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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Dick Chang

Returnel

### THE PRESIDENT HAS SEE

January 26, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO:

STU SPENCER

FROM:

SKIP WATTS SW

RE:

STATUS OF PRESIDENT FORD CAMPAIGN IN FLORIDA

In late September of 1975, Congressman Lou Frey was appointed Ford Chairman in Florida. This is intended as a review of the conduct of the campaign since that time.

The report concludes with an analysis and recommonations as to actions I believe necessary in order for the President to win the Florida primary on March 9th.

### Frey-Juarez Strategy and Accomplishments September thru Mid-January

It was apprently the strategy of Congressman Frey and his assistant, Oscar Juarez, to campaign throughout the state of Florida, particularly in the key media centers, to provide Frey and presumably the Ford campaign, with visibility in those major centers. From the inception of Frey's efforts, the chief vehicle for gaining visibility for the Ford campaign has been the press conference. Though Juarez and his staff have spent a great deal of time and effort scheduling Frey around the state for speaking engagements, their efforts have been to gather key Republican legislators and Congressmen into joint press conferences with Frey, endorsing President Ford.

Organizationally, though Frey has not appointed a statewide Ford committee yet, he has appointed PFC chairmen for the top twenty counties in Florida. The Ford management team has opened storefront headquarters in 17 counties but the operation of those headquarters and organizations has not been constant. I will discuss the success of the Frey-Juarez strategy at the conclusion of this analysis. It should be pointed out that prior to the first part of December there was minimal effort taken to broaden the Ford campaign beyond the Frey "organization" statewide and in the top counties. In fact, the reverse was true.

Sensing a lack of penetration, we first met with Frey and Juarez on November 21st. The meeting was highlighted by our insistence that Frey broaden the base of his campaign to include the great respect of

individuals associated with past statewide candidates and office-holders: Cramer, Gurney, Kirk, Eckerd, Jerry Thomas, et al. We also indicated that there was a perception among Republicans in Florida and the press that the campaign was a Frey-for-Governor campaign; i.e., much visibility for Frey, with little organizational penetration to the precinct level.

It was therefore our strategy, agreed to by them, that at this late date in November we would begin building a broad-base effort to contact Republican households in the key counties.

### PFC National Strategy

As you know about 1/3 of Florida's registered Republicans live in two counties, Pinellas, on the West Coast (16%), and Broward, on the East Coast (15%). The addition of two other counties, Dade with 11% and Palm Beach with 8%, makes a total of registered Republicans 50% in four of Florida's 67 counties. A total of 70% of the Republicans in Florida live in the top 9 counties, leaving 35% of the Republicans scattered across the other 56 counties of the state (Attachment). These 9 counties have therefore been given top priority for coverage:

### Top Nine Counties

Pineallas	16%	175,210
Broward	15%	153,058
Dade	11%	123,017
Palm Beach	8%	87,575
Orange	5%	56,224
Sarasota	4%	46,444
Hillsborough	4%	42,495
Brevard	4%	42,118
Duval	3%	32,874
	70%	

In order to penetrate to as many Republican households as possible, we have established the telephone campaign strategy which in itself will only cover about half of the Republican households, given the amount of time remaining. The balance, some 300,000 Republican households, will have to be done by door-to-door volunteer precinct walkers. And, with delegates elected by congressional district (except for 5 at-large), we must not ignore smaller counties that may "swing" a congressional district our way.

In terms of the public impact it is our strategy to implement a full schedule for high level Republican advocates to campaign in the state, in addition to the two major Presidential visits.

We have hired a press director for the Florida campaign to implement Peter Kaye's free media program.

We have hired a special projects man, Jack Insco, a former Cramer associate and Pasco County committeeman, to help Martin line up

legislators and others for press coverage. Insco handles other projects on a selective basis. He is currently restructuring various northern counties which heretofore have been ignored, except for Frey's appearances.

In terms of voter groups, it is quite evident that the core of the Republican strength in Florida is older people -- more than 1/3 of the Republicans are over 65 and 43% are at least 60 and nearly 70% are at least 50 years old. One of three is retired. Furthermore, among the President's "definite" supporters, according to our survey research, no less than 43% are senior citizens. In contrast, those "definite" for Reagan among older people is much less than those for President Ford. The significance of this for the Ford candidacy cannot be over-emphasized because older people will most invariably vote with much greater regularity than middle-aged and particularly younger citizens. Since our meeting on November 21st with Frey and Juarez when we indicated this was the plan, little has been done to establish a campaign directed toward senior citizens. We have consistently requested the recommendations from Juarez for a statewide senior citizen committee, possibly formed under a Vice Chairman of the PFC.

In addition, President Ford does better than the opposition in terms of the announced voting intention of females. In our research, 58% express an allegiance for the President. We have several times requested that Juarez name a woman Vice Chairman for the state effort to direct a campaign toward bringing women volunteers into our phone and precinct operations.

