

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Notes. This document discusses percent of representation in California. 7 pgs.
32	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Wire. This document discusses the latest California presidential primary vote tabulations. 2 pg.
32	5	6/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: Primaries: California, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Dakota. 18 pgs.
32	5	6/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Notes. These documents discusses percentages and results in the California Primary. 3 pgs.

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32	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Wires. This document discusses George S. McGovern and the California Primary. 7 pgs.
32	5	6/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to the President. RE: Outcome of California Primary. 6 pgs.
32	5	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Minnesota Poll. 3 pgs.
32	5	5/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: John Mitchell Decision. 1 pg.
32	5	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John M. Mitchell. RE: Vietnam Poll. 5 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>
32	5	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Market Opinion Research Primary Day Poll for Detroit News. This document includes opinions of Democrats and Republicans as well as followers of specific candidates. 18 pgs.
32	5	5/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder and Frederic V. Malek to John Mitchell. RE: Report of Wednesday Afternoon Activities. 10 pgs.
32	5	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Priority Ranking of the States for the Campaign. 4 pgs.
32	5	5/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John N. Mitchell. RE: California Corey Research. 2 pgs.
32	5	4/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Peter Dailey's Analysis of Democratic Contenders. 37 pgs.

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32	5	3/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Weekly Report. 9 pgs.
32	5	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Notes. This document outlines a meeting with Mitchell at 9:40 with 60 people and discusses McGovern. 2 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 312

Folder: Campaign 20 Part II May 17-June 6, 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
99	Return Private/Political NOTES, "CONG TOM STEED..." nd.
100	Return Private/Political MEMO, TERTER TO MITCHELL, 5/26/72
101	Return Private/Political MEMO, TERTER TO MITCHELL, 5/18/72
102	Return Private/Political MEMO, PORTER TO MITCHELL, 5/12/72
103	Return Private/Political NOTE, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/11/[72]
104	Return Private/Political MEMO, TERTER TO MITCHELL, 5/18/72
105	Return Private/Political MARKET OPINION RESEARCH POLL, 5/16/72
106	Retain Open
107	Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO MITCHELL, 5/12/72
108	Return Private/Political MEMO, MARIK TO MITCHELL, 5/11/72
109	Return Private/Political MEMO, TERTER TO MITCHELL, 5/17/72
110	Return Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH, STRACHAN TO HRH, 4/4/72
111	Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO MITCHELL, 3/24/72
112	Retain Open
113	Return Private/Political NOTES, "GUD MITCHELL," " 6/4/[72]

Cong Tom Steed
(D) Oklahoma
4th District

Cong John J. McFall
(D) California
15th District



Rep % in Calif
62% - 99% in

dem
61% - 99% in

Calif in - 99%

Mc N	1,523,429	45%
Horn	1,347,710	40%
Wallace	161,220	5%
Cheskin	154,780	4%
Muskie	71,367	2%
Yorty	49,229	1%
McC	33,392	1%
Jackson	28,067	1%
Sunday	26,573	1%

Nixon	2,002,561	90%
Castbrook	219,275	10%

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

TO: _____

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

OF (Organization) *Kathy*

PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO. CODE/EXT. _____

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

*Murray Chotiner called
H. and said —
"Hershaw is leading
Smits w/ 95% of
the vote in."*

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME
<i>D</i>	<i>6/7</i>	<i>2:20</i>

Def.

Delegate - HJ

countries not counted	McGovern	72
	HHH	9
	uncom	<u>27</u>
	total	109

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

TO: _____

YOU WERE CALLED BY— YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization) _____

PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO. CODE/EXT. _____
 WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
 RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

UPI Newark
85% app-
mc B 182,000 - 51%
H 152,000 - 49%
79 - mc min.

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

CBS Morning News

Projections

McGovern

43

Humphrey

38

Wallace

CBS

7

All others

12

No/ABC

✓

Rep 3,198

EO Messer RR

Cal

Dem Regis

→ 5,134,178
(RNC) 4,445,043 (Fed)

Total Vote (88%)

3,000,000
2,914,647

→ 100% proje

3,312,098

68% of total Dems registered, actually votes

5,134
58

Rep
Turnout

$$2,914,647 = 88\% \text{ of } X$$

3,312,098

$$\frac{X}{4,445,043} = 74.5\% \text{ as Turnout}$$

W/ 88%

Mordian says 68%

Mc	9	—	45%	1,363,095
HH	—	—	39%	1,170,833
Wal	—	—	5%	156,535
Oris	—	—	5%	138,091
Mus	—	—	2%	64,357
Yorty	—	—	1% each	
Mc C	—	—		
Jac	—	—		
herid	—	—		

UPI-56

(VOTE COUNTS)

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

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 88 PCT.

MCGOVERN 1,363,895 45 PCT.

HUMPHREY 1,170,873 39 PCT.

WALLACE 156,535 5 PCT.

CHISHOLM 138,891 5 PCT.

MUSKIE 64,357 2 PCT.

YORTY 41,952 1 PCT.

MCCARTHY 30,849 1 PCT.

JACKSON 24,995 1 PCT.

LINDSAY 23,910 1 PCT.

(WINNER TAKES ALL 271 DELEGATES.)

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 88 PCT.

NIXON 1,750,782 90 PCT.

ASHBROOK 191,327 10 PCT.

-8-

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

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 96 PCT.

MCGOVERN 48,812 33 PCT.

WALLACE 43,378 29 PCT.

HUMPHREY 38,260 26 PCT.

MUSKIE 6,497 5 PCT.

JACKSON 4,249 3 PCT.

CHISHOLM 3,186 2 PCT.

NONE SHOWN 3,147 2 PCT.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 21 PCT.

NIXON 9,664 90 PCT.

MCCLOSKEY 590 6 PCT.

NONE SHOWN 418 4 PCT.

6-7--TS1104AED

6/7

L called Mardian + some info,

78%
projec
by
Mardian

Delept - Mc Cl - top 2 ÷ %
N.M.

in led ste
someone must talk to Mc Cl

Total Dem Vote Regis

Mosiman, Don re N.J.

cal -

11a
John
Hornata

ABC - no projec

NBC - 1

CBS - lost at 3:30 am

11:15 -

m c G	43
H	38
Wal	7
Others	12

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

GORDON
STRACHAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1972

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

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

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

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

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

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

Page Two
June 7, 1972

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

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

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

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

McCloskey beat his two primary opponents 24,000 to 17,000 each.

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

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

VOTE FIGURES (UNOFFICIAL)

CALIFORNIA

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY (With 62% precincts reporting)

MCGOVERN	969,243	47%	271 delegates
HUMPHREY	791,034	38%	
WALLACE	109,979	5%	
CHISHOLM	91,162	5%	
MUSKIE	46,161	2%	
YORTY	27,420	1%	
MCCARTHY	21,808	1%	
JACKSON	18,320	1%	
LINDSAY	17,456	1%	

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY (With 61% precincts reporting)

RN	1,200,921	90%	96 delegates
ASHBROOK	130,787	10%	

NEW MEXICO

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY (With 96% precincts reporting)

MCGOVERN	48,812	33%	10 delegates
WALLACE	43,378	29%	8
HUMPHREY	38,260	26%	0
MUSKIE	6,497	5%	0
JACKSON	4,241	3%	0
CHISHOLM	3,168	1%	0
NONE SHOWN	3,417	2%	-

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY (With 96% precincts reporting)

RN	48,793	89%	13 delegates
MCCLOSKEY	3,300	6%	1
NONE SHOWN	2,557	5%	

CONVERSATION WITH HARRY DENT - WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1972

D - Hey, ever since I talked to you last time I've been talking to the Big Man.

G - That's what I understand.

D - He just wanted to chew the fat all the way around about different races and ...

G - He also wanted to ...

D - But I told him the problem in New Jersey was that they have voting machine problems up there plus the 3 hour delay in California so I explained some of the things he is looking for and he accepted all that fine. He just wanted to chew around about interpretation about what it looked like, so forth. He's of the opinion that McGovern didn't do as well and that this might give a little more heart to the Stop McGovern forces. The fact that he didn't win by about as much as he should have in California and so forth. But we're still reaching for that magic figure. I told him that it was a good turnout. We just didn't have any percentage figure yet.

G - OK. Did he ask about the network projections?

D - I told him NBC projected an 8% and that CBS had said 5%. I really just threw him a lot of that stuff without him asking for it. But we're still reaching for more.

G - OK.

D - As we get it we'll feed it. The hardest thing to get I've ever seen.

G - What happened do you think?

D - What? In California?

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

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

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

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

G - Right.

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

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

D - Nope. None of those.

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

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

G - Really? You think they were that effective?

D - I think it had some impact.

G - The old rule, if you're ahead, don't debate.

D - That's right. Of course he also thinks the Kennedy people might have bought the field poll.

G - Oh, you're kidding me?

D - No, that's what he thinks.

G - Oh, that's great. That's amazing.

D - All right. We'll holler as soon as we get some more.

G - All right. I'd appreciate it.

D - Righto.

G - Thanks.

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A Less-Than-Satisfactorily-Organized
Review of Selected Network Coverage of
California Primary - 6/6/72

At 3:30 a.m. CBS estimated McGovern would win by 43-38 over HHH with 7% to Wallace. In comments thruout the evening it was generally expected that such a margin, significantly smaller than the polls anticipated, would to some degree slow McGovern's momentum. Mankiewicz early in the evening predicted a 5-6 point lead and Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign director, predicted a 8-10 point margin.

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

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

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

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

NBC, in 1:00 a.m. report, said McGovern had maintained his lead of 15% in raw stix, but in key precincts the race was "neck and neck." Chancellor said McGovern had made a "major gain" among black voters pulling even with HHH and McGovern was getting twice the Chicano vote of HHH -- another "breakthru," said John.

"The nomination is still elusive," said John. "McGovern hasn't got it locked up." Commenting on lively scene at HHH Hdqtrs, Chancellor said: "It looks like the nite the Lusitania didn't sink."

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

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

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

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

HHH, on NBC, pointed out that he'd won several primaries, and he said the nominee will be named at convention, not in Calif. He'll go on to Miami, no matter the result in Calif. He said he'd spent \$11,000 in N.J. while McGovern had spent \$250,000. He said Wallace had done well in primaries, including New Mex., and he "may be the balance of power" at convention. Finally, he pointed out that Texas, Missouri, and some border states haven't been heard from yet.

Later NBC showed various polls which reflected McG's gains in recent weeks. Still he trailed RN -- 55-45 in Gallup -- in all but one and that was a new Quayle Poll of Calif. which found McG leading RN 51-49. And w/Field showing the 2 at 41-41, Chancellor pointed to Calif's barometer reputation saying these polls could be important and they also show that McG would not represent the disaster Goldwater-type year which has been suggested by some.

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

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

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

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

McG on film accepting congrats for record 4-primaries in a day and for birth of grandson. Chances now better than 50-50, said George, recalling Muskie/HHH descriptions of Calif. as the decisive contest. He then emphasized Dem unity and his hopes for a Muskie or HHH endorsement tho he won't push either man.

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

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

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

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

White noted concern for RN in 70-20 McG over HHH in initial survey of Calif's youth voters -- there'll be 2-1/2 M this fall and 88% of new registrants are in that group. Schoemacher said there

are 2 general thrusts in McG effort: (1) alienation; (2) a generational changeover -- the old simply must go. Note of McG's many under-30 operatives. As for McG in Miami, White said 3 McG calls -- to Chisholm, Hearnese and Daley -- could wrap it up for McG if he were another man and if "old politics" still existed. Can't do today, tho, said Teddy. He also predicted Ill. delegate battle will go to floor and McG can't control insurgents on that issue. Nor can he avoid a stand on busing -- so it's by no means wrapped up, said White who warned if Dems started playing w/racial quotas in delegations on the floor, they'd be dealing w/social dynamite.

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

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

Haynes Johnson of Post on NET pushed his thesis of the alienated citizen w/considerable fervor. Public is anti-institution, anti-party, anti-Establishment. McG is seen as quiet, trustworthy,

honest. He's a quiet man in a time when public wants quiet. John Mitchell can't really believe only Dems. are alienated from each other, said Johnson who also said GOP primaries mean nothing. RN is vulnerable to current spirit of public -- and he's beatable. War, crime, inflation and other problems of '68 which helped elect him still exist. Johnson also said a broad coalition will be needed to win. And he asserted that RN also is hurt by lack of emotional hold on public and connection of ^aminority GOP to big business.

Lucey, Gary Hart and ManKiewicz, all on NET, had full opportunity to tell us honesty, trust, credibility would be the key issue. Hart said country is ready for a man who tells the truth. ManKiewicz said public doesn't want "politicians" and RN is the "quinessential politician." Frank said campaign's key word will be honest, not radical. ManKiewicz said McG wasn't type to make backroom deals etc but Jess Unruh said those deals would certainly be made by McG but if ^{he} pulled the usual ticket-balancing act re: VP, he'd be in trouble as he has very little room to backpedal where it's visible. And if he goes to old geog./ideol. way of balancing ticket, he'll destroy a great deal of his credibility, said Unruh. The mustachioed ex-Big Daddy also said McG had obscured and obfuscated issues and it's unlikely he can do this in the 3 national campaign months.

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

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

#

Committee for the Re-election of the President

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Jeb S. Magruder

FROM: DeVan L. Shumway

SUBJECT: Plans for the Evening of the California
Primary - June 6

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

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

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

Governor Reagan plans a 10:00 a.m. PDT press conference in California to furnish voters there with an analysis and again to praise the President's popularity. I will be in touch with either Jack Easton or Lyn Nofziger to assist them in developing a line, but again I suggest the Governor indicate only that the McGovern victory is not terribly significant in a state with a traditionally low vote in primaries leading to a choice of more liberal, far out candidates.

The next follow-up on the California Primary will come on Thursday with Mr. Mitchell's press briefing of selected members of the Washington press corps. We are preparing questions and answers for him now and I would suggest that we sit down with him tomorrow to discuss the line he may want to promote.

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

cc: Ann Dore
Cliff Miller
Powell Moore
Gordon Strachan

Cal - 3rd delay ^{Dent}
 Most bel SF + LA + Or Cnty
 HH win in LA + Or,
 losing in SF and

	Percent	Numbers	# P I 109-A
→ 9a - 79%			
McG	45%	1,234,029	
HH	38	1,035,465	
Wal	6	156,122	
Ches	5	124,092	
Mus	2	58,632	
Vorte			
McC			
Jac			
	lead		
REP 90 - 10			

Cal Count completed next 2 hrs
 LA surprised HH ahead by
~~30,000~~ LA cnty
 w/ 52% of vote

Numbers of Cal vote
 % of SF Vote + Or Cntes
 Numbers
 *→ % of Turnout
 3 Net Projects

6/7
905

L.

- latest Results.

— 3 net projects:

— WA/areas not in + here
— might change figures

G → Joan +
Bent

Cal Turnout -
N.J. Del Situation

NBC -

Monday

N J - ~~MeG~~ ABC Proj. 70 del of 109
79

~~Cal~~ - ~~ABC Proj.~~ 8% 46 to 38
80% at 9:45
~~Counted~~

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

Dent - no % of turnout "good"
- vote count 3 hrs.

P → Dent 945

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

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

TURNING SERIOUS, HE SAID, "I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE
PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA, THE PEOPLE IN THE SUBURBS, FARMS AND CITIES,
THE OLD AND THE YOUNG, THE INDEPENDENTS AND THE REGISTERED DEMOCRATS."

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

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

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

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

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

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

6/7--GE858A

(REPUBLICANS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

6/7--GE910A

UPI-6

(POLITICS)

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

BUT MCGOVERN'S MARGIN OF VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA, LESS THAN HALF THE 28 PER CENT PROJECTED BY POLLS, MAY NOT HAVE BEEN BIG ENOUGH TO LAUNCH A BANDWAGON BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A GLANCE AT THE FOUR RACES:

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

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

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

SOUTH DAKOTA--MCGOVERN NOT CHALLENGED.

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

6-7--PA 847AED

UPI-8

(HUMPHREY)

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

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

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

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

BEFORE HE LEFT, HE TOLD A TV INTERVIEWER:

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

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

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

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

6/7--GE902A

UPI-9

(NIXON)

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

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

-0-

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

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

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

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

6/7--GE905A

074A

TABS 6-7

CALIFORNIA TABS

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

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 56 PCT.

MCGOVERN	876,343	47 PCT.
HUMPHREY	706,864	38 PCT.
WALLACE	100,104	5 PCT.
CHISHOLMN	80,235	4 PCT.
MUSKIE	43,181	2 PCT.
YORTY	24,673	1 PCT.
MCCARTHY	19,923	1 PCT.
JACKSON	16,889	1 PCT.
LINDSAY	15,887	1 PCT.

(WINNER TAKES ALL 271 DELEGATES.)

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 56 PCT.

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

UPI 06-07 06:03 AED

075A

CALIF 6-7

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

UPI-NEW YORK

UPI 06-07 06:04 AED

090A

TABS 6-7

CALIFORNIA TABS

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

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 73 PCT.

MCGOVERN L, 141,394 46 PCT.

HUMPHREY 949,275 38 PCT.

WALLACE 116,565 5 PCT.

CHISHOLM 110,182 5 PCT.

MUSKIE 54,699 2 PCT.

YORTY 33,356 1 PCT.

MCCARTHY 25,474 1 PCT.

JACKSON 21,036 1 PCT.

LINDSAY 29,328 1 PCT.

(WINNER TAKES ALL 271 DELEGATES.)

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 70 PCT.

NIXON 1,384,329 90 PCT.

ASHBROOK 151,461 10 PCT.

UPI 06-07 07:30 AED

088A

CALIF 6-7

1ST DAY LD 070A

BY STEVE GERSTEL

LOS ANGELES (UPI)--GEORGE S. MCGOVERN TODAY BEAT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY IN THE CRUCIAL CALIFORNIA PRIMARY--AND SWEEPED PRIMARIES IN THREE OTHER STATES--TO MOVE FAR OUT IN FRONT AS THE CANDIDATE TO BEAT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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PICKUP 10TH PGH 070A: MCGOVERN, CELEBRATING

UPI 06-07 07:22 AED

TO BE DEXED TO CAMP DAVID:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

The outcome as of 9:00 a.m. this morning in California with 78% of the vote in -- with McGovern at 45% and Humphrey at 38% -- is even better from our standpoint than the early vote totals we discussed last evening. McGovern winning is good for us, but he made nowhere near the showing that was expected. This should cut his momentum considerably. In fact, it is the best of all outcomes because he will not create from this the invincible image that he was gaining in recent days in the media.

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

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

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

In conclusion, it was in my opinion, at least, a good day for us.

O'Neil - 7³⁰ mtg:

- Dent → Beasley after P left for CO +
reset it w/ P at later date.
- comments on haird's testim - just passing inference
 - Klein final vote at 4p + Shultz at 5p
 - Offer of 40% matching at Envision in STOC
 - Publ Bldg - union not prov passed here

L.

me G	Belts				
Wash	Post	P A - G			
	me G		550 1/4	+271	+10+17+80
	Wal		323		
	HH		296 1/2		
	mus		162		
	Jac		38		
	Carl		27		
	Chris		15		
	Fauntroy		15		
	Other		14		
	Unum		445 1/2		
Best guess	1300;	CBS	1266		

3
UNDATED--PRIMARIES ROUNDUP (2)

HE CAPTURED A SOLID MAJORITY OF THE 109 NEW JERSEY DELEGATES, SWEEPED THE 17 OF HIS NATIVE SOUTH DAKOTA WITHOUT OPPOSITION AND EDGED WALLACE IN A TIGHT NEW MEXICO RACE THAT GAVE MCGOVERN 10 DELEGATES AND WALLACE EIGHT.

CALIFORNIA, HOWEVER, WAS THE BIG PRIZE. BOTH MCGOVERN AND HUMPHREY HAD PREDICTED THE WINNER WOULD CAPTURE THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION THOUGH HUMPHREY MODIFIED THAT IN RECENT DAYS AS POLLS SHOWED HIM FAR BEHIND IN THE STATE.

THE CALIFORNIA VOTE COUNT WAS DELAYED WHEN A FEDERAL JUDGE IN SAN FRANCISCO ORDERED POLLS KEPT OPEN AN EXTRA THREE HOURS TO HANDLE DELAYS CAUSED BY AN UNUSUALLY LONG LOCAL BALLOT. SECRETARY OF STATE EDMUND G. BROWN JR. THEN ORDERED THE STATEWIDE TALLY HELD UP UNTIL SAN FRANCISCO POLLS CLOSED.

A FEW VOTES WERE COUNTED BEFORE BROWN'S ORDER WAS RECEIVED, MAINLY IN THE NORTH WHERE MCGOVERN WAS RUNNING WELL, AND THEN THE TALLY STOOD STILL FOR MORE THAN TWO HOURS, UNTIL AFTER 2 A.M. EDT.

AS THE TALLY STARTED TO MOUNT, MCGOVERN TOLD REPORTERS, "I REALIZE THERE'S NOTHING CERTAIN IN POLITICS, BUT I THINK THESE FOUR VICTORIES PROBABLY SET THE STAGE FOR MY VICTORY IN MIAMI BEACH."

HE SAID HE PLANNED TO TALK WITH HUMPHREY IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, ADDING, "HE AND I KNOW HOW TO TALK TO EACH OTHER ON A MAN-TO-MAN BASIS. WE HAVE A HIGH REGARD FOR EACH OTHER AND I THINK SOMETHING CAN BE WORKED OUT."

JC840AED JUNE 7

MEMPHIS (12)

... CALLED FOR VIOLENCE AND SAID, "I THINK ALL OF US
... STEERING ACROSS THE COUNTRY.
... THE LAST FEEL-SPIRIT AND HAVE VISION OF A
... TO THE STATE CONVENTION AND TO THE

... "I'M ENCOURAGED,
... WE'LL STAY WITH IT, GO TO MIAMI AND SEE
..."

... "LET'S FOR EXAMPLE IN PROTECTIVE--I FOR
... AND AS WELL AS WE'LL LIVE FOR
... IN THIS BALL PARK AND WE'LL COVER THROUGH."

... ST. HOUSTON, TEX., TO LEFT TODAY WITH DEMOCRATIC
... LATE MONDAY NIGHT.

... A 9-1 VICTORY OVER HIS CONSERVATIVE
... IN THE RACE FOR CALIF. (L.A.)
... NATIONAL CONVENTION.

... LOST ONE OF THE 14 GOP DELEGATES, TO REP.
... OF CALIFORNIA, WHO LONG AGO
... TO BE WINNING A
... TO THE HOUSE.

... WERE THE LAST OF THE LONG PRIMARY SEASON
... TWO WEEKS FROM NOW.

SR941860 JUNE 7

MEMPHIS (12)

... HAS AN ACTUALITY OF EXCERPTS FROM A TALK
... IN DENVER TO THE
... CALL 861-4081.

SR942820 JUNE 7

MEMPHIS (12)

... THE BIGGEST SURPRISE WAS
... BALTIMORE BIRMGHM IN
... AND WON ALMOST HALF OF
... THAT CALLED FOR PROPORTIONAL
... BETWEEN THE TWO TOP FINISHERS.
... HAD 65 PER CENT
... WITH 28 PER CENT, FINISHED
... GOV. LUDOLPH
... JOSEPH E. BONIOLA.

... WALLACE 42,617 AND RUTHERFORD 37,007.
... THE REMAINING VOTE.

... WERE CHOSEN IN
... BY A CLOSE
... BASIS.

... HAD WON 60 RACES
... HEADQUARTERS CONCERNED
... THE DELEGATION

... DELEGATES, VOTERS

UPI-27

(N.J.)

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

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

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

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

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

6/7--GE959A

UPI-28

(N.M.)

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

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

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

WITH 96 PER CENT OF THE VOTE COUNTED, MCGOVERN HAD 33 PER CENT, WALLACE 29 PER CENT AND HUMPHREY 26 PER CENT. EDMUND MUSKIE POLLED 5 PER CENT, HENRY JACKSON 3 PER CENT AND SHIRLEY CHISHOLM 2 PER CENT.

6/7--GE1002A

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

65- # 600
seen

May 26, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: California Primary

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

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

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

Nixon	75%
Ashbrook	8
Undecided	17

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0923

May 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Minnesota Poll

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

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Trial Heats

Nixon	39%
Muskie	42
Undecided	19

Nixon	38%
Humphrey	45
Undecided	17

Nixon Approval	54%
Nixon Disapproval	39
No Opinion	7

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

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

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: California Event

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

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

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

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

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

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

X

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/11

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This will be sent to John Mitchell for decision.

*G. Strachan 5/18 -
c/wc not involved Right
+ tell Colson to
stay out of it.*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

May 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Vietnam Poll

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

I have promised this individual that we would not use this data other than for our own internal use without clearing it with him first.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

VIETNAM
SURVEY

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

Most important problem facing the country:

Vietnam/War	70%
Inflation/Cost of Living/ Economy	21
Unemployment/jobs	8
Taxes	6
Crime	7
Racial problems	6
Drugs	6
Pollution/ecology/environment	7
General unrest/protests/ demonstrations	7
All others	23
Not reported	4

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

Right direction	32%
Wrong track	55
No opinion	13

Approve/Disapprove way Nixon handling job as President:

Approve	60%
Disapprove	29
No opinion	11

Why? (Approve):

War/Vietnam	41%
Something else	62
No opinion	2

Why? (Disapprove):

War/Vietnam	48%
Something else	59
No opinion	0

Approve/Disapprove way the President is handling the Vietnam situation:

Approve	55%
Disapprove	34
No opinion	11

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

Yes	58%
No	41
Undecided	1

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

Support	57%
Oppose	23
No opinion	20

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

Fair and reasonable	77%
Further offer made	10
No opinion	13

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

Withdraw all troops regardless of N. Vietnamese actions	10%
Withdraw all troops only after our prisoners of war have been released	52
Continue as we are now	5
Use whatever air and naval power needed to stop the North Vietnamese offensive	12
Use whatever air and naval power is necessary including more U.S. troops to stop offensive	14
No opinion	8

Mining of the North Vietnamese harbors and bombing will speed up end of war, delay end of war or not make any difference:

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

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

Upset	41%
No difference	47
No opinion	12

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

Will	19%
Will not be over	68
No opinion	13

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

Approve	20%
Disapprove	44
No opinion	36

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

Should	74%
Should not	17
No opinion	9

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

Agree	22%
Disagree	69
No opinion	9

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

Should	42%
Should not	49
No opinion	9

Trial Heats:

Nixon	44%
Humphrey	28
Wallace	13
Undecided	15

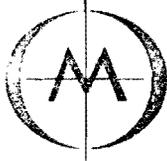
Nixon	41%
Kennedy	34
Wallace	12
Undecided	13

Nixon	42%
McGovern	28
Wallace	15
Undecided	15

Past Voting:

Straight Democratic	19%
Mostly Democratic	13
A few more Democrats than Republicans	4
About equally for both parties	21
A few more Republicans than Democrats	4
Mostly Republican	11
Straight Republican	6
Don't know	22

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



28 W. ADAMS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226 | (313) 963-2414

Market Opinion Research Primary Day poll for Detroit News May 16, 1972

In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

	<u>All Democratic Primary voters</u>	<u>All Republican Primary voters</u>
Vietnam	28%	39
Busing of school children	19	6
General unrest in the country	10	11
Taxes	6	5
Crime	6	2
Inflation	6	9
Protest against things as they are	5	2
Unemployment	3	

In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

Nixon Voters

Vietnam	39 %
General unrest in the country	11
Inflation	9
Busing	7
Taxes	6
National defense	4

In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

Wallace Voters

Busing	35 %
Vietnam	11
General unrest in the country	11
Crime	10
Taxes	8
Protest against things as they are	6
Inflation	6

In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

McGovern Voters

Vietnam	55 %
General unrest in the country	8
Protest against things as they are	6
Busing	5
Inflation	5

In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

Humphrey Voters

Vietnam	22 %
General unrest in the country	9
Inflation	9
Taxes	9
Race problems	8
Unemployment	6
Busing	5

Comments on importance of issues

Democratic primary

McGovern is a one issue candidate in the sense that the majority of his supporters (55%) name Vietnam as the issue most important to them.

No other issue gets large mention by McGovern voters. Next is general unrest in the country 8%.

Wallace is more than a one issue candidate. While busing is the prime concern to 35% of those who voted for him, his supporters name a variety of other issues as well: Vietnam 11%, general unrest in the country 11%, crime 10%, taxes 8%, inflation 6% and protest against things as they are 6%.

Humphrey voters show 22% mention of Vietnam as the most important issue, but spread their next mentions evenly over general unrest, taxes, and inflation at about 9% mention each.

Republican primary

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

Issues as influencers of vote

Thus as issues, Vietnam concern draws voters toward McGovern while busing and concern about general unrest work for Wallace. Sixty-nine percent of the Democratic primary voters do consider Vietnam a most important

issue in choosing a candidate, chose McGovern. Half of the voters who consider general unrest most important, pick Wallace and 82% of those whose prime concern is busing pick him.

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

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

Nixon Voters

McGovern	33 %
Wallace	18
Humphrey	18
Muskie	6
McCloskey	4
Other or no second choice	21
	<hr/>
	100 %
Base	123

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

	<u>Wallace Voters</u>	<u>McGovern Voters</u>	<u>Humphrey Voters</u>
Nixon	38%	Humphrey 35%	McGovern 41%
McGovern	32	Nixon 19	Nixon 23
Humphrey	8	Muskie 15	Muskie 11
Muskie	5	Wallace 5	Wallace 9
Other or no second choice	27	Other or no second choice 26	Other or no second choice 26
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100 %	100 %	100 %
Base	194	133	64

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

(Republican Primary Voters)

Nixon Voters

Core Republicans	60 %
Ticket Splitters	22
Core Democrats	2
Never voted before	16
	<hr/>
	100 %
Base	129

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

Cross Over Effect

	<u>Total Vote for all Democratic Candidates</u>	<u>Wallace Vote</u>	<u>McGovern Vote</u>	<u>Humphrey Vote</u>
Core Democrats	45 %	36 %	48 %	67 %
Ticket Splitters	25	27	20	22
Core Republicans	13	20	11	3
Never voted before	17	17	21	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Base	444	194	133	64

How Primary Voters Voted By Age

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Other Candidates</u>
18 - 24	100 %	41 %	37 %	8 %	14 %
25 - 29	100 %	38 %	35 %	10 %	17 %
30 - 39	100 %	40 %	33 %	19 %	8 %
40 - 49	100 %	50 %	26 %	15 %	9 %
50 - 59	100 %	51 %	19 %	14 %	16 %
60 and over	100 %	33 %	29 %	27 %	11 %

City/Suburban/Outstate Split of Voters for Democratic candidates

	<u>Wallace Voters</u>	<u>McGovern Voters</u>	<u>Humphrey Voters</u>
City of Detroit	15%	17%	19%
Suburban Detroit	45	38	23
Outstate	<u>40</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>58</u>
	100%	100%	100%

Democratic candidate support by sex

	<u>Wallace Voters</u>	<u>McGovern Voters</u>	<u>Humphrey Voters</u>
Male	58%	46%	59%
Female	42	54	41

Wallace and Humphrey draw their support more from males than females.

McGovern, however, has a larger proportion of women voters.

Democratic candidate support by race

	<u>Wallace Voters</u>	<u>McGovern Voters</u>	<u>Humphrey Voters</u>	<u>Chisholm Voters</u>
White	99%	96%	84%	67%
Black	0	3	16	27
Other/not stated	1	1	0	1

The Young (Age 18-24) Wallace Voter

34 voters out of 106
in age group = 32%

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

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

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

McGovern	47%
Nixon	35
Humphrey	9
Muskie	6

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

Skilled craftsmen/foremen	26%
Operatives/kindred workers (unskilled)	18
Officials/business owners	15
Professional/technical	12
Student	9
Clerical/sales	6
Service workers/laborers	6
Housewife	3
No answer	6

The Young (Age 18-24) McGovern Voter

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

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

Vietnam	71%
Busing	7
All other issues have 3% or less mention	

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

Humphrey	26%
Nixon	19
Muskie	16
Wallace	13
Kennedy	13
Chisholm	6

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

Professional/technical	29%
Service workers/laborers	19
Skilled craftsmen/foremen	13
Clerical/sales	10
Student	10
Officials/business owners	7
Operatives/kindred workers (unskilled)	7
Housewife	3
Unemployed	3

The Young (Age 18-24) Nixon Voter

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

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

Vietnam	59%
Drugs	9
Inflation	5
Unemployment	5
Taxes	5
Busing	5

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

McGovern	46%
Wallace	18
Muskie	9
Humphrey	9
McCloskey	9

What is the occupation of the head of your household? (not that for this age group head of household could be self, spouse, or parent)

Clerical/sales	23%
Officials/business owners	18
Skilled craftsmen/foremen	18
Professional/technical	14
Operatives/kindred workers (unskilled)	9
Service workers/laborers	5
Farm owners/mgrs	5
Unemployed	5
Students	5

Committee for the Re-election of the President

L
Owl

MEMORANDUM

May 12, 1972
10:00 a.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER AND FREDERIC V. MALEK

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

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

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

1. Political. Our political coordinators concentrated on generating letters and wires to the 19 Senators through the Nixon organizations in the states represented by those Senators. The state Nixon operations are organized in such a way as to be an excellent vehicle for getting to the Senators and the results are attached at Tab A.
2. Magruder Office.
 - a. The Press section activated its press secretaries and others behind the Hill operation, continued its audio/video distributions (eight separate cuts), placed people on talk shows, scheduled press conferences and distributed speech inserts to surrogates. Ted Williams' endorsement was sent in a press release to 1300 sports editors and the Press office involved Hill sports buffs (Representatives Ford, Mathias, and Kemp) in publicizing the Williams statement. See Tab B for details.
 - b. Our advertising staff contacted over 200 leaders in the ad business to generate wires and letters. Positive respondents (70%) were re-called to make certain telegraph and letter campaigns were organized as promised.

CONFIDENTIAL

Ad copy and lay outs were put together in case the decision is made to place advertising. Bumperstickers (e.g., "Support the President for Peace") are being developed to take the place of the standard campaign bumpersticker for the next few weeks.

- c. Betty Nolan hit 4 of the Senators with 195 letters. In addition, early yesterday morning she had over 70 letters sent to The New York Times protesting its May 10 editorial. (All other staffers were instructed at the May 11 staff meeting to write similar letters to The Times).
 - d. The scheduling and tour offices concentrated on 7 of the Senators. It is thought that in excess of 500 letters and/or telegrams were generated by the scheduling apparatus.
 - e. Our White House/Administration wives program contacted 292 more people on Wednesday bringing the total contacted to 1,094. More than 60 wives participated in Ken Rietz' vigil.
3. The Citizens/Voting Bloc Divisions concentrated their efforts on generating telegrams and letters to key Senators; organizing the vigil on the Capitol steps; and obtaining endorsements.
- a. Telegrams and Letters. All of the Citizens and Voting Bloc Directors worked on generating telegrams and letters to the key Senators. Over 3,000 calls were made, many by the Youth Division with a resulting flood of telegrams.
 - b. Capitol Hill Vigil. A coordinated effort of several Citizens/Voting Bloc Divisions led by Youth and including Women, Blacks, Spanish-Speaking, Lawyers, and Older Americans resulted in a highly visible and successful rally at Capitol Hill yesterday noon. Over a thousand people turned out, and television cameras were present. Full coverage on last evening's news programs (including the networks) was given to the demonstration, with favorable comparisons to the Cranston demonstration which was held at 6:00 a.m. yesterday morning. Even before the vigil occurred, it had received a positive mention on the TODAY show which helped to counter the effectiveness of Cranston's demonstration. The vigil was also covered on this morning's news shows (e.g., TODAY).

- c. Endorsements. All Citizens/Voting Blocs continued to work on obtaining endorsements from prominent individuals and national and local groups. Just a few examples of the many endorsements received:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FLORIDA

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

NORTH CAROLINA

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

WEST VIRGINIA

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

VIRGINIA

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

ARKANSAS

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

KENTUCKY

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

GEORGIA

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

SOUTH CAROLINA

Nixon State Chairman Henderson will mount a letter campaign by the South Carolina Committee against Hollings. Also, the textile people in South Carolina have been mobilized to assist in the effort.

VERMONT

Russell Merriman the Nixon Chairman and Republican State Committee Chairman contacted Senator Stafford's key supporters in his home county. This group included a former Governor. In this fashion Senator Stafford's supporters and staffers were mobilized to convince Senator Stafford to support the President. Incidentally, WSSR radio talk show in St. Alban's County, a Democrat stronghold had to keep on the air an extra 1/2 hour to accomodate the onslaught of phone calls in support of the President.

RHODE ISLAND

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

MASSACHUSSETTS

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

CONNECTICUT

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

ILLINOIS

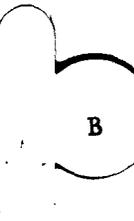
Tom Houser, incidentally Senator Percy's former campaign manager, agreed to an all out effort. Houser has an elaborate network at his disposal from his former association with Senator Percy and the Nixon organization in Illinois is well on the road. Houser's efforts should be quite extensive.

NEVADA

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

TEXAS

Fred Agnich activated the Harris County Republican organization in a letter-writing campaign. He also contacted influential Democratic supporters of the President and some of Senator Bentsen's Democratic contributors asking them to personally bring pressure to bear.



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

As requested at Tuesday's staff meeting, the press section called press secretaries in the states outlined asking them to generate letters and wires to the designated senators reported to be "fence sitters" on the so-called End the War Amendment. As could be anticipated they agreed to begin the action.

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

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

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

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

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

We also issued a press release on a group of youth leaders who have voiced their support of the President's position. It was sent to the usual Washington run as well as to college newspapers around the country.

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

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

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

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

May 1, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
 THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
 FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
 SUBJECT: Priority Ranking of the States for
 the Campaign

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

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

<u>Farm States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Nebraska	5	+28
Kansas	7	+20
North Dakota	3	+18
Iowa	8	+12
South Dakota *	4	+11
	<u>27</u>	

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

<u>Mountain and Western States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Idaho	4	+26
Wyoming	3	+20
Arizona	6	+20
Utah	4	+19

New Mexico	4	+12
Colorado	7	+ 9
Montana	4	+ 9
Nevada *	<u>3</u>	+ 8
	35	

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

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

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Oklahoma	8	+16
Virginia	12	+10
Florida	17	+10
North Carolina	13	+ 8
Kentucky	9	+ 6
South Carolina	8	+ 6
Tennessee	<u>10</u>	+ 4
	77	

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

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Vermont	3	+ 9
New Hampshire	4	+ 8
Maine *	4	-12
	<u>11</u>	

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3 -

<u>Midwest States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>*1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Indiana	13	+12

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

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

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Arkansas	6	+ 8 (Nixon Second)
Louisiana	10	+20 (Nixon Third)
Mississippi	7	+40 (Nixon Third)
Alabama	9	+47 (Nixon Third)
Georgia	<u>12</u>	+12 (Nixon Second)
	44	

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

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

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
California	45	+0.2	+3
Illinois	26	-0.3	+3
Texas	26	-2	-1
Ohio	25	+6	+2
New Jersey	<u>17</u>	-1	+2
	139		

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

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
New York *	41	-6	-5
Pennsylvania *	27	-2	-4
Maryland *	10	-8	-2

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Michigan *	21	-2	-7
Connecticut *	8	-8	-5
Washington	9	+3	-2
	<u>116</u>		

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

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Missouri **	12	-0.5	+1
Wisconsin **	11	+4	+4
Oregon	6	+6	+6
West Virginia *	6	-6	-9
Alaska	3	+2	+3
Delaware	3	-2	+4
	<u>41</u>		

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

**States with the most apparent erosion since 1968.

CATEGORY IV - PROBABLE LOSS STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Massachusetts	14	-30
Minnesota	10	-12
Hawaii	4	-21
Rhode Island	4	-32
District of Columbia	3	-64
	<u>35</u>	

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 17, 1972



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R.M.T.*

SUBJECT: California Corey Research *AKS*

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

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

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

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

The issues where the President receives his poorest ratings are:

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

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

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

4. Humphrey is generally perceived as better able to handle more issues than McGovern. Humphrey does better on economic issues while McGovern is rated highest on Vietnam.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: ~~April 4, 1972~~

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

In the most recent Political
Matters Memorandum you asked
for a sample copy of Peter
Dailey's analysis of the Dem-
ocratic contenders.

NOVEMBER

GROUP

INC.

March 31, 1972

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

Attached is the "Competitive Analysis Report," number 5,
covering the period from March 25, 1972 through March 31, 1972.

909 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
(212) 752-3500

COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS - REPORT # 5

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Section I.

SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section II.NEWS ITEMSDelegates Won to Date
(NYT 3/28)

Muskie	97.5
Wallace	75
McGovern	39.5
Humphrey	7
Lindsay	6
Chisholm	7
Mills	1
uncommitted	123

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

Hartke Withdraws
(NYR 3/27)

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

Census Predicts Voter Turnout (NYT 3/28)

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

California
(NYT 3/25)

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

Indiana
(Chicago Tribune 3/24)

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

Kentucky
(NYT 3/28)

Kentucky⁴ became the first state to certify a Presidential-Vice-Presidential ticket when it placed the names of Governor George Wallace and T. Coleman Andrews

(a Virginia attorney) on its November ballot as the American Party's candidates. Although the American Party will not hold its national convention until August 3-4, a spokesman said the Wallace-Andrews ticket was certificated to assure the party a place on the Kentucky ballot. Should Wallace decline the party's nomination, the party could substitute another man.

Democrat Telethon
(L.A. Times 3/21)

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

Vietnam
(Broadcasting, 3/27)

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

The new campaign is a continuation of the "Help Unsell the War" theme and will be conducted by a West Coast group headed by Ralph Carson, Chairman of the Board of Carson/Roberts division of Ogilvy & Mather; Louis Honig, president, Honig-Cooper & Harrington; James C. Nelson, Jr., executive vice president and creative director of Hofer, Dieterich & Brown; and Maxwell Arnold, president and creative director of The Maxwell Arnold Agency. The new ad material will be distributed in April and May through CALC to 150 or more citizen groups.

Section II. con't

South Carolina
(NYT 3/30)

The South Carolina Democratic party elected 32 uncommitted delegates to the national convention. The 32-member delegation included 11 blacks and seven women. According to the state chairman, about half of the delegates are Muskie supporters.

Agnew
(Houston Chronicle 3/24)

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

Section III.Quayle Poll for Labor
(NYT 3/30)POLLS AND SURVEYS

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

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

The poll canvassed by phone 455 prospective Democrat voters.

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

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

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

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

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

	<u>RN</u>	<u>HHH</u>	<u>GW</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Feb. '72	47%	36%	12%	5%
Jan. '72	46%	37%	12%	5%
Nov. '71	45%	36%	12%	7%
Sept. '71	45%	36%	12%	7%
May '71	44%	39%	10%	7%
Apr. '71	42%	41%	13%	4%
Nov. '70	46%	39%	11%	4%
Apr. '70	50%	36%	11%	3%
Nov. '69	48%	37%	12%	3%

Section III., cont'd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

	<u>RN</u>	<u>EM</u>	<u>GW</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Feb. '72	44%	40%	11%	5%
Jan. '72	42%	42%	11%	5%
Nov. '71	43%	39%	11%	7%
Sept. '71	47%	35%	11%	7%
Aug. '71	43%	41%	12%	4%
June '71	40%	42%	11%	7%
May '71	40%	42%	11%	7%

Section III., cont'd.Harris Poll: Muskie vs. Nixon
(Wash. Post 3/30)

	<u>RN</u>	<u>EM</u>	<u>GW</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Apr. '71	39%	47%	11%	3%
Feb. '71	30%	44%	12%	5%
Jan. '71	40%	43%	11%	6%
Nov. '70	40%	46%	10%	4%
Sept. '70	43%	43%	10%	4%
May '70	42%	38%	12%	8%
Apr. '70	47%	36%	10%	7%
Feb. '70	49%	35%	11%	5%
Nov. '69	49%	35%	11%	5%
Oct. '69	51%	35%	9%	5%
May '69	51%	35%	11%	3%

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

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

Section III. cont'd.

Harris Poll: Nixon
(Chicago Daily News
3/24)

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

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

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

Section IV.

THE CANDIDATES

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Environment
(NYT 3/26)

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

Big Business
(NYT 3/27)

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

Kleindienst
(Wall St.
Journal 3/28)

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

Campaign Donors
(NYT 3/28)

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

Aid to Schools
(NYT 3/29)

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

Section IV.

MUSKIE

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

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

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

TV

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$74,610.

Radio

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$25,799.

Newspaper

Wisconsin, space purchased:
\$6,565.

Creative

Commercial, WITI-TV, 3/26
Adlai Stevenson, Jr. drawing a parallel between Lincoln and Muskie. (Commercial attached).

Commercial, WITI-TV, 3/24
Birch Bayh (Sen. Ind.) saying Muskie is the one man that can pull the Democrats together and beat Nixon. (Commercial attached).

*Media figures from November Group Staff.

Section IV.

MUSKIE

Creative cont'd.

Commercial, WOKY, 3/23

Muskie saying that people want to believe in the President.
(Commercial attached).

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

Comment

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

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Hopes for Lindsay
Endorsement
(NYT 3/26)

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

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

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

Senate Roll Calls
(Christian Science
Monitor 3/29)

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

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

Section IV.

MUSKIE

D. ANALYSIS

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

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

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

Section IV. cont'd.

HUMPHREY

A. ISSUES

Law Enforcement
(NYT 3/25)

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

The Aged
(NYT 3/29)

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

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

TV	Wisconsin, time purchased: \$38,327
Radio	Wisconsin, time purchased: \$6,946
Newspaper	Wisconsin, space purchased: \$700

*Figures provided by November Group Staff.

Section IV. cont'd.

HUMPHREY

Creative

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

HHH's radio commercials have been using Lorne Green in a voice-over. Humphrey is running 15-minute, 5-minute, 1/2 hour, and 30-second commercials. The 5-minute spots are scheduled for the last five minutes of the news. He has a 1/2 hour live television show in which he answers questions telephoned in by viewers.

(Note: he requested, but couldn't obtain, 15 and 1/2 hours of 1/2 hour spots in Rhinelander).

Comment

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

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

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Hartke Backing
(NYT 3/27)

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

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

Section IV. cont'd.

HUMPHREY

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

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

D. ANALYSIS

Humphrey's Wisconsin campaign organization, which until only about three weeks ago was practically non-existent, has suddenly blossomed into a veritable bee-hive of activity. Funds, the lack of which have been a recent plague to most other contenders, do not seem to present much of a problem for the Humphrey group, although he is keeping a watchful eye on his spending. His commercials do not appear to have changed from the Florida scene and he is, to all outward appearances, as ebullient as ever. Labor, in a panic to stave off a good Wallace showing in the state, has been touting Humphrey widely, though not officially endorsing him or any other candidate, and is about to distribute thousands of anti-Wallace brochures.

Section IV. cont'd.

HUMPHREY

D. ANALYSIS cont'd.

As for Humphrey himself, he is not saying anything new. In fact, it is difficult to weed out from his myriad conflicting statements just what he is saying. His acrobatics on busing are a splendid illustration of the political animal at play: In Florida, he emphasized that he was dead set against "forced busing for racial balance." Then he endorsed President Nixon's busing statement, even going so far as to claim credit for having influenced the President's policy. A couple of days later, HHH scuttled that gambit, saying after reading the "fine print" that the plan looked unconstitutional to him. Next day, at a Green Bay press conference, he said he was "reserving judgment" on the President's specific bill for a moratorium on new busing. Last Sunday, on ABC's "Issues and Answers," he finally seemed to settle on a position, and called Nixon's proposed moratorium, "unacceptable." If that isn't "waffling" on the issues, as Jackson earlier put it, don't rightly know what is.

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

Section IV. cont'd.

MCGOVERN

A. ISSUES

POW'S
(NYT 3/29)

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

Tax Reform
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/27)

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

Campaign Donors
(NYT 3/30)

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

Section IV. cont'd.

MCGOVERN

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

TV

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$66,137.

Radio

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$10,548.

Newspaper

Wisconsin, space purchased:
\$9,660.

Creative

Commercial, WVTV, 3/25

McGovern saying he'd never sneak
around advocating something in
secret.

(Commercial attached).

Commercial, WISN-TV, 3/22

McGovern saying he told the Senate
"we were making a mistake in back-
ing that corrupt political regime
in Saigon" several years ago.

(Commercial attached).

Commercial, WISN-TV, 3/22

McGovern saying he's fully committed
to the farmers and that his record
shows it.

(Commercial attached).

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

A McGovern spokesman said they are try-
ing to portray, as legitimately as poss-
ible, George McGovern in a situation
where he's just talking to people. He
also said no changes have been made in
the McGovern material since the earlier
primaries.

*Figures provided by November Group
staff.

Section IV. cont'd.

MCGOVERN

Comment

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

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

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

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

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

Endorsement
(NYT 3/28)

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

Predicts Win
(Wisc. Journal 3/23)

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

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

Section IV. cont'd.

MCGOVERN

D. ANALYSIS

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

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

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

A. ISSUES

Campaign Donors
(NYT 3/30)

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

Tax Reform
(The Capital Times 3/24)

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

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

TV

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$44,342.

Radio

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$6,811.

Newspaper

Wisconsin, space purchased:
\$4,665.

Creative

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

WITI-TV, commercial, 3/24

Taxes: A vote for Wallace will be a message to the National Democratic Party that we want tax exemptions removed.

(Commercial attached)

*Figures provided by November Group Staff.

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

Comment

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

C. STRATEGY AND TRENDS

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

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

Critical of Opponents
(Chicago Tribune 3/24)

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

Indiana
(Chicago Tribune 3/24)

The Indiana race is expected to become something of a stop-Wallace drive, particularly if he makes a creditable showing in the Wisconsin primary. Wallace is extremely popular in Indi- ana. In 1968, when Indiana gave President Nixon his largest state ma- jority, more than 13% of the state vote went to Wallace as the candidate of the American Independent Party. In the 1964 Democratic primary there, Wallace took 30% of the vote in a one- on-one contest with former Governor Matthew E. Welsh, a stand-in for LBJ. Much of the fight this year will center on Gary's Lake County, which cast 12% of the state's Democratic vote in 1968. Wallace took 51% of the Lake County

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

Indiana cont'd.
(Chicago Tribune 3/24)

primary vote in 1964, without even campaigning in the county. He has a strong following among blue collar workers in the state.

D. ANALYSIS

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

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

Although Wallace loudly proclaims he was the first to talk about tax reform, he has offered not a single proposal along those lines. He is, however, urging people to vote for him because HE knows they are "fed up" with taxes. What he would do about taxes if (God help us) he ever were elected, is anybody's guess. His stand on the issues is emotional, fiery and several other expletives, but he doesn't offer any solutions. He does, however, appeal to a lot of people who may go out on April 4th and vote for him because he seems to understand their discontent.

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

D. ANALYSIS cont'd.

His record as Governor of Alabama is hardly a showpiece of statesmanship; in fact, it demonstrates most admirably just the opposite. His entire career has been built around his defiance of the establishment. He is, in fact, a past master in the art and uses of defiance. He has been able to thrust himself into national politics not by doing or proposing anything concrete but by strident defiance of what he pictures as a massive new wave of busing - exactly the kind of defiance his constituency wishes it could voice. Similarly, Wallace does not need to develop a tax reform program when all he has to do is to proclaim as his own the anger and defiance of all those who feel themselves overburdened by state, local and Federal taxes. He made a big thing out of standing in a school doorway years ago in defiance of the laws of the land, but it was only for show - he removed himself from that doorway before he could be arrested but not before he had made his point through an act of pure defiance.

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

Defiance, then, is the man. And therein lies his appeal.

Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

A. ISSUES

Unemployment
(Milwaukee Journal 3/20)

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

Credit on Property Taxes
(NYT 3/25)

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

Mass Transit Aid
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/22)

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

B. MEDIA

* Expenditures

TV

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$31,515.

Radio

Wisconsin, time purchased:
\$3,460.

Newspaper

Wisconsin, space purchased:
\$15,500.

Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

Creative

Has purchased 1/2 hour slots, 30 and 60-second spots running in day, fringe and prime time. New Lindsay commercials went on the air 3/29 which closed with the plea to "Switch to John Lindsay," in an effort to capture Republican cross-over votes next Tuesday.

Comment

Of Lindsay's **\$84,999 total Wisconsin spending, \$50,475 has gone to media. The Secretary of State's office reports that he has received \$89,000 in campaign contributions from Wisconsin supporters.

His new commercials reflect the panic within the Lindsay camp that he is going to come out low-man-on-the-totem-pole next Tuesday and thus, is now actively and openly seeking Republican cross-over votes. Even his campaign headquarters staffers are answering the phones, "Lindsay headquarters. The switch is on." (Wash. Post 3/30).

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Paul McCloskey
(Wash. Post 3/30)

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

Lindsay Image as President
(NYT 3/29)

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

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

Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

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

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

D. ANALYSIS

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

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

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

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

A. ISSUES

Price Supports: Dairy
(Milwaukee Journal 3/21)

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

Vietnam
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/22)

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

Unemployment
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/22)

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

Environment Labs
(NYT 3/29)

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

Property Taxes: Welfare
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/20)

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

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

A. ISSUES cont'd.

Wage & Price Control
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/21)

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

Campaign Contributors
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/27)

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

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

TV	Wisconsin, time purchased: \$74,461.
Radio	Wisconsin, time purchased: \$5,973.
Newspaper	Wisconsin, space purchased: \$8,040.

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

Figures provided by November Group Staff.

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

B. MEDIA cont'd.

Creative

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

Comment

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

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

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

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

A major portion of Jackson's Wisconsin strategy has been devoted to wooing potential Republican cross-over votes.

Issue Emphasis
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/21)

Jackson has consistently hammered away at his major campaign themes in Wisconsin:

- the need to maintain a strong nuclear capability as a deterrent for would-be aggressors and a lever to eventually gain worldwide disarmament
- the necessity of stimulating the economy and reducing unemployment by initiating massive public works programs

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Issue Emphasis cont'd.
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/21)

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

Equal Rights: Women
(Chicago Sun-Times 3/23)

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

D. ANALYSIS

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

In spite of Jackson's long and rather strong media campaign, he still does not seem to be able to draw big or enthusiastic crowds at personal appearances. This was also true in Florida, yet he received 13% of the vote there. As always, his stands on the issues are precise and clear-cut. That may have been a decided advantage in Florida where everyone (except Wallace) appeared a bit fuzzy on the issues.

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

D. ANALYSIS cont'd.

Wisconsin is a different story. The other candidates have made notable and noticeable efforts to clarify stands, dig up new issues, and hedge their bets on unpopular views. Thus, Jackson may not stand out as neatly here as he previously appeared to and this may affect his showing^a at the polls. He probably will pick up a segment of Republican cross-over votes, but surely not enough to place him higher than fifth. Jackson, for all his clarity and vision is simply not going to be a viable candidate for the Democrats come July.

Section IV. cont'd.

EDWARD KENNEDY

News Briefs

Voter Registration
(NYT 3/25)

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

Comment

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

Well, a lot will depend on the Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Oregon and California primaries. In spite of the enormous pressure Kennedy must be under from some of his colleagues to jump in, he is biding his time, waiting to see which way the wind is going to blow. He's smart, that one - or else he's listening to someone who is.

Section IV. cont'd.

ASHBROOK

Briefs

California: Ashbrook's campaign to win California's Republican primary began last Saturday with personal appearances in Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco. (L.A. Times 3/25).

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

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

Comment

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

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

L
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March 24, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

✓
bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVERTISING

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

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

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

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

AGRICULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

BLACKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

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

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

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

ELDERLY

During the week we completed the package of materials for our state chair-

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

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

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

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

JEWISH

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

LEGAL

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

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

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

For Mr. Sloan, we reviewed the proposed contract between the Finance Committee and TNT Communications, Inc. and revised language of certain portions thereof.

We conferred with Mr. Sloan on the legal problems involved in reorganization to conform to the necessary requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act upon the effective date (April 7).

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

PHYSICIANS

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

SPANISH SPEAKING

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

PR/MEDIA

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

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

We sent news monitoring kits to the following states: Illinois, North Carolina, California, Connecticut, Indiana and Nebraska. We also sent "Campaign Package, 1972" to members of the Cabinet and to White House

staff members. We arranged for a press conference in Lansing, Michigan, at the time of the President's letter filing for the Michigan primary. We worked with press secretaries of Senators Taft and Gurney to have editorials included in the Congressional Record. Both appeared on Friday, March 17.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

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

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

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

VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

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

Wisconsin	William J. Haese
Vermont	Frank G. Mahady

WOMEN

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

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

Material was prepared on volunteer activities for insertion in the State

Chairman Handbook being prepared by Harry Fleming's division. Also, we are preparing roughs of materials for the Volunteer Handbook for use by volunteers at the local level.

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

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

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

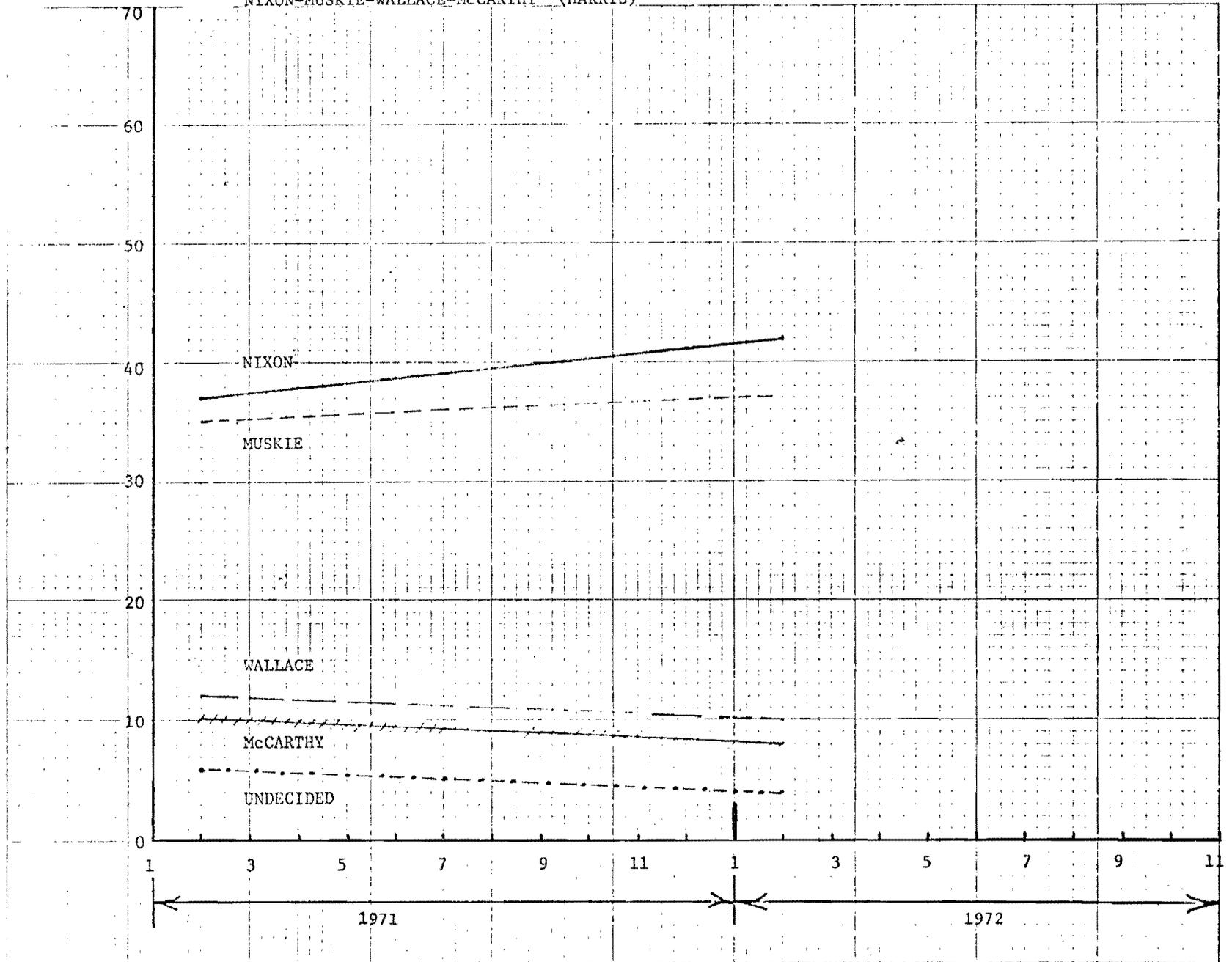
POLLING AND RESEARCH

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

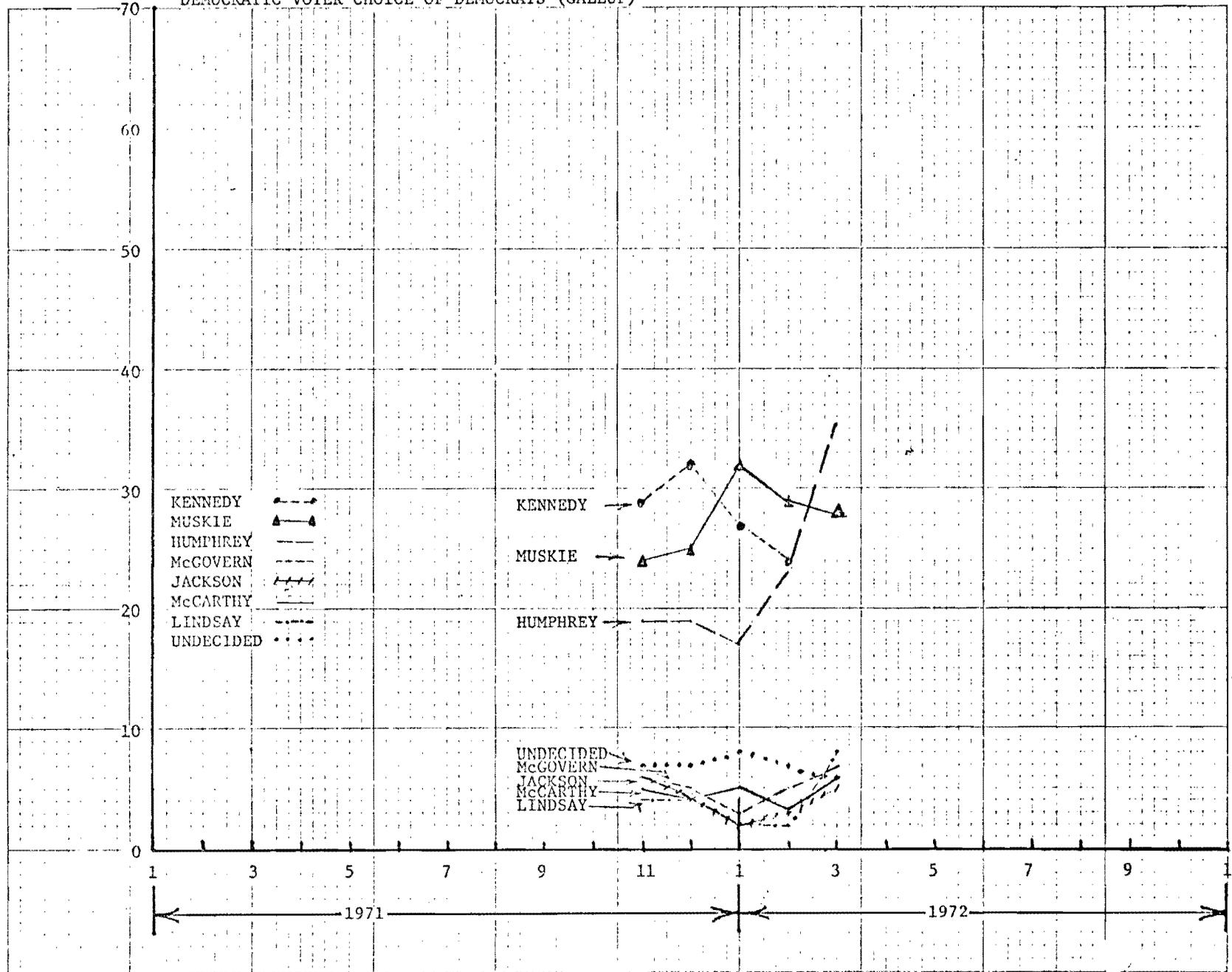
On the Democratic voter choice, Kennedy's name has been dropped from the list and Humphrey has spurred ahead of Muskie. This poll was taken on March 3-5, before the New Hampshire and Florida primary elections.

The four-man head-to-head contest shows that the President has expanded his lead over Muskie since this time last year.

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE-McCARTHY (HARRIS)



DEMOCRATIC VOTER CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS (GALLUP)



6/14

9:40 Mitchell - 60 people

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

- Goal: squeeze out every
possible vote for RR on Nov 7.

- Noie forget the big meals,
media, fun stuff - Noie
to nuts + Bolts

- Fore on Mc G

- Keep on Regis + Convaincing

- Provide opper to deter who
tough | are tough dedicated people
in org + who on for side

- Mc G risen bec/ dedicated
troops squeezed out votes

Regis + followe on is the crux
the programs are be organ so
the troops concentrate on this -

Regis + FV. All dedicate effort to this
Urgent - turn from Planning to
Activation.

Fore

Mc Gorgan - nat'l an. 0071

by May he had 20-40,000
volunteers in precincts

- 3 Wdotes, 140 Store Fronts - 7 days work

McG staff - not hippies, leave
semi pros - canvassing
- Used computer ideas in LA
printed out Dems by St Walker
- Canvassing done by Steve Finto
rather than present organiz
instead say 4 hrs for 4 yrs to
get Volunteers.

Telephone banks supplement
duplicated canvassing - not
in same office as Steve Finto.

Personalized computer letters after canvassing.
List will for Re - canvass of
not at home + undecided
Volunteers not invited to rallies

Dailay - 25-min biog on McG

All Kaupainen - Regis: first Action Plan
JM - a somber tone + a chilling report
40 mil unregis Am - thru Party Org
only 475,000 Rep regis +
only 170,000 regis by Rep Party
Only 6% ever asked to camp,
3% accep - must ask.
All - Action Plan - approved by JM
- Completed by 8th Voter Regis use
St Party but top assigned to R/L Ann^{cont's} Facts ^{cont's} case.