

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

August 4, 1974

To: Jimmy Carter

From: Hamilton Jordan

I think we have reached a stage in our efforts where we should pause to assess our progress to this point and take a hard and realistic look at the future. I have attempted in the following pages to review the major aspects of our effort and to set forth some realistic and detailed plans for the next several months.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING BY NIE DATE 3/2/88

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INTRODUCTION

We are presently operating in what I describe as a period of fragmentation as most of the principals in your national effort have duties, responsibilities or interests in state government or politics which preclude their total attention and commitment to your national plans. You have to continue to be a good Governor until January, 1975, Kirbo has to be State Party Chairman, Jody and Frank have responsibilities on your staff, Bob Lipshutz, Bill Schwartz and Philip Alston are heavily involved in the gubernatorial campaign and so on. We are fortunate to have the continuing help and support of Stu Eizenstat, Landon Butler and Peter Bourne, but we are not well organized enough at this point to take full advantage of the time that they give us. To some extent, we are all operating as self-starters, working in our own specific areas and trying to make a contribution to the overall effort. Well, this is not likely to change until November or January, and, as a result, we are not going to be as well organized as I would like for us to be. But neither can we afford to neglect these other activities in which we are all involved as they contribute in a significant way to the total effort.

The enormity of a Presidential campaign is almost overwhelming when considered as a whole. But, we cannot allow ourselves to become so intimidated by the mass of things to be done over the next 2

years that we fail to plan, organize and deal properly with three major events which take place in the next five months - the Governor's race, the Charter Conference and your formal announcement of candidacy.

The narrative portion of this memorandum recommends specific activities and projects dealing with these three events and other related matters. In the last section of this memorandum, I have broken these recommendations down into specific projects and activities, with suggestions as to when they should be done, how they should be done and who should be responsible.

AGENDA

January 8, 1974

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. 1974 Budget & Timetable | Rafshoon & Jordan |
| 2. 1975 Timetable & Budget | Jordan & Rafshoon |
| 3. Organizations | Bourne |
| 4. Campaign Financing | Lipshutz |
| 5. Summary of Primary States | Butler |
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YOUR ROLE IN THE GOVERNOR'S RACE

I doubt that there is much I can tell you on this subject that is new or original with me that you have not thought about many, many times before.

I think that your public posture and private actions as relates to the Governor's race have been good and correct to this point. You have been helpful to Bert's candidacy in a quiet and indirect manner without giving the public appearance of "meddling" or abusing the resources of the Governor's office and state government.

Regardless of the outcome of the primary and runoff, we need to be able to take advantage of and partial credit for a Maddox defeat or minimize the impact of a Maddox victory on your plans and national image. The former will be relatively easy - the latter very difficult.

Assuming that there is a runoff, we need to be able to move swiftly to consolidate the support of our people behind the second candidate. You or Kirbo should meet with the candidate in the runoff with Maddox, offer your public and/or private support and generally create an environment and relationship

where your political resources and friends are immediately available to help in any number of ways. For example, Jody, Frank and I can get on the phone and attempt to mobilize Carter friends who were not with the winner. You can make some calls and might want to meet personally with key people. Our people will vote for anybody against Maddox but our goal should be to mobilize them and get them heavily involved in the campaign of whoever gets in the runoff.

At this point, it looks as if Bert Lance or George Busbee will make the runoff. If Bert makes it, it should be relatively easy to consolidate all of our Carter friends behind his candidacy. Special attention will have to be given to the Columbus and Albany areas where the local people will be tremendously disappointed and possibly apathetic about the runoff if Jackson and Busbee fail to make it.

If Busbee makes the runoff, no one will need more help with our Carter people than him. Most of them simply do not know him and they will have been through a rough campaign with either David or Bert. To the extent that Busbee looks to us for help, you will have to make a decision as to what to tell him about your own plans. You probably would want to tell him that you have some plans after you leave office and would like to have his coopera-

tion and hopefully his full support. While Busbee is in the posture of looking to you for advice and help, I would not pass up the opportunity to extract from him some sort of pledge of cooperation or support.

As it looks now, David will run third or fourth in the race. Having run two consecutive statewide races and lost, he will be through in Georgia politics and this time I suspect even he will realize it. If David loses, he will be a very bitter man. And although he has disappointed me repeatedly since his last defeat and taken some very cheap shots at you, he is still the man who helped you get elected Governor and you are still the man who entrusted him with the most important appointment any Governor has to bestow. I would hope that we could draw on those old ties and that old friendship to win him back over to our cause. He could be difficult to deal with, but after a while possibly the chance to be involved in your plans will have some appeal to him.

National Coverage of the Governor's Race

If there is a runoff, you can be sure that David Broder and other nationally prominent columnists and reporters will be through

here to cover the runoff. Your public posture in the runoff should be determined by the candidate who gets in the runoff. I suspect that whoever wins is going to want you to stay out of it publically because your open involvement and opposition to Maddox would simply contribute to his false image of being the underdog, fighting the politicians and the establishment. On the other hand, I think that it is critically important that the national press know that you are working quietly and effectively behind the scenes to defeat Lester Maddox. When it is all over, hopefully the news stories will read that the progressive administration of Jimmy Carter and his political organization in Georgia were major factors in Lester Maddox's defeat. If Maddox wins, there is no way to escape the analysis that Georgia and the South have not changed that much after all, and Maddox's election was definitely a political defeat for Jimmy Carter and his people. Nothing could be worse than to have it written that Jimmy Carter got scared in the runoff and did not do all that he could have to defeat Lester Maddox. I would simply hope that you would be available to these national press types and aware of the fact that they will probably have Reg Murphy telling them on the same visit that Jimmy Carter is a tremendous handicap to Lance or Busbee. If they are writing stories that will be in print before the runoff, you probably should go "off the record" with

them as quotes in a national publication with you jumping on Maddox could be used effectively against Bert or Busbee. Also, I would not mix the Georgia gubernatorial race with your own plans. If you tell David Broder your plans while he is here covering the Governor's race, there are too many risks involved in terms of what he will write and the way the outcome might be interpreted. Of course, if Maddox is only in the high 30s and Bert or Busbee look strong in the runoff, you might want to risk telling him everything and relate the significance of a Maddox defeat or victory to your own plans. I am sure you understand the risks and ramifications.

THE 1974 CHARTER CONFERENCE

Your Attitude Toward the Conference

It is my strong feeling that you should be positive and serious in all future statements - public and private - about the Charter Conference. The liberal elements of the Party strongly favor the idea of a mid-term conference. They regard the Conference as an important forum for the continuing discussion of Democratic issues and policy as well as an opportunity to test their collective strength as a prelude to 1976. Most conservatives and many moderates were opposed as we have been to the idea of a mid-term conference. And although opposed to the basic concept of the Conference, most moderate and conservative Democrats have accepted the Charter Conference as something that is going to happen whether they like it or not. And, as a result, they are taking the Charter Conference seriously out of fear that the McGovern types might dominate the proceedings, embarrass the "regulars" and begin to recapture the machinery of the Democratic Party. And although Strauss and the National Committee have the right to set and limit the call and agenda of the Conference, there is little doubt that if the McGovern types are present in sufficient numbers they can take the Conference into any area(s) they desire.

The point I hope to make here is that for whatever reason, large numbers of Democrats with different viewpoints and persuasions are

working hard to be elected to attend the Charter Conference. They are taking the Conference seriously, and we need to begin to treat it seriously. You are on record for opposing the Charter Conference as something that is unnecessary, costs an enormous amount of money and serves no useful purpose. I completely agree with you. Yet, now that the Conference is on us, we need to re-evaluate your public statements and treat the entire subject as seriously and as positively as are those people who are spending their time and money to run and be elected.

I believe that your statement should be something like the following:

"The Charter Conference was mandated by the 1972 Democratic National Convention. I was one of many Democrats who had some reservations about the real need and purpose of such a Conference between National Conventions. However, as a Democrat, I certainly intend to abide by and support the mandate of my Party and its Convention. Some have asked, 'Is the Charter Conference important?' I would answer "yes" because whenever Democrats from all over the country run at the local level, are elected and convene to discuss their Party's organization and purpose, it is certainly important and significant. I intend to work to see that the Conference is positive and productive. Our Party is noted for its openness and its desire to publically discuss the great

issues of the day. It is my hope that we will have such a discussion at Kansas City and leave the Conference with a renewed dedication to those principles that have sustained our Party and our country."

The Charter Conference Delegates

The delegates to the 1974 Charter Conference will have either run and have been elected at the local levels or have possessed the political know-how and clout to have been selected at the Congressional District or statewide level. In 1976, these same people will have a tremendous advantage in the non-primary states where they will have run previously and learned how to put it together. In the primary states, most - if not all - of these same people will be active in their own state primary on behalf of some Presidential candidate. I have always liked and shared your belief that in a state like Georgia there are 1500-2000 who if committed to a candidate and properly utilized can win any election. I think that this analogy can be easily applied to the national level and believe that the Charter Conference delegates represent the same talents, abilities and intensity as do our 2000 Georgia friends.

It is obviously important that we make a favorable impression on the Conference delegates as a group and as individuals while recruiting as many of them as possible to our cause in a low-key

manner that is neither too obvious or seemingly in conflict with the real business of the Charter Conference.

Georgia Delegation

It is obviously very important that we take a friendly, diverse and effective delegation to the Conference from Georgia. Frank Moore, Landon Butler and Peggy Rainwater have been working to mobilize and involve our friends. In the midst of the gubernatorial campaign, this has not been easy, but we need to continue to make this a top priority.

Out-of-State Friends

To avoid our efforts being interpreted as being exclusively Georgian or Southern, it is important that we recruit persons from other states and other regions who will go out to the Conference with the message that, "this guy Carter looks good to me and the people that I represent". We need to expose you to more people like Mike Cody who can work effectively within a state's delegation and also have regional ties and friendships.

Plans for Charter Conference

To properly utilize the time and efforts of our friends in the

Georgia delegation and other delegations, we need to devise a pragmatic system for learning who the delegates are to the Charter Conference and having an appropriate Carter advocate make contact with them at the Conference. We are beginning to get lists of the state delegations and develop profiles on each delegate that would take into consideration age, sex, race and past political affiliation. For example, we will give Joel Solomon (the young man from Tennessee who works for us at the DNC and is a delegate to the Conference) profiles on 15-20 other young delegates. His job will be to seek out these young delegates, get to know them, talk to them about Jimmy Carter and maybe get those that respond favorably together to talk with you. Bebe Smith would be assigned people she met and knew in the McGovern campaign, Jesse Hill would contact blacks, etc. I think it is absolutely essential that we organize and take this approach if we hope to make the best use of our friends who go to Kansas City.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT

I'll review the various aspects of your formal announcement in terms of pre-announcement activities, the time and place of announcement, the formal statement itself and post-announcement activities.

PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT ACTIVITIES

We will need to develop a system for informing key individuals and certain groups either in advance of your actual announcement or simultaneous with it. For the purpose of discussion, I divide the individuals you should personally talk with and/or notify into several groups. First, there is that group of key individuals who are politically significant or who are potential large contributors, are friends of yours, and who will be flattered and possibly persuaded to support your candidacy because you have chosen to personally confide in them. The time involved to do this, of course, is considerable, but we need to develop a list of these key individuals and start talking with them. The rule of thumb that I would suggest is that we tell people who will be complimented to be told personally of your plans and who cannot use knowledge of your plans against you. The persons I am talking about here are the Charles Bludhorns, the Morris Dees, the John Wests and the Silvio Dupuis.

The second group are politically significant people who you know

and who are friendly to you but are not likely to respond to being told of your plans with a pledge of support. This includes leaders of the major labor unions and politically active national organizations, certain newspaper and magazine publishers, certain Democratic members of Congress, some of the Democratic Governors and key Democratic activists. These are persons that you should inform as a matter of courtesy in hopes of winning their open support. But, more realistically, our goal here will be to maintain their friendship, have them regard your candidacy seriously, and keep them from being antagonistic to your effort because they weren't told of your plans or didn't know enough about you.

The people I am talking about in this group are Al Barkan, Mike Mansfield, Katherine Graham, Carl Albert, Joe Crangle and others of this sort.

And while you need to begin contacting the people in the first group very soon, you can wait until November to talk with the people in this group. The period between the November elections and the Charter Conference will provide you with a good opportunity to spend a week in Washington and see many of these people. I would not see your telling them about your early announcement, but mainly letting them know that you are firmly committed to making the race and are in it for the duration. Some will be difficult to see personally and can be called the week prior to your actual announcement.

The third group of people to be notified are the Democratic members of Congress, Democratic Governors and Mayors, State Party Chairmen, members of the Democratic National Committee and key Democratic Party workers and activists. My suggestion here is that we assemble a high quality, personalized mailing to these people that would arrive simultaneous with your announcement. The message would be positive and convincing in terms of your commitment to run anywhere against anybody and convincing in terms of analyzing your prospects for winning the Party's nomination. This mailing would not ask for money, but would ask for their advice and/or their support. There are obviously persons amongst this group that you would want to call or see personally before your announcement. A good mailing is the best way to deal with the large numbers of important people that fall in this category.

The fourth group are our Georgia friends and supporters. We have computer tapes with the names of 8,000 persons who have contributed to your campaign and/or the Democratic Party. The mail survey of your Georgia correspondence coordinated by Johnny Martin yielded an additional 5,000-6,000 names of Georgians who have had some favorable contact with you. Consequently, we will have about 12,000-14,000 people here in Georgia that we will want to write with a hard-hitting message which stresses the "favorite son" theme and asks for their support and their money.

The fifth group of people to be contacted are your key out-of-state friends who are not necessarily Democrats and not necessarily active in politics but have met you somewhere along the way and had a favorable contact or experience with you. This should be a personal mailing which asks for their help and financial support.

The last group of people to be contacted are the large number of out-of-state names that we have accumulated over the last four years. These range from a trooper who drove you several years ago in Ohio to a businessman who met you at a prayer breakfast in Oklahoma to a woman that met you at a Democratic meeting in New York. By late November, Steve and I estimate that you will have 13,000-15,000 names that fall into this broad and very general contact. They should receive a positive, friendly letter which asks for help and money.

The logistical requirements for implementing this direct mail effort is considerable. However, I am convinced that much of it can be produced in-house. The "personalized" mailings to the "key" categories can be done by us. There are probably good arguments and reasons for doing the mass mailings to our "Georgia Friends" and "Out-of-State" friends with the help and advice of a professional mail house. Morris Dees could be tremendously helpful in helping us design our message and making our mailings most effective. Our names are on cards which are in a form that they can be

easily adapted to a standard computer format. Some basic decisions about our lists and names are needed in the near future.

I have outlined on the next few pages the nature and dimensions of our pre-announcement/announcement mailings. This should provide some idea as to the scope and magnitude of this project.

RECIPIENTS	QUANTITY	NATURE OF MESSAGE	TYPE MAILING	COMMENTS
Democratic Members of the U.S. House	250	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Desire to work <u>with</u> Congress. 3. Welcome your support and/or your advice. 	<p>Personal, Stamped, 1st Class. Mailed to arrive day of announcement. Prepared in-house.</p>	<p>Should be prepared far enough in advance for Carter to peruse and add a lot of postscripts.</p>
Democratic Members of the U.S. Senate	60	Same as above.	Same as above.	Same as above.
Democratic Governors	35	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Pro Governor type message. Your effort is <u>their</u> effort. 3. Need your support and/or your advice. 	Same as above.	Same as above.
Democratic Mayors of medium/large cities	300	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Concerned about urban problems and Federal/city relationship. 3. Need your support and/or your advice. 	Same as above.	Same as above.
Democratic State Chairmen	50	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Welcome opportunity to campaign in your state and present your candidacy. 3. Need your support and/or your advice. 	Same as above.	Same as above.

RECIPIENTS	QUANTITY	NATURE OF MESSAGE	TYPE MAILING	COMMENTS
Important Democratic Members of DNC, Key Democratic Leaders, Contributors.	1,000	1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Need your support and/or advice.	Same as above.	Same as above.
Key Out-Of-State Friends.	500	1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Need for support and/or advice. 3. Financial appeal.	Personal, Stamped, 1st Class. Mailed to arrive day of announcement. Prepared in-house. Return envelope for contribution.	Same as above.
TOTAL PERSONAL MAILINGS	2,195			

RECIPIENTS	QUANTITY	NATURE OF MESSAGE	TYPE MAILING	COMMENTS
Georgia Friends	14,000	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statement of candidacy. 2. Favorite son theme 3. Need help and support 4. Financial appeal 	<p>Bulk rate. Computer mailing. To arrive the week of announcement. Dear _____: type letter. Envelope enclosed for contribution and/or pledge of support.</p>	<p>Would recommend the transfer of these names to computer tape and let professionals handle this mailing.</p>
National Friends Contacts, etc.	15,000	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statement of candidacy 2. Need help and support. 3. Financial appeal 	Same as above	Same as above
TOTAL MASS MAILINGS	29,000			

USE OF "RACIAL PROGRESS" THEME

In recent discussions, I have heard you mention that one of the main themes of your campaign will be to highlight the role that your Administration has played in the progress that blacks and whites in Georgia have made in accepting integration and in learning to live and work together. Certainly this is an important issue that can be used effectively in many places. However, I think that you tend to overemphasize this issue in terms of its potential use by you in a Presidential campaign. Let me explain.

This country and its people have come a long way in the last 20 years in accepting racial integration as a fair and decent thing and in working out - in sometimes difficult situations - the application of that principle to their own lives. Most moderate and liberal Democrats that you are going to appeal to expect nothing less from a Democratic Presidential candidate than a firm commitment to racial equality and justice. To dwell constantly on the issue of racial justice might suggest that you are defensive either about your own record as Governor or about being a Southerner and are attempting to compensate by talking a lot about racial equality.

The groups of whites who have had to make the greatest sacrifices and adjustments in accepting racial integration are the working class men and women who have traditionally voted Demo-

cratic and are still having to cope with certain aspects of racial integration - busing, preferential treatment given some blacks in employment, etc. If you spend too much time in your campaign talking about the "race issue", then you risk alienating many of these people. Because you are from the South, many of these same whites will think (as Kirbo puts it) that you will know how to "handle the blacks" and generally will perceive you as being more conservative than you are on many social issues that they are concerned about - "the welfare mess" as an example.

I view the use of the "racial progress" issue in your campaign not as one of the four or five major themes of your candidacy but as a sub-theme which reinforces your total image of being fair in your dealings with all people. Certainly, we need to utilize the many good friends we have in the Atlanta black community and around the country, and we need to publicize your accomplishments in terms of black involvement in your Administration and programs in which blacks have a natural interest. But lets keep this issue in proper perspective in terms of its use in your campaign and in understanding the possible ramifications of talking too much or too little about the race issue.

THE RAFSHOON MEMORANDUM/THEMES/MATERIALS

I thought that Jerry's recent memorandum was excellent in stimulating us to begin to think about those themes which considered together encapsulate who you are, what you represent, and what you hope to do as President. I generally favor the development now of some broad and positive themes which are flexible and do not lock you into a permanent position as relates to issues and political philosophy. This is discussed elsewhere in this memorandum under "Your Image and Posture in the Democratic Party".

In terms of your announcement and the initial months of your campaign, we will need certain campaign materials in reasonable quantities to sustain us through the first few months. We should continually re-evaluate our themes and materials in terms of their effectiveness and for their actual content. Rafshoon needs your approval to proceed to recommend themes and logos for assorted campaign materials to include letterheads, a basic brochure and other things which will be needed at the time you announce.

CAMPAIGN BUDGET/FUNDRAISING

Almost eight months ago, Rafshoon and I developed and presented a general campaign budget for 1974 and 1975. It was modest and realistic. However, it does require some refining and reworking now as our plans and priorities are more specific and highly developed. We would prefer your comments and reactions to the suggestions and projects outlined in this memorandum before submitting a new and more detailed budget for 1975.

Although our fundraising efforts have not been very well organized, they have been productive enough to pay our monthly bills and keep our heads above water. Fortunately, we are 30-40% under our proposed budget at this point and, as Bob Lipshutz says, "we have not lacked for anything". We have not cancelled, reduced or delayed any project or activity this year for lack of funds. And, consequently, we have been able to do a good job in support of your work with the DNC and greatly expand our lists and files.

However, we will begin to incur considerable expenses in November and December, and they are not expenses that can be offset with hit or miss fundraising methods. We simply have not yet begun to raise money systematically from our friends and contacts and will

have to begin to if we want to avoid embarking on this long, hard journey with bank notes all over town.

In a separate memorandum, I am presenting a realistic fundraising plan that should get us through the first months of the campaign if it is adopted by everyone and properly executed. Money is a problem for us and it will be for everybody. But we have got to learn to focus on the fundraising aspect of our campaign and integrate it with everything else that we do.

ANNOUNCEMENT STATEMENT

When you consider how jaded and cynical the members of the national press corps have become and think about all the cliches and doubletalk they are accustomed to hearing from ambitious politicians, then possibly you can imagine the challenge you have to say something that is fresh, bold and believable. I will not attempt to write your speech here - that is something that should evolve from you, Jody, Stu and the issues group. I would like to set forth what I consider to be the major components of a Jimmy Carter Presidential announcement:

Statement of Candidacy. This should say who Jimmy Carter is, what he has done, what he stands for and what he hopes to do as President. It would be my hope that you would assume a "learning posture" - you don't pretend to have all the answers or know everything and that a major aspect of your campaign will be to travel the country, listen to people and learn. I am not suggesting that you sidestep any issues - but your statement should touch on them only in a general way. Also, I liked the statement that you often made when running for Governor that you didn't have to be Governor and that while you had made a total personal commitment to the effort, you were not going to compromise the beliefs and principles you had lived by to be elected. I would like for you to make a similar statement about the Presidency because I think the press perceives accurately that most men who seek this country's highest office are so consumed

by their ambitions that they will do anything to be elected. You have to attempt to separate yourself from this stereotype of the ambitious candidate who lacks commitment to anything and establish yourself as a man of integrity.

Concept of the Presidency/Role of the Federal Government.

In your announcement statement, it is important that you convey to the press a well organized concept of the Presidency while addressing yourself to the relationship of the three branches of government and defining the proper role of the federal government in the federal-state-local equation. This portion of your announcement should suggest a concept or philosophy that is well founded in terms of our country's history and traditions as well as its present needs. It obviously has to be generally consistent with our own record as Governor and your goals for our country. Several sub-topics here are important:

- A. Historical Perspectives and References. I have always felt that our greatest Presidents were those men who had studied and understood history and our Anglo-Saxon heritage and had gained from that study some perspective and insight into contemporary problems. With 1976 being the 200th Anniversary of our nation, I believe that it is important that your speech reflect an appreciation for and understanding of American history and contain some quotes and references to great men and

women whose attitudes toward politics and government service reflect your own. Also, some relevant and interesting historical facts and analogies - such as the fact that a disproportionate number of our nations great Presidents were Southerners and/or Governors.

B. Arguments for Having a Governor as President. There is a general feeling among the national press that is shared to a large extent by the American people that no one in Washington has demonstrated any real competence in dealing with the problems facing this country or in communicating effectively and honestly with the American people. For the first time in a long time there is a genuine interest in people outside of Congress with fresh ideas and approaches. I think you need to strengthen and reinforce this feeling in your announcement statement by pointing out why a successful ex-Governor is uniquely qualified to be President. Several points here are:

-The duties and responsibilities of a Governor closely parallel those of a President. A Governor has to develop and implement programs and budgets, gain legislative approval and actually administer a bureaucracy. Consequently, the argument can and

should be made that a good Governor is better qualified by experience to be President than is a U.S. Senator who has had only legislative experience.

-The problem solving ability of the Federal bureaucracy is in question today in this country, but you and other Governors have taken the lead in making state government work in a responsive and efficient manner. Many of the lessons learned at the state level (zero-based budgeting, the sunshine law, etc.) can and should be applied to the Federal bureaucracy.

-The major problems and concerns of the American people are domestic. Your experience as Governor has brought you into direct contact on a daily basis with the major domestic problems facing our citizens. And far too often the problems of the working man and woman are only complicated by well intentioned, but poorly administered, Federal programs which are not planned or coordinated with state and local efforts. Your knowledge as Governor will enable you to implement programs as President that are compatible with state and local efforts and do not conflict or compete with their programs.

-You are the product of a campaign and an Administration that has maintained direct contact with the electorate

you serve. Not only has this given you insight into the problems and concerns of those who look to government for help and assistance, but it has given you a relationship with the people which can be translated into public support for your programs.

C. The Carter Presidency. You need to set forth in your announcement several specific things you intend to do that will provide some insight into the style and thrust of a Carter Administration. Some possible suggestions are:

-The Federal bureaucracy is too massive and complicated for one person to thoroughly understand and properly administer. The President of the United States has the ability to recruit the very best people in this country to government service. Jimmy Carter will select strong and independent men and women to serve in his Administration; he will restore the President's Cabinet to its proper role as a policy making body and advisory council composed of people who are responsible for the development and implementation of programs within their departments; the Cabinet will meet regularly to advise the President on various matters and to

coordinate those programs which impact on several areas.

-The Carter Administration will not be isolated from the people or the press. Regular news conferences will be scheduled. The Carter Administration will be accessible to the people and will undertake numerous programs to facilitate communication between the Chief Executive and the people. (People's Day, Goals for America, etc.)

Outline Pragmatic Strategy for Winning Democratic Nomination.

It is our hope that your being the first to announce will result in your receiving a disproportionate amount of press coverage initially. Your being covered on a continuing basis and being treated as a serious, viable candidate depends to a large extent on your being able to convince the working press that you can - in fact - win the Democratic nomination. Consequently, one of the major features of your announcement statement should be to list in a general fashion how and why Jimmy Carter plans to win the nomination. Some of your obvious assets and advantages are:

-You will be a full time candidate, not bothered with other duties and responsibilities. Probably the only candidate who can commit full time to the campaign.

-You are a nonincumbent running at a time in our country's

history when that is an asset.

-You are a product of a well organized campaign waged against overwhelming odds which was dependent on direct personal contact with the voters and the hard work of volunteers. This is the type of campaign which will have to be generated for a candidate to win the Democratic nomination.