In terms of the press operations and the public visibility of the campaign we have consistently requested that Frey publicly discuss Reagan's record in California, his position on the \$90 billion roll-back and social security, or provide someone who will -- to almost no avail.

Finally, it has been our strategy to seek volunteer help and the votes out of hard core Republican areas. Our research shows that the President enjoyed his greatest lead, not only among the elderly in general, but relatedly among hard core Republicans. This is a potential advantage because they are the most likely to vote. However, a determined effort to get out the vote of such elements has not taken place, at least until last week or so and then only in conjunction with the organization for our telephone campaign. The only possible exception is the precinct organizations in Orange and Brevard counties, Frey's congressional district, where the volunteers and materials are more available than elsewhere but still to an insufficient degree.



### Analysis and Recommendations

Until very recently the cooperation from Frey and Juarez has been less than satisfactory, particularly on the key elements of the Florida campaign, the press visibility program, the phone operation, and the basic elements of the precinct organization.

In most cases, our efforts from the very beginning have been thwarted or fought by Frey and Juarez. Frey himself will not make statements regarding the Reagan record and positions, which has led to further speculation that Frey is in this campaign for himself and not for the President. We have had to work around them for successes in the press. The attacks on the \$90 billion program by State Senator Jim Grisom and others were orchestrated by Insco and Martin, our people.

In fact, there has been more press on the "woes and confusion" of the Ford campaign in Florida than on the positive aspects of the campaign. These articles were generated by friends or former associates of Frey and Juarez, such as the attack by the Dade County PFC chairman on the PFC National (Attachment C). More recently, a similar attack by Jay Starling, who Juarez wanted to put on the PFC finance payroll. Since we refused for a variety of reasons, Starling has publicly charged the campaign with confusion and discontent (Attachment C). Instead, a great deal of time seems to be spent by Juarez on state Republican party matters, such as challenging national committeeman Bill Cramer with a Frey candidate and Broward county chairman Gray Bolston with a slate of "Ford" candidates. (Herald article attached.)

In terms of our major effort with the telephone campaign we have reached a certain degree of success in the last two weeks. Because of the initial reluctance of Frey and Juarez to conduct any telephone campaign, our state leadership meeting (January 6) to organize the phone campaign was essentially a failure. Juarez had been requested by me to invite the PFC chairmen from the priority counties to attend this meeting, to be held in Miami. With one or two exceptions the only individuals in attendance were those invited directly by me or by our field man, B. Oglesby. We therefore had to spend several thousand dollars in arranging for extra meetings in Tampa to contact individuals who would cooperate with the telephone program. In addition to the cost, this failure delayed the progress of our phone campaign by about two weeks. As late as Friday, January 23, at the phone orientation session, Congressman Frey was still talking about the door-to-door campaign as if it were the chief direction the volunteers should take.

Notwithstanding this lack of cooperation and disruption, we have had two successful orientation sessions with about 150 key leaders and recruiters for the telephone centers in the priority counties. Eleven of the scheduled twelve will be operating by Wednesday, January 28. The Sarasota center was further delayed because Frey's PFC chairman still refuses to cooperate.

Monitoring the recruitment progress - center by center - <u>each</u> day and reporting summaries to the PFC National headquarters <u>each</u> day we will analyze these reports and take the appropriate action to shore up any



of those centers that have not made progress. We have arranged for five field volunteers from across the country to operate those phone centers for which there is no designated phone center chairman.

On February 7 when the group recruitment blitz concludes we will review their progress and success to determine whether these field representatives will continue in Florida. On February 9 when the voter identification telephoning begins our field staff will be in place to monitor the voter I.D. calling progress and to analyze the reports and take the appropriate action.

The point is that it should never have been necessary for us to call in these field volunteers from other parts of the country; they should be available on a local basis. Without the cooperation of Frey, Juarez group we have had to develop volunteer leads by ourselves. On the other hand, in hard core Republican areas the Reagan telephone operation has been in place and working for at least two weeks, especially in Clearwater (Pineallas County), Miami (Dade County) and Fort Lauderdale (Broward Coutny).

The door-to-door schedule is seriously slow in all counties, with possible exception of Orange and Brevard Counties (Frey's district) and Dade and Broward, where our field staff has worked full time since December.

### Recommendations

To the Florida primary election, it seems to me that there is one major decision which needs to be made initially. After that the necessary steps can be implemented quickly.

It is clear that Mr. Juarez is spread too thinly. Most of his time is spent on Congressman Frey's schedule and dabbling with state committee power interplays. PFC chairmen are named by Juarez and left hanging -- little direction or instruction. The PFC must have a full time manager in Orlando that we can trust to carry out our campaign program.

