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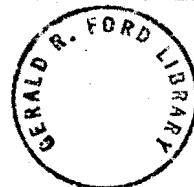
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1976 PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES

<u>STATE</u>	<u>PRIMARY DATE</u>	<u>FILING DATE</u>	<u>TYPE OF PRIMARY</u>
New Hampshire <sup>1</sup>	March 2	Indefinite	Direct
Florida <sup>2</sup>	March 9	Week by week	Direct
Illinois <sup>3</sup>	March 16	-----	Direct
Wisconsin	April 6	March 2	Direct
Massachusetts	April 6	Feb. 3	Direct
Pennsylvania	April 27	Feb. 3-Feb. 17	Direct, closed
Alabama	May 4	Feb. 1-March 1	Direct, closed
Indiana	May 4	Feb. 19-March 15	Direct, closed
North Carolina <sup>4</sup>	May 4	See below	Direct, closed
Dist. of Col.	May 4	Jan. 11-March 5	Indirect, closed
Kentucky	May 4	Feb. 29	Direct, open
Nebraska <sup>5</sup>	May 11	March 2-incumbents March 12-candidates	Direct, closed
West Virginia	May 11	Jan. 12-Feb. 7	Direct
Maryland <sup>6</sup>	May 18	March 8	Indirect
Michigan <sup>7</sup>	May 18	March 19	Direct, open
Oregon <sup>8</sup>	May 25	March 16	Direct, closed
Rhode Island <sup>9</sup>	May 25	Indefinite	Indirect, open
Nevada	May 25	April 25	Direct, closed
South Dakota	June 1	March 18-April 16	Direct, closed
New Mexico	June 1	April 1	Direct, closed
New Jersey	June 3	April 25	Indirect, open
Tennessee	June 3	-----	Indirect
Ohio	June 8	March 25	Indirect
New York <sup>10</sup>	June 15	Indefinite	Delegate selection
California	June 3	Indefinite	



EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR 1976 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

There are a number of types of presidential primaries:

- A. In a direct primary, the names of the candidates for the particular office appear on the ballot, and the voter casts his ballot directly for his choice.
- B. In the indirect primary, the voter casts his ballot for an individual, who, if elected, will vote for a candidate of the office being contested.
- C. In delegate selection, voters choose the delegates to the party's National Convention. These delegates may be elected by slate or individually and they may be unpledged, favorable or pledged to a particular presidential candidate. Candidate's names do not appear on the ballot.

Primary dates were obtained by means of phone calls to Secretaries of State and the state's Board of Elections. The list is correct at this time, but states may make changes between now and the dates listed. The following states require explanation as to their primary dates..

1. New Hampshire primary date is subject to change. Attorney General will release date after state legislature adjourns in July.
2. In Florida change is possible, pending state legislature session adjourning in May.
3. In Illinois, change is pending on legislation to be completed in April.
4. Candidate is nominated by North Carolina Board of Elections or by petition. Candidate has 15 days to notify the Board if he accepts nomination. Filing date is 15 days after receiving registered letter.
5. Bill pending in Nebraska state legislature to change dates.
6. Filing date is awaiting approval of Attorney General in Maryland.
7. Michigan may eliminate their primary.
8. Oregon delegates are obligated by their vote in primary.
9. Rhode Island primary date may be changed.
10. A change in the primary date is pending in the New York state legislature.

Georgia, Texas, and Minnesota have bills pending in the state legislatures to schedule a 1976 presidential primary.



1976 PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Date</u>	<u>Type of Primary</u>
New Hampshire <sup>1</sup>	March 2	Indefinite	Direct
Florida <sup>2</sup>	March 9	Week by week	Direct
Illinois <sup>3</sup>	March 16	-----	Direct
Wisconsin	April 6	March 2	Direct
Massachusetts	April 6	Feb. 3	Direct
Pennsylvania	April 27	Feb. 3 - Feb. 17	Direct, closed
Alabama	May 4	Feb. 1 - March 1	Direct, closed
Indiana	May 4	Feb. 19- March 15	Direct, closed
North Carolina <sup>4</sup>	May 4	See note	Direct, closed
District of Columbia	May 4	Jan. 11 - March 5	Indirect, closed
Kentucky	May 4	Feb. 29	Direct, open
Nebraska <sup>5</sup>	May 11	March 2 incumbents March 12 candidates	Direct, closed
West Virginia	May 11	Jan. 12- Feb. 7	Direct
Maryland <sup>6</sup>	May 18	March 8	Indirect
Michigan <sup>7</sup>	May 18	March 19	Direct, open



<u>State</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Date</u>	<u>Type of Primary</u>
Oregon <sup>8</sup>	May 25	March 16	Direct, closed
Rhode Island <sup>9</sup>	May 25	Indefinite	Indirect, open
Nevada	May 25	April 25	Direct, closed
South Dakota	June 1	March 18- April 16	Direct, Closed
New Mexico	June 1	April 1	Direct, closed
New Jersey	June 3	April 25	Indirect, open
Tennessee	June 3	-----	Indirect
California	June 3	Indefinite	-----
Ohio	June 8	March 25	Indirect
New York <sup>10</sup>	June 15	Indefinite	Delegate selection

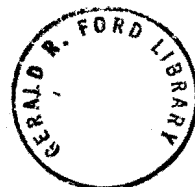
Notes:

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2. In Florida change is possible.
3. In Illinois, change is pending.
4. Candidate is nominated by North Carolina Board of Elections or by petition. Candidate has 15 days to notify the Board if he accepts nomination. Filing date is 15 days after receiving registered letter.
5. Bill pending in Nebraska state legislature to change dates.
6. Filing date is awaiting approval.
7. Michigan may eliminate their primary.



8. Oregon delegates are obligated by their vote in the primary.
9. Rhode Island primary date may be changed.
10. A change in the primary date is pending.

Georgia, Texas and Minnesota have bills pending in the state legislatures to schedule a 1976 presidential primary.



MARCH 24, 1975

ALABAMA

State Convention	Not set yet
State Chairman Election	July 15, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	County executive committee elects chairmen

ALASKA

State Convention	May, 1975
State Chairman Election	May, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Unknown

ARIZONA

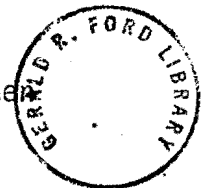
State Convention	September 30, 1976
State Chairman Election	September 30, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen

ARKANSAS

State Convention	December 7, 1974
State Chairman Election	December 7, 1974
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Selected by appointment or election at state convention.

CALIFORNIA

State Convention	February 7, 1975
State Chairman Election	February 7, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen





COLORADO

State Convention	Not set yet
State Chairman Election	February/March
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Appointed position

CONNECTICUT

State Convention	July, 1976
State Chairman Election	July, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Appointed position

DELAWARE

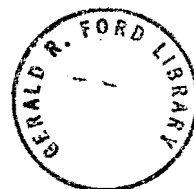
State Convention	May, 1975
State Chairman Election	May, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected by local primaries

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

State Convention	No convention
State Chairman Election	1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Appointed by Chairman

FLORIDA

State Convention	December 14, 1974
State Chairman Election	December 14, 1974
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in local precincts



GEORGIA

State Convention	May, 1975
State Chairman Election	May, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected by people in precincts meetings are designated

HAWAII

State Convention	Unknown
State Chairman Election	
Precinct Chairmen Elections	

IDAHO

State Convention	3rd week in June, 1976
State Chairman Election	3rd week in June, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	1976

ILLINOIS

State Convention	June, 1976
State Chairman Election	1978
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in primaries--1976

INDIANA

State Convention	June, 1976
State Chairman Election	May, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in primaries--1976

IOWA

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	1976



KANSAS

State Convention January, 1975  
State Chairman Election January, 1975  
Precinct Chairmen Elections Elected by caucus

KENTUCKY

State Convention April, 1976  
State Chairman Election April, 1976  
Precinct Chairmen Elections Rural-elected in primaries  
Urban-appointed by Ward Chairmen

LOUISIANA

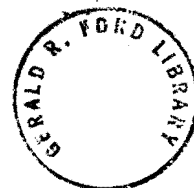
State Convention March/April  
State Chairman Election March/April  
Precinct Chairmen Elections Appointed by County Executive  
Committee

MAINE

State Convention Last week in April, 1976  
State Chairman Election 3rd week in December, 1974  
Precinct Chairmen Elections Elected by County Committees

MARYLAND

State Convention 1976  
State Chairman Election October 14, 1974  
Precinct Chairmen Elected by county party organiza



MASSACHUSETTS

State Convention	No convention
State Chairman Election	April, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen

MICHIGAN

State Convention	February, 1975
State Chairman Election	February, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	July, August, 1976

MINNESOTA

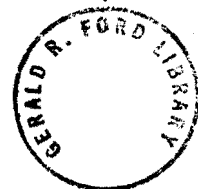
State Convention	1975
State Chairman Election	1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected by caucus--February, 1975

MISSISSIPPI

State Convention	May, 1976
State Chairman Election	May, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Appointed by County Chairmen

MISSOURI

State Convention	May, 1976
State Chairman Election	September, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in primaries--August, 1976



MONTANA

State Convention	June, 1975
State Chairman Election	June, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	June, 1975

NEBRASKA

State Convention	June, 1976
State Chairman Election	March, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected at a convention following primary-every two years-next in

NEVADA

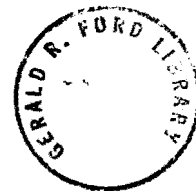
State Convention	April, 1976
State Chairman Election	April, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	March, 1975

NEW HAMPSHIRE

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	January, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected by caucus

NEW JERSEY

State Convention	Party is bankrupt
State Chairman Election	
Precinct Chairmen Elections	



NEW MEXICO

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	April, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen

NEW YORK

State Convention	No state convention
State Chairman Election	1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen County chairmen-1976

NORTH CAROLINA

State Convention	November, 1975
State Chairman Election	November, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in local precincts

NORTH DAKOTA

State Convention	December 14, 1974
State Chairman Election	December 14, 1974
Precinct Chairmen Elections	November 25, 1974

OHIO

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	June, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in primaries--1976



OKLAHOMA

State Convention	March 15, 1975
State Chairman Election	February 3, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected by members in precinct when meetings are designated

OREGON

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	1976

PENNSYLVANIA

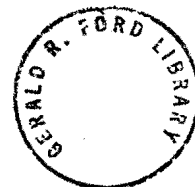
State Convention	1976 (not sure they're having o
State Chairman Election	1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen

RHODE ISLAND

State Convention	March, 1975
State Chairman Election	March, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in January by party

SOUTH CAROLINA

State Convention	March, 1976
State Chairman Election	March, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected by precincts every 2 year



SOUTH DAKOTA

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	February, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in primaries--June, 197

TENNESSEE

State Convention	Not set yet
State Chairman Election	Appointed in January, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in local precinct meeti

TEXAS

State Convention	June, 1976
State Chairman Election	September, 1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Elected in primaries

UTAH

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	1976

VERMONT

State Convention	3rd week in May, 1976
State Chairman Election	October, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Precinct captains appointed





VIRGINIA

State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	1976
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Appointed

WASHINGTON

State Convention	June/July, 1976
State Chairman Election	Late January, 1975
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen

WEST VIRGINIA

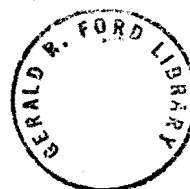
State Convention	1976
State Chairman Election	1978
Precinct Chairmen Elections	No precinct chairmen

WISCONSIN

State Convention	June 21, 1975
State Chairman Election	2nd Wednesday following convent
Precinct Chairmen Elections	1976

WYOMING

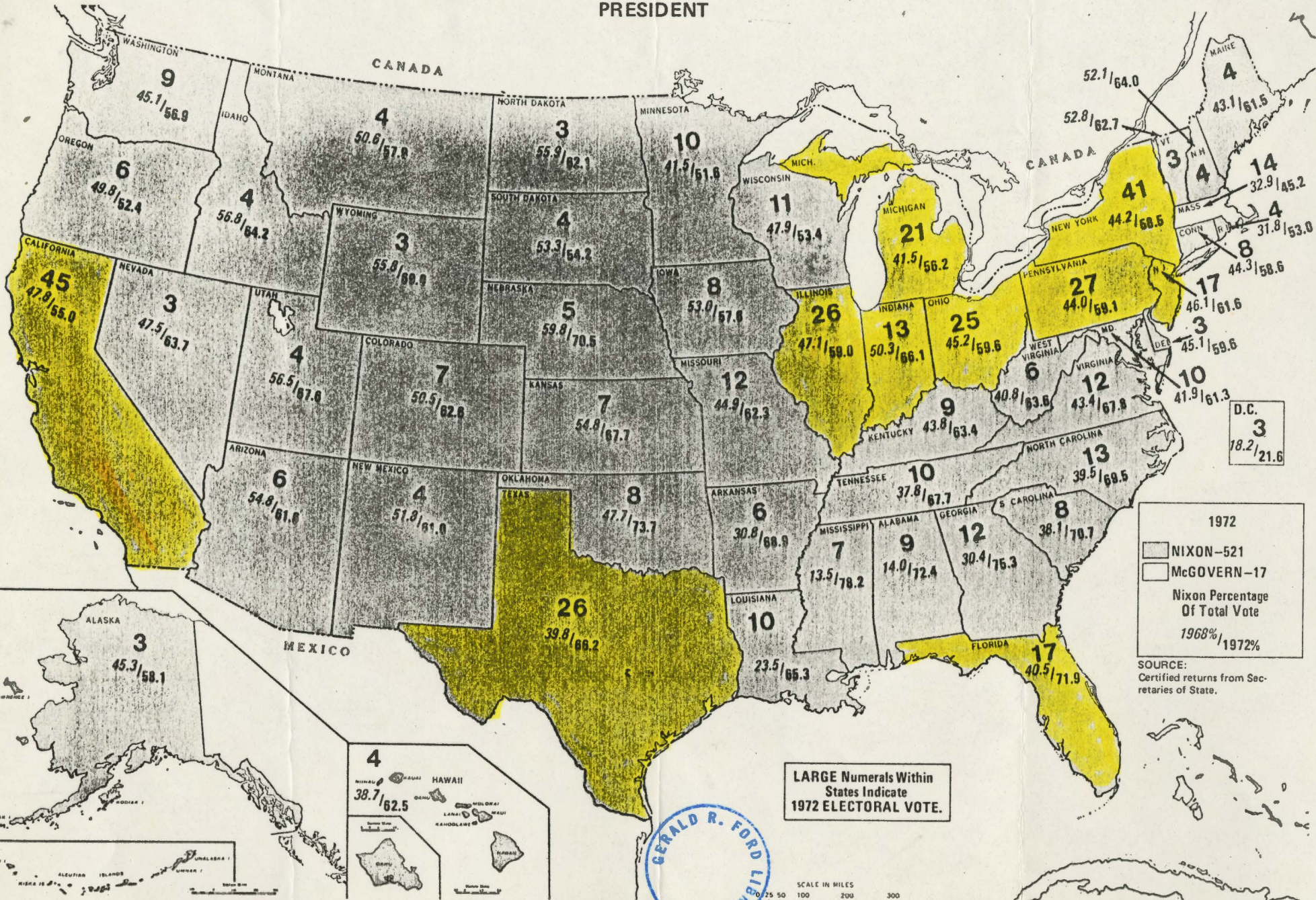
State Convention	Unknown
State Chairman Election	Present chairman resigning
Precinct Chairmen Elections	Unknown



EE



# PRESIDENT



LARGE Numerals Within States Indicate 1972 ELECTORAL VOTE.



1972  
 [Grey Box] NIXON-521  
 [White Box] McGOVERN-17  
 Nixon Percentage Of Total Vote  
 1968% | 1972%

SOURCE: Certified returns from Secretaries of State.

SCALE IN MILES  
 0 25 50 100 200 300

FF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JERRY JONES

FROM: FRED SLIGHT *FWS*

The attached tab sections indicate the apportionment of delegates and the definition of membership for the 1972, 1968, and 1964 Republican National Conventions.

I have not been successful in obtaining the individual state votes for the Nixon first ballot victory at the '68 Convention. The logical and possibly the only plausible source for such information are the records of the Convention Secretary which should be on file at the RNC. Since Consuelo Bailey served as the Secretary and Joe Bartlett was the Chief Reading Clerk, it is possible that one or the other would have such information in their personal files. Rog Morton, the Nixon floor leader, and Dick Kleindienst, the delegate headhunter, might also have copies of the vote breakdown. Please advise as to your suggestions for any further actions on this matter.

The total vote was 692 for Nixon (only 25 more votes than required), 277 for Rockefeller, 182 for Reagan and the remaining 197 votes were dispersed among nine other nominees, the majority of whom were favorite sons. The total number of delegates and the required number of votes to nominate are as follows:

<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
1,348/675	1,333/667	1,303/652

Attachments



1972



**MEMBERSHIP IN THE 1972 NATIONAL CONVENTION**

**APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES TO 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION**

**RULE NO. 30**

The membership of the National Convention shall consist of:

**A. DELEGATES AT LARGE**

1. Four (4) Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.
2. Two (2) additional Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress from each State.
3. Nine (9) Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia and three (3) additional Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia if it cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election.
4. Six (6) additional Delegates at Large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election. If any State does not cast its electoral vote or a majority thereof for the Republican nominee in the last preceding Presidential election, but at that election or at a subsequent election held prior to the next Republican National Convention elects a Republican United States Senator or a Republican Governor or a Republican majority of the State's membership in the United States House of Representatives then in such event such State shall be entitled to such additional Delegates at Large.
5. Five (5) Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico, and three (3) Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands, and three (3) Delegates at Large for Guam.

**B. DISTRICT DELEGATES**

1. One (1) District Delegate from each Congressional District casting four thousand (4,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.
2. One (1) additional District Delegate for each Congressional District casting twelve thousand five hundred (12,500) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

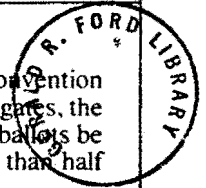
**C. ALTERNATE DELEGATES**

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

STATES AND TERRITORIES	DELEGATES AT LARGE	DISTRICT DELEGATES	TOTAL
Alabama	4	14	18
Alaska	12	0	12
Arizona	10	8	18
Arkansas	10	8	18
California	10	86	96
Colorado	10	10	20
Connecticut	10	12	22
Delaware	12	0	12
District of Columbia	9	0	9
Florida	10	30	40
Georgia	4	20	24
Guam	3	0	3
Hawaii	10	4	14
Idaho	10	4	14
Illinois	10	48	58
Indiana	10	22	32
Iowa	10	12	22
Kansas	10	10	20
Kentucky	10	14	24
Louisiana	4	16	20
Maine	4	4	8
Maryland	10	16	26
Massachusetts	10	24	34
Michigan	10	38	48
Minnesota	10	16	26
Mississippi	4	10	14
Missouri	10	20	30
Montana	10	4	14
Nebraska	10	6	16
Nevada	12	0	12
New Hampshire	10	4	14
New Jersey	10	30	40
New Mexico	10	4	14
New York	10	78	88
North Carolina	10	22	32
North Dakota	12	0	12
Ohio	10	46	56
Oklahoma	10	12	22
Oregon	10	8	18
Pennsylvania	10	50	60
Puerto Rico	5	0	5
Rhode Island	4	4	8
South Carolina	10	12	22
South Dakota	10	4	14
Tennessee	10	16	26
Texas	4	48	52
Utah	10	4	14
Vermont	12	0	12
Virginia	10	20	30
Virgin Islands	3	0	3
Washington	10	14	24
West Virginia	10	8	18
Wisconsin	10	18	28
Wyoming	12	0	12
Total Number of Delegates			1,348

**675 VOTES NEEDED TO NOMINATE**

A majority of 675 votes from the 1,348 delegates to the convention will be required for nomination this year. In 1968, with 1,333 delegates, the majority needed was 667 votes. The rules provide that as many ballots be taken as are necessary to provide a simple majority of one more than half of the votes cast.



1968





# 1964 Convention Set Membership Requirements for 1968 Meeting

## MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

### A. Delegates at Large

1. Four Delegates at Large from each State.
2. Two additional Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress from each State.
3. Nine Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia and three additional Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia if it casts its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election.
4. Six additional Delegates at Large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election. If any State does not cast its electoral vote or a majority thereof for the Republican nominee in the last preceding Presidential election, but at that election or at a subsequent election held prior to the next Republican National Convention elects a Republican United States Senator or a Republican Governor then in such event such State shall be entitled to such additional Delegates at Large.
5. Five Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico and three Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands.

### B. District Delegates

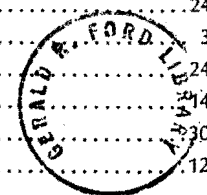
1. One District Delegate from each Congressional District casting two thousand (2,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.
2. One additional District Delegate for each Congressional District casting ten thousand (10,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

### C. Alternate Delegates

One Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

## Apportionment of Delegates to 1968 Republican National Convention

States and Territories	Delegates At Large	District Delegates	Total
Alabama	10	16	26
Alaska	12	0	12
Arizona	10	6	16
Arkansas	10	8	18
California	10	76	86
Colorado	10	8	18
Connecticut	4	12	16
Delaware	12	0	12
District of Columbia	9	0	9
Florida	10	24	34
Georgia	10	20	30
Hawaii	14	0	14
Idaho	10	4	14
Illinois	10	48	58
Indiana	4	22	26
Iowa	10	14	24
Kansas	10	10	20
Kentucky	10	14	24
Louisiana	10	16	26
Maine	10	4	14
Maryland	10	16	26
Massachusetts	10	24	34
Michigan	10	38	48
Minnesota	10	16	26
Mississippi	10	10	20
Missouri	4	20	24
Montana	10	4	14
Nebraska	10	6	16
Nevada	12	0	12
New Hampshire	4	4	8
New Jersey	10	30	40
New Mexico	14	0	14
New York	10	82	92
North Carolina	4	22	26
North Dakota	4	4	8
Ohio	10	48	58
Oklahoma	10	12	22
Oregon	10	8	18
Pennsylvania	10	54	64
Puerto Rico	5	0	5
Rhode Island	10	4	14
South Carolina	10	12	22
South Dakota	10	4	14
Tennessee	10	18	28
Texas	10	46	56
Utah	4	4	8
Vermont	12	0	12
Virginia	4	20	24
Virgin Islands	3	0	3
Washington	10	14	24
West Virginia	4	10	14
Wisconsin	10	20	30
Wyoming	12	0	12



1964



# 1960 Convention Set Membership Requirements for 1964 Meeting

## MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

### A. Delegates at Large

1. Four Delegates at Large from each State.
2. Two additional Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress from each State.
3. Nine Delegates at Large for District of Columbia, five Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico and three Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands.
4. Six additional Delegates at Large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election. If any State does not cast its electoral vote or a majority thereof for the Republican nominee in the last preceding Presidential election, but at that election or at a subsequent election held prior to the next Republican National Convention elects a Republican United States Senator or a Republican Governor then in such event such State shall be entitled to such additional Delegates at Large.

### B. District Delegates

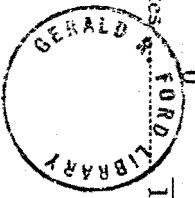
1. One District Delegate from each Congressional District casting two thousand (2,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.
2. One additional District Delegate for each Congressional District casting ten thousand (10,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

### C. Alternate Delegates

One Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

## Apportionment of Delegates to 1964 Republican National Convention

States and Territories	Delegates At Large	District Delegates	Total
Alabama	20	0	20
Alaska	12	0	12
Arizona	10	6	16
Arkansas	4	8	12
California	10	76	86
Colorado	10	8	18
Connecticut	6	10	16
Delaware	12	0	12
Florida	10	24	34
Georgia	4	20	24
Hawaii	8	0	8
Idaho	10	4	14
Illinois	10	48	58
Indiana	10	22	32
Iowa	10	14	24
Kansas	10	10	20
Kentucky	10	14	24
Louisiana	4	16	20
Maine	10	4	14
Maryland	6	14	20
Massachusetts	10	24	34
Michigan	12	36	48
Minnesota	10	16	26
Mississippi	4	9	13
Missouri	4	20	24
Montana	10	4	14
Nebraska	10	6	16
Nevada	6	0	6
New Hampshire	10	0	10
New Jersey	10	30	40
New Mexico	14	0	14
New York	10	82	92
North Carolina	4	22	26
North Dakota	10	4	14
Ohio	12	46	58
Oklahoma	10	12	22
Oregon	10	8	18
Pennsylvania	10	54	64
Rhode Island	10	4	14
South Carolina	4	12	16
South Dakota	10	4	14
Tennessee	10	18	28
Texas	12	44	56
Utah	10	4	14
Vermont	12	0	12
Virginia	10	20	30
Washington	10	14	24
West Virginia	4	10	14
Wisconsin	10	20	30
Wyoming	12	0	12
District of Columbia	9	0	9
Puerto Rico	5	0	5
Virgin Islands	3	0	3
Total Number of Delegates			1,303



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FJS*

Attached is the definition of membership for the 1976 Republican National Convention. As discussed earlier, the exact allocation of delegates has not been determined for two rather significant reasons:

1. An at-large ("bonus") delegate is to be awarded to a state whose majority electoral vote in 1972 went to Richard Nixon, and/or one delegate to each state who has elected a U.S. Senator, and/or one delegate to each state who has elected a Governor, and/or one delegate to each state whose U.S. House delegation is in the majority. This formula applies to elections held as of November 7, 1972, but prior to January 1, 1976.
2. The "bonus" delegate formula has been challenged in the courts by the Ripon Society and I believe the matter is still pending final adjudication. Earlier this year, a three-judge Federal panel proclaimed the allocation plan inequitable and in violation of the Supreme Court's one-man-one-vote ruling; however, the panel stopped short of a ruling choosing instead to defer judgment on the case to the full bench. The court has not delivered, to the best of my knowledge, a final verdict.

Section 7 of Rule 30 (attached) provides that the Republican National Committee (ie. Members of and not the headquarters staff) shall adopt the formula to determine membership of the Convention should the courts judge the present plan invalid.

It should be noted, however, that Section 7 also states that no new formula may be drawn by the National Committee after October 31, 1975. In this eventuality, each state, territory, etc., shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes to which it was entitled at the '72 Convention.

For planning purposes, I would recommend that we accept the 1972 delegate allocation plan.

Attachment



# DEFINITION OF MEMBERSHIP

FOR THE

## 1976 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

### MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION

#### RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

#### A. DELEGATES

1. Six (6) Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.

2. Three (3) District Delegates for each Representative in the United States House of Representatives from each state.

3. Fourteen (14) Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia, four (4) Delegates at Large for Guam, eight (8) Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico, and four (4) Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands.

4. From each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large plus the number of the Delegates at Large equal to 60% of the electoral vote from each such State. In addition, one Delegate at Large shall be awarded to a State for any and each of the following public officials elected by such State in the year of the last preceding Presidential election or at any subsequent election held prior to January 1, 1976:

(a) A Republican United States Senator: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed two;

(b) A Republican Governor: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one; or

(c) A Republican membership of at least half of the State's delegation to the United States House of Representatives: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one.

In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 60% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

5. If the District of Columbia casts its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large, plus the number of Delegates at Large equal to 30% of the fourteen (14) Delegates at Large allotted to the District of Columbia. In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 30% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

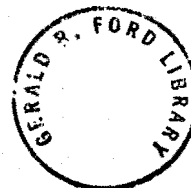
6. Any State which would receive fewer Delegates under all provisions of this Rule than it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention shall have its number of Delegates increased to the same number of Delegates it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention.

7. In the event this Rule No. 30 is the subject of litigation and is finally adjudicated in the courts to be invalid, then this Rule No. 30 shall be of no force and effect and the Republican National Committee is hereby authorized to adopt the formula which will determine the membership of the next National Convention. No new formula may be so drawn by the Republican National Committee after October 31, 1975.

8. Should it become the duty of the Republican National Committee to implement Section 7 of Rule 30 in voting in said Committee, the Committee members representing any State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes as said State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands were entitled to cast in the 1972 Republican National Convention.

#### B. ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.



GG

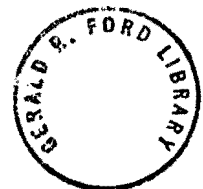
STATE OF KANSAS  
POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Senator Bob Dole - Bob Dole, at this point in time, is clearly the most identifiable and popular Republican in the state of Kansas. Having just gone through a very difficult campaign, the Senator has assembled, with the help of former Lt. Governor Dave Owen, the largest and most viable political organization in the state. Most Republican leaders look to him for leadership in party oriented matters. The Senator is in the process of establishing regional offices throughout the state and his rapport with the constituents should continue to grow over the next few years.

Senator James B. Pearson - Senator Pearson has a substantial following in the state, although not nearly of the magnitude of Senator Bob Dole. Senator Pearson has never participated very actively in Republican party affairs, taking a much less partisan role than Senator Dole has taken. At this point in time, Senator Pearson has very little organization of his own and until very recently, his field offices were operated at an extremely low key. However, assuming that the Senator plans to run for re-election in 1978, it would be reasonable to assume that he will begin organizing within the next year.

Governor Robert Bennett - Governor Bennett was elected by a very narrow margin in the last general election, after having served in the State Senate for several terms. At the beginning of his last term, he was elected President of the Senate. He has an excellent rapport with the Legislature and particularly, the legislative leadership. Bennett was elected primarily on a back-lash vote against his Democratic opponent, former Attorney General Vern Miller, and has very little in the way of a political organization of his own. However, with the vast number of appointments that the Governor can make and recognizing it has been eight years since a Republican has occupied the Governor's seat in Kansas, it would seem that Bennett's popularity and political influence can only grow in the next four years. Bennett owes a great deal of his victory to Jack Ranson, the Chairman of the Republican Party in Kansas, and by virtue of that political debt, will be very cooperative in party matters.

Jack Ranson, Chairman of the Republican Party - Jack Ranson



## State of Kansas

### Political Structure

Page 2

is an outstanding Chairman and pulled off a near miracle in the last election campaign. At the beginning of the 1974 election, the Republican Party situation in Kansas could not have been bleaker. It appeared that the Democrats could easily win the Governor's seat, retain the 2nd District Congressional seat given up by Bill Roy, and defeat Bob Dole with Bill Roy in the Senate race. The results speak for themselves. The Republican Party captured all of the state offices with the exception of Attorney General and Treasurer, and Bob Dole was returned to the U. S. Senate. We did, however, lose the 2nd District Congressional seat to Martha Keys. Ranson has excellent rapport with party leaders and with those people who have in the past financed the election campaigns in Kansas. Ranson can be counted on for support by President Ford at the convention. He owes his position as Republican State Chairman to former Lt. Governor Dave Owen among others.

Kansas Leadership League - During the last general election campaign, an organization was formed, under the leadership of Jack Ranson, called the Kansas Leadership League. This organization now numbers approximately 80 members, who each contribute \$2,500.00 annually, to be used as the Leadership League deems fit in election campaigns. The organization is composed of the most influential political activists in the state, who have the wherewithal to finance campaigns. The Leadership League played an important role in both the Dole victory and the Bennett victory in 1974. The organization is now chaired by Howard Wilkens, a young entrepreneur from Wichita. Howard is a most capable individual and the Leadership League will continue to grow and function with more political clout under his guidance.

Huck Boyd, Republican National Committeeman - Huck Boyd has been a very hard and faithful party worker in Kansas for many years. His political allegiance is primarily to Bob Dole. Huck is one of the most knowledgeable sources for political background in the state; however, he has attained an age that is beginning to render him less and less effective in party matters. It is very likely that he will choose not to run for re-election to the position in 1976, or be defeated in the race for re-election.

Beth Rogers, Republican National Committeewoman - Beth Rogers





State of Kansas—

Political Structure—

Page -3

is also very active and effective in party circles over the past few years. She is the wife of State Senator Richard Rogers from Manhattan, Kansas, who serves as President of the Kansas Senate. Senator Rogers is one of the leading candidates for a federal judgeship and should he be appointed, Mrs. Rogers will resign. She would probably face a serious challenge in the next re-election in any event.

Minority Groups - Minority groups in Kansas are primarily located in the Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita areas. They have had very little impact on the outcome of elections in the past. However, the Republican Party is working extremely hard to gather them into the fold. At this point in time, the party seems to be very successful in the Jewish Community and the Mexican-American Community and relatively ineffective in the Negro Community, with the exception of a very few black leaders. Senator Bob Dole seems to have the best rapport with minority groups in the state.

Economic Situation - Kansas is, of course, an agricultural oriented state with wheat and beef being the primary economic factors. The aircraft industry in the Wichita area causes rather dramatic economic swings in that locality, but has minimal effect in the rest of the state. Kansas is not experiencing, at this time, many of the unemployment problems other states are faced with. Unemployment is so low, as a matter of fact, that Kansas is not on the list of states receiving federal grants for unemployment compensation.

Labor Situation - Kansas has a right-to-work law, and it is a very popular issue in the state. Union support is centered in Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita. Union members, although relatively small in comparison to the total state population, are highly organized and effective. They played an important role in Bill Roy's close race against Bob Dole and were one of the major reasons that Bob Docking was elected Governor of Kansas for four consecutive terms as a Democrat. If pressed on the issue in this state, a politician would be wise to side with the right-to-work organization. The partial proof of this can be born out in the recent Senate election in which Bob Dole's campaign chairman, former Lt. Governor Dave Owen, made that a key issue in the campaign.



State of Kansas-----

Political Structure ---

Page 4

Delegate Selection - Under the new rule of the Republican National Committee, Kansas will have 34 delegates to the National Convention, pending the outcome of the Rippon Society's suit. Kansas has no state law, nor any Party By-laws, covering the selection of delegates. Traditionally, however, they have been selected in the following manner, bearing in mind that up until now, Kansas has had 20 delegates and, as you know, has 5 Congressional Districts. Two delegates have been selected from each of the districts at a District Caucus. Another delegate has been recommended by the district to the State Caucus for ratification. The remaining 5 delegates have been selected at large at the State Convention. State Chairman Jack Ranson intends to codify this traditional procedure sometime this year.

Overview - At the present time, President Ford does not have the average voter of Kansas convinced that he is the man to do the job as President of the United States. On the other hand, there is no readily identifiable alternative that causes any serious threat to the President's position. Party leadership seems to be philosophically aligned with a person like Ronald Reagan; however, they think very highly of President Ford and understand the political realities of an incumbent president running for re-election. It would seem that the time for President Ford is now and that delegate strength can be lined up through contact with party leadership in the next few months. The most viable organization to contact at the present time is the Kansas Leadership League and Chairman Jack Ranson. President Ford is perceived to be a dedicated public servant and honest man by the majority of the Kansas constituency. With that image already created, regardless of the many issues that they do not agree with the President on, coupled with his incumbency, President Ford should be able to put Kansas in his column with some strategic contacts being made in the next few months.





PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.  
17TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
AND  
COMMITTEE ON  
MERCHANT MARINE  
AND FISHERIES

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

205 CANNON BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-5411

DISTRICT OFFICE:  
305 GRANT AVENUE  
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA 94306  
(415) 326-7383

March 26, 1975

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

*Return P*  
*P*  
*WJ*  
HONORABLE DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM:

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

SUBJECT:

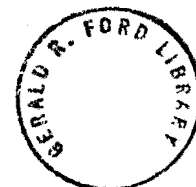
California, New Hampshire and Rhode Island  
Presidential Primaries, 1976

1. This is intended to confirm and somewhat broaden the points I made to you this morning, and as a follow-up to my memorandum to you of November 13, 1974, a copy of which is attached for your ready reference.

2. An extremely reliable source reports that a Reagan Presidential office has been opened in Los Angeles, with five men working full-time under the directorship of Rus Walton, a former head of the United Republicans of California (UROC). A fund-raising operation is reportedly bringing in around \$150,000 per month of which \$50,000 is budgeted for current expenditures and the balance set aside for future use. Reagan's radio and newspaper column comments are reflecting a subtle criticism of Ford Administration policies.

3. A close personal confidant of Reagan and Walton, Ned Hutchinson, has opened a California office for the new Libertarian Party, with an avowed purpose of qualifying for primaries in at least 31 states.

4. In my own primary effort against Richard Nixon in 1972, I campaigned extensively in New Hampshire for some seven months. There is a superb Republican organization in place which is headed by Robert Reno, a Concord attorney (office address: 95 North Main Street, Concord, New Hampshire 03301; telephone: 603/224-2381). I believe that all of these people would welcome the chance to work together on Jerry Ford's behalf. Presumably most of the Republican establishment, responsive to individuals such as Norris Cotton, Jim



Cleveland, and Louis Wyman will also support Jerry, but I would think it helpful to obtain formal public commitments from as many of them as possible as soon as possible. The extreme conservative faction, represented by Governor Meldrin Thompson and publisher William Loeb, is probably irretrievably in Reagan's camp, but it might be worthwhile for the President to make at least some personal gesture at this point to both Loeb and the Governor. Jim Cleveland is, of course, the best judge of the New Hampshire situation.

5. I would very much like to help the President in New Hampshire and feel it would be particularly timely and appropriate to commence this effort during the President's April 18 visit to New Hampshire. I know that Bob Reno would be honored to call together the really distinguished group of community leaders who headed my 1972 effort in New Hampshire's 10 counties, should the President request it.

6. This is equally true in Rhode Island and in California where my Republican organization strength is weaker but still fairly substantial.

7. In California, I would suggest beginning now to develop a steering committee for the Ford effort which will include all of the diverse elements of the badly-divided Republican remnants which still exist. Many, if not most, of the old-time party leaders will be less than helpful in a Ford-Reagan contest unless they are contacted now and are gently prodded into a formal public commitment. I can't stress too strongly the need to obtain these commitments now, before Reagan is able to surface with his own challenge.

8. It should be noted that there are no Republican leaders who speak for more than 30 to 40 percent of the party in California at the present time. Men like Dave Packard and myself are at opposite poles, even in our own communities and it will take firm Presidential leadership to get us to work together.

9. Let me know how I can help. I would particularly like to assist in the New Hampshire planning and effort commencing April 18.

Respectfully,



Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.



PNMcC:jj

COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
AND  
COMMITTEE ON  
MERCHANT MARINE  
AND FISHERIES

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICE  
305 GRANT AVENUE  
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA 94306  
(415) 326-7385

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: Don Rumsfeld  
From: Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.  
Re: California Republican Primary, 1976  
Date: November 13, 1974

1. There is every indication that Governor Reagan is preparing for a major 1976 Presidential effort, keeping his options open to run either in the Republican primaries or as a third party candidate.
2. Reagan's kitchen cabinet and primary money men, (Henry Salvatori, Holmes Tuttle, Justin Dart, Leonard Firestone, Taft Schrieber, et al.) may have varying views towards such an effort, but there is no lack of conservative big money support for Reagan. Conservatives realize that he represents their last real chance for preserving their system of governmental values and I think they are right. As a campaigner, he is superb; if Jerry or the Republicans in Congress fail to show responsibility and some success by late 1975, Reagan could well ride in out of the sunset to save the Party.
3. California is the strategic primary State, both in chronological order of primaries and in size. There has not been a Republican Presidential contest in California since 1964, when Goldwater defeated Rockefeller. Since 1964, conservatives have captured and maintained almost complete control of state and county central committees and publications. The present breakdown of congressional conservatives to moderates is probably 11 to 4. (Bell, McCloskey, Pettis, Lagomarsino, possibly Clausen) The Party is dying because probably no more than 1 in 20 college students is willing to register Republican.
4. There are three categories of individuals from which leadership might come in building a new and more moderate Party organization in California.
  - (1) The first category consists of Republican liberals and moderates untarnished by Watergate and presumably who would be completely loyal to Ford and opposed to Reagan:

Jack Veneman - ex-Under Secretary to HEW in San Francisco  
Tom Kuchel - ex-Senator  
Louis Butler - ex-Assistant Secretary to HEW in San Francisco  
Hugh Flournoy - ex-Controller and Gubernatorial candidate  
Bill Bagley - ex-Assemblyman, candidate for Controller  
Bob Monagan - ex-Under Secretary for DOT  
Pete Wilson - Mayor of San Diego  
Peter Behr - State Senator in Marine County  
Bob Beverly - Assemblyman in Santa Monica  
George Milias - ex-Deputy Assistant Secretary for DOT, candidate  
for Congress



Bill Mailliard - ex-Member of Congress, presently Ambassador to OAS  
 Jerry Pettis - Member of Congress, San Bernardino  
 Al Bell - Member of Congress, Santa Monica  
 Pete McCloskey - Member of Congress, Menlo Park

(2) The second category includes conservatives serving in the Congress who may be ideologically more aligned with Reagan, but whose loyalty to Ford can probably be assured by formal commitment, if asked now. These include the following 12 incumbents:

Bob Wilson, San Diego  
 Clair Burgener, Rancho Santa Fe  
 Andy Hinshaw, Newport Beach  
 John Rousset, San Marino  
 Barry Goldwater, Jr., Burbank  
 Chuck Wiggins, West Covina  
 Bob Lagomarsino, Ojai  
 Del Clawson, Downey  
 Don Clausen, Crescent City  
 Burt Talcott, Salinas  
 Bill Ketchum, Paso Robles  
 Carlos Moorhead, Glendale

and former Congressmen:

Vic Veysey, Brawley  
 Bob Mathias, Tulare  
 Craig Hosmer, Long Beach

(3) There is a third category of non-office holders whose support would be helpful, and who presumably would prefer either Ford personally (or Republican Party cohesion) to Reagan. These would include:

Dave Packard  
 Norton Simon  
 Cliff Anderson

(You will note my own familiarity is primarily northern California, where Don Clausen, Burt Talcott, and I are the sole remaining Republicans.)

5. Reagan's principle problems, as I perceive them, are as follows:

(a) He has built much of his Republican career on Party loyalty. It will be difficult for him to urge people to leave the Party to support an Independent effort and almost equally difficult for him to urge a challenge to an incumbent President. (He was a Democrat as late as 1960 and once headed a committee called "Young Democrats for Al Bell.")

(b) His tax and financial situation might very well not stand up to the kind of scrutiny that House and Senate committees are now giving nominees such as Rockefeller, etc. (A Presidential appointment requiring Senate confirmation might provide an interesting test here.)



6. Recommendations. It seems appropriate that Jerry take some careful and quiet steps now to strengthen the California Party structure and to encourage leadership by individuals in category 4(1) above. I suggest also that the White House ascertain the loyalty, and perhaps attain formal commitments, from those in categories 4(2) and (3), starting with Rousselot, Goldwater, Hinshaw and Wilson. Finally, I think you should devise a means of smoking out Reagan's views and hopefully forcing him to foreclose himself from at least the Independent Party option now, and perhaps the Republican primary option later.

7. From a personal standpoint, I prefer Jack Veneman as the person best suited to lead the overall effort. All of the people in category 4(1) probably acknowledge him as the most competent of our potential leaders, and I think he would not be offensive save to those who will support Reagan anyway.

8. A word might be added here about Bob Finch, who is apparently planning to announce his 1976 candidacy for the Senate (against Tunney) in January. I don't know quite where to place Bob in this picture, but have grave doubts that he can escape his past Nixon association in a manner which would permit him to defeat Tunney in 1976. The only other potential candidates would be Jack Veneman, Attorney General Evelle Younger, Pete Wilson, or myself. Jack Veneman apparently feels that he does not have a sufficient base from which he could run, I doubt that I could win a Republican primary, and I suspect that Evelle Younger would much prefer to wait and run for Governor. This would leave Pete Wilson as the best potential candidate for 1976, and I believe he would measure up in every way to the quality of excellence we will need to restore public faith in the Republican Party.

9. I would like to help Jerry in every way I can. We need a signal from Jerry, however, that he is willing to run in 1976 and that he will provide strong White House support, even though indirect, to our efforts to rebuild the California Party structure. I think that John Rousselot and I could work together to build up a strong cadre of young business and professional leaders around the State who can put ideological differences aside and make attractive candidates in 1976. I suspect that it will be the caliber of our candidates that determines the Party future much more than any practical successes that may evolve out of our efforts during the next 18 months.

10. The essence of all of this is that we need guidance and leadership from you right now.

All the best,



Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

PNMcC:11







J J

KK

MEMORANDUM

Attached is a summary of the nomination process with Notes and a sample plan. The following cautions apply:

Delegate Selection System. Current state laws and party rules may change the nature of the delegate selection process. Five states currently have legislation pending to switch from a Caucus/Convention system to a Primary system.

Date. Where the date is not set by the law, it is based on 1972 experience and appropriately noted.

Authorized Delegates. This delegate listing includes the 1974 bonuses.

Maximum Authorized Expenditure. It is not absolutely certain that the eligible voter population figures used are the most recent. Little change is expected from this list however.

Realistic Minimum Expectation of Delegate Votes. The general pattern of division of delegates is for each Congressional District to have three, with the remainder, at-large. The Notes show variations on this. Elements that went into the thinking on this listing include sketchy knowledge of the delegate selection process in each state and the realization that challengers may choose wick states they will enter, while the President must show a presence in virtually every state.

Sample Budget. The Pool consists of \$799,500 for twenty-one Caucus/Convention states and the National Headquarters. Some thought was given to costs of media, importance of the state and timing of the Primary.

Notes. The Notes are based on sketchy information, at best--information which is certain to change when the proper analysis of delegation selection process in each state is performed.

Highlights. Some perspective is offered.



Notes to Accompany Delegate Selection Chart

- Arizona The system in Arizona is closed, with delegates to the State Convention chosen by Precinct Committeemen and women elected in the September 1974 Primary. The system is violative of the RNC rules and may be changed before 1976. Strong pro-Ford leadership should garner about 2/3's of the delegates.
- North Dakota North Dakota uses a system similar to Arizona's. Less clear and strong leadership suggest a reasonable minimum of 9 delegates.
- Hawaii Hawaii is a traditional Precinct Caucus, State Convention system. Date is set by the party and is based on the 1972 schedule.
- Maine A typical Caucus state, the date is based on 1972 schedule. Legislation is pending to join a New England Primary.
- Wyoming A Caucus state in which the State Convention selects all delegates.
- Georgia A typical Caucus state whose date was based on 1972 schedule. Legislation is pending to create a Primary, with a date to be set between March 1 and June 1. If the latter takes effect, the proportion of delegates allotted in the sample program would have to be reduced substantially.
- Minnesota A typical Caucus state, date is set by law. A current party fight may produce a new Chairman who is decidedly not pro-Ford, but the state is generally among the most moderate in the party.
- Kansas A typical Caucus state whose date is based on 1972 schedule.
- South Carolina The State Convention selects all the delegates to the National Convention.
- New Hampshire Legislation is pending which gives the Attorney General the authority to move the date earlier.



- Washington A typical Caucus state, the date is based on the 1972 experience.
- Florida At least two-thirds of the delegates will be elected in Congressional District Primaries, with the remaining at-large delegates by state-wide Primary vote.
- Illinois Nearly three-quarters of the delegates will be elected in Congressional District Primaries with the remaining at-large delegates selected by a State Convention. The Illinois date is subject to change in pending legislation.
- Virginia The Republican Party of Virginia may choose a Caucus method or a Primary method for selecting delegates. The estimate of 17 votes is based on the Caucus method. The date is based on 1972 experience.
- Oklahoma Delegates are chosen at Congressional District Conventions and at-large delegates at the State Convention. The date is based on 1972 experience.
- Iowa A typical Caucus state with the date based on 1972 experience. Governor Ray will not be able to dominate the entire delegation.
- New York Congressional District Primaries will choose the bulk of the delegates with the at-large delegates chosen by the State Committee or a State Convention.
- Wisconsin All delegates are chosen in Congressional District Primaries.
- Louisiana Selects delegates at Congressional District and State Conventions. The date is based on 1972 experience. Legislation is pending to provide a Presidential Primary.
- Missouri Missouri chooses delegates at Congressional District and State Conventions. It is one of the most important Caucus states because of its size.
- Guam In the past, the State Convention has selected all the delegates to the National Convention.
- Connecticut The date is set by law; however, delegates selected at local Caucuses are challengeable in a Primary.



Delaware	Delaware is considering a legislative change to a Primary. Currently, delegates selected in Precinct Caucuses to go to Regional Conventions are challengeable in a Primary.
Vermont	Vermont currently has a Caucus system, but legislation is pending to join the New England Regional Primary.
Mississippi	A typical Caucus system. The date is based on the 1972 experience.
Pennsylvania	The bulk of the delegates are chosen in Congressional District Primaries. The State Committee, elected at the same time, choose the at-large delegates.
Massachusetts	Legislation is pending to join the New England Regional Primary.
Alaska	A typical Caucus state with the date based on the 1972 experience.
Colorado	A typical Caucus state.
Texas	A new Primary law. Estimate of delegates is based on the new Primary <u>not</u> being a winner-take-all system.
Alabama	Congressional District and state-wide Primary.
Indiana	Congressional District and state-wide Primary.
North Carolina	Delegates are awarded proportionately to the top four candidates who receive a minimum of 15% in the Primary. Legislation is pending to change the date of the Primary.
District of Columbia	A winner-take-all Primary.
Tennessee	Congressional District and state-wide Primary.
Nebraska	All delegates are selected in Congressional District Primaries with the division of delegates among the Congressional Districts proportional to the Republican vote for President in 1972.
West Virginia	Congressional District and state-wide Primaries.
Utah	A typical Caucus state. The bulk of the delegates are elected in Congressional District Primaries with the remainder by the State Primary.





<u>State</u>	<u>Delegate Selection System</u>	<u>Dates in 1976</u>	<u>Delegates Authorized</u>	<u>Maximum Expenditure Permitted</u>	<u>Realistic Minimum Expectation</u>	<u>Sample Budget</u>
Arizona	Closed	9/74	29	230,720	18	Pool
North Dakota	Closed	9/74	18	68,960	9	Pool
Hawaii	Caucus	1/19	19	91,360	17	Pool
Maine	Caucus	2/1	20	112,000	20	Pool
Wyoming	Caucus	2/3	17	39,040	13	Pool
Georgia	Caucus	2/12	48	516,320	24	Pool
Minnesota	Caucus	2/24	42	422,800	40	Pool
Kansas	Caucus	2/28	34	256,160	32	Pool
South Carolina	Caucus	2/28	36	292,960	0	0
New Hampshire	Primary	3/2	21	88,000	10	65,000
Washington	Caucus	3/7	38	380,320	28	Pool
Florida	Primary	3/9	66	927,840	40	700,000
Illinois	Primary	3/16	101	1,223,360	80	750,000
Virginia	Caucus	3/31	51	532,960	17	Pool
Oklahoma	Caucus	4/3	36	300,640	5	Pool
Iowa	Caucus	4/4	36	320,320	28	Pool
New York	Primary	4/6	154	2,032,000	101	1,000,000
Wisconsin	Primary	4/6	45	499,360	36	375,000
Louisiana	Caucus	4/15	41	393,120	0	0
Missouri	Caucus	4/15	49	527,360	33	Pool
Guam	Caucus	4/15	4	?	4	Pool
Connecticut	Caucus	4/20	35	339,840	32	Pool
Delaware	Caucus	4/20	17	62,560	14	Pool
Vermont	Caucus	4/20	18	50,560	15	Pool
Mississippi	Caucus	4/22	30	239,200	0	0
Pennsylvania	Primary	4/27	103	1,333,760	75	750,000
Massachusetts	Primary	4/27	43	653,760	43	150,000



Alaska	Caucus	5/1	19	32,960	14	Pool
Colorado	Caucus	5/3	31	275,040	20	Pool
Texas	Primary	5/3	100	1,288,000	50	700,000
Alabama	Primary	5/4	37	382,720	0	0
Indiana	Primary	5/4	54	576,480	31	300,000
North Carolina	Primary	5/4	54	581,600	20	200,000
D. C.	Primary	5/4	14	84,160	14	12,500
Tennessee	Primary	5/6	43	460,960	21	150,000
Nebraska	Primary	5/11	25	170,880	13	60,000
West Virginia	Primary	5/11	28	198,080	20	75,000
Utah	Caucus	5/17	20	119,360	10	Pool
Maryland	Primary	5/18	43	444,960	28	120,000
Michigan	Primary	5/18	84	965,920	56	350,000
Idaho	Primary	5/25	21	83,040	0	0
Kentucky	Primary	5/25	37	367,360	22	100,000
Nevada	Primary	5/25	18	61,120	0	0
Oregon	Primary	5/25	30	253,920	30	100,000
Rhode Island	Primary	5/25	19	110,560	19	40,000
Arkansas	Primary	5/25	27	226,720	14	85,000
Montana	Primary	6/1	20	77,440	0	0
New Mexico	Primary	6/1	21	116,960	7	18,000
South Dakota	Primary	6/1	20	74,240	0	0
California	Primary	6/8	167	2,321,440	0	1,750,000
New Jersey	Primary	6/8	67	815,840	60	650,000
Ohio	Primary	6/8	97	1,164,960	75	700,000
Virgin Islands	Primary	7/6	4	?	4	Pool
Puerto Rico	Caucus	?	8	?	8	Pool
Totals			2,259	23,190,000	1,270	9,200,500

Needed to Win 1,130

Pool 799,500



## PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGY - Ford versus Reagan

### I. Pre-Convention Contest

A hearty pre-Convention contest in primaries and state caucuses across the country might enhance the President's chance for victory in the general election. The President stands to gain both from contrast to Reagan's conservative position and from increased exposure.

Under no circumstances, however, would that contest be worth the price of risking entering the Convention without a majority of the delegates in hand.

Furthermore, to the degree that the pre-Convention battle is minimized, funds available to be spent for the primary may be spent in such a way so as to enhance general election prospects rather than to be directed solely to nomination efforts. Finally, to the degree that a tough race forces the President to move to the right on issues in order to blunt a Reagan candidacy, he may jeopardize some of the moderate constituency required for victory in the general election.

### II. Senior Party Support

Against Reagan, who is a formidable opponent within the Republican party, the President has one principal asset. Lined up against the proliferating activities of Reagan-ideologues is the President's power of incumbency. Incumbency, per se, is not sufficient to blunt the efforts of Reagan activists in securing a commitment of support or at least a commitment of neutrality among major blocks of senior party leaders in the country. It is the power of the incumbency which is the only effective tool by which the President can, in fact, prevent or minimize a full-tilt Reagan campaign.

In the next eight to ten weeks, Reagan is expected to make a final decision on whether he will run or not. If there has been no major effort to bring senior party leaders on board the President's campaign, Reagan may have no alternative but to announce his own candidacy. His supporters would allow nothing else. They will demand that he declare he is running to give the Republican voters a choice.

### III. Ford Strategy

A major effort should begin immediately to solicit party support which effectively uses the President's power of incumbency. The President is now in a position to ask party leaders and Republican party office holders around the country to commit themselves to support ~~of~~ his campaign. Once a Reagan effort is



announced and running, party leaders and government office holders are in a perfectly legitimate position to declare themselves neutral--in many instances, it would be inappropriate for them to support either candidate. Therefore, the period of time between now and a Reagan announcement is the only effective time to initiate the round-up of party support for the President.

A number of avenues suggest themselves for such an effort:

- A. A non-governmental representative of the President approaches State Party leaders immediately and asks them to lead the Ford effort within that state. The State Chairmen should be asked to be the Chairmen of the Ford effort and the National Committeemen and women, Vice-Chairmen.
  1. Each of these should be given a deadline, suggesting that the President wants to announce his committee leadership in that state by X date.
  2. Asking the State Chairmen to be "in name" the Chairman of the Ford organization does not necessarily mean that that individual will be running the effort within that state. It does, however, provide a way to demonstrate overpowering strength; it puts each of them under severe pressure to be with the President or against him before there is a ready-made excuse for their neutrality; and it virtually assures at least their neutrality once Reagan announces.
- B. A representative of the President can ask only the State Chairman to join the Ford committee and to head it under the same premises as above.
- C. A representative of the President can ask the State Chairman and National Committeemen and women to commit themselves and to round up a number of additional individuals for the "Ford Campaign Organization."
- D. A major mailing could be sent to all Republican party officials and Republican government office holders asking for their support and for them to join the Ford Committee within their states.



#### IV. Timing

It is essential that sensitivity be given to the necessity of immediate action. By mid-August, it is likely that the Reagan decision will be imminent, if not forthcoming. Furthermore, it is important, once the President's announcement is made, to gain some immediate momentum and to overpower the continuing

and effective drive of the Reagan team. An effort at this early stage, will be far easier, less costly and more effective than a catch-up effort in the fall.

V. The Risks

If Republican officials are fully recruited for the President before Reagan's decision, he may decide not to run.

If, in the face of such a successful recruitment, Reagan does decide to run, the President's campaign will be in the strongest possible position to combat him.

If such a party recruitment for the President results in broad-scale rejection or neutrality (which is highly unlikely), better to know the bad news now than later.

A failure to undertake the recruitment now would encourage Reagan to run, would make recruitment later much more difficult, and will result in a more effective Reagan campaign.



## HIGHLIGHTS

1. By the time the New Hampshire Primary occurs (currently scheduled for March 2), Precinct Caucuses or Elections will have taken decisive steps towards selecting 11% of the delegates to the National Convention.
2. The delegation from his home state of Michigan cannot back the President 100%. The 84 delegates are distributed proportionately among all candidates in the race who receive at least 5% of the vote. Three other states with 112 additional delegates use variations of the proportional rule.
3. The use of the candidate's time is restricted by multiple events on a single day; e.g. six Primaries on May 25 and six Caucuses between April 15 and April 22.
4. If one were to spend the maximum allowed in each of the first twelve Primaries, there would be \$328,000 left over for the remaining eighteen Primary states (including Michigan, California, New Jersey and Ohio), all the Caucus states, and the National staff under present nomination limitations.
5. The expenditure limit in each state is \$.16 per voting age individuals for the nomination. To stay within the \$10,000,000 limitation, however, an average of only 43% of the state's limitations must be met.
6. The expenditure limit in each state is \$.24 per voting age individual for the general election. To stay within the \$20,000,000 limitation, however, an average of only 57% of the state's limitations must be met.