-You are totally committed to the race and will run against anyone anywhere. You will run against Wallace in the South and Kennedy in New England.

Time and Place

I believe that we have generally agreed that you should announce your candidacy for the Presidency the week following the Charter Conference in Washington, D.C. It was tentatively agreed that we should pursue the possibility of the Press Club announcement at least to the point of determining if that is - in fact - one of our options.

I have two minor concerns about the Press Club announcement. It could appear that you are directing your campaign to the press instead of to the people. Also, they might say that Jimmy Carter could not draw a crowd and had to use the National Press Club as a forum. These are relatively small problems but they should be recognized and probably can be minimized with careful planning. On the other hand, the advantages of the Press Club announcement are significant - you insure a good audience and good coverage and your statement of candidacy assumes added stature and credibility in that important and dignified setting.

If we are able to work out the details for the Press Club announcement, I would suggest that we consider having a combined reception/press conference immediately following your speech to insure that the press has ample time to question and probe.

On the same or next day I believe that it is important that we have some function here in Georgia where you announce your plans to our friends in Georgia. It is terribly important that you "share" your announcement with the Georgia people to avoid it being said that Jimmy Carter has gone national and has forgotten his state and people. Specific suggestions on this later. I think we do need to begin to think in terms of a Georgia organization and make some decisions as to who will head it up.

We have generally agreed in previous meetings that immediately following your announcement you would depart on a whirlwind trip with the idea of hitting most of the major media markets in the country. We will not have a lot of time to do this without crowding the Holiday Season. Some of this type activity might have to be deferred until after the first of the year.

We should never forget that our early announcement is a tactical maneuver which will hopefully result in your receiving inordinate amounts of coverage and publicity.

YOUR SCHEDULE BETWEEN NOW AND DECEMBER

It is critical that we plan now for the next few months to insure that your time in Georgia and outside the state is utilized most effectively. I realize that the amount of time you devote to the budget and state programs depends to a large extent on whether or not you are turning over the reins of government to a competent successor or fighting to protect your reforms and improvements from Lester Maddox.

You will find elsewhere in this memorandum an abundance of chores to be done here at home that will require enormous amounts of time. Much of it relates to being prepared emotionally and mentally for the next two years; also, basic and critical decisions about your positions on certain issues and the very thrust of your campaign must be formulated over the next few months. My point here is that there is much to be done here at home - not the least of which is involving and utilizing our many Georgia friends.

I will concentrate here on how best to utilize that time which you can afford to spend out of state during the next few months. Your role with the DNC should take very little time. All of our materials and campaign aids have been produced and are available to candidates.

Our field program is going well. Other than a mid-September targeting meeting, I don't think there will be any significant demands on your time other than the invitations that you will receive to speak on behalf of various Democratic candidates. I think that broad exposure in a lot of states is important. On the other hand, we should never lose sight of the larger states and those states that are critical because of the sequence of the Presidential primaries. The following is a listing of the dates of the 1972 primaries. Three states have added primaries (but are not included here yet) since 1972 and 6 or 8 more are expected to follow suit. We will have an update on this in a few weeks.

1972 Primaries

New Hampshire	March 7
Florida	March 14
Illinois	March 21
Wisconsin	April 4
Rhode Island	April 11
Massachusetts	April 25
Pennsylvania	April 25
Alabama	May 2
District of Columbia	May 2
Indiana	May 2
Ohio	May 2
Tennessee	May 4
North Carolina	May 6
Nebraska	May 9
West Virginia	May 9
Maryland	May 16
Michigan	May 16
Oregon	May 23

California	June 6
New Jersey	June 6
New Mexico	June 6
South Dakota	June 6
New York	June 20
Arkansas	June 27
South Carolina	June 27

We would all do well to keep the primary schedule uppermost in our minds - particularly in terms of your schedule and out of state trips. It doesn't make sense to worry about West Virginia and Oregon if you haven't first done some work in Illinois and Pennsylvania. The special trips that we plan and the invitations that we generate for the next few months will take you to those states where we need the early exposure - Illinois and Pennsylvania are good examples.

Also, I believe that we should go into those campaigns where you are appreciated and likely to be the focal point of the campaign and its media efforts. I would much prefer that you spend time in Ohio campaigning for two or three good Congressional candidates where you will be appreciated and receive good media coverage as opposed to being on of 12 or 15 Senators and Governors who are invited to speak on behalf of John Glenn and you are lost in the crowd.

Your out of state travel over the next few months falls into several categories:

First, there are the direct personal invitations that you receive from a specific candidate to be the speaker at the traditional fundraising dinner. Just the fact that a candidate had selected you as the person that they would like to have speak is sufficient enough reason to give such invitations serious consideration. Steve Chandler, Knox Pitts and myself have developed a good system for checking such invitations out and recommend that you forward all such future invitations immediately to Steve. We have also developed a model schedule and can try in a circumspect way to encourage campaigns to make full use of your time by holding a press conference, having a reception prior to the dinner, etc. Your recent trip to South Carolina started out simply as a speech to a group in Myrtle. By the time Steve was through making suggestions, they had a good half-day worked out which resulted in good press, exposure to a lot of good people and a large number of good names for our files. Also, I saw Jenrette at our South Carolina workshop and he was genuinely elated over the boost you gave his campaign. So, lets carefully screen each invitation and with careful planning we can turn a second class invitation into a first class opportunity.

Secondly, we are trying to take full advantage of other out-of-state trips that you have scheduled to obtain favorable news coverage and possibly involve you in some good Congressional cam-

paigns. For example, you are scheduled to make a speech in September to a religious group in Peoria, Illinois, at a breakfast. We have generated a couple of good invitations for you to participate in two Congressional campaigns and Bob Lipshutz's cousin may host a reception for you. We will continue to look for opportunities such as this one that we can expand on so as to take full advantage of your out-of-state trips.

Thirdly, we are beginning to generate in a circumspect, low-key manner invitations from key primary states that you need exposure in. For example, we have you scheduled for two days in Ohio this month. I conducted a workshop there and know people in several very good campaigns. I have made calls to them and simply said that, "Jimmy Carter is going to be in Ohio on a certain date and is available to help your campaign in any way if you need him." The response has been enthusiastic and positive and is facilitated as I know these people that we are dealing with. Collectively, Jody, Frank and I have been in a large number of states and believe that we can generate good invitations from any state in the country so that we are going where we need to go as opposed to simply reacting to the invitations that you receive. We plan several of these two-day trips to New York, California, Illinois, and other critical states.

In terms of your schedule for the next few months, we need to block

off specific times for the following:

- 1) a Monday or Friday in late September for our last targeting meeting.
- 2) November 6th and 7th for you to be in Washington and available to comment on the national elections.
- 3) the entire week preceding and following the Charter Conference for pre-announcement and post-announcement activities.
- 4) a weekend retreat for the principals in our effort to review plans and make decisions.

To the extent that it is humanly possible, the months of September, October, November and December should be kept as free and loose as they can be. If your schedule is not generally flexible in September and October, you will be receiving and having to turn down some excellent speaking invitations. November is important in terms of preparation for the announcement and December is obviously significant as the month of announcement and related activities.

It is my strong argument and hope that we can control your schedule as opposed to having your schedule control us.

RELATIONSHIP WITH STRAUSS AND THE DNC

We are laboring under one handicap at present that is not particularly significant now, but it will become more significant with the passage of time and increasingly difficult to correct or overcome. We lack having a strong Carter supporter on the inside of the Party apparatus who can keep us generally informed and can effectively advocate a point of view on important matters that is favorable to you.

As Bob Strauss has maintained a working majority on the Executive Committee of the DNC, he has vested most of the responsibilities for making major and final decisions in that body. The really critical decisions on Party rules and procedures are made by the Executive Committee and usually ratified by the full committee without much discussion or debate. The Executive Committee decides on the purpose, size and composition of the various committees and commissions and usually passes on the appointments to the commissions by the Chairman.

Almost every potential Democratic candidate has someone on the Executive Committee who is close to them except us. George Wallace has a young man named Micky Griffin on the Executive Committee, Askew has a woman named Hazel Evans on the Executive Committee,

Bumpers has Charlie Ward, Wendell Ford is on the Executive Committee himself, and Kennedy, Jackson and Mondale have people on the Committee who are close to them and probably involved in their efforts.

At an appropriate time - probably right after the 1974 elections - you need to discuss your plans with Strauss anyway. I think that you can make the argument to Strauss that you are entitled to have representation on those committees which make the major decisions which will impact on the nomination process - particularly in view of the fact that most of the other potential candidates already have supporters on the Executive Committee of the DNC. Strauss may not be able to accomodate you now - but at least he will know that you are expecting him to be fair to your candidacy in terms of representation on the critical committees and commissions.

We can put it all together in the primaries and lose it at the convention on procedural questions and votes for lack of strong and effective representation on the various committees that will hear challenges and make rulings. At that point, we had best have some of our people on the inside. We have been justifiably pre-occupied with getting Democrats elected to this point. We are going to have to begin to work and worry about the process of nomination.

1974 TIMETABLE

DNC - Campaign '74

February, 1974

Atlanta Office opens

February, 1974

Office Manager/Coordinator hired to:

- assist steering committee in the execution of its assignments
- . compile and greatly expand lists (goal: 300,000)
- . develop personal out-of-state mailings on accomplishments of Carter administration.
- . work with Rafshoon and Powell on out-of-state trips to maximize exposure and obtaining press.
- . raise funds
- . motivate and utilize Georgia friends and supporters
- . serve generally as the focal point for the entire 1974 effort

March, 1974

Develop computer/direct mail expertise and recruit person and/or firm.

March, 1974

Finish production on 12-page (including cover) magazine style article on Jimmy Carter and the accomplishments of his administration (working title: MAKING STATE GOVERNMENT WORK) which would be used for dissemination to press, groups, contacts, etc. 10,000 printed.

March, 1974

Governor and Mrs. Carter spend some time in New Hampshire.

April, 1974

Begin to involve Governor Carter and chief fund raiser on in-state and out-of-state fund raising.

April, 1974
to
November, 1974

Governor Carter travels around the country in selective states on behalf of Democratic candidates.

Governor visits every major media market for political assist to candidates. At same time must have interviews/features with leading press and TV. (Responsibility: Rafshoon and Powell).

During travels, some still photographs and motion picture film to be produced.

September, 1974

Issues Manager hired to:

- . research national and international issues
- . coordinate research being done by others
- . thoroughly brief Governor in preparation for 1975 announcement and subsequent activities.

November, 1974

Governor to be in Washington on election day. Prepared to comment on Democratic effort and results during aftermath of election. Get credit for DNC '74 effort. Interviews.

1975 BUDGET

Candidate and Staff Travel

Traditionally, travel has been one of the larger items in the budgets of Presidential aspirants. Senator Fred Harris spent over \$400,000 in 1971 in his futile bid for the Democratic nomination. More than 1/3 of his expenses was for travel - the bulk of that being the charter of a large plane which hopped around the country with frequent trips back to Washington to cast important votes in the Senate.

The travel budget outlined here for Carter and staff during 1975 amounts to \$43,000 which is approximately 6% of the total budget. This is a modest, but realistic amount which assumes that Carter's travels will be logical and systematic attacks on certain states and geographic areas and that there will not be a lot of trips by air back and forth to Georgia and around the country. When flying is necessary, commercial airlines will be used. In keeping with Carter's image and style, trips within states and between contiguous states will be by bus, car or train. Staff travel will be modest, although the budget reflects an increase in July with the addition of field persons and the increase in the tempo of the campaign. Staying with friends and supporters will be stressed.

1975 Budget for Candidate and Staff Travel \$43,000.

November, 1974

to

December, 1974

Meet with and recruit Georgia friends for effort.

December, 1974

Limited quantities of media and campaign materials (general appeal) produced for use in January, 1975 and thereafter.

MEDIA

NEW HAMPSHIRE

(The New Hampshire media effort will set the stage for our campaign. Half hour program - 5 weeks of spot TV - statewide radio - outdoor-newspaper.)

4 TV Markets: Boston, Mass. (7 stations), Springfield, Mass. (1), Lebanon, N.H. (1), Keene-Greenfield-Brattleboro (1).

10 Daily Newspapers

38 Radio Stations

Estimated cost for primary (media only) \$205,000

FLORIDA

(As an early primary, if we entered a strong bid, Florida would have the same kind of campaign as in New Hampshire.)

11 TV Markets: Pensacola (3 stations), Daytona (1), Pt. Myers (2), Gainesville (1), Jacksonville (3), Miami (6), Orlando (3), Panama City (2), Tallahassee (1), Tampa/St. Petersburg (5), West Palm Beach (3).

49 Daily Newspapers

270 Radio Stations

Estimated cost for primary (media only) \$275,000

ILLINOIS

(Early primary. Large effort.)

7 TV Markets: Champaign/Urbana/Springfield/Decatur/Danville (4), Chicago (7), Peoria (3), Quincy/Hannibal (2), Paducah, Ky./Cape Girardeau, Mo./Harrisburg, Ill. (4), Rockford (3), Davenport, Ia./Rock Island/Moline (3)

Illinois (cont'd)

100 Daily Newspapers; 200 Radio stations

Estimated Media Costs: \$400,000

WISCONSIN

7 TV Markets: Green Bay (3), La Crosse/Eau Claire (3), Madison (3), Milwaukee (4), Rhinelander (1), Duluth/Superior (3), Wausau (2)

41 Daily Newspapers; 177 Radio Stations

Estimated Cost, media only: \$145,000

RHODE ISLAND

1 TV Market: Providence (3)

6 Daily Newspapers; 20 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost \$ 60,000

MASSACHUSETTS

3 TV Markets: Adams (1 station), Boston (7), Springfield (2)

48 Daily Newspapers; 83 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost: \$220,000

PENNSYLVANIA

7 TV Markets: Scranton/Wilkes-Barre (3), Erie (3), Harrisburg/Lancaster/York/Lebanon (5), Johnstown (1), Altoona (2), Philadelphia (7), Pittsburg (3).

71 Daily Newspapers; 277 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost: \$450,000

ALABAMA

9 TV Markets: Anniston (1), Birmingham (3), Dothan (2), Florence (1),
Huntsville (3), Mobile (3), Montgomery (3), Selma (1), Tuscaloosa (1).

22 Daily Newspapers; 188 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Costs:

\$130,000

INDIANA

5 TV Markets: Evansville (3), Ft. Wayne (3), Indianapolis (5), South
Bend (3), Terre Haute (3).

75 Daily Newspapers; 160 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Costs:

\$140,000

OHIO

9 TV Markets: Cincinnati (4), Cleveland/Akron/Canton (7), Columbus (3),
Dayton (3), Marietta (1) Steubenville (2), Toledo (3), Youngstown (3),
Zanesville (1)

97 Daily Newspapers; 233 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$330,000

TENNESSEE

At this point, the media effort is slightly curtailed based upon success
in previous primaries.

6 TV Markets: Bristol/Kingsport/Johnson City (4), Chattanooga (4), Jackson (1),
Knoxville (3), Memphis (3), Nashville (3).

30 Daily Newspapers; 215 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Costs:

\$100,000

NORTH CAROLINA

6 TV Markets: Greenville/New Bern/Washington (3), Asheville/Greenville/Spartanburg (4), Charlotte (5), Greensboro/Winston-Salem/High Point (3), Raleigh/Durham (3), Wilmington (2)

46 Daily Newspapers; 268 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Costs: \$106,000

NEBRASKA

4 TV Markets: Lincoln (3), McCook (1), N. Platte (1), Omaha (3).

19 Daily Newspapers; 72 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost: \$ 45,000

WEST VIRGINIA

3 TV Markets: Beckley/Bluefield (2), Charleston/Huntington/Ashland (3), Wheeling(2).

19 Daily Newspapers; 93 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost: \$ 47,000]

MARYLAND

2 TV Markets: Baltimore (4), Salisbury (1)

9 Daily Newspapers; 25 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost: \$90,000
(major effort)

OREGON

Lesser effort resumed.

3 TV Markets: Eugene (2), Medford (2), Portland/Salem/(5).

21 Daily Newspapers; 96 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost: \$ 50,000

CALIFORNIA

Major effort.

11 TV Markets: Bakersfield (3), Chico-Redding (2), Eureka (2), Fresno (5), Los Angeles (11), Palm Springs (2), Sacramento/Stockton (5), Salinas/Monterey (3), San Diego (5), San Francisco/Oakland (8), Santa Barbara/Santa Monica (2).

138 Daily Newspapers; 354 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$850,000

MISSISSIPPI

Lesser effort resumed throughout.

6 TV Markets: Beloxi (1), Columbus (1), Greenwood (1), Hattiesburg (1), Jackson (3), Meridian (1).

18 Daily Newspapers; 135 Radio Stations

Estimated Cost for Media:

\$ 42,000

NEW JERSEY

2 TV Markets: New York City (9), Philadelphia (7).

31 Daily Newspapers; 63 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$340,000

NEW MEXICO

2 TV Markets: Albuquerque (3), Roswell (2)

16 Daily Newspapers; 68 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$18,000

SOUTH DAKOTA

2 TV Markets: Rapid City (2), Sioux Falls (3).

14 Daily Newspapers; 39 Radio Stations

(South Dakota)

Estimated Media Cost:

\$ 15,000

NEW YORK

10 TV Markets: Albany/Schoenectady/Troy (3), Binghamton (3), Buffalo (4), Elmira (2), New York City (9), Plattsburgh (3), Rochester (3), Syracuse (3), Utica/Rome (2), Watertown (1).

88 Daily Newspapers/ 248 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$560,000

ARKANSAS

6 TV Markets: Ft. Smith (2), Jonesboro (1), Little Rock (3), Monroe, La./ El Dorado, Ark. (2), Tulsa, Okla./Fayetteville, Ark. (4), Shreveport, La./ Texarkana (3).

32 Daily Newspapers; 136 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$ 48,000

NEVADA

3 TV Markets: Las Vegas (4), Elko (1), Reno (4).

7 Daily Newspapers; 30 Radio Stations

Estimated Media Cost:

\$ 36,000

1975 BUDGET

Georgia Staff and Office

A Georgia office and small staff (two people) will open in January for the purpose of energizing our Georgia supporters and coordinating the Georgia primary effort. \$39,200 is budgeted for the year for staff salaries, office space, telephones, postage and miscellaneous office expenses.

1975 Total for Georgia Office and Staff \$39,200.

1975 BUDGET

Materials and Media

A total of 350,000 is budgeted for the months of January and February to offset the production of basic materials to be used during the time of announcement and for the first five months of the year. Brochures, tabloids, buttons and pictures for use by the media are included in the January/February figures.

\$10,000 is budgeted in June for additional basic materials. This would offset the cost of possibly revising and reprinting the basic brochure and/or tabloid.

Beginning in September, the services of an advertising agency are retained to begin to translate the thrust of the campaign into a realistic and comprehensive media strategy. The agency supervises the production of basic radio and television spots, billboards, newspaper ads and other materials. Special attention is paid to primary states which are perceived as being critical. The production of a 30-minute TV program is probable.

Working with the candidate, the pollster, the press coordinator and the various state coordinators, the agency develops comprehensive media programs and budgets for each primary state. The agency might subcontract out portions of their work but will retain absolute control

over all media matters. These various activities from September thru December are budgeted at \$75,000.

1975 Total for Materials and Media \$135,000.

DESCRIPTION OF TASK/PROJECT	PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE	DEADLINE/COMMENT
Develop from out-of-state book and files key friends who should receive personalized mailing. 500 - 1000 names.	L. Lee, R. Carter and S. Chandler	October 1
Suggestions on content for the various announcement mailings.	P. Bourne and J. Rafshoon	October 1
Basic judgement on role of professional computer firm in our direct mail effort. Recommendation to Advisory Group.	Bourne, Rafshoon and Chandler	September 10
Feed Governor interesting facts on specific issues.	Eizenstat, Burris and Issues Group	Immediately and continuing
Provide Governor with outline of suggested announcement speech.	Powell and Eizenstat	October 15
Determine feasibility of Press Club announcement.	Powell	September 1
Secure alternative spot for D.C. announcement in event Press Club invitation does not work out.	Bourne and Jordan	August 25
Outline Georgia portion of announcement activities and make recommendations as to who should be involved.	F. Moore	September 1
Outline schedule for trips into media markets immediately following announcement.	J. Rafshoon and J. Powell	September 15
Secure Monday or Friday in mid-September for targeting meeting.	S. Chandler	Immediately
Schedule November 6th and 7th for Governor to be in Washington to comment on '74 elections.	S. Chandler	Immediately
Schedule entire week preceding and following the Charter Conference for pre-announcement and post-announcement activities.	Carter	Immediately
Impress on Mary B. the importance of keeping September, October, November and December as loose and flexible as possible.	Carter	Immediately

1974 PLANS

1974 is the year during which we must get organized and be organized in order to start 1975 off as a credible, viable candidate.

During 1974 - and this means immediately - we must establish an office, hire a minimum staff, accomplish several mailings, compile lists, prepare computer time, raise funds, prepare and produce material for an early 1975 start, make and broaden contacts, research issues, plant publicity seeds, and generally make preparations for an 18-month effort (January, 1975-July, 1976) to capture the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

The following is a working budget for 1974. It consists of a minimum figure that will be needed to accomplish the preparations described above. It is a bare-bones budget, realistic and necessary. If used properly it will set us up to be in a position to raise considerably more in 1975 - the year we will need ten times more.

Before discussing figures, let us briefly discuss what we have going for us.

The people at this January 8th meeting are a nucleus of workers representing diverse talents who are dedicated to making this effort work. Several are full-time employees of the Governor, as in the case of H.J., can legitimately do much for the effort while pursuing the goals of the DNC - Campaign '74 effort. Several members of this committee can spend 30% to 50% of their time in 1974 on this project.

However, we need a central core - a coordinator if you will -
into which we can all funnel our efforts. This core is discussed
in the budget.

1974 BUDGET

Starting February 1st.

1. Office Space: It is recommended that a suite of three offices be established in Rafshoon Advertising for the use of the DNC - Campaign '74 Committee under Hamilton Jordan and at which two full-time employees will work. These offices would house the 2 full-time employees (described below) and have another office for the use of any member of this group, volunteers and a working area.

It would be austere furnished, have 2 phone lines, 3 desks, 3 chairs, office supplies, 2 rented typewriters, etc. Xerox and other materials could be used at the agency. Its proximity to the agency would allow Rafshoon (on a volunteer basis) to work with staff on public relations related projects and also provide a place for Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell, Lansing Lee and others to work when necessary.

2. Office Manager - to be hired starting February 1st. This man would function as the administrator and coordinator for the 1974 DNC effort. Mailings, phone calls, contacts, press coordination, computer company liaison, updating lists, sending letters, assisting in fund raising mechanics - all of these would fall into his area of responsibility. Equally as important, he would work with our group of part-time volunteers in executing plans and ideas generated by our group.

Another great asset of this office manager - administrator, is his complete independence and divorcement from the Governor's office.

His annual salary should be in the \$12,000 range.

11 mo. cost: \$11,000

3. Executive Secretary: A heavy-weight. Hopefully with some knowledge of politics. Annual salary: \$7500.

11 mo. cost: \$6,875

4. Telephone: 2 lines, 3 extensions, some long-distance.

\$3,600

5. Furniture: 3 desks, 3 desk chairs, 3 guest chairs.

\$ 750

6. Typewriters: Rental of 2 IER electric typewriters.

\$ 840

7. Office Supplies and Xerox

\$1,800

8. Travel Allowance: Although the Governor's travels will be covered by the State and/or DNC, we will need to budget for some travel by others who would visit other states for this effort.

\$3,600

9. Computer Time & Mailings: The dollar figure here is a amorphous one until we see what can be done by whom... how.... and at what cost. But our office manager must immediately begin to upgrade our file of in-state and out-of-state contacts and mailings lists. Furthermore, we must begin to write special interest letters, do limited fund raising, circulate publicity reprints, and work toward

having the capability to ANNOUNCE IN EARLY 1975 WITH A MAILING OF 300,000.

This budget figure is tentative:

\$20,000

10. TV Training, limited filming, miscellaneous photography.

We must start building a materials file. In early '75 we will need to have produced a myriad of material. We cannot let '74 get away without some history. In addition, the Governor needs to sharpen his image.

\$10,000

11. Issues Manager: The day Jimmy Carter announces he must have something to say. We envision hiring a heavy-weight issues man by September 1, 1974 to formulate the issues which Jimmy Carter will use as the thrust of his campaign. It is not enough to announce in January '75 that "I want to be President and will listen to the people." Jimmy Carter must so impress people — even shock them — with his group of issues that they will understand that he is not just another ex-Southern Governor.

An issues manager would work with Jimmy Carter and others to have him thoroughly briefed by January 1, 1975 and would continue throughout the campaign in '75 and '76.

We estimate this man at \$21,000 per year.

4 Mo. cost: \$ 7,000

12. Brochure: In March, 1974, we will have written and produced a 12-page (including cover) magazine style article on

Jimmy Carter and the accomplishments of his administration
(working title: MAKING GOVERNMENT WORK) which would be
used for dissemination as a reprint to press groups,
contacts, etc.

Cost for 10,000 = \$4,700

TOTAL NEEDED FOR 1974 = \$70,165

1975 TIMETABLE

January, 1975

The most important month of the year.

A modest national office is opened in Washington and staffed. In the middle of the month, Jimmy Carter, peanut farmer and ex-Governor announces before an appropriate national forum in Washington his intention to seek the Democratic nomination for President.

A mass mailing (300,000) coordinated with this announcement goes out telling the Carter story and soliciting support on financial contributions. Carter returns briefly for a home-state announcement and fund raising activities before departing on a two week whirlwind trip around the country aimed at hitting all the major media markets.

A small Georgia office staffed by two people is opened in January with the important assignment of communicating with and involving our Georgia friends in our national effort. This office will also be the focal point for the Georgia primary and will probably evolve as the focal point for our Southern efforts.

Basic materials - brochures, tabloids or buttons - are produced for distribution.

February, 1975

Carter returns to Georgia to relax and to assess the impact and reaction to his announcement. Also to study and to prepare himself emotionally and physically for an extended 3-month trip around the country. Some time is spent meeting with and raising money from Georgia friends. Also, several key political columnists are invited to visit Carter in Plains. This is a continuing project with the goal of getting the 15 or 20 major political columnists to Plains to visit Carter during the course of the year.

March, 1975

Carter begins his trip around the country with special emphasis on those primary states which are perceived as being basic to his general strategy. As Carter will be visiting many states where he has little name recognition or support, the pace is almost leisurely and his schedule flexible. Three to 5 days are spent in each state with the goal of obtaining good exposure to the press, the public and Democratic activists while identifying and courting persons who can organize and coordinate a statewide campaign.

Carter will be traveling by bus, train or car in a style that is compatible with the image he hopes to project. Carter will work states and geographic areas in sequence without interruption, returning to Georgia every other weekend for a few days of rest.

April, 1975

Carter's trip continues.

Field staff follows up on state visits, collecting names of interested persons and organizing whenever possible.

May, 1975

May is a month of assessment and decision. Carter returns to Georgia in mid-May having finished his visits to 10 or 12 key states.

Based on the travels of the previous months, tantative decisions must be made on:

- A) which primaries to enter;
- B) how and where to spend the summer months;
- C) organizational problems and potential within each key state.

Field staff follows up on state visits, collecting names of interested persons and organizing whenever possible.

Decisions are made on additional staff members to be added in July.

Final budget for balance of the year should be reviewed and approved.

June, 1975

Carter revisits states he was in in March for the purpose of mobilizing and organizing his supporters. Also, to raise money. This will put him back three or four states for about a day or day and one-half each.

Carter spends several days in three or four states not previously visited in 1975 for the purpose of gaining exposure and supporters.

Materials for the balance of 1975 are produced.

July, 1975

National staff and office is expanded with special emphasis on field people assigned to key primary states and persons to work with particular constituencies.

Carter revisits states he was in in April for the purpose of mobilizing and organizing his supporters. Also, for fund raising. This puts him in three or four states for a day or two each.

Carter spends several days in three or four states not previously visited in 1975 for the purpose of gaining exposure and supporters.

Plans finalized for sequel to January '75 mass mailing to go out in September.

Full day is spent in Georgia with friends and supporters -- possibly Fourth of July outing in Plains.

August, 1975

Carter revisits states he was in in May for purpose of mobilizing and organizing his supporters. Also, for fund raising. This puts him in three or four states for a day or two each.

Carter spends several days in three or four states not previously visited in 1975 for the purpose of gaining exposure and support.

Polling begins in critical primary states.

September, 1975

Carter spends the first two weeks of the month in Georgia meeting with his staff and advisors carefully reviewing every aspect and problem of his campaign.

By this point, he has campaigned heavily in 10-12 states and moderately in 10-12 others. Tentative decisions were made in June on a primary strategy. At this point, these decisions are carried one step further as commitments are made on which primaries to enter and not to enter. The number of states in a questionable category is hopefully reduced to a smaller and manageable number. Careful plans are made as to how to spend the balance of the year.

Another massive direct mailing gets out.

Polling in selective states continues.

An advertising agency is retained and the production of basic radio and television spots begins as well as billboards, newspaper mats and other materials. A 30-minute TV program is considered.

Some campaigning.

October, 1975

Heavy campaigning in selective states.

Polling continues.

Media production continues.

November, 1975

Heavy campaigning in selective states.

Polling continues.

Media production continues.

December, 1975

First half of the month spent campaigning. Last half spent in Georgia.

Special Christmas event for Georgia friends and supporters.

Polling continues.

Media production continues. Review of media strategy by candidate and campaign staff. Final decisions made regarding initial primaries.

Review and approval of budget for first quarter of the year, to include budgets for specific primaries.

1975 BUDGET

National Campaign Staff

Beginning in January, a fulltime national staff will be required consisting of the following:

Campaign Coordinator - Responsible for the overall coordination and implementation of the campaign plan. Reports to the candidate, steering committee and Campaign Director. Heavily involved in the primaries and closely supervises field staff.

Office Manager - Responsible for the overall operation and management of the national office. All purchases, disbursements and travel requests must be approved by him/her. Responsible to coordinator and candidate for operating within approved budget.

Issues/Research - continuation from 74.

Media Director/D.C. - Technician with national experience and contacts. Responsible for press relations with national media. Responsible for speech materials, interviews, etc.

Asst. to Media Director - Secretary/assistant to work with D.C. Media Director.

Media Coordinator/with Candidate - travels with candidate and responsible for dealing with the various local press and traveling national media. Also responsible for communicating daily with D.C. office.

1975 BUDGET

Scheduler/Travel Coordinator - Responsible for maintaining candidate's schedule. Also, responsible for all travel arrangements and details. The worst job in the campaign.

Advance Man/Field Man - Responsible for advancing Carter's trips to insure maximum benefits and exposure. Can double some as field person in terms of follow-up to trips.

Security/Travel Asst. - Provide security for candidate. Also, works closely with Scheduler/Travel Coordinator on details of travel.

Mail Supervisor and two secretaries - Responsible for seeing that correspondence is handled quickly and efficiently. The two secretaries are available to work for national staff members.

Financial Secretary - Secretary with legal and/or accounting background to work closely with the Finance Chairman and Treasurer in keeping accurate records on contributions and disbursements.

1975 BUDGET

In the middle of the year, there will be a need for additional persons on the national staff. These include:

Volunteer Director

Labor Coordinator

Minority Coordinator

Women's Coordinator

General Secretaries (2)

Field Men (3)

Several key persons in the campaign effort are not covered in the staff budget. These are people who have not as yet been identified or recruited to our effort. They should be persons of such substance that salaries would probably not be required. There is no timetable for these people - only that they should be brought aboard as soon as they can be identified and recruited. This includes:

National Campaign Director - A person who brings a new dimension to our group - and hopefully strength in some state or region outside the south. This person should add stature to our effort and be evidence of our progress and potential.

Finance Chairman - A person who moves in national circles and has the ability to raise significant amounts of money. Ideally, from outside the south.

Treasurer - The man who signs the checks and keeps us within our budget. This should be a lawyer or accountant type who is based in

1975 BUDGET

Washington and might volunteer the services of himself and his firm.
Down the road, this would evolve into a fulltime job and require
an accountant.

Total 1975 National Campaign Staff \$259,000.

1975 BUDGET

D.C. Office and Expenses

The national staff will be situated in Washington. A modest amount of office space will be required from January thru June. With the increase in staff in July and the natural increase in campaign activities, the amount of office space required will almost double during the middle of the year. Moderate priced office space in a safe and convenient area of the city should be found. A renovated house would be ideal.

\$28,200 is budgeted for January through June for office space, furniture, office equipment, telephone deposits, postage, and miscellaneous expenses. An additional amount is budgeted for the balance of the year to offset the cost of more office space. Also, it will probably be economical at this point to consider the installation of one or two national WATS lines.

1975 Total D.C. Office and Expenses	372,200
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1975 BUDGET

POLLING

Beginning in August and continuing through December, monies are budgeted for polling. In depth, professional polls should be taken in select states which are either typical of a geographic region or basic to the campaign strategy. New Hampshire and Wisconsin would be examples of the latter.

\$40,000 is budgeted for 1975 for polls. This work might be contracted out to a particular pollster. In addition, a political scientist with experience in voter attitudes might be recruited to the staff. In this event, the major expense would be the cost of the individual interviews. There is also an abundance of statistical and demographic data available which if properly analyzed will be useful.

1975 Total for Polling

\$40,000.

1975 BUDGET

DIRECT MAIL

\$50,000 is budgeted for January and February for direct mail. This will be the approximate cost for the massive mailing and solicitation which will coincide with the January announcement. The production of this first mailing will be contracted out, although it will probably prove both feasible and economical to retain a technician fulltime to supervise and coordinate the direct mail aspect of the campaign.

A modest amount of money (\$5,000) is budgeted monthly for the continuing costs of updating and upgrading our lists. Also, this would probably offset the costs of smaller mailings to past contributors.

Another large mailing is budgeted for September.

The direct mail effort will be the basis for our small givers campaign. The figures provided here are very general and might not be realistic. This is the one aspect of our budget which should be carefully reviewed and studied by someone with direct mail experience and expertise.

1975 Total for Direct Mail

\$120,000

1972 Primary Dates

March	7	New Hampshire
	14	Florida
	21	Illinois
April	4	Wisconsin
	11	Rhode Island
	25	Massachusetts
		Pennsylvania
May	2	Alabama*
		District of Columbia
		Indiana
		Ohio
	4	Tennessee
	6	North Carolina
	9	Nebraska
		West Virginia
	16	Maryland
	23	Oregon
June	5	California
		Mississippi
		New Jersey
		New Mexico
		South Dakota
	20	New York
	27	Arkansas*

Sources: Democratic National Committee
Republican National Committee
* Dates may be changed.

FLORIDA

Capital: Tallahassee
 1970 Population: 6,789,443
 National Rank: 9
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,584
 National Rank: 29

Congressional Districts: 15
 Counties: 67
 Voting Precincts: 2,978
 1972 Convention Delegates: 81
 1972 Electoral Votes: 15

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Edward J. Gurney	R	1968	1968	55.9%
U.S. Senator	Lawton Chiles	D	1970	1970	53.9
Governor	Reuben Askew	D	1970	1970	56.9
Lt. Governor	Tom Adams	D	1970	1970	56.9
Secretary of State	Richard B. Stone	D	1970	1970	56.6
Attorney General	Robert L. Shevin	D	1970	1970	61.4

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	11	4
State Senate	25	14
State House	77	43

POPULATION

1970 Population: 6,789,443
 Urban: 80.5%
 Rural: 19.5%
 Age: 18-20: 358,000 (16.0%)
 21-24: 450,000
 25-44: 1,651,000 (32.3%)
 45-64: 1,571,000 (30.8%)
 65+: 1,075,000 (21.1%)

Ethnic and Racial:
 White: 84.1% Cuban: 3.7%
 Black: 15.5% German: 1.8%
 Other: .4%
 Median Age: 32.3 years
 Median Voting Age: 46.5
 White Collar: 49.8%
 Blue Collar: 32.0%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
2,394,604	68.7	974,999	28.0	117,855	3.4	3,487,458

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(72.1%)
	McGovern	(27.9%)
1968	Nixon	886,794 (41%)
	Humphrey	676,794 (31%)
	Wallace	624,207 (29%)
1964	Johnson	948,540 (51%)
	Goldwater	905,941 (49%)
1960	Kennedy	748,400 (49%)
	Nixon	795,476 (51%)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Capital: Concord
1970 Population: 737,681
National Rank: 41
1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,608
National Rank: 24

Congressional Districts: 2
Counties: 10
Voting Precincts: 321
1972 Convention Delegates: 20
1972 Electoral Votes: 4

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Norris Cotton	R	1954	1968	59.3%
U.S. Senator	Thomas J. McIntyre	D	1962	1972	56.9
Governor	Meldrim Thomson, Jr.	R	1972	1972	41.4
Lt. Governor	-				
Secretary of State	Robert L. Stark	R	1961	1973	-
Attorney General	Warren B. Rudman	R	1970	1973	-

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	0	2
State Senate	10	14
State House	138	261

POPULATION

1970 Population:	737,681	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 56.4%		White: 99.4%	Irish: 1.1%
Rural: 43.6		Black: .3%	
Age: 18-20:	44,000 (18.4%)	Other: .3%	
21-24:	52,000	Median Age:	28.0 years
25-44:	184,000 (35.4%)	Median Voting Age:	43.2
45-64:	157,000 (30.1%)	White Collar:	44.5%
65+:	84,000 (16.1%)	Blue Collar:	52.1

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
128,229	42.1	176,677	57.9			304,960

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(64.7%)
	McGovern	(35.3%)
1968	Nixon	154,903 (52%)
	Humphrey	130,589 (44%)
	Wallace	11,173 (4%)
1964	Johnson	184,064 (64%)
	Goldwater	104,029 (36%)
1960	Kennedy	137,772 (47%)
	Nixon	157,989 (53%)

ILLINOIS

Capital: Springfield		Congressional Districts: 24	
1970 Population: 11,113,976		Counties: 102	
National Rank: 5		Voting Precincts: 10,888	
1970 Per Capita Income: \$4,516		1972 Convention Delegates: 170	
National Rank: 8		1972 Electoral Votes: 26	

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Charles H. Percy	R	1966	1972	62.2%
U.S. Senator	Adlai E. Stevenson III	D	1970	1970	57.4
Governor	Daniel Wallace	D	1972	1972	50.7
Lt. Governor	Neil Hartigan	D	1972	1972	51.7
Secretary of State	Michael Howlett	D	1972	1972	51.7
Attorney General	William J. Scott	R	1968	1972	64.0

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation (1 vacancy)	9	14
State Senate	29	30
State House	88	89

POPULATION

1970 Population: 11,113,976	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 83.0%	White: 86.4%	German: 2.8%
Rural: 17.0%	Black: 12.8%	Polish: 2.7%
Age: 18-20: 587,000 (17.4%)	Other: .8%	Italian: 2.1%
21-24: 726,000	Median Age: 28.6 years	
25-44: 2,741,000 (36.3%)	Median Voting Age: 43.3	
45-64: 2,366,000 (31.4%)	White Collar: 49.1%	
65+: 1,122,000 (14.9%)	Blue Collar: 36.6	

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
						6,215,331
(no party registration)						

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon		(59.3%)
	McGovern		(40.7%)
1968	Nixon	2,174,774	(47%)
	Humphrey	2,039,814	(47%)
	Wallace	390,958	(9%)
1964	Johnson	2,796,833	(60%)
	Goldwater	1,905,946	(40%)
1960	Kennedy	2,377,846	(50%)
	Nixon	2,368,988	(50%)

WISCONSIN

Capital:	Madison	Congressional Districts:	9
1970 Population:	4,417,933	Counties:	72
National Rank:	16	Voting Precincts:	3,333
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$3,722	1972 Convention Delegates:	67
National Rank:	22	1972 Electoral Votes:	11

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	William Proxmire	D	1957	1970	70.8%
U.S. Senator	Gaylord Nelson	D	1962	1968	61.7
Governor	Patrick J. Lucey	D	1970	1970	54.2
Lt. Governor	Martin J. Schreiber	D	1970	1970	54.2
Secretary of State	Robert C. Zimmerman	R	1956	1970	61.7
Attorney General	Robert W. Warren	R	1968	1970	53.3

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	5	4
State Senate	15	18
State House	62	37

POPULATION

1970 Population:	4,417,933	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban:	65.9%	White:	96.4%
Rural:	34.1	Black:	2.9%
Age: 18-20:	255,000 (18.4%)	Other:	.7%
21-24:	290,000	Median Age:	27.2 years
25-44:	1,021,000 (34.5%)	Median Voting Age:	43.7
45-64:	899,000 (30.4%)	White Collar:	43.2%
65+:	491,000 (16.6%)	Blue Collar:	37.2
		German:	5.3%
		Polish:	1.6%
		Norwegian:	1.2%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
(no statewide party registration)						1,596,900

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(55.0%)
	McGovern	(45.0%)
1968	Nixon	809,997 (48%)
	Humphrey	748,804 (44%)
	Wallace	127,835 (8%)
1964	Johnson	1,050,424 (62%)
	Goldwater	638,495 (38%)
1960	Kennedy	830,805 (48%)
	Nixon	895,175 (52%)

MASSACHUSETTS

Capital: Boston	Congressional Districts: 12	
1970 Population: 5,689,170	Counties: 14	
National Rank: 10	Voting Precincts: 2,029	
1970 Per Capita Income: \$4,294	1972 Convention Delegates: 102	
National Rank: 10	1972 Electoral Votes: 14	

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Edward M. Kennedy	D	1962	1970	62.1%
U.S. Senator	Edward W. Brooke	R	1966	1972	63.5
Governor	Francis W. Sargent	R	1970	1970	56.7
Lt. Governor	Donald Dwight	R	1970	1970	51.8
Secretary of State	John F.X. Davoren	D	1967	1970	62.8
Attorney General	Robert H. Quinn	D	1969	1970	54.6

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Other</u>
Congressional Delegation	8	3	1
State Senate	33	7	2
State House	186	52	

POPULATION

1970 Population: 5,689,170	Ethnic and Racial:
Urban: 84.6%	White: 96.3%
Rural: 15.4%	Black: 3.1%
Age: 18-20: 321,000	Other: .6%
21-24: 400,000 (18.2%)	Median Age: 29 years
25-44: 1,346,000 (34.0%)	Median Voting Age: 44.1 years
45-64: 1,231,000 (31.1%)	White Collar: 52.7
65+: 657,000 (16.6%)	Blue Collar: 34.2
	Italian: 5.2%
	Irish: 3.8%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
1,184,623	42.7	527,631	19.0	1,063,284	38.3	2,775,538

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon			(45.5%)
	McGovern			(54.5%)
1968	Nixon	766,844		(33%)
	Humphrey	1,469,218		(63%)
	Wallace	87,088		(4%)
1964	Johnson	1,786,422		(76%)
	Goldwater	549,727		(24%)
1960	Kennedy	1,487,174		(60%)
	Nixon	976,750		(40%)

PENNSYLVANIA

Capital: Harrisburg	Congressional Districts: 25
1970 Population: 11,793,909	Counties: 67
National Rank: 3	Voting Precincts: 9,593
1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,893	1972 Convention Delegates: 182
National Rank: 17	1972 Electoral Votes: 27

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Hugh Scott	R	1958	1970	51.4%
U.S. Senator	Richard S. Schweirer	R	1968	1968	51.9
Governor	Milton J. Shapp	D	1970	1970	55.2
Lt. Governor	Ernest P. Kline	D	1970	1970	55.2
Secretary of State	C. Delores Tucker	D	1970	1970	
Attorney General	J. Shane Cramer	D	1971	1971	

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	13	12
State Senate (1 vacancy)	25	24
State House (1 undecided)	96	106

POPULATION

1970 Population: 11,793,909	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 71.5%	White: 91.0%	Italian: 3.8%
Rural: 28.5%	Black: 8.6%	Polish: 2.1%
Age: 18-20: 612,000 (16.4%)	Other: .4%	German: 1.7%
21-24: 728,000	Median Age: 30.7 years	
25-44: 2,765,000 (33.9%)	Median Voting Age: 45.2	
45-64: 2,754,000 (33.7%)	White Collar: 45.0%	
65+: 1,302,000 (16.0%)	Blue Collar: 41.5	

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
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PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(60.2%)
	McGovern	(39.8%)
1968	Nixon	2,090,017 (44%)
	Humphrey	2,259,403 (48%)
	Wallace	378,582 (8%)
1964	Johnson	3,130,950 (65%)
	Goldwater	1,673,657 (35%)
1960	Kennedy	2,556,282 (51%)
	Nixon	2,439,956 (49%)

RHODE ISLAND

Capital:	Providence	Congressional Districts:	2
1970 Population:	949,723	Counties:	5
National Rank:	39	Voting Precincts:	476
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$3,920	1972 Convention Delegates:	22
National Rank:	16	1972 Electoral Votes:	4

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	John O. Pastore	D	1950	1970	67.5%
U.S. Senator	Claiborne Pell	D	1960	1972	53.7
Governor	Philip Noel	D	1972	1972	52.5
Lt. Governor	J. Joseph Garrahy	D	1968	1972	61.3
Secretary of State	Robert F. Burns	D	1972	1972	57.6
Attorney General	Richard Israel	R	1970	1972	57.8

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	2	0
State Senate	37	13
State House	73	27

POPULATION

1970 Population:	949,723	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban:	87.1%	White:	96.6%
Rural:	12.9	Black:	2.7%
Age: 18-20:	59,000	Other:	.7%
21-24:	751,000 (19.8%)	Median Age:	29.2 years
25-44:	219,000 (32.6%)	Median Voting Age:	44.1
45-64:	213,000 (31.6%)	White Collar:	45.1%
65+:	108,000 (16.0%)	Blue Collar:	42.3

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
						531,847

(no statewide party registration)

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(53.1%)
	McGovern	(46.9%)
1968	Nixon	122,359 (32%)
	Humphrey	246,518 (64%)
	Wallace	15,678 (4%)
1964	Johnson	315,463 (81%)
	Goldwater	74,615 (19%)
1960	Kennedy	258,032 (64%)
	Nixon	147,502 (36%)

ALABAMA

Capital:	Montgomery	Congressional Districts:	7
1970 Population:	3,444,165	Counties:	67
National Rank:	21	Voting Precincts:	1,328
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$2,828	1972 Convention Delegates:	37
National Rank:	49	1972 Electoral Votes:	9

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	John J. Sparkman	D	1946	1972	62.7%
U.S. Senator	James B. Allen	D	1968	1968	78.0
Governor	George C. Wallace	D	1970	1970	74.5
Lt. Governor	Jere Beasey	D	1970	1970	71.8
Secretary of State	Mrs. Mabel Amos	D	1966	1970	85.7
Attorney General	William Baxley	D	1970	1970	82.2

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	4	3
State Senate	33	0 (2 vacancies)
State House	100	2 (4 vacancies)

POPULATION

1970 Population:	3,444,165	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban:	58.4%	White:	73.4%
Rural:	41.6%	Black:	26.4%
Age: 18-20:	198,000 (18.9%)	Other:	.2%
21-24:	231,000 (35.8%)	Median Age:	27.0
25-44:	815,000 (30.6%)	Median Voting Age:	42.8
45-64:	696,000 (14.7%)	White Collar:	40.6%
65+:	334,000 (14.7%)	Blue Collar:	42.7%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
						1,763,845

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(76.9%)
	McGovern	(23.1%)
1968	Nixon	146,923 (15.0%)
	Humphrey	142,435 (15.0%)
	Wallace	691,425 (71.0%)
1964	Johnson	*
	Goldwater	479,085 (70.0%)
1960	Kennedy	318,303 (57.0%)
	Nixon	237,918 (43.0%)

*210,733 votes were cast for democratic electors not pledged to Johnson.

INDIANA

Capital:	Indianapolis	Congressional Districts:	11
1970 Population:	5,193,669	Counties:	92
National Rank:	11	Voting Precincts:	4,474
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$3,773	1972 Convention Delegates:	76
National Rank:	20	1972 Electoral Votes:	13

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Vance Hartke	D	1958	1970	50.1%
U.S. Senator	Birch Bayh	D	1962	1968	51.8
Governor	Otis Bowen	R	1972	1972	56.8
Lt. Governor	Mark Orr	R	1972	1972	55.3
Secretary of State	Larry Conrad	D	1970	1970	50.8
Attorney General	Theodore Sendak	R	1968	1972	58.3

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	4	7
State Senate	21	29
State House	27	73

POPULATION

1970 Population: 5,193,669	Ethnic and Racial:
Urban: 64.9%	White: 92.8% German 1.2%
Rural: 35.1%	Black: 6.9%
Age: 18-20: 298,000	Other: .3%
21-24: 360,000 (18.7%)	Median Age: 27.2 years
25-44: 1,281,000 (36.5%)	Median Voting Age: 42.5
45-64: 1,056,000 (30.1%)	White Collar: 42.0%
65+: 514,000 (14.7%)	Blue Collar: 42.7%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
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PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(66.5%)
	McGovern	(33.5%)
1968	Nixon	1,067,885 (50%)
	Humphrey	806,659 (39%)
	Wallace	243,108 (12%)
1964	Johnson	1,170,848 (56%)
	Goldwater	911,118 (44%)
1960	Kennedy	952,358 (45%)
	Nixon	1,175,120 (55%)

OHIO

Capital: Columbus
 1970 Population: 10,652,017
 National Rank: 6
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,983
 National Rank: 15

Congressional Districts: 23
 Counties: 88
 Voting Precincts: 12,886
 1972 Convention Delegates: 153
 1972 Electoral Votes: 25

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Robert A. Taft, Jr.	R	1970	1970	49.7%
U.S. Senator					
Governor	John J. Gilligan	D	1970	1970	54.2%
Lt. Governor	John W. Brown	R	1962	1970	52.6
Secretary of State	Ted W. Brown	R	1951	1970	54.1
Attorney General	William Brown	D	1970	1970	55.4

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	7	16
State Senate	15	17
State House	58	41

POPULATION

1970 Population: 10,652,017
 Urban: 75.3%
 Rural: 24.6
 Age: 18-20: 586,000 (18.2%)
 21-24: 722,000
 25-44: 2,619,000 (36.4%)
 45-64: 2,226,000 (31.0%)
 65+: 1,032,000 (14.4%)

Ethnic and Racial:
 White: 90.6%
 Black: 9.1%
 Other: .3%
 Median Age: 27.7 years
 Median Voting Age: 42.9
 White Collar: 45.4%
 Blue Collar: 40.8

German: 1.8%
 Italian: 1.6%
 Polish: 1.1%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
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PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(61%)
	McGovern	(39%)
1968	Nixon	1,791,014 (45%)
	Humphrey	1,700,586 (43%)
	Wallace	467,495 (12%)
1964	Johnson	2,498,331 (63%)
	Goldwater	1,470,865 (37%)
1960	Kennedy	1,944,248 (47%)
	Nixon	2,217,611 (53%)

TENNESSEE

Capital:	Nashville	Congressional Districts:	8
1970 Population:	3,924,164	Counties:	95
National Rank:	17	Voting Precincts:	2,388
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$3,051	1972 Convention Delegates:	49
National Rank:	44	1972 Electoral Votes:	10

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Howard H. Baker, Jr.	R	1966	1972	61.5%
U.S. Senator	W. E. (Bill) Brock	R	1970	1970	51.3
Governor	Winfield Dunn	R	1970	1970	52.0
Lt. Governor *	John S. Wilder	D	1971	1971	-
Secretary of State *	Joe C. Carr	D	1941	1969	-
Attorney General	David M. Park	D	1969	1969	-

*elected by State General Assembly

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Other</u>
Congressional Delegation	4	5	
State Senate	17	15	1
State House	51	48	

POPULATION

1970 Population:	3,924,164	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban:	58.8%	White:	83.7%
Rural:	41.2%	Black:	16.1%
Age: 18-20:	232,000 (18.7%)	Other:	.2%
21-24:	277,000 (36.2%)	Median Age:	28.1 years
25-44:	981,000 (30.4%)	Median Voting Age:	42.6
45-64:	824,000 (30.4%)	White Collar:	41.4%
65+:	399,000 (14.7%)	Blue Collar:	42.2

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
						1,990,020

(no statewide party registration)

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(69.5%)
	McGovern	(30.5%)
1968	Nixon	472,592 (38%)
	Humphrey	351,233 (28%)
	Wallace	424,792 (34%)
1964	Johnson	635,047 (55%)
	Goldwater	508,964 (45%)
1960	Kennedy	481,453 (46%)
	Nixon	550,577 (53%)

NORTH CAROLINA

Capital: Raleigh	Congressional Districts: 11
1970 Population: 5,082,059	Counties: 100
National Rank: 12	Voting Precincts: 2,263
1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,188	1972 Convention Delegates: 64
National Rank: 40	1972 Electoral Votes: 13

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	D	1954	1968	60.6%
U.S. Senator	Jesse Helms	R	1972	1972	54.0
Governor	James Holshouser	R	1972	1972	51.0
Lt. Governor	James Hunt	D	1972	1972	56.7
Secretary of State	Thad Eure	D	1936	1972	59.0
Attorney General	Robert Morgan	D	1968	1972	55.9

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	7	4
State Senate	35	15
State House	83	35

POPULATION

1970 Population: 5,082,059	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 45%	White: 76.6%	Indian: 0.9%
Rural: 55%	Black: 22.4%	
Age: 18-20: 337,000	Other: 0.1%	
21-24: 393,000	Median Age: 26.5 years	
25-44: 1,286,000 (37.1%)	Median Voting Age: 40.8	
45-64: 1,018,000 (29.4%)	White Collar: 38.5%	
65+: 429,000 (12.4%)	Blue Collar: 45.8	

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
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PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(70.6%)
	McGovern	(29.4%)
1968	Nixon	627,192 (40%)
	Humphrey	464,113 (29%)
	Wallace	496,118 (31%)
1964	Johnson	800,139 (56%)
	Goldwater	624,844 (44%)
1960	Kennedy	713,318 (52%)
	Nixon	655,648 (48%)

NEBRASKA

Capital: Lincoln
 1970 Population: 1,483,791
 National Rank: 35
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,700
 National Rank: 24

Congressional Districts: 3
 Counties: 93
 Voting Precincts: 2,036
 1972 Convention Delegates: 24
 1972 Electoral Votes: 5

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Roman L. Hruska	R	1954	1970	52.5%
U.S. Senator	Carl T. Curtis	R	1954	1972	53.1
Governor	J. J. Exon	D	1970	1970	53.8
Lt. Governor	Frank Marsh	R	1970	1970	77.4
Secretary of State	Allen J. Beerman	R	1970	1970	51.4
Attorney General	Clarence Meyer	R	1960	1970	61.6

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

Congressional Delegation
 State Senate
 State House

Democrats

Republicans

3
 Unicameral non-partisan Legislature
 49 members

POPULATION

1970 Population: 1,483,791
 Urban: 61.5%
 Rural: 38.5
 Age: 18-20: 87,000 (18.1%)
 21-24: 98,000
 25-44: 342,000 (33.5%)
 45-64: 303,000 (29.5%)
 65+: 191,000 (18.7%)

Ethnic and Racial:

White: 96.6%
 Black: 2.7%
 Other: .8%
 German: 4.2%
 Czech: 1.3%
 Swedish: 1.2%
 Median Age: 28.6 years
 Median Voting Age: 44.5
 White Collar: 44.4%
 Blue Collar: 28.3

VOTER REGISTRATION

Democrats

Republicans

Others

Total

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(70.5%)
	McGovern	(29.5%)
1968	Nixon	321,163 (60%)
	Humphrey	170,784 (32%)
	Wallace	44,904 (8%)
1964	Johnson	307,307 (53%)
	Goldwater	276,847 (47%)
1960	Kennedy	232,542 (38%)
	Nixon	380,553 (62%)

MARYLAND

Capital: Annapolis
 1970 Population: 3,922,399
 National Rank: 18
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$4,073
 National Rank: 11

Congressional Districts: 8
 Counties: 23 and 1 City
 Voting Precincts: 1,616
 1972 Convention Delegates: 53
 1972 Electoral Votes: 10

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Charles McC. Mathias	R	1968	1968	
U.S. Senator	J. Glenn Beall, Jr.	R	1970	1970	
Governor	Marvin Mandel	D	1970	1970	
Lt. Governor	Blair Lee III	D	1970	1970	
Secretary of State	Fred Wineland*	D	1971	1971	
Attorney General	Francis B. Burch	D	1966	1966	

*appointed by Governor

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	4	4
State Senate	33	10
State House	121	21

POPULATION

1970 Population: 3,922,399
 Urban: 76.6%
 Rural: 23.4%
 Age: 18-20: 221,000
 21-24: 291,000 (18.7%)
 25-44: 1,056,000 (39.3%)
 45-64: 814,000 (30.3%)
 65+: 315,000 (11.7%)

Ethnic and Racial:
 White: 81.4%
 Black: 17.9%
 Other: .7%
 Germans: 1.5%
 Italian: 1.3%
 Russian: 1.2%
 Median Age: 27.1
 Median Voting Age: 41.2
 White Collar: 55.8
 Blue Collar: 31.0

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
1,260,477	69.4	483,623	26.6	71,684	4.0	1,815,784

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(62.1%)
	McGovern	(37.9%)
1968	Nixon	517,995 (42%)
	Humphrey	538,310 (44%)
	Wallace	178,734 (14%)
1964	Johnson	730,912 (66%)
	Goldwater	385,495 (34%)
1960	Kennedy	565,808 (54%)
	Nixon	489,538 (46%)

WEST VIRGINIA

Capital:	Charleston	Congressional Districts:	4
1970 Population:	1,744,237	Counties:	55
National Rank:	34	Voting Precincts:	2,367
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$2,929	1972 Convention Delegates:	35
National Rank:	47	1972 Electoral Votes:	6

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Jennings Randolph	D	1958	1972	66.5%
U.S. Senator	Robert C. Byrd	D	1958	1970	77.6
Governor	Arch A. Moore, Jr.	R	1968	1972	54.7
Lt. Governor	-				
Secretary of State	Edgar Heiskell III	R	1972	1972	50.2
Attorney General	Chaunley Browning, Jr.	D	1968	1972	50.1

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	4	0
State Senate	24	10
State House	57	43

POPULATION

1970 Population:	1,744,237	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban:	39.0%	White:	95.6%
Rural:	61.0	Black:	4.2%
Age: 18-20:	98,000 (17.3%)	Other:	.2%
21-24:	107,000	Median Age:	30.0 years
25-44:	391,000 (33.0%)	Median Voting Age:	45.2
45-64:	390,000 (33.0%)	White Collar:	40.4%
65+:	197,000 (16.6%)	Blue Collar:	45.2
		Italian:	1.0%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
686,620	64.6	359,016	33.8	16,883	1.6	1,062,519

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon		(63.6%)
	McGovern		(36.4%)
1968	Nixon	307,555	(41%)
	Humphrey	374,091	(50%)
	Wallace	72,560	(10%)
1964	Johnson	538,087	(68%)
	Goldwater	253,953	(32%)
1960	Kennedy	441,786	(53%)
	Nixon	395,995	(47%)

OREGON

Capital:		Congressional Districts:	4
1970 Population:	2,091,385	Counties:	36
National Rank:	31	Voting Precincts:	2,374
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$3,700	1972 Convention Delegates:	4
National Rank:	24	1972 Electoral Votes:	6

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Mark O. Hatfield	R	1966	1972	53.7%
U.S. Senator	Robert W. Packwood	R	1968	1968	50.2
Governor	Tom McCall	R	1966	1970	55.5
Lt. Governor	-				
Secretary of State	Clay Meyers	R	1968	1972	61.5
Attorney General	Lee Johnson	R	1968	1972	50.9

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	2	2
State Senate	18	12
State House	33	27

POPULATION

1970 Population:	2,091,385	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 67.1%		White: 97.2%	German: 1.9%
Rural: 32.9		Black: 1.3%	
Age: 18-20: 120,000		Other: 1.6%	
21-24: 146,000 (17.7%)		Median Age:	29.0 years
25-44: 518,000 (34.6%)		Median Voting Age:	44.1
45-64: 473,000 (31.5%)		White Collar:	48.2%
65+: 243,000 (16.2%)		Blue Collar:	34.2%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
674,415	56.2%	474,391	39.6	50,190	4.2	1,198,996

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon		(55.3%)
	McGovern		(44.7%)
1968	Nixon	408,433	(50%)
	Humphrey	358,866	(44%)
	Wallace	49,683	(6%)
1964	Johnson	501,017	(64%)
	Goldwater	282,779	(36%)
1960	Kennedy	367,402	(47%)
	Nixon	408,060	(53%)

CALIFORNIA

Capital: Sacramento		Congressional Districts: 43	
1970 Population: 19,953,134		Counties: 58	
National Rank: 1		Voting Precincts: 23,724	
1970 Per Capita Income: \$4,469		1972 Convention Delegates: 271	
National Rank: 9		1972 Electoral Votes: 45	

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Alan Cranston	D	1968	1968	51.8%
U.S. Senator	John V. Tunney	D	1970	1970	53.9
Governor	Ronald Reagan	R	1966	1970	52.8
Lt. Governor	Ed Reineche	R	1969	1970	54.8
Secretary of State	Edmund G. Brown, Jr.	D	1970	1970	50.4
Attorney General	Evelle J. Younger	R	1970	1970	49.3

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	23	20
State Senate (2 vacancies)	19	19
State House	51	29

POPULATION

1970 Population: 19,953,134	Ethnic and Racial:
Urban: 90.9%	White: 89.0%
Rural: 9.1%	Black: 7.0%
Age: 18-20: 1,130,000 (19.0%)	Other: 2.9%
21-24: 1,525,000 (37.9%)	Median Age: 28.1 years
25-44: 5,280,000 (29.6%)	Median Voting Age: 41.6
45-64: 4,135,000 (13.5%)	White Collar: 54.4%
65+: 1,876,000 (13.5%)	Blue Collar: 30.7%
	Mexican: 5.6%
	Japanese: 1.1%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
5,864,745	56.0	3,840,620	36.7	760,850	7.4	10,466,215

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon					
	McGovern					
			(57.0%)			
			(43.0%)			
1968	Nixon	3,407,851				
	Humphrey	3,186,270				
	Wallace	481,665				
			(48%)			
			(44%)			
			(7%)			
1964	Johnson	4,171,877				
	Goldwater	2,879,108				
			(59%)			
			(41%)			
1960	Kennedy	3,224,099				
	Nixon	3,259,722				
			(50%)			
			(50%)			

MISSISSIPPI

Capital: Jackson	Congressional Districts: 5	
1970 Population: 2,216,912	Counties: 82	
National Rank: 29	Voting Precincts: 2,250	
1970 Per Capita Income: \$2,561	1972 Convention Delegates: 25	
National Rank: 51	1972 Electoral Votes: 7	

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	James O. Eastland	D	1942	1972	58.1%
U.S. Senator	John Stennis	D	1947	1970	88.4
Governor	William L. Waller	D	1971	1971	77.1
Lt. Governor	William F. Winter	D	1971	1971	100.0
Secretary of State	Heber A. Ladner	D	1947	1971	83.5
Attorney General	A. F. Sumner	D	1969	1971	100.0

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Other</u>
Congressional Delegation	3	2	
State Senate	50	2	
State House	119	2	1

POPULATION

1970 Population: 2,216,912	Ethnic and Racial:
Urban: 44.5%	White: 62.8%
Rural: 55.5%	Black: 36.8%
Age: 18-20: 135,000 (19.8%)	Other: .4%
21-24: 142,000	Median Age: 25.1 years
25-44: 477,000 (34.0%)	Median Voting Age: 43.2
45-64: 423,000 (30.1%)	White Collar: 38.6%
65+: 226,000 (16.1%)	Blue Collar: 41.0

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
(no party registration)						

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(79.9%)
	McGovern	(20.1%)
1968	Nixon	88,516 (14%)
	Humphrey	150,644 (23%)
	Wallace	415,349 (63%)
1964	Johnson	52,618 (13%)
	Goldwater	356,528 (87%)
1960	Kennedy	108,362 (60%)
	Nixon	73,561 (40%)

NEW JERSEY

Capital: Trenton	Congressional Districts: 15
1970 Population: 7,168,164	Counties: 21
National Rank: 8	Voting Precincts: 5,212
1970 Per Capita Income \$4,539	1972 Convention Delegates: 109
National Rank: 6	1972 Electoral Votes: 17

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Clifford P. Case	R	1954	1972	62.5%
U.S. Senator	Harrison A. Williams, Jr.	D	1958	1970	54.0
Governor	William T. Cahill	R	1969	1969	60.7
Lt. Governor	-				
Secretary of State	Robert M. Falley *	R	1972	1972	
Attorney General	George Kugler *				

*appointed by Governor

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Other</u>
Congressional Delegation	8	7	
State Senate	16	22	
State House	40	38	1

POPULATION

1970 Population: 7,168,164	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 88.9%	White: 88.6%	Italian: 7.2%
Rural: 11.1%	Black: 10.7%	German: 3.1%
Age: 18-20: 344,000	Other: .7%	Polish: 3.0%
21-24: 450,000	Median Age: 30.1 years	
25-44: 1,840,000 (36.6%)	Median Voting Age: 44.1	
45-64: 1,661,000 (33.0%)	White Collar: 52.7%	
65+: 730,000 (14.5%)	Blue Collar: 36.0	

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
						3,672,606

(no party registration)

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(62.7%)
	McGovern	(37.3%)
1968	Nixon	1,325,467 (46%)
	Humphrey	1,264,206 (44%)
	Wallace	262,187 (9%)
1964	Johnson	1,867,671 (66%)
	Goldwater	963,843 (34%)
1960	Kennedy	1,385,415 (50%)
	Nixon	1,363,324 (50%)

NEW MEXICO

Capital: Sante fe		Congressional Districts:	2
1970 Population: 1,016,000		Counties:	32
National Rank: 37		Voting Precincts:	1,132
1970 Per Capita Income: \$3,044		1972 Convention Delegates:	20
National Rank: 45		1972 Electoral Votes:	4

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Joseph M. Montoya	D	1964	1970	52.3%
U.S. Senator	Peter V. Domenici	R	1972	1972	54.0
Governor	Bruce King	D	1970	1970	51.3
Lt. Governor	Robert A. Mondragon	D	1970	1970	51.3
Secretary of State	Mrs. Betty Fiorina	D	1970	1970	57.7
Attorney General	David L. Norvell	D	1970	1970	60.1

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	1	1
State Senate	30	12
State House	51	19

POPULATION

1970 Population: 1,016,000	Ethnic and Racial:	
Urban: 69.8%	White: 90.1%	Indian: 7.2%
Rural: 30.2%	Black: 1.9%	Mexican: 3.7%
Age: 18-20: 58,000 (20.4%)	Other: .7%	
21-24: 71,000	Median Age: 23.9 years	
25-44: 251,000 (39.5%)	Median Voting Age: 40.1	
45-64: 182,000 (28.6%)	White Collar: 51.4%	
65+: 73,000 (11.5%)	Blue Collar: 29.9	

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
273,358	65.8	121,549	29.3	20,386	4.9	415,293

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(62.5%)
	McGovern	(37.5%)
1968	Nixon	169,692 (52%)
	Humphrey	130,081 (40%)
	Wallace	25,737 (8%)
1964	Johnson	194,017 (59%)
	Goldwater	131,838 (41%)
1960	Kennedy	156,027 (50%)
	Nixon	153,733 (50%)

SOUTH DAKOTA

Capital:	Pierre	Congressional Districts:	2
1970 Population:	666,257	Counties:	67
National Rank:	44	Voting Precincts:	1,441
1970 Per Capita Income:	\$3,182	1972 Convention Delegates:	17
National Rank:	41	1972 Electoral Votes:	4

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	George S. McGovern	D	1962	1968	56.8%
U.S. Senator	James Abourezk	D	1972	1972	57.0%
Governor	Philip F. Kneip	D	1970	1972	60.0%
Lt. Governor	William Dougherty	D	1970	1972	59.0%
Secretary of State	Lorna Herseith	D	1972	1972	52.9%
Attorney General	Kermit A. Sande	D	1972	1972	51.6%

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	1	1
State Senate	18	17
State House	35	35

POPULATION

1970 Population:	666,257
Urban:	44.6%
Rural:	55.4%
Age: 18-20:	40,000 (18.3%)
21-24:	40,000
25-44:	139,000 (32.1%)
45-64:	133,000 (30.7%)
65+:	82,000 (18.9%)

<u>Ethnic and Racial:</u>	
White:	94.7%
Black:	0.2%
Other:	.1%
Median Age:	27.4 years
Median Voting Age:	45.2
White Collar:	41.0%
Blue Collar:	22.3

German:	4.0%
Norwegian:	2.8%
Russian:	2.1%
Indian:	4.9%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
158,816	40.5	195,737	49.9	37,703	9.6	392,256

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(54.3%)
	McGovern	(45.7%)
1968	Nixon	149,841 (53%)
	Humphrey	118,023 (42%)
	Wallace	13,404 (5%)
1964	Johnson	163,010 (56%)
	Goldwater	130,108 (44%)
1960	Kennedy	128,070 (42%)
	Nixon	178,017 (58%)

NEW YORK

Capital: Albany
 1970 Population: 18,190,740
 National Rank: 2
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$4,797
 National Rank: 3

Congressional Districts: 39
 Counties: 62
 Voting Precincts: 13,896
 1972 Convention Delegates: 278
 1972 Electoral Votes: 41

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Jacob K. Javits	R	1956	1968	47.0%
U.S. Senator	James L. Buckley	C	1970	1970	38.8
Governor	Nelson A Rockefeller	R	1958	1970	51.6
Lt. Governor	Malcolm Wilson	R	1958	1970	51.6
Secretary of State	John P. Lomenzo	R	1968	1971	-
Attorney General	Louis J. Lefkowitz	R	1958	1970	57.6

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	22	17
State Senate	23	37
State House	67	83

POPULATION

1970 Population: 18,190,740
 Urban: 81.7%
 Rural: 18.2
 Age: 18-20: 925,000 (16.5%)
 21-24: 1,193,000 (35.7%)
 25-44: 4,564,000 (31.9%)
 45-64: 4,077,000 (31.9%)
 65+: 2,013,000 (15.8%)

Ethnic and Racial:
 White: 86.8%
 Black: 11.9%
 Other: 1.3%
 Median Age: 30.3 years
 Median Voting Age: 44.1
 White Collar: 55.1%
 Blue Collar: 30.8

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
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PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(58.7%)
	McGovern	(41.3%)
1968	Nixon	3,007,932 (44%)
	Humphrey	3,378,470 (50%)
	Wallace	358,864 (5%)
1964	Johnson	4,913,156 (69%)
	Goldwater	2,243,559 (31%)
1960	Kennedy	3,830,085 (53%)
	Nixon	3,446,419 (47%)

ARKANSAS

Capital: Little Rock
 1970 Population: 1,923,295
 National Rank: 32
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$2,742
 National Rank: 50

Congressional Districts: 4
 Counties: 75
 Voting Precincts: 3100
 1972 Convention Delegates: 27
 1972 Electoral Votes: 6

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	John L. McClellan	D	1942	1972	60.9%
U.S. Senator	J. W. Fulbright	D	1944	1968	59.1
Governor	Dale Bumpers	D	1970	1972	75.4
Lt. Governor	Robert C. Riley	D	1970	1972	62.8
Secretary of State	Kelly Bryant	D	1962	1972	59.4
Attorney General	Jim Guy Tucker	D	1972	1972	60.0

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation	3	1
State Senate	34	1
State House	99	1

POPULATION

1970 Population: 1,923,295
 Urban: 50.0
 Rural: 50.0
 Age: 18-20: 104,000 (17.2%)
 21-24: 122,000 (32.6%)
 25-44: 427,000 (31.5%)
 45-64: 412,000 (18.7%)
 65+: 245,000

Ethnic and Racial:
 White: 81.2%
 Black: 18.6%
 Other: .3%
 Median Age: 29.1 Years
 Median Voting Age: 45.5
 White Collar: 28.9%
 Blue Collar: 40.7%

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
						959,871

(no party registration)

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(75.3%)
	McGovern	(24.7%)
1968	Nixon	190,759 (31.0%)
	Humphrey	188,228 (30.0%)
	Wallace	240,982 (39.0%)
1964	Johnson	314,197 (56%)
	Goldwater	243,264 (44%)
1960	Kennedy	215,049 (54%)
	Nixon	184,508 (46%)

NEVADA

Capital: Carson City
 1970 Population: 488,738
 National Rank: 47
 1970 Per Capita Income: \$4,544
 National Rank: 5

Congressional Districts: 5
 Counties: 17
 Voting Precincts: 933
 1972 Convention Delegates: 20
 1972 Electoral Votes: 3

KEY OFFICE HOLDERS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Year First Elected</u>	<u>Elected to Present Term</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
U.S. Senator	Alan Bible	D	1954	1968	54.8%
U.S. Senator	Howard W. Cannon	D	1958	1970	57.6
Governor	Michael O. Callaghan	D	1970	1970	48.1
Lt. Governor	Harry M. Reid	D	1970	1970	85.0
Secretary of State	William D Swackhamer	D	1972	1972	-
Attorney General	Robert List	R	1970	1970	82.9

LEGISLATIVE COMPOSITION

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Congressional Delegation		1
State Senate	14	6
State House	25	15

POPULATION

1970 Population: 488,738
 Urban: 80.9%
 Rural: 19.1
 Age: 18-20: 24,000 (17.3%)
 21-24: 36,000 (42.2%)
 25-44: 147,000 (30.8%)
 45-64: 107,000 (9.7%)
 65+: 34,000 (9.7%)

Ethnic and Racial:
 White: 91.8%
 Black: 5.7
 Other: 1.0
 Indian: 1.6 %
 Italian: 1.6
 German: 1.4
 Median Age: 27.8
 Median Voting Age: 40.5
 White Collar: 47.1
 Blue Collar: 26.2

VOTER REGISTRATION

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
120,446	58.7	70,649	34.4	14,125	6.9	205,220

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1972	Nixon	(63.7%)
	McGovern	(36.3)
1968	Nixon	73,188 (48)
	Humphrey	60,598 (39)
	Wallace	20,432 (13)
1964	Johnson	79,339 (59)
	Goldwater	56,094 (41)
1960	Kennedy	54,880 (51)
	Nixon	52,387 (49)

MEDIA SUMMARY OF PRIMARY STATES

This should not be construed as a firm budget nor even a definite media plan. It is however, an overview of the media situation in each of the primary states.

What we have done is outline media facts for each state; giving you an idea of which are the TV markets in each state, how many daily newspapers, and how many radio stations there are. This can also be used as an overview of the type of travel a candidate has to make and to where in order to get maximum coverage on the local level.

Furthermore, we have outlined what a credible media effort would cost by state. We say credible.... not extravagant.... not even of the same level used in the 1970 Governor's race. But we feel it would be adequate.

Remember, we do not advocate going into each of these states we are merely saying what it would cost to do so. This decision will be made much later.

In general our media strategy would be:

- 1) Use of a 30-minute candid TV program.
- 2) A spot TV campaign...utilizing five weeks of spot TV in the early primaries and three weeks in the later ones except in selected states.
- 3) Very localized radio spots in each state.
- 4) Newspaper and outdoor.

The following is the summary in order of primaries held. Our general philosophy has been to go heavier in the early primaries....when we have a name recognition problem....and then go slightly lighter in later primaries

DESCRIPTION OF TASK/PROJECT	PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE	DEADLINE/COMMENT
Offer support to candidate in the runoff with Maddox.	Carter	August 13/14
Be available to national press who are covering Georgia runoff.	Carter	Immediately and Continuing
Insure favorable outcome at Georgia caucuses to elect delegates to Charter Conference.	F. Moore, L. Butler and P. Rainwater	Immediately and Continuing
Begin to talk with key Democrats from other states and recruit them to our effort, particularly as relates to the Charter Conference.	Carter	Immediately and Continuing
Develop list of key Democrats from other states for Governor to talk with.	H. Jordan and L. Butler	August 20
Obtain lists of delegates to Charter Conference and develop profiles.	Johnny Martin and Landon Butler	Immediately and Continuing
Develop list of key persons that the Governor should talk with early about his plans.	Carter, H. Jordan and L. Lee	August 25
Schedule meetings with key people and the Governor.	Steve Chandler	Immediately following approval of list.
Develop list of persons Carter should inform about his plans personally prior to his official announcement.	H. Jordan	September 1
Schedule a week in Washington prior to Charter Conference to accomplish previous task.	S. Chandler	Immediately
Begin to assemble complete list of Democratic members of Congress, governors, mayors, state party chairmen, activists and workers for personal announcement mailing.	S. Chandler and S. Grasty	Immediately, to be completed by October 1
Make recommendations as to how best to utilize Georgia names and out-of-state names for large announcement mailing.	L. Lee and Steve Chandler	September 1

DESCRIPTION OF TASK/PROJECT	PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE	DEADLINE/COMMENT
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Schedule private meeting with Strauss prior to your announcement.

H. Jordan

October 1

Make general assessment of office needs and pursue with Lipshutz possibility of moving into their offices.

C. Kirbo and H. Jordan

August 25

Make some basic decisions about staff needs and responsibilities.

Carter, Kirbo and Lipshutz

August 20

Submit themes to Advisory Group and make suggestions on logo and materials before proceeding to production phase.

Rafshoon, Bourne and Powell.

September 1

Prepare campaign budget for 1975 based on reactions to this memorandum.

Jordan, Rafshoon and Lipshutz

September 15