Statements such as "The National should let us run our own campaign" by Frey (last Friday) indicate that our preachings have fallen on deaf ears in spite of his own inexperienced staff. Their own volunteer goals are largely unfulfilled. PFC chairmen have been changed in some counties after apparently being named.

There are a number of individuals on the payroll in Florida who I would term "excess baggage." They should be terminated to make room for a new team to operate under the manager on a regional basis. We need field coverage to back up a manager as follows:

North North-Central West Central	Congressional Congressional Congressional	Districts: District: Districts:	4, 7 8,	5, 9	6	Field Staff (New) Field Staff (New) Dwayne Schultz (New) Field Staff (New)
South	Congressional	Districts:	1Ó-	-15		B. Oglesby

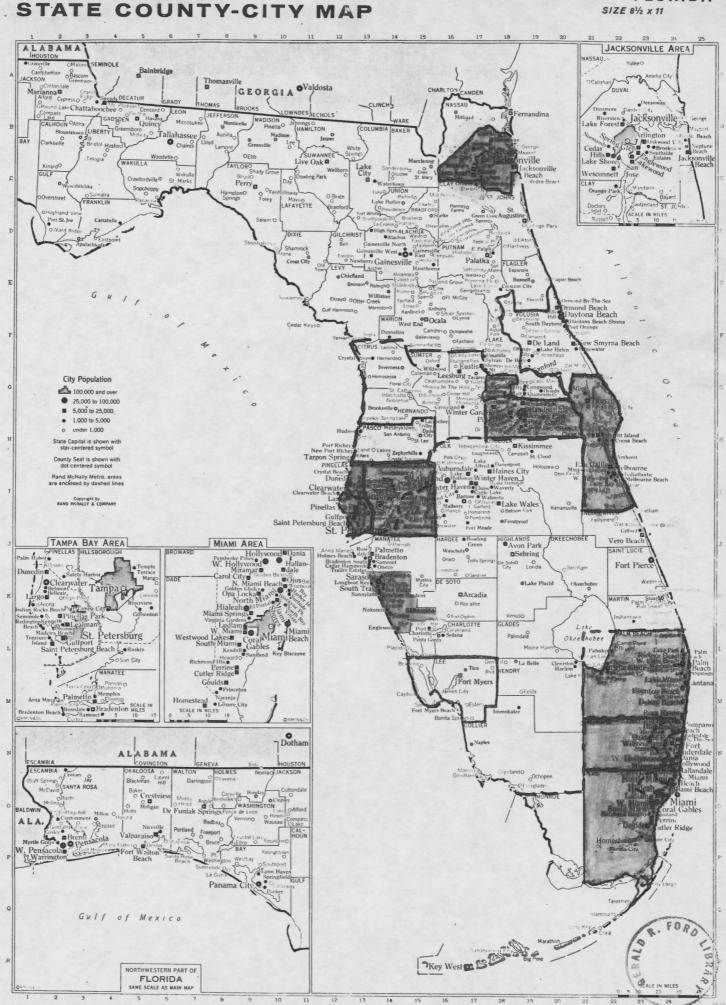
There needs to be appointed immediately a person to coordinate the senior citizens, women and youth activities, currently at zero.

For instance, we have a number of Jaycees who are more than willing to help, but there has been nobody other than some local PFC Chairman, to whom we could refer these volunteers.

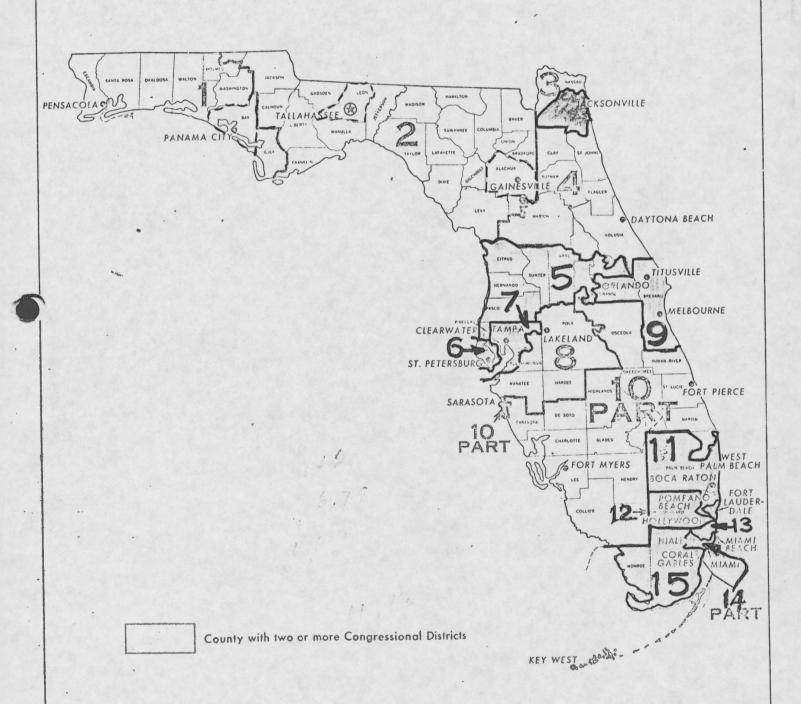
Finally, we must work county by county to insure that our organization is being structured with county chairmen, precinct chairmen and a specific schedule that will correlate with the phone plan.

With 43 days to go in this campaign, if we are not able to gear up as recommended there is no way that President Ford can win the Florida primary. There is ample evidence of large number of favorable and undecided voters who, if only asked, would help. We need to ask. We need to fully implement our campaign plan - quickly - as outlined on the attached schedule. We must end the defensive and "fait accomple" reporting. We must go forward.





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





U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATISTICS ADMINISTRATION RUPLAU OF THE CENSUS

COUNTY	REGISTERED DEMOCRATS	REGISTERED REPUBLICANS	TOTAL REGISTERED
		UOL. GOALS	•
Alachua	47,348	9,755	57,103
Brevard	69,532	42,118	118,044
Broward	222,748	153,058 (2)	396,792
Charlotte	12,211	11,290 <b>236</b>	24,643
Collier	11,846	11,723	24,872
Dade	481,957	123,017	640,293
Duval	191,537	32,874	230,846
Escambia	79,942	12,052	94,774
Hillsborough	176,721	42,495	228,321
Indian River	11,335	7,509	19,845
Lake .	24,297	14,449	40,839
Lee	42,013	28,908	73,693
Leon	43,900	7,597	53,451
Manatee	31,862	25,167 <b>510</b>	59,378
Marion	27,684	7,064	35,843
Martin	11,936	10,393	23,739
Okaloosa	30,171	6,509	37,378
Orange ALD A.	96,364	56,224	152,588
Osceola 2	9,908	5,815 <b>/20</b>	16,255
Palm Beach	131,233	87,575	234,088
Pasco	42,669	29,855 <b>600</b>	77,135

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COUN'I'Y	REGISTERED DEMOCRATS	REGISTERED REPUBLICANS	TOTAL REGISTERED
Pinellas	178,925	175,210	370,272
Polk	85,395	23,688	110,165
Sarasota	31,381	46,444 /000	81,661
Seminole	27,337	17,340	44,677
St. Lucie	18,464	7,675	27,044
Volusia	62,075	28,696	95,472



## By JOHN MEDERMOTT

President Ford's Florida come naign

saved, his Dade County campaign meneger said Monday. Former State Rep. John Cyri Malloy blamed "confusion and lack of direction" stemming from cor-flicts within the President's cational campaign headquarters in Wasa-

as campaign headquarters in Washing ington.

A of Ford spokesman in Washing two file Office Tuares, state coordinates, for the Florida campaign, he with the feeter, disagreed with Maliny's acquired his well-better the campaign is going well.

Juster said there had been "same problems and delays" in getting 'ogether precinct lists, campaign itcrature and other materials, hat tical these problems had been worked out.

of DOUBT that the Reagan forces are in as good shape," he said.

Ronald Reagan, former governor

of California, is opposing ford in the March 9 Florida preference primery in a winner-take-all race for 66 delegates to the Republican national convention at Kansas City

next summer.
Malloy said things seem so conlused in the Ford campaign organizetion "that I don't know who is

running the show, who is giving the orders or making the plans."

When the Ford Florida campaign was activated in November, Malloy said there were plans for a door-to-from votes drive similar to the door voter frive similar to the one conducted by U.S. Rep. Lou Frey (R., Whater Park) in Central Florida.

Frey, a friend of the President's, had been named state chairman, and he had picked Malley for the Dade County campaign post.

But instead of setting off to a fast start - and Florida's primary is viewed as critical to both Ford and Reagan - the campaign bogged down, Malloy said.

There was no money forthcoming to open a bade headquarters, no campaign literature made available end no bumper strips to be given to Ford backers, Malloy said.

agreed. He said Spencer now serves under Callaway as his deputy and that Callaway still has the final say in campaign decisions

Both Watts and Juarez took issue with Malloy that there is districty and lack of coordination between the national and state campaign of-

WATTS SAID he can understand that Malloy is upset over the lack of campaign literature and other tools, but he said other matters recruitment of volunteers had higher priority.

Both Watts and Junier said campaign literature has been prepared and distribution will begin in the next few days to the various local headquarters

Justez said the Ford campaign will pick up momentum shortly after the first of the year when many prominent Republicans will be coming out publicly" for the President

He also said that the long planned down-to-door campaign - having volunices workers make personal calls on every registered Republican in the 20 largest courties - will get underway in January. Disinflution of precