addition to regular ads. Cost not available as of 3/9



cc: Pete Dailey

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WCKT-TV

DATE MARCH 2, 1972

CITY MIAMI, FLORIDA

JACKSON COMMERCIAL

MAN: Senator Henry M. Jackson talks to the people of Florida.

HENRY JACKSON: Though inflation is the number-one problem, the administration sat on their hands for over two and a half years and did nothing about it. Then they put on a freeze and they didn't know what they'd frozen. The working people know that just an increase doesn't solve any problems, if everything else is going on up. We have to stabilize it. It's like a cat chasing his tail, going round and round and round.

(APPLAUSE)

MAN: The preceding announcement paid for by Floridians for Jackson, Democrat.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WCKT-TV

DATE MARCH 2, 1972

CITY MIAMI, FLORIDA

LINDSAY COMMERCIAL

~~CHARLES EVERS:~~ I'm Mayor Charles Evers. And I support John Lindsay for many reasons. Number one, because he's a mayor, as I am. He knows the problems of this country and of these towns. Number two, because John Lindsay has proven over the years he's for all the people -- black, white, Puerto Ricans, and all of those who need to be cared for. We need a man who's got the guts and the courage to stand up and fight for the rights of Americans. John Lindsay is a doer and a fighter. He's not a talker.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WEAT-TV

DATE MARCH 3, 1972

7:02 PM

CITY WEST PALM BEACH

MUSKIE

MAN: Ed Muskie talks to Florida housewives about prices.

HOUSEWIFE: We notice the difference. Prices have gone up definitely.

HOUSEWIFE: Every day you come in the store, you find something higher. Like we used to pay for the green...seven cents. Now it's ten cents, seventeen cents sometimes.

HOUSEWIFE: I can tell you that I believe they are going up.

MAN: Let's do something about it. Let's send Ed Muskie to the White House. Muskie, for the country.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WEAT-TV

DATE MARCH 3, 1972

7:28 PM

CITY WEST PALM BEACH

WALLACE

GEORGE WALLACE: You want to talk about law and order..
crime has decreased. Crime hasn't decreased when 127 policemen
were killed in this country last year as the result of a conspiracy
to assassinate police officers in this country, and I tell you,
as the President of the United States, I would stand 100 percent
behind every policeman and law enforcement official...

(ROARS AND SCREAMS OF CROWD)

MAN: Send your contribution to Wallace, Box 1972, Montgomery.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WPLG

DATE MARCH 3, 1972

7:33 PM

CITY MIAMI, FLA.

SENATOR MUSKIE

(MUSIC)

SENATOR MUSKIE: What our country needs at this time is to bring together in one fold the solid majority of Americans who understand that, notwithstanding their differences, what they share together is more important, and that if they will pursue what they share together, their different interests will be served as well, and indeed, better, than to divide amongst themselves.

ANNOUNCER: Muskie, for the country.

DATE MARCH 1, 1972 10:27 AM CITY MIAMI, FLORIDA

MUSKIE COMMERCIAL

WOMAN: I share my husband's feeling that a vote for Wallace is a vote for Nixon.

MAN: Frankly, Wallace keeps making statements promising everything to everybody. To do everything like he says, he'd have to abolish the Supreme Court. He'd become dictator of the country without the US Congress.

WOMAN: I don't think Wallace is capable of handling a job like the Presidency.

WOMAN: I don't think we can have peace in this country with a George Wallace running. A President has got to be able to represent all the people.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Florida ought to be part of the national political process.

ANNOUNCER: Senator Ed Muskie.

MUSKIE: That's why I came to Florida. If the next President is to be truly able to lead this country, to mobilize all our people who are rational, to achieve national goals, we must reach out to all our people, whoever they are, wherever they live. From what I see of the people of Florida, they can respond to that idea, as well as the people of any state.

ANNOUNCER: And that's why this announcement is paid for by People for Muskie. Democrat.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WFUN

DATE MARCH 1, 1972

8:38 AM

CITY MIAMI, FLORIDA

MUSKIE COMMERCIAL

WOMAN: I have several children, and they're getting older all the time and eating more, so that I find more money is going for groceries almost weekly. And I really feel that inflation is one of our big domestic problems, and I don't really feel the present administration has done enough to fight the inflation that's facing all of us.

SENATOR MUSKIE: The President's management of the economy has been a disaster.

ANNOUNCER: Senator Ed Muskie.

MUSKIE: We still haven't come to grips with the forces that produce inflation in the first instance, and all that has been done has undermined the ability of the economy to resume its growth in a healthy way. It's not going to be easy to put it back on track, and that's a very important thing to do. So managing the economy is going to be a first-priority item.

ANNOUNCER: Paid for by People for Muskie.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WGBS

DATE FEBRUARY 29, 1972

CITY MIAMI, FLORIDA

JACKSON COMMERCIAL

MAN: February 14th, Washington, DC. Senator Henry M. Jackson explains his Constitutional amendment against busing.

SENATOR JACKSON: The Constitution should specify that no governmental body has the right to transport children against the wishes of their parents from their home neighborhood to distant schools solely for the purpose of achieving a racial balance, and it would abolish once and for all a system of unequal schools in America. The Constitutional amendment will ensure that the child of a factory worker, the child of a farmer, will get a good education within the public schools, as good an education as the child of a dentist, the doctor, the businessman.

MAN: Paid for by Floridians for Jackson, Democrats.

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WGBS

DATE MARCH 7, 1972

3:24 PM

CITY MIAMI, FLA.

WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT

MAN: ...get around town. You are invited to see, hear, and meet Governor George C. Wallace, Democratic candidate for President, Wednesday night, March 8th, at 8:00 PM at the Miami Beach Auditorium, 1700 Washington Avenue. Also, see Hollywood recording artist George Wallace, Jr., RCA recording star Hank Snow, and the star of television's "Hee-Haw" series, Grandpa Jones. Plus the Grand Old Opry's Billy Grammar (?). All in person this Wednesday night at 8:00 PM. Hear George Wallace tell it like it is. Hear George Wallace discuss the war in Vietnam, forced busing, workers' tax relief, and closing tax loopholes. Plus be entertained by some of the Grand Old Opry's biggest stars, "Hee-Haw"'s Grandpa Jones, and special guest stars Billy Grammar and George Wallace, Jr. That's this Wednesday night at the Miami Beach Auditorium at 8:00 PM.

Paid for by the Committee to Elect Governor Wallace President, Democrat, Bill Friends (?), state campaign chairman.

OFFICES IN: NEW YORK • DETROIT • LOS ANGELES • WASHINGTON, D. C. • NEW ENGLAND • CHICAGO

COMMERCIAL

STATION WJKS-TV

DATE MARCH 7, 1972

CITY JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

JACKSON FOR PRESIDENT

ANNOUNCER: In 1960 John Kennedy picked him as his national chairman. In 1968 Richard Nixon asked him to be Secretary of Defense or Secretary of State. Just a few months ago the late Senator Holland said, "Scoop Jackson is my choice".

Kennedy, Nixon, Florida's Spessard Holland; respect for Jackson's experience -- and experience is something you need in a President.

OFFICES IN: NEW YORK • DETROIT • LOS ANGELES • WASHINGTON, D. C. • NEW ENGLAND • CHICAGO

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1972



DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By AP, Date 3-30-82
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. WALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Attached another "Muskie leak" thanks to the good offices of Ken Khachigian and 1701 -- that fellow Nicoll must not trust his mother anymore.

Buchanan



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Nixon's Secret Politician

FREDERIC V. Malek, the tough young hatchet-man on the White House staff, is playing a secret role in President Nixon's reelection campaign as clandestine agent of the powerful H. R. (Bob) Haldeman.

Officially, Malek remains on the White House payroll as a personnel manager, totally removed from the campaign. In fact, he is playing a key role in the affairs of the Committee to Reelect the President, located one block from the White House, despite his lack of any political experience.

Malek's unpublicized function is to "coordinate" campaign activities for youth, the aged and other special groups. But in reality he is the eyes and ears of White House staff chief Haldeman.

Indeed, although the reelection campaign is supposed to be under John Mitchell's control, Haldeman's influence is present through Malek and other agents. Accordingly, any free discussion by Nixon campaign operatives that might suggest something less than Mr. Nixon's infallibility is inhibited by the certainty that a disap-

proving Haldeman will hear all.

Nor has Malek, a self-made millionaire of 34 and graduate of West Point and the Harvard Business School, displayed the flexibility essential to campaign politics. He was the White House agent in the preemptory dismissal of top interior department officials in 1970 and the FBI investigation of CBS news correspondent Daniel Schorr last year.

Muskie's Ghost Diary

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie is considering hiring a one-time ghostwriter for Republican Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York at \$1,000 a week to keep and write the senator's personal "journal" of the 1972 campaign.

Although a professionally ghosted Muskie journal might seem to violate the "trust Muskie" campaign theme, Doubleday & Co. is eagerly pushing the project. The journal would be the third book in a lucrative three-book contract Muskie signed with Doubleday.

In a Feb. 22 letter to Muskie, confidential aide Donald E. Nicoll outlined the project with assurance that "the

gathering of information and the writing would not be a direct burden on you."

The ghostwriter, Nicoll tells Muskie, "would have to be trustworthy and discreet, and . . . modest enough to keep himself out of the book as much as possible. It is, after all, supposed to be your 'journal,' if we do it."

Nicoll's proposed ghost: Rodney Campbell, a transplanted Englishman who ghosted Gov. Rockefeller's "Our Environment Can Be Saved" (Doubleday, 1970). The problem is Campbell's fee: \$1,000 a week plus expenses, or around \$50,000, "which is a sizable chunk from the (Doubleday) advance," laments Nicoll. Negotiations are still in progress.

House Busing Vote

Working strictly behind the scenes, the Justice Department dispatched three legal technicians to the House to get it to "instruct" its conferees on antibusing amendments to the big education bill last week.

The effort succeeded beyond the administration's wildest hopes. The vote to "instruct" the House conferees in the forthcoming

House-Senate conference was a whopping 272 to 139. If the stringent House antibusing provisions are not accepted by the Senate conferees, the compromise bill probably will now be rejected by the House.

The Justice Department's technicians, apparently aided by White House lobbyists, persuaded Rep. Albert Quie of Minnesota, ranking Republican on the House Education Committee, to accept the "instruction" strategy. Though personally opposing two of the three amendments in the House bill, and voting against the motion to instruct, Quie did nothing behind the scenes to thwart the administration's strategy.

A Footnote: The explanation for this undercover operation was political. With busing a hot issue, White House strategists wanted a strong antibusing vote to offset the one-vote loss of an equally strong antibusing amendment in the Senate two weeks ago. The House vote gives President Nixon (not personally involved in the House action) a stronger political base for his own antibusing strategy.

Publishers-Hall Syndicate

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HSD*
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Final

Following are the official New Hampshire results, as reported
by the Secretary of State:

REPUBLICANS: PRESIDENT

RN	79,239	(67.5%)
McCloskey	23,190	(19.7%)
Ashbrook	11,362	(9.6%)
Paulsen	1,206	
Mills	645	
McGovern	554	
scattering	515	
Muskie	504	
Yorty	55	

REPUBLICANS: VICE PRESIDENT

Agnew	45,524	(67.8%)
Burton	11,264	(16.7%)
Brooke	7,648	(11.3%)
Peabody	894	
scattering	1,806	

DEMOCRATS: PRESIDENT

Muskie	41,235	(46.6%)
McGovern	33,007	(37.3%)
Yorty	5,041	
Mills	3,560	

Democrats: President (continued)

Hartke	2,417
scattering	1,907
RN	854
Paulsen	18
Coll	280
Ashbrook	27
McCloskey	133

DEMOCRATS: VICE PRESIDENT

Peabody	37,813	(85.3%)
Agnew	1,742	(3.9%)
Brooke	434	
scattering	4,303	

Henley -

- down 2%?

- who released?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
 FROM: Harry S. Dent *ASD*
 SUBJECT: New Hampshire Final

Following are the official New Hampshire results, as reported by the Secretary of State:

REPUBLICANS: PRESIDENT

RN	79,239	(67.5%)
McCloskey	23,190	(19.7%)
Ashbrook	11,362	(9.6%)
Paulsen	1,206	
Mills	645	
McGovern	554	
scattering	515	
Muskie	504	
Yorty	55	

Handwritten notes: 21 ✓ 68.9% of total of 400 ballot, 96.8

REPUBLICANS: VICE PRESIDENT

Agnew	45,524	(67.8%)
Burton	11,264	(16.7%)
Brooke	7,648	(11.3%)
Peabody	894	
scattering	1,806	

DEMOCRATS: PRESIDENT

Muskie	41,235	(46.6%)
McGovern	33,007	(37.3%)
Yorty	5,041	
Mills	3,560	

Democrats: President (continued)

Hartke	2,417
scattering	1,907
RN	854
Paulsen	18
Coll	280
Ashbrook	27
McCloskey	133

DEMOCRATS: VICE PRESIDENT

Peabody	37,813	(85.3%)
Agnew	1,742	(3.9%)
Brooke	434	
scattering	4,303	

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Harry S. Dent *BSD*
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Final

Following are the official New Hampshire results, as reported by the Secretary of State:

REPUBLICANS: PRESIDENT

RN	79,239
McCloskey	23,190
Ashbrook	11,362
Paulsen	1,206
Mills	645
McGovern	554
scattering	515
Muskie	504
Yorty	55

REPUBLICANS: VICE PRESIDENT

Agnew	45,524
Burton	11,264
Brooke	7,648
Peabody	894
scattering	1,806

DEMOCRATS: PRESIDENT

Muskie	41,235
McGovern	33,007
Yorty	5,041
Mills	3,560

Democrats: President (continued)

Hartke	2,417
scattering	1,907
RN	854
Paulsen	18
Coll	280
Ashbrook	27
McCloskey	133

DEMOCRATS: VICE PRESIDENT

Peabody	37,813
Agnew	1,742
Brooke	434
scattering	4,303

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Harry S. Dent

SUBJECT: New Hampshire Update

None of the statistics given thus far are official, but have been gleaned from the wire services. The Secretary of State is concerned that these may not be accurately reflective of the real vote. He has revised his deadline for the official tally until Monday. The 1972 figures at Tab A are based on the wire reports, but may at least indicate some broad trends.

Several conclusions are drawn at this point:

- 1) The President won a substantial victory. Press all over report it this way.
- 2) The President held his traditional areas of strength, as predicted by New Hampshire pros.
- 3) The GOP vote, by the unofficial scores, was up 6,011 from 1968, while the Democrats increased 28,113. The crossover of independents seemed to contribute to this, with the new registrations. However, the highly visible Democrat campaigning, and the expected protest vote factor are felt to have influenced this.
- 4) Dwinell says that if campaign effort was weak, it was in effort to get out maximum GOP vote. Some GOP voters seemed apathetic, assuming the President would win.

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1968 PRESIDENTIAL
PRIMARIES

COUNTY	TOTAL REP. VOTE	NIXON NUM. (%)	TOTAL DEM. VOTE	LBJ NUM. (%)	McCARTHY NUM. (%)
Belknap	5967	4794 (80)	2020	949 (46)	858 (42)
Carroll	4982	4176 (83)	663	292 (44)	303 (45)
Cheshire	7151	5383 (75)	2657	1220 (45)	1210 (45)
Coos	4807	3854 (80)	4889	2231 (45)	2373 (48)
Grafton	9228	7063 (76)	2998	1093 (36)	1639 (54)
Hillsborough	24919	19740 (79)	22532	12791 (56)	7684 (34)
Merrimack	13775	10325 (74)	5231	2503 (47)	2242 (42)
Rockingham	21679	16643 (76)	7692	3155 (41)	3866 (50)
Strafford	7113	5447 (76)	4575	2076 (45)	2235 (48)
Sullivan	4317	3241 (75)	2211	1210 (54)	859 (38)
TOTAL	103938	80666 (77)	55468	27520 (49)	23269 (41)

TOTAL 1968 VOTE
159,406

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1972 PRESIDENTIAL
PRIMARY

Associated Press totals with a reported 98% of the vote counted:

REPUBLICAN	%	TOTAL REPUBLICAN VOTE	TOTAL 1972 VOTE
Nixon	75,997 (69.12)	109,949	<u>193,530</u>
McCloskey	22,357 (20.33)		
Ashbrook	10,474 (9.56)		
Paulsen	1,121 (1.02)		

DEMOCRAT	TOTAL DEMOCRAT VOTE
Muskie	40,006 (48)
McGovern	31,285 (37)
Yorty	5,128 (6)
Hartke	2,302 (3)
Coll	249 (0)
Write-ins:	
Mills	3,440 (4)
Kennedy	773 (1)
Humphrey	275 (0)
Jackson	85 (0)
McCarthy	38 (0)
	<u>83,581</u>

Sloan

MS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

Robert Shlaudeman -
Telephone Call - Mar. 11, 1972

On Saturday, March 11, Robert Shlaudeman called you. I took the call and he said he always contacted you regarding contributions to Richard Nixon's campaigns. I did not ask him for the amount of contribution but said I would check with you as to the appropriate person.

Mr. Shlaudeman asked about your mother's health. I told him I had seen the senior Mrs. Haldeman at the China trip departure and arrival and that she was in excellent health.

Mr. Shlaudeman has retired and is living in Sarasota, Florida (Area Code 813, 966-3156).

If he is a substantial contributor, I will ask Kalmbach to contact him. If not, Hugh Sloan will contact him regarding a contribution.

Kalmbach Contact _____

Sloan Contact _____

H

G → Sloan 3/14
→ Shlaudeman 3/16

Other _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

A

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

March 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: KEN RIETZ *WR*

Members of the youth organization directly involved in the Florida mock election were:

Maxwell Calloway - our full-time Florida youth field director. He started building a volunteer organization in Florida and developing college contacts several months ago.

George Gorton - our college director who has spent the last several months between New Hampshire and Florida.

Bill Ehrig - a full-time volunteer (we pay expenses only) from Pennsylvania. He spent the last month in Florida full-time setting up organizations on college campuses.

Our procedure was to organize the major campuses first. At each school we used volunteers to conduct dorm canvasses searching for registered supporters of the President. These supporters were then turned out on election day. We left the smaller rural campuses to last, feeling that the President would enjoy substantial strength there anyway. We then supplied poll watchers, tabulations, etc. whenever possible.

The mock election rules required all voters to show their registration cards and vote in the party's primary in which they were registered. Wherever possible we encouraged Democrats to write-in the President. Although the President received many write-ins, they were thrown out by the director of the mock election who is a McGovern state youth coordinator.

The final results of the mock election are:

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY
(statewide totals)

Nixon	1,989 votes
McCloskey	246
Ashbrook	133

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY
(statewide totals)

McGovern	1,776 votes
Chisholm	1,372
Lindsay	1,059
Muskie	1,054
Wallace	953
Jackson	708
HHH	632
McCarthy	157
Hartke	24
Mills	24
Yorty	16

Of special interest is the President's receiving more votes than any other candidate. He also won 35 out of 36 colleges reporting which is more than any other candidate.

cc: Fred Malek
Jeb Magruder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1972

172 MAR 15 AM 7:56
EXID
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: Florida Primary

With 99% of the vote unofficially counted for both parties, here are the results:

Republican

RN	357,230	(87%)
Ashbrook	35,977	(09%)
McCloskey	16,978	(04%)

Democrat

Wallace	514,722	(42%)	McCarthy	5,842
Humphrey	231,015	(18%)	Mills	4,618
Jackson	167,539	(14%)	Hartke	3,536
Muskie	109,461	(09%)	Yorty	2,576
Lindsay	81,075	(07%)		
McGovern	74,832	(06%)		
Chisholm	44,770	(04%)		

At this reporting, figures are not available on a Kennedy showing, but we will pursue this and report any available in updates.

Several points should be noted:

1) The President swept the state, winning with youth as well as showing solid strength in Dade County, the heart of the Ashbrook effort in Florida.

2) Ashbrook's 9% was scattered throughout the state. Early assessments indicate even in Dade it was no more than 10% to 12%. He nevertheless states he will go on to Indiana, California and other primaries.

- 3) Re-registrations may have cut down from the total GOP vote. However, most of those Republicans who re-registered did so to vote for Wallace and are expected to return to the Republican column in November. These probably did more harm to Ashbrook than the President.
- 4) The President's sweep is a tribute to his strength in the South, and shows the wisdom of assimilating state GOP leaders into the campaign structure. (I recommend phone calls to Tommy Thomas, Sen. Gurney and Paula Hawkins.)
- 5) The George Wallace victory is bigger than anyone thought. He will tout Florida as a "cross-section" of the country. He will also boast about "conquering" Dade County, an urban area where the Democrats tend to be liberal.
- *6) Wallace won 75 of 81 delegates, including the 8 statewide slots to be appointed by the Democrat organization. This means Chiles and Askew will have to go to the convention as "guests," or as delegates pledged to Wallace.
- 7) Humphrey drew three times the black vote Shirley Chisholm got, and had labor and Jewish strength (he carried Dade's Jewish vote).
- 8) Sen. Jackson's strength was greatest in northwest Florida - the panhandle. His showing is interpreted as a semi-victory.
- 9) There has been absolutely no reporting of a Kennedy showing, suggesting he may have had even less than Yorty's 2,576. However, feeling is growing that Muskie is beyond salvage and Kennedy may emerge at any point to "save" the Democrats.

*Humphrey won six delegates in Claude Pepper's heavily black 11th district in Dade County.

THE STRAW VOTES

To the question, "Do you favor a Constitutional amendment prohibiting busing?" 1,108,792 (74%) said yes and 388,253 (26%) said no.

To the question, "Do you favor equal educational opportunity for all children?" 1,069,891 (79%) said yes and 291,388 (21%) were opposed.

To the question, "Do you favor a Constitutional amendment permitting prayer in the public schools?" 1,138,621 (79%) said yes and 296,102 (21%), no.

Conclusions

1) The busing amendment question required a positive answer to what for most is a negative subject, and may have been confusing. Also putting the issue on an amendment rather than a simple busing question, may have cut into the vote.

2) The school prayer question was for many a natural, since it called for a positive answer on a positive issue.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1972

JS
re: notes
L.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: Florida Primary

With 99% of the vote unofficially counted for both parties, here are the results:

Republican

RN	357,230	(87%)
Ashbrook	35,977	(09%)
McCloskey	16,978	(04%)

Democrat

Wallace	514,722	(42%)	McCarthy	5,842
Humphrey	231,015	(18%)	Mills	4,618
Jackson	167,539	(14%)	Hartke	3,536
Muskie	109,461	(09%)	Yorty	2,576
Lindsay	81,075	(07%)		
McGovern	74,832	(06%)		
Chisholm	44,770	(04%)		

At this reporting, figures are not available on a Kennedy showing, but we will pursue this and report any available in updates.

Several points should be noted:

1) The President swept the state, winning with youth as well as showing solid strength in Dade County, the heart of the Ashbrook effort in Florida.

2) Ashbrook's 9% was scattered throughout the state. Early assessments indicate even in Dade it was no more than 10% to 12%. He nevertheless states he will go on to Indiana, California and other primaries.

3) Re-registrations may have cut down from the total GOP vote. However, most of those Republicans who re-registered did so to vote for Wallace and are expected to return to the Republican column in November. These probably did more harm to Ashbrook than the President.

*Do we
know
how?*

4) The President's sweep is a tribute to his strength in the South, and shows the wisdom of assimilating state GOP leaders into the campaign structure. (I recommend phone calls to Tommy Thomas, Sen. Gurney and Paula Hawkins.)

5) The George Wallace victory is bigger than anyone thought. He will tout Florida as a "cross-section" of the country. He will also boast about "conquering" Dade County, an urban area where the Democrats tend to be liberal.

*6) Wallace won 75 of 81 delegates, including the 8 statewide slots to be appointed by the Democrat organization. This means Chiles and Aske will have to go to the convention as "guests," or as delegates pledged to Wallace.

7) Humphrey drew three times the black vote Shirley Chisholm got, and had labor and Jewish strength (he carried Dade's Jewish vote).

8) Sen. Jackson's strength was greatest in northwest Florida - the panhandle. His showing is interpreted as a semi-victory.

9) There has been absolutely no reporting of a Kennedy showing, suggesting he may have had even less than Yorty's 2,576. However, feeling is growing that Muskie is beyond salvage and Kennedy may emerge at any point to "save" the Democrats.

This doesn't make sense - how could there be a showing if no one writes in?

*Humphrey won six delegates in Claude Pepper's heavily black 11th district in Dade County.

THE STRAW VOTES

To the question, "Do you favor a Constitutional amendment prohibiting busing?" 1,108,792 (74%) said yes and 388,253 (26%) said no.

To the question, "Do you favor equal educational opportunity for all children?" 1,069,891 (79%) said yes and 291,388 (21%) were opposed.

To the question, "Do you favor a Constitutional amendment permitting prayer in the public schools?" 1,138,621 (79%) said yes and 296,102 (21%), no.

Conclusions

- 1) The busing amendment question required a positive answer to what for most is a negative subject, and may have been confusing. Also putting the issue on an amendment rather than a simple busing question, may have cut into the vote.
- 2) The school prayer question was for many a natural, since it called for a positive answer on a positive issue.

March 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: Florida Primary

With 99% of the vote unofficially counted for both parties, here are the results:

Republican

RN	357,230	(87%)
Ashbrook	35,977	(09%)
McCloskey	16,978	(04%)

Democrat

Wallace	514,722	(42%)	McCarthy	5,842
Humphrey	231,015	(18%)	Mills	4,618
Jackson	167,539	(14%)	Hartke	3,536
Muskie	109,461	(09%)	Yorty	2,576
Lindsay	81,075	(07%)		
McGovern	74,832	(06%)		
Chisholm	44,770	(04%)		

At this reporting, figures are not available on a Kennedy showing, but we will pursue this and report any available in updates.

Several points should be noted:

- 1) The President swept the state, winning with youth as well as showing solid strength in Dade County, the heart of the Ashbrook effort in Florida.
- 2) Ashbrook's 9% was scattered throughout the state. Early assessments indicate even in Dade it was no more than 10% to 12%. He nevertheless states he will go on to Indiana, California and other primaries.

3) Re-registrations may have cut down from the total GOP vote. However, most of those Republicans who re-registered did so to vote for Wallace and are expected to return to the Republican column in November. These probably did more harm to Ashbrook than the President.

4) The President's sweep is a tribute to his strength in the South, and shows the wisdom of assimilating state GOP leaders into the campaign structure. (I recommend phone calls to Tommy Thomas, Sen. Gurney and Paula Hawkins.)

5) The George Wallace victory is bigger than anyone thought. He will tout Florida as a "cross-section" of the country. He will also boast about "conquering" Dade County, an urban area where the Democrats tend to be liberal.

*6) Wallace won 75 of 81 delegates, including the 8 statewide slots to be appointed by the Democrat organization. This means Chiles and Askew will have to go to the convention as "guests," or as delegates pledged to Wallace.

7) Humphrey drew three times the black vote Shirley Chisholm got, and had labor and Jewish strength (he carried Dade's Jewish vote).

8) Sen. Jackson's strength was greatest in northwest Florida - the panhandle. His showing is interpreted as a semi-victory.

9) There has been absolutely no reporting of a Kennedy showing, suggesting he may have had even less than Yorty's 2,576. However, feeling is growing that Muskie is beyond salvage and Kennedy may emerge at any point to "save" the Democrats.

*Humphrey won six delegates in Claude Pepper's heavily black 11th district in Dade County.

THE STRAW VOTES

To the question, "Do you favor a Constitutional amendment prohibiting busing?" 1,108,792 (74%) said yes and 388,253 (26%) said no.

To the question, "Do you favor equal educational opportunity for all children?" 1,069,891 (79%) said yes and 291,388 (21%) were opposed.

To the question, "Do you favor a Constitutional amendment permitting prayer in the public schools?" 1,138,621 (79%) said yes and 296,102 (21%), no.

Conclusions

- 1) The busing amendment question required a positive answer to what for most is a negative subject, and may have been confusing. Also putting the issue on an amendment rather than a simple busing question, may have cut into the vote.
- 2) The school prayer question was for many a natural, since it called for a positive answer on a positive issue.

~~EYES ONLY/CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Ehrlichman Versus Committee
for the Re-Election of the
President

A serious problem seems to be developing between John Ehrlichman and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

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

- 1) As Malek's new role in the Campaign was being defined last month, most of the opposition came from Ehrlichman;
- 2) The Domestic Council slowed the production of "The Speakers Manual" for Administration spokesmen to use during the primaries;
- 3) Ehrlichman, through Ed Harper, has informed Magruder that a review committee -- John Ehrlichman, Ray Price and Bill Safire -- will begin analyzing the Campaign advertising. Magruder and Peter Dailey are reacting protectively citing their own advertising review group of Len Garment, Cliff Miller and Dick Moore.

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

Ken Cole confirms that the relationship between Ehrlichman and the Committee is quite bad. Cole isn't sure why and has been meeting with Magruder and Harper in attempting to ameliorate the problems. Neither Cole nor I are prepared to recommend a solution for you yet. We will continue working on eliminating problems at the staff level to prevent involving you.

GS:CAR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



March 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Florida Primary
Returns

From Florida, Harry Dent will dictate a one page summary of the results for the President tomorrow morning at 6:00 a.m. I will pick up the memorandum at 7:00 a.m. and deliver the original for the President to the Ushers at 7:30 a.m. You will receive a copy of Dent's memorandum to the President simultaneously.

Tonight, Jeb Magruder will have an election watch at 1701, based on the Florida campaign individuals' analysis of the returns.

Some polls close at 7:00 p.m. and others at 8:00 p.m. Network projections are expected between 9:00 and 9:30 p.m. CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced but Mort Allin expects them to begin a few minutes before 10:30 p.m. I will be in touch with Magruder from 7:30 p.m. on. I can be reached through the White House Operator, either in Magruder's office or on pageboy. Should you wish to talk to Jeb Magruder directly, he can be reached through 333-0920 or bellboy 381-1949.

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

March 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HADDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Florida Primary
Returns

From Florida, Harry Dent will dictate a one page summary of the results for the President tomorrow morning at 6:00 a.m. I will pick up the memorandum at 7:00 a.m. and deliver the original for the President to the Ushers at 7:30 a.m. You will receive a copy of Dent's memorandum at the President simultaneously.

Tonight, Jeb Magruder will have an election watch at 1701, based on the Florida campaign individuals analysis of the returns.

Some polls close at 7:00 p.m. and others at 8:00 p.m. Network projections are expected between 9:00 and 9:30 p.m. CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced but Mort Allin expects them to begin a few minutes before 10:30 p.m. I will be in touch with Magruder from 7:30 p.m. on. I can be reached through the White House Operator, either in Magruder's office or on pageboy. Should you wish to talk to Jeb Magruder directly, he can be reached through 333-0920 or bellboy 381-1949.

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

Shumway - 333-7000

PRIMARY STATES

STATE	PRIMARY DATE	OPPOSITION	STATUS	Deadline/ Announce.	LATEST POLL	UNDECIDED	FINAL RESULT
N.H.	March 7	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-2/4-9:	70 5 11	14 67.5 9.6 19.7
Fla.	March 14	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-2/11-13:	81 4 4	11
Wisc.	April 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-12/16-22:	72 4 7	17
Mass.	April 25	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey					
Ind.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 23	T-1/4-22:	83 4 3	10
Ohio	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Did Not File Filed/On Ballot		T-1/4-22:	83 7 -	10
D.C.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 18			
Tenn.	May 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Sec.St.Will Announce Sec.St.May Announce Sec.St.May Announce	March 16	T-1/10-20:	69 3 5	23
N.C.	May 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Did Not File Filed/On Ballot				
Neb.	May 9	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot				
Md.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Sec.St.Will Announce Sec.St.May Announce Sec.St.May Announce	March 23	T-1/8-23:	75 3 8	14
Mich.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 17			
R.I.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot				
Ore.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	On Ballot On Ballot On Ballot		T-1/8-17:	66 3 5	26
S.D.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	April 21			
Calif.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Qualified/Not Filed Qualified/Not Filed	March 24	T-1/6-19:	61 5 11	24
N.M.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Deadline Passed/Could Petit. Filed/On Ballot				

GORDON

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 14, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: AL KAUPINEN
FROM: MARK BLOOMFIELD
SUBJECT: Florida Primary/ Background

The presidential preference primary is closed and binding. Uncommitted delegates are not permitted. There is no write-in possibility for President or Vice-President. The delegates are chosen after the primary results are in.

Republicans will choose 40 delegates. 2 delegates will be elected from each of the 15 congressional districts. 6 delegates will be chosen at-large. 4 state GOP officials are automatic delegates.

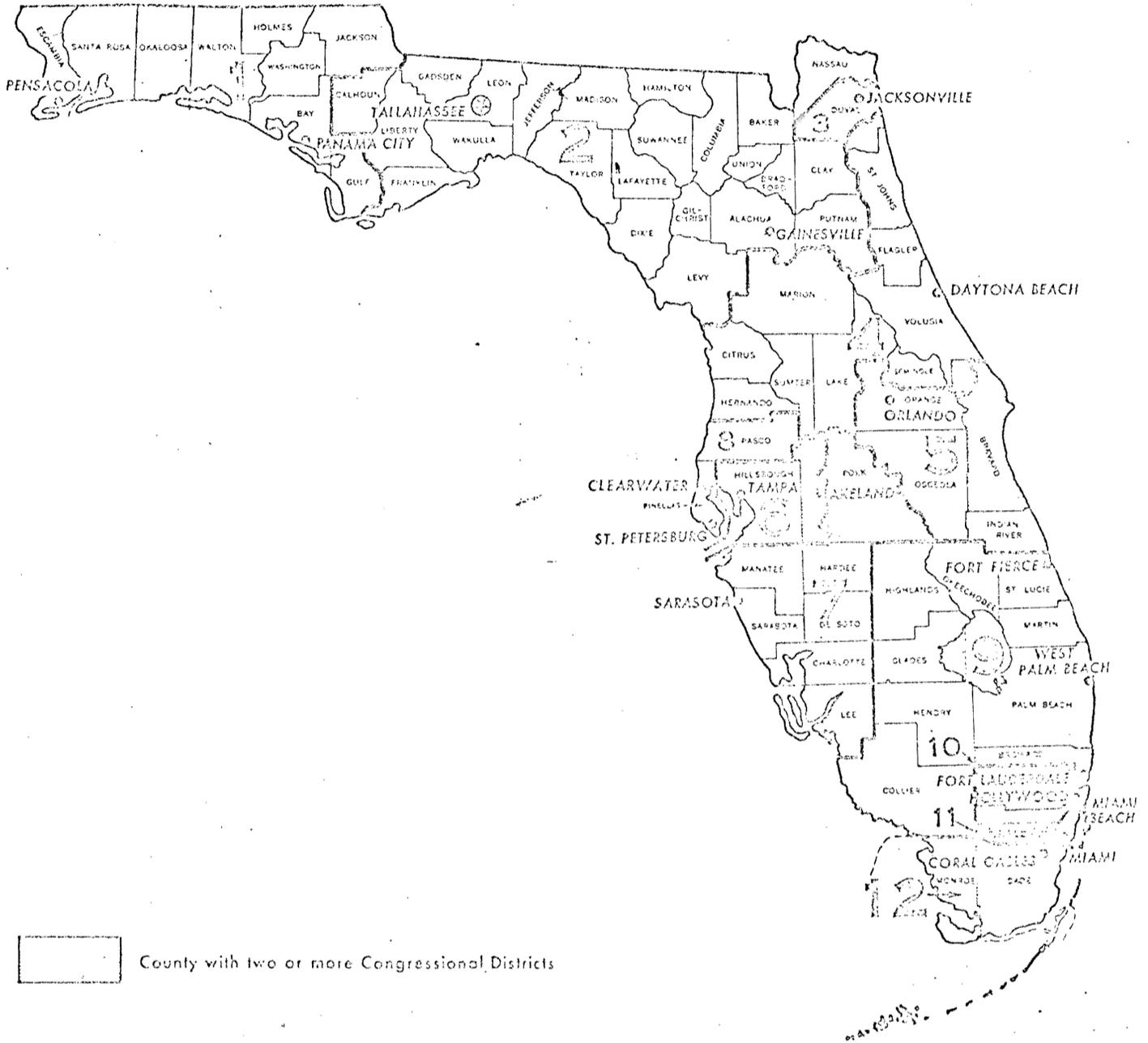
Democrats will choose 81 delegates. Of those, 61 are elected by the voters in 12 congressional districts. 12 delegates go to the winner of the statewide presidential-preference poll. The remaining 8 are selected by the Florida Democratic State Executive Committee but must go to the winner of the presidential preference vote.

The polls are open from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. throughout the state. The 10 largest counties provide 85% of the total vote and 9 of these counties also contain the greatest concentration of Republican voters. These 10 counties all utilize voting machines. By 8:30 these results should be in. The wires and T.V. coverage will probably still be the best source of information.

On the Republican ballot these candidates will be listed: (1) Richard Nixon (2) Pete McCloskey and (3) John Ashbrook.

On the Democratic ballot the candidates listed is as follows:
(1) George Wallace (2) Hubert Humphrey (3) Edmond Muskie (4) George McGovern (5) John Lindsay (6) Shirley Chisholm (7) Vance Hartke (8) Sam Yorty (9) Eugene McCarthy (10) Henry "Scoop" Jackson and (11) Wilbur Mills.⁴

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



Districts Established August 2, 1967

A296

R LBYLQYYVVYYX 'AR'

GOP PRES

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE VOTE TOTALS IN FLORIDA'S REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WITH 23 PER CENT OF THE 2,841
PRECINCTS REPORTING:

NIXON 86,407 - 87 PER CENT
ASHEROCK 8,689 - 9 PER CENT
McCLOSKEY 3,985 - 4 PER CENT
ARS 27PES 14.

A294

R LBVIQYYVU V

URGENT

MIAMI, FLA PRIMARY BJT NL A293 ADD: SCRAMBLE.
SEN. EDMUND S. MUSKIE OF MAINE WAS A POOR FOURTH, AND HIS
STANDING AS THE NATIONAL FRONT-RUNNER, SHAKEN IN THE NEW
HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY A WEEK AGO, WAS IN JEOPARDY IN FLORIDA.
SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON OF WASHINGTON WAS THIRD BEHIND
WALLACE AND HUMPHREY.

PRESIDENT NIXON SWEEP TO LANDSLIDE VICTORY IN A REPUBLICAN
PRIMARY THAT NEVER WAS A CONTEST, AND GAINED 40 VOTES FOR
RENOMINATION.

WALLACE WAS LEADING FOR ALL 81 DEMOCRATIC DELEGATE VOTES AT
STAKE IN FLORIDA. HE WAS ECSTASIED BY A LARGE TURNOUT OF VOTERS
WHO CAST BALLOTS FOR A PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE U.S.
CONSTITUTION TO OUTLAW THE BUSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

IN THE 6TH GRAD: A299 2RD NL
KY825PES MAR. 14

A295

R LBVIQYYVWYYT 'AR'

DEM PRES

MIAMI, FLA. AP -- HERE ARE THE VOTE TOTALS IN FLORIDA'S DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WITH 21 PER CENT OF THE 2,841
PRECINCTS REPORTING:

WALLACE 106,198 - 44 PER CENT
HUMPHREY 40,957 - 17 PER CENT
JACKSON 33,135 - 14 PER CENT
MUSKIE 21,530 - 9 PER CENT
MCCOVERN 14,162 - 6 PER CENT
LINDSAY 13,870 - 6 PER CENT
CHISHOLM 6,167 - 3 PER CENT
MCCARTHEY 1,033 - 0 PER CENT
MILLIS 926 - 0 PER CENT
YORTY 518 - 0 PER CENT
HARTKE 476 - 0 PER CENT
AR826PES 14.

A288

R LBYLRYRRYYR AR'

DEM PRIS

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE VOTE TOTALS IN FLORIDA'S DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WITH 9 PER CENT OF THE 2,841
PRECINCTS REPORTING:

WALLACE 42,869 - 48 PER CENT
HUMPHREY 14,243 - 16 PER CENT
JACKSON 12,717 - 14 PER CENT
MUSKIE 7,078 - 8 PER CENT
LINDSAY 4,888 - 5 PER CENT
MCGOVERN 4,584 - 5 PER CENT
CHISHOLM 2,541 - 3 P

MCCARTHY 387 - 0 PER CENT
MILLS 342 - 0 PER CENT
YORTY 188 - 0 PER CENT
HARTKE 166 - 0 PER CENT
AR753PES 14.

9 90 DEMO

7:53 P

C

E

IN THE REPUBLICAN RACE:
NIXON HAD 35,513 VOTES, OR 87 PER CENT.
REP. JOHN M. ASHBROOK STOOD AT 3,448, OR 9 PER CENT, AND REP.
PAUL N. MCCLOSKEY OF CALIFORNIA HAD 1,649 VOTES, OR 4 PER CENT.

THE DEMOCRATS: 5TH GRAF: A204
AR801PES 14.

A234

R LBYIRYRUIV AR⁹

URGENT

STRAW VOTE

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE RETURNS FROM 3 PER CENT OF
FLORIDA'S 2,841 PRECINCTS ON THE THREE STRAW-BALLOT QUESTIONS:
WHETHER TO PROHIBIT FORCED BUSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN:

YES 23,945 - 78 PER CENT

NO 6,730 - 22 PER CENT

WHETHER TO PROVIDE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR QUALITY EDUCATION FOR
ALL CHILDREN:

YES 21,737 - 78 PER CENT

NO 6,024 - 22 PER CENT

WHETHER TO ALLOW PRAYER IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

YES 24,922 - 83 PER CENT

NO 5,149 - 17 PER CENT

AR744PES 14.

A235

R LBYLRYYRWYYF AR⁹

GOP PRES

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE VOTE TOTALS IN FLORIDA'S REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WITH 3 PER CENT OF THE 2,841
PRECINCTS REPORTING:

NIXON 7,410 - 88 PER CENT

MCCLOSKEY 319 - 4 PER CENT

ASHEROOK 700 - 8 PER CENT

AR745PES 14.

A236

R LBYLR_y

A283

R LBYLRYYRZYYV AR'

URGENT
DEM PRES

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE VOTE TOTALS IN FLORIDA'S DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WITH 3 PER CENT OF THE 2,841
PRECINCTS REPORTING:

WALLACE 13,714 - 51 PER CENT
HUMPHREY 4,022 - 15 PER CENT
JACKSON 3,713 - 13 PER CENT
MUSKIE 2,088 - 8 PER CENT
MCGOVERN 1,294 - 5 PER CENT
LINDSAY 1,215 - 4 PER CENT
CHISHOLM 776 - 3 PER CENT
MCCARTHY 109 - 0 PER CENT
MILLS 103 - 0 PER CENT
HARTKE 46 - 0 PER CENT
YCRTY 41 - 0 PER CENT
AR740PES 14.

A278

R LBYLEHQRYR

URGENT
DEM PRES

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE VOTE TOTALS IN FLORIDA'S DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WITH LESS THAN 1 PER CENT
OF THE 2,841 PRECINCTS REPORTING:

WALLACE 163-53 PER CENT
MUSKIE 21-8 PER CENT
HUMPHREY 37-14 PER CENT
MUSKIE 21-8 PER CENT
MCCOVERN 19-7 PER CENT
JACKSON 14-5 PER CENT
LINDSAY 12-4 PER CENT
CHISHOLM 8-3 PER CENT
MILLS 2-1 PER CENT
MCCARTHY 1-0 PER CENT
YORTY 0-0 PER CENT
HARTKE 0-0 PER CENT
ME719PES MARCH 14

7:19 P

A280

R LBYLRYRCZC

STRAW VOTE

MIAMI, FLA. AP - HERE ARE THE RESULTS FROM LESS THAN 1 PER
CENT OF FLORIDA'S 2,841 PRECINCTS ON THE THREE STRAW-BALLOT
QUESTIONS: WHETHER TO PROHIBIT WORLD BEGING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN:

YES 2,470 - 76 PER CENT
NO 772 - 24 PER CENT

WHETHER TO PROVIDE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR QUALITY EDUCATION FOR
ALL CHILDREN:

YES 2,295 - 79 PER CENT
NO 599 - 21 PER CENT

WHETHER TO ALLOW PRAYER IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

YES 2,527 - 81 PER CENT
NO 585 - 19 PER CENT

ME725PES MARCH 14

7:26 P

A281

R LBYLRYRV

URGENT

FLA. PRIMARY DJT 2ND NL
BY WALTER R. HEARS
AP POLITICAL WRITER

MIAMI AP - GOV. GEORGE C. WALLACE GRABBED THE EARLY LEAD
TUESDAY NIGHT AS THE FIRST BALLOTS WERE COUNTED IN FLORIDA'S
CROWDED 11-WAY DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY.
WITH 2 PER CENT OF THE 2,841 PRECINCTS COUNTED, WALLACE HAD
6,033 VOTES, OR 49 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL. THE REST OF THE FIELD:

HUMPHREY 1,957, OR 16 PER CENT
JACKSON 1,753, OR 14 PER CENT
MUSKIE 959, OR 8 PER CENT
MCCOVERN 608, OR 5 PER CENT
LINDSAY 557, OR 4 PER CENT
CHISHOLM 332 OR 3 PER CENT
MILLS 63
MCCARTHY 56
YORTY 16
HARTKE 26

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR BOB DOLE

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

President Nixon's resounding victory in the Florida primary today following his huge endorsement by the voters in New Hampshire, is a clear demonstration of the remarkable support he enjoys across the country.

New Hampshire is a small, northern state with four electoral votes. Florida is a large, southern state with 17 electoral votes. What they have in common is respect for a great President who has built a great record in his first term in the White House.

No greater demonstration of the President's broad-based support among Republicans, Democrats and Independents can be found than these consecutive victories in two such different states.

On the other hand, the cavalcade of Democrats who wandered through Florida, each in search of a constituency, managed to prove only one thing: that none of them has yet found one.

The pathetic search for issues which has involved the steadily lengthening line of Democrat candidates has served mostly to keep some of them from their posts in the United States Senate. We could use them, believe me. We have a steadily lengthening list of legislative proposals from the President which has not been reduced in months.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

President Nixon has won a tremendous victory in Florida. Following as it does an equally tremendous victory in New Hampshire one week ago, it clearly demonstrates the support the President enjoys among voters across this nation -- a support provided by Democrats, Republicans and independents.

The President is headed for a solid victory in November.

STATEMENT BY L. E. (TOLMY) THOMAS, PRIMARY CAMPAIGN COORDINATOR

OF THE

FLORIDA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

In 1952 and 1956 Florida voters backed Richard Nixon for Vice President when he was running with President Eisenhower. In 1960 and 1968 they backed him when he ran on his own for the Presidency. In fact, they have backed him every time he has been on the national ticket. Today's vote clearly demonstrates that they are backing him again in 1972.

The many thousands of Republicans who cast ballots in this primary have given solid endorsement to the policies and record of the President. They have unequivocally voiced their faith in his leadership -- both of the nation and of the Republican Party.

In contrast, the Democrats today revealed continued confusion and disarray. After two primaries, almost half a dozen of their candidates show about the same relative strength -- or, rather, weakness -- among the voters of their party. No one emerges from the pack. The Democrats remain, in effect, leaderless -- because none of their candidates has demonstrated the leadership qualities which the Presidency requires.

There has been a good bit of criticism of the primary system recently, and much of it may be valid. But our primaries in Florida have a special significance. Because our electorate is made up of people from all parts of the nation -- people who have moved to Florida from Idaho, from New York, from Missouri -- we, as much as the voters of any other state, are representative of the nation as a whole. In light of this, today's results -- President Nixon's substantial win and the indecisive showings of the various Democratic candidates -- accurately forecast the outcome of the primaries

to be held in the months ahead, just as they forecast the outcome this fall, when Republicans, Democrats and independents will join together in giving the President an overwhelming victory.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN J. HERBERT BURKE OF FLORIDA

Although one Swallow does not the summer make, the President's vote in the Florida primary, amidst the confusion and disorganization shown by the Democrat spectrum of votes cast for their candidates, strongly indicates the solidarity of the Republican party behind the President.

This strong showing amidst the Democrats' divided vote gives further assurance that the President will be re-elected in November.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN C. W. (BILL) YOUNG OF FLORIDA

Florida voters today have given clear endorsement in the Republican primary to the policies and leadership of President Nixon.

Although it is a southern state geographically, Florida in many ways reflects a national image due to the many Floridians who have come to the state from all parts of the country. And in this respect -- diversity of origin -- my home district, perhaps more than any other, is representative of the nation as a whole. For this reason, the President's strong showing throughout the state and, especially, in the Eighth District, is a good indication of his popularity across the country.

It is this popularity -- this recognition of his record of achievement, of his responsible and vital leadership, which assures him victory in the primaries to come and, in November, with the support of Republicans, Democrats and independents, alike, re-election to a second term in the White House.

D R A F T

STATEMENT BY FRANK DALE, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

President Nixon's great victory in Florida today is another indication of the support the President has among voters in all parts of the country. While the vote totals are not yet complete, it is quite clear that the President has been given a massive endorsement by the voters in the Republican primary.

The results of the Florida primary are especially significant because Florida is a diverse, rapidly-growing state with varied economic, social and ethnic interests.

President Nixon's appeal in a state registered heavily Democratic is due not so much to the disarray that permeates the Democratic party as to the leadership which the President has provided to the country in his first term. Three years after we chose him to be our President, he is obviously the choice of the voters to continue as President.

He was an overwhelming choice in New Hampshire last Tuesday and an overwhelming choice in Florida today. I am confident that the vast majority of voters in Illinois and Wisconsin primaries, the next two on the calendar, will endorse the President, too.

President Nixon carried Florida in 1968 and the results of today's primary are convincing evidence that he will carry Florida in 1972.

The decisive vote in Florida today obviously pleases all of his supporters and I want to say a special thank you to all those who have worked for the President -- and will continue working for him -- in Florida this year.

PRIMARY STATES

STATE	PRIMARY DATE	OPPOSITION	STATUS	Deadline/ Announce.	LATEST POLL	UNDECIDED	FINAL RESULT
N.H.	March 7	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-2/4-9:	70 5 11	14 67.5 9.6 19.7
Fla.	March 14	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-2/11-13:	81 4 4	11
Wisc.	April 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-12/16-22:	71 4 7	
Mass.	April 25	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey					
Ind.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 23	T-1/4-22:	83 4 3	10
Ohio	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Did Not File Filed/On Ballot		T-1/4-22:	83 7	10
D.C.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 18			
Tenn.	May 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Sec.St.Will Announce Sec.St.May Announce Sec.St.May Announce	March 16	T-1/10-20:	69 3 5	
N.C.	May 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Did Not File Filed/On Ballot				
Neb.	May 9	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot				
Md.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Sec.St.Will Announce Sec.St.May Announce Sec.St.May Announce	March 23	T-1/8-23:	75 3 8	14
Mich.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 17			
R.I.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot				
Ore.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	On Ballot On Ballot On Ballot		T-1/8-17:	66 3 5	26
S.D.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	April 21			
Calif.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Qualified/Not Filed Qualified/Not Filed	March 24	T-1/6-19:	61 5 11	24
N.M.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Deadline Passed/Could Petit. Filed/On Ballot				

PRIMARY STATES

STATE	PRIMARY DATE	OPPOSITION	STATUS	Deadline/ Announce.	LATEST POLL	UNDECIDED	FINAL RESULT
N.H.	March 7	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-2/4-9:	70 5 11	14 67.5 9.6 19.7
Fla.	March 14	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-2/11-13:	81 4 4	11
Wisc.	April 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey			T-12/16-22:	72 4 7	17
Mass.	April 25	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey					
Ind.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 23	T-1/4-22:	83 4 3	10
Ohio	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Did Not File Filed/On Ballot		T-1/4-22:	83 7	10
D.C.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 18			
Tenn.	May 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Sec.St.Will Announce Sec.St.May Announce Sec.St.May Announce	March 16	T-1/10-20:	69 3 5	23
N.C.	May 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Did Not File Filed/On Ballot				
Neb.	May 9	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot				
Md.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Sec.St.Will Announce Sec.St.May Announce Sec.St.May Announce	March 23	T-1/8-23:	75 3 8	14
Mich.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	March 17			
R.I.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot Filed/On Ballot				
Ore.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	On Ballot On Ballot On Ballot		T-1/8-17:	66 3 5	26
S.D.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Will File Not Filed Not Filed	April 21			
Calif.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Qualified/Not Filed Qualified/Not Filed	March 24	T-1/6-19:	61 5 11	24
N.M.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	Filed/On Ballot Deadline Passed/Could Petit. Filed/On Ballot				

PRIMARY STATES

3/14/72

STATE	PRIMARY DATE	OPPOSITION	STATUS	LATEST POLL	UNDECIDED	FINAL RESULT
N.H.	March 7	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey		T-2/4-9:	70 5 14 11	67.5 9.6 19.7
Fla.	March 14	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey		T-2/11-13:	81 4 11 4	
Wisc.	April 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey		T-12/16-22:	71 4 ? 7	
Mass.	April 25	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey				
Ind.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	March 23 Deadline will be filed, but not yet filed not yet filed	Deadline: March 23 T-1/4-22:	83 4 10 3	
Ohio	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- filed, on ballot - did not file - filed, on ballot	T-1/4-22:	83 7 10 -	
D.C.	May 2	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- will be filed - not yet filed - not yet filed	Deadline: March 18		
Tenn.	May 4	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- Sec St will announce - Sec St may announce - Sec St may announce	March 16 T-1/10-20:	69 3 5	
N.C.	May 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- filed, on ballot - did not file - filed, on ballot			
Neb.	May 9	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- filed, on ballot - filed, on ballot - filed on ballot			
Md.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- Sec St will announce - Sec St may announce - Sec St may announce	March 23 T-1/8-23:	75 3 14 8	
Mich.	May 16	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- will be filed - not yet filed - not yet filed	Deadline: March 17		
R.I.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- filed, on ballot - filed, on ballot - filed, on ballot			
Ore.	May 23	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- on ballot - on ballot - on ballot	T-1/8-17:	66 3 26 5	
S.D.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- will be filed - not yet filed - not yet filed	Apr 21		
Calif.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- filed, on ballot - qualified, not yet to file date - qualified, yet to file slate	March 24 T-1/6-19:	61 5 24 11	
N.M.	June 6	Nixon Ashbrook McCloskey	- filed, on ballot - deadline passed, could petition - filed, on ballot			

Wisc

Ohio

Ore

PRIMARY STATES

STATE	PRIMARY DATE	OPPOSITION	LATEST POLL	FINAL RESULT
N.H.	March 7	Ashbrook/McCloskey/Nixon	T-2/4-19: 70 5 14	RN = 67.5 ash = 9.6 McCl = 19.7
Fla.	March 14	Ashbrook/McCloskey/Nixon	T-2/11-2/13: 81 4 11	
Wisc.	April 4	McCloskey/Ashbrook/Nixon	T-12/16-12/22: 74 4 7	
Mass.	April 25	McCloskey/Ashbrook/Nixon		
Ind.	May 2	No one filed yet - *RN Neither Ashbrook nor McCloskey - 3/23 rd Deadline	T-1/4-22 83 4 10 3	
Ohio	May 2	McCloskey/ Nixon Ashbrook can't get in	T-1/4-22 83 7 10	
D.C.	May 2	*RN will McCloskey/Ashbrook Deadline,		
Tenn.	May 4	Announcement March 16 - *RN -No word on McCloskey/Ashbrook	T-1/10-20 69 3 5	
N.C.	May 6	Nixon/McCloskey Ashbrook not in deadline passed		
Neb.	May 9	Nixon/McCloskey/Ashbrook		
Md.	May 16	RN* Announcement March 23 - Ashbrook/ McCloskey	T-1/8-23 75 3 14 8	
Mich.	May 16	RN will meet March 17 Deadline.		
R.I.	May 23	McCloskey/Ashbrook/Nixon		
Ore.	May 23	McCloskey/Ashbrook/Nixon	T-1/8-17 66 5 26 3	
S.D.	June 6	RN will meet April 21 Deadline, no word on ash McCl		
Calif.	June 6	Nixon/Ashbrook McCloskey filed to qualify - must get petitions in Deadline March 24	T-1/6-19 61 24 ash → 11 McCl → 5	
N.M.	June 6	Nixon/McCloskey Ashbrook not in April 4 Deadline		

~~Republican~~ Primary States

State	Primary Date	Opposition	Latest Poll	Final Result
NH	March 7	Ashbrook/McCluskey/N		
Fla	March 14	Ashbrook/McCluskey/N		
Wis	Apr 4	McCl/Ash/N		
Mass.	Apr 25	McCl/Ash/N		
Iowa	May 2	no one filed yet deadline 3/23 *RN/Ash nor McCl have to 3/23 to file		
Ohio	May 2	McCl/RN -Ash can't get in		
D.C.	May 2	*RN will Mar 18 for McCl Ash dead		
Tenn	May 4	RA Announce Mar 16 - RN, noword on Ash/McCl		

nc

May 6

RN/mccl
- ~~ash~~ not in
deadline passed

rel.

May 9

RN, McC, ash

mg

May 16

RN, - announce
Mar 23 when
ash + mccl

mid

May 16

RN will
3/17 deadline

RI

May 23

mccl, ash, RN

Ore

May 23

mccl ash, RN

S.D.

Je 6

RN will file
by deadline 4/21

Cal

Je 6

to fix
quality
- must
get
attention

RN, mccl, ash

copy → confirm state

deadline
3/24

N.M.

Je 6

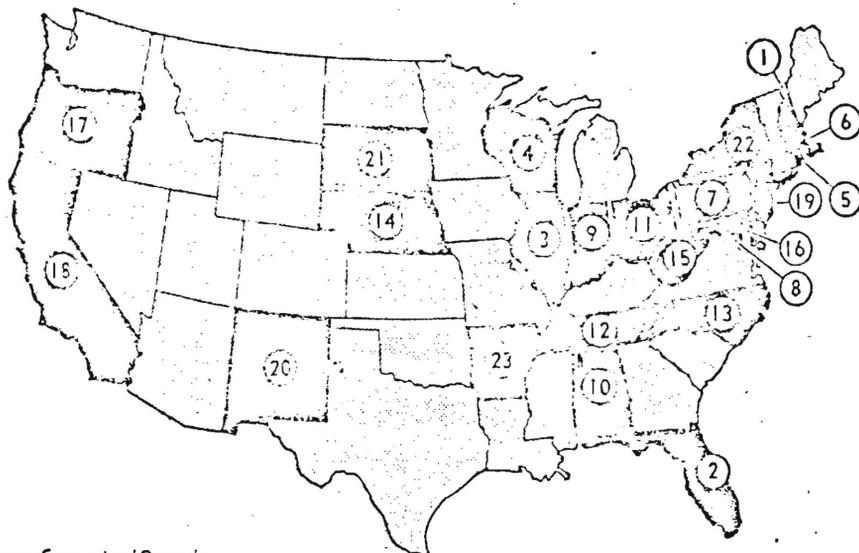
RN, mccl, ash
not in,
apr 4 deadline

A Tally Sheet for the Race to Miami

KEY { C=Chisholm Ha=Hartke J=Jackson L=Lindsay Mu=Muskie McG=McGovern Y=Yorty
 F=Fautroy Hu=Humphrey K=Kennedy Mi=Mills McC=McCarthy W=Wallace
 Primary States in Red

State	No. of Delegate Votes	Primary Date or Final Selection Date	Probable or Certain Entries (Primary States Only)	Who's Ahead	Latest Line	Final Result
ALABAMA	37	May 22	J W	?	Jackson showing strongly on Wallace's home territory	
ALASKA	10	May 28		?	So far campaign moving at glacial pace	
ARIZONA	25	Feb. 12		Mu	Local endorsement and centrist position helped Muskier	L6 Mu9 McG5
ARKANSAS	27	June 13	MI	MI	Mills' delegates will go mainly to Muskier in Miami Beach	
CALIFORNIA	271	June 6	C Ha Hu J L Mu McC McG Y	Mu	Humphrey, popular with blacks; second: Lindsay threatening	
COLORADO	36	June 17		Mu	McGovern looks like second to middle-of-the-road Muskier	
CONNECTICUT	51	June 17		Mu	Muskier lead could fade if he slips in early primaries	
DELAWARE	13	By June 20		?	Muskier apparently gaining momentum over Humphrey	
FLORIDA	81	March 14	C Ha Hu J L Mi Mu McC McG W Y	?	Now looks like toss-up among Muskier, Wallace and Humphrey	
GEORGIA	53	March 25		?	Jackson and Wallace fighting hard; some Mills sentiment	
HAWAII	17	May 21		?	Governor John Burns wants to keep delegation uncommitted	
IDAHO	17	June 17		Mu	Muskier has party regulars plus active organization	
ILLINOIS	170	March 21	Mu McC McG	Mu	McGovern will be distant second; strong in college towns	
INDIANA	76	May 2	Ha J Mu McG	?	Hooper Hartke unlikely to stop Muskier	
IOWA	46	May 20		Mu	Muskier led with 35.6% of vote in precinct caucuses	
KANSAS	35	June 3		Mu	Governor Robert Docking is playing a waiting game	
KENTUCKY	47	June 3		Mu	Muskier has important support from Governor Wendell Ford	
LOUISIANA	44	By May 1		?	Mills could take 75% of delegates in conservative state	
MAINE	20	May 20		Mu	Edmund Sixtus Muskier lives here	
MARYLAND	53	May 16	C Hu L Mu McC McG W	Mu	Organization Democrats moving to Muskier's corner	
MASSACHUSETTS	102	April 25	C Ha Hu J L Mi Mu McC McG W Y	Mu	Lindsay or McGovern could unglue Muskier's support	
MICHIGAN	132	May 16	Mu	Mu	Auto Workers' leaders back Muskier; Humphrey also strong	
MINNESOTA	64	June 11		Hu	Muskier not challenging Humphrey on H.H.H. home turf	
MISSISSIPPI	25	Feb. 27		?	Muskier liberals and Jackson regulars have no agreement	
MISSOURI	73	June 10		Mu	Backing from top Democrats will give Muskier big majority	
MONTANA	17	June 17		Mu	Montanans reflect Muskier's national lead	
NEBRASKA	24	May 9	C Ha Hu J L Mi Mu McC McG W Y	Mu	No candidate has tackled No. 1 issue, farm prices	
NEVADA	11	April 29		Mu	Nevadans like Muskier's tall-in-the-saddle style	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	18	March 7	Ha Mu McG Y	Mu	McGovern a poor second to Neighbor Muskier	
NEW JERSEY	109	June 6	Hu Mu McG	Mu	Lindsay may enter state in some congressional districts	
NEW MEXICO	18	June 5	Hu J Mu McG W	Mu	Jackson's wife is from Albuquerque, but that won't help	
NEW YORK	278	June 20	C Ha J L Mu McC McG W	Mu	Muskier should get at least a plurality; McGovern second	
NORTH CAROLINA	61	May 6	C J Mu McG W	Mu	Popular ex-Governor Terry Sanford may enter for H.H.H.	
NORTH DAKOTA	14	June 17		Mu	Humphrey and McGovern failed to save popular farm bill	
OHIO	153	June 17	Hu J Mu McG	Mu	Labor likes H.H.H., but top Democrats go for Muskier	
OKLAHOMA	39	June 10		Mu	Muskier got 49% of Democrats in recent poll	
OREGON	31	May 13	Hu J K Mu McC McG	Mu	Toss-up for second between Jackson and McGovern	
PENNSYLVANIA	182	June 15	Hu J Mu McC McG W	Mu	Humphrey's supposed labor backing barely visible so far	
RHODE ISLAND	22	May 13	Hu J L Mu	Mu	New England Muskier has strong backing	
SOUTH CAROLINA	32	March 29		Mu	Muskier has strong organization, leads Mills and Jackson	
SOUTH DAKOTA	17	June 6	McG	McG	McGovern's home state; no competition	
TENNESSEE	49	May 4	J Mu W	?	Conservative vote could divide; favor Muskier plurality	
TEXAS	130	June 13		Mu	Unless L.B.J. intervenes, Muskier will lead Humphrey	
UTAH	19	June 17		Mu	Governor Calvin Rampton's endorsement big help to Muskier	
VERMONT	12	May 20		Mu	Muskier looks good to his fellow Yankees	
VIRGINIA	53	June 10		Mu	Divided delegates will also support Jackson and Humphrey	
WASHINGTON	52	June 24		J	Jackson won 1970 re-election to Senate with 82% of vote	
WEST VIRGINIA	39	June 17	Hu W	Hu	It's a toss-up; but will be a close-run race	
WISCONSIN	67	April 4	C Ha Hu J L W Mu McC McG W	Mu	Humphrey and McGovern could form a third clone	
WYOMING	11	May 12			No one has even set up a headquarters yet	
D.C.	15	June 17		F	Fautroy, but back to primary before he backs out	
CANAL ZONE	3	May 13		?	Big issue here is continued U.S. jurisdiction over canal	
GUAM	3	Early June		Hu	Humphrey considered most familiar with island's problems	
PUERTO RICO	7	By June 1		Mu	Gubernatorial Candidate Rafael Hernandez Colon pro-Muskier	
VIRGIN ISLANDS	3	Late May		Mu	Humphrey popular but Muskier looks like a winner	
Total Votes: 3,016		Needed to Nominate: 1,509				

1972 Presidential Primaries



Source: Congressional Quarterly

STATE	FILING DEADLINE	PRIMARY DATE
1. New Hampshire.....	January 6.....	March 7
2. Florida.....	February 10.....	March 14
3. Illinois.....	January 3.....	March 21
4. Wisconsin.....	March 7.....	April 4
5. Rhode Island.....	January 31.....	April 11
6. Massachusetts.....	February 8.....	April 25
7. Pennsylvania.....	February 15.....	April 25
8. District of Columbia ^A	March 18.....	May 2
9. Indiana.....	March 23.....	May 2
10. Alabama.....	March 1.....	May 2
11. Ohio.....	February 2.....	May 2
12. Tennessee.....	March 9.....	May 4
13. North Carolina.....	March 7.....	May 6
14. Nebraska.....	March 10.....	May 9
15. West Virginia.....	February 5.....	May 9
16. Maryland.....	March 23.....	May 16
17. Oregon.....	March 14.....	May 23
18. California.....	March 24.....	June 6
19. New Jersey.....	April 27.....	June 6
20. New Mexico.....	Not set.....	June 6
21. South Dakota.....	April 21.....	June 6
22. New York ^B	May 4.....	June 20
23. Arkansas ^C	April 18.....	June 27

- A. Delegate selection primary only; Presidential candidates' names do not appear on the ballot.
- B. Legislation has been introduced in Congress to place candidates' names on the primary ballot.
- C. Arkansas scheduled its primary for June 27, but Democratic National Committee rules specify that the state must do so on or before June 20. Arkansas' legislature is expected to make necessary changes early this year.

Having Impact on '72 Race

By R. W. APPLE, Jr.
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 — The methods sanctioned by the July 3, 1953 delegates from all 50 states, the District of Columbia and the territories to work by Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, Miami Beach, empowered to The process will be more open-cast 3,016 votes for a Democratic primary and runoff election than ever before.

Nearly all of the delegates will have one vote each. But some of those from the 13 smaller states, from the district and the territories will cast fractional votes.

The delegates will have been chosen in a bewildering variety of ways—but all or nearly all

The Candidates

Political activity increased yesterday as major primaries approached.

Senator Edmund S. Muskie and Mayor Lindsay were on the Florida campaign trail.

Representative Paul N. McCloskey Jr., liberal Republican challenger to President Nixon, said he would drop out if he were beaten badly in the New Hampshire primary, but the President's conservative rival, Representative John M. Ashbrook, said he would stay in regardless.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was preparing to announce in Philadelphia today that he was a candidate.

In 22 states and the District of Columbia, the delegates will be selected in some form of primary election.

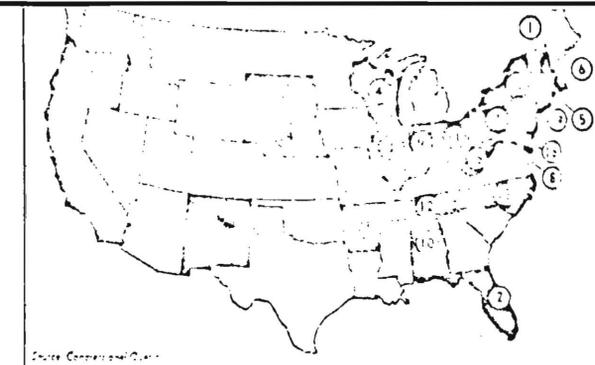
In 24 states, a convention system with procedures already set will be used. In four others, a convention system will also be used, in all probability, but the situation is too murky at the moment to say for sure.

Delaware is one of the places where confusion reigns (the others are Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi). Under the rules as they now stand, delegates to the state convention, which would pick the delegates to the national convention, would not even be chosen until July 8, two days before the national convention is scheduled to begin.

The Republican-controlled legislature in the state has shown no predisposition to change the rules to bail the Democrats out of their embarrassing situation.

One example of the impact of reform involves the favorite-son candidacy, which has been used for years by Governors and other party leaders as a device to hold blocs of votes

Continued on Page 20, Column 1



DEMOCRATIC RULES ALTERING '72 RACE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4
uncommitted. This practice now appears to be falling rapidly into disfavor.

Except for Walter E. Fauntroy, the District of Columbia's nonvoting delegate in Congress, who intends to run as a free-son here, no such candidates have announced. Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois, Gov. John J. Guilan of Ohio and Senator Jan V. Tunney of California have considered and discarded the strategy.

All three have instead endorsed Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, the frontrunner for the nomination. Having decided against running as favorite sons, they were impelled toward the man they thought had the best chance of winning.

Thus, the reforms have helped, at least in one way, not to the outsider trying to catch up but the man in the lead.

Long Primary List

The primaries may offer a better opportunity for someone now back in the pack to challenge for the lead. There are more of them this year than ever, starting with New Hampshire on March 7 and ending with New York on June 20.

An Arkansas primary is scheduled for June 27, but that is a week after the deadline by which the Democratic National Committee has "transmitted" state parties to complete delegate selection.

Of the 24 primaries, 13 will be preferential—that is, the voter will be able to express directly his choice for President—and 10 will provide only for the selection of delegates. Four states among the 13 with delegate primaries have the option of also holding preferential primaries.

In New York, alone among the 23, the Presidential candidates' names will be listed on the ballot, even to show the preferences of the candidates for delegate.

The detailed differences in procedure are almost endless.

In most states, only Democrats can vote in Democratic primaries. But Alabama, Louisiana, Nebraska and Wisconsin permit Republican cross-voters, and New Hampshire allows independents to vote in either the Republican or Democratic primaries.

In some states, such as California, the candidates' names go on the ballots, but voters such as Richard and Walter, the San Diego primary, such Congress and district as that district's delegates will be statewide wide in getting the statewide delegates. In North Carolina, the state vote will be split proportionately among the four top candidates in the primary.

In Oregon, a candidate's name can be placed on the ballot without his permission, and he can be elected in other states without his permission. In some states, the names of candidates are placed on the ballot without their permission, and they can be elected in other states without their permission.

STATE	FILING DEADLINE	PRIMARY DATE
1. New Hampshire	January 9	March 7
2. Florida	February 10	March 14
3. Wisconsin	January 3	March 21
4. Wisconsin	March 7	April 4
5. Rhode Island	January 31	April 11
6. Massachusetts	February 8	April 25
7. Pennsylvania	February 15	April 25
8. District of Columbia	March 18	May 2
9. Indiana	March 23	May 2
10. Alabama	March 1	May 2
11. Ohio	February 2	May 2
12. Tennessee	March 9	May 4
13. North Carolina	March 7	May 6
14. Nebraska	March 10	May 9
15. West Virginia	February 5	May 9
16. Maryland	March 23	May 16
17. Oregon	March 14	May 23
18. California	March 24	June 6
19. New Jersey	April 27	June 6
20. New Mexico	Not set	June 6
21. South Dakota	April 21	June 6
22. New York	May 4	June 20
23. Arkansas	April 18	June 27

The New York Times, Jan. 10, 1972

Variety in Selection

In all, more than 60 per cent of the delegates will be elected in primaries.

There is also a wide variety in the methods by which convention or caucus can be used to select delegates.

A few small states—Vermont and Wyoming, for example—have simple two-tier systems, under which town or precinct meetings select delegates to state conventions, which in turn choose delegates to the national convention.

But the McGovern commission requirement that at least 75 per cent of a state's delegates be elected by Congressional district (to avoid snubbing potential forces more complicated systems on most convention states. The only exceptions are the six states that have only one Congressional district.

In some states, mass meetings are used as a first step. In others, a precinct primary, at which precinct committeemen and women are elected, serves both for the selection of party officials and delegates to state conventions. In still

others, town meetings are the first step.

Eight convention states have two-tier systems, with meetings at town or precinct, county and state levels.

To meet the McGovern requirements, 11 states have adopted what the Democratic National Committee calls the "three-tier lateral system." A typical example is Iowa.

From Precinct to State

In that state, precinct caucuses, open to all Democrats 18 years of age and over, will elect delegates to the county convention—the number to be based on the ratio of the precinct vote to the county vote for the Democratic candidate in the last gubernatorial election.

County conventions will be held on Feb. 26, with delegates to the Congressional district and state conventions to be chosen on the basis of similar ratios.

On March 26, Congressional district conventions will be held in seven cities around the state. The conventions will elect 75 per cent, or 27, of a favorite son, either held to Iowa's 46 delegates to the national convention, apportioned among the seven districts on the basis of a formula that gives equal weight to total population and to the Democratic vote in the 1968 Presidential race.

Finally, on May 20, the same delegates who attended the seven district conventions will come together for the state convention, at which the 11 delegates from remaining precincts, convention the primary to choose the 13 delegates will be chosen by a majority vote.

Because the process in Iowa is so

and in most of the other convention states is so structured, it appears likely that, beginning at the lowest level, the preferences of delegates will be known. From step to step, it will be relatively easy to assess Mr. Muskie's strength, Mr. McGovern's and so on.

Thus, it will be far harder than in the past to remain uncommitted. Some analysts believe that fewer than 15 per cent of the delegates at Miami Beach will actually be uncommitted.

The numerical election law and party regulations are usually of interest only to political insiders, but they can influence major political decisions.

The election law of Governor Gilligan's plan reasons for Senator Muskie, rather than simply throwing the state open to an open primary, was the fact that the Ohio election law requires a candidate for

Ohio to state a preference. All Ohio delegates will be shown in the primary. Mr. Gilligan did not want to elect 75 per cent, or 27, of a favorite son, either held to Iowa's 46 delegates to the national convention, apportioned among the seven districts on the basis of a formula that gives equal weight to total population and to the Democratic vote in the 1968 Presidential race.

In Pennsylvania, on the other hand, Gov. Milton J. Shapiro has given equal weight to total population and to the Democratic vote in the 1968 Presidential race as an uncommitted delegate or not run at all.

But Pennsylvania, the state delegates who attended the seven district conventions will come together for the state convention, at which the 11 delegates from remaining precincts, convention the primary to choose the 13 delegates will be chosen by a majority vote.

Because the process in Iowa is so

December 8, 1971

DATES -- THE 1972 PRIMARIES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Filing Date</u>	<u>Withdrawal Deadline</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>
January 3	Illinois		
January 6	New Hampshire		
January 8		Illinois	
January 14		Rhode Island**	
January 17		New Hampshire	
January 31	Rhode Island**		
February 2	Ohio***		
February 5	West Virginia***		
February 8	Massachusetts**		
February 11		Massachusetts**	
February 15	Florida* Pennsylvania	Florida*	
February 22		Pennsylvania	
February 29		Wisconsin*	
March 1	Alabama		
March 7	Wisconsin* North Carolina		(R) New Hampshire
March 9	Tennessee*		
March 10	Nebraska*	Nebraska*	
March 14	Oregon* (N.W.)		(D) Florida
March 18	District of Columbia		
March 20		Tennessee*	
March 21			(R) Illinois
March 23	Indiana Maryland*	Indiana South Dakota North Carolina	
March 24	California (N.W.)		

(2)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Withdrawal Deadline</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>
April 3		Maryland*	
April 4	New Mexico*		(R) Wisconsin
April 11			(D) Rhode Island
April 12		Alabama	
April 18	Arkansas (W.P.)		
April 21	South Dakota		
April 25		New Mexico*	(D) Massachusetts (D) Pennsylvania
April 27	New Jersey		
May 2			(D) Indiana (R) Ohio (D) Alabama D.C.
May 3		New Jersey	
May 4	New York**		(D) Tennessee
May 6			(D) North Carolina
May 9		New York**	(R) Nebraska (D) West Virginia
May 16			(D) Maryland
May 23			(R) Oregon
June 6			(D) California (D) New Mexico (R) South Dakota (R) New Jersey
June 20			(R) New York
June 27			(D) Arkansas

*Affidavit states (Secretary of State puts name on ballot)

**Dates subject to change

***Withdrawal "reasonable time before ballots are printed"

N.W.--No Withdrawal from Ballot

W.P.--Withdrawal set by party

(R) (D)--Party affiliation of Secretary of State

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1972

HIGH PRIORITY

~~ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

Bob would like a handy one-page summary from you of a run-down of the primaries, mentioning those states where we are on the ballot, who is against us, what our expectations are, etc. He doesn't want a long involved report, but something he can refer to very quickly; hopefully, only one page long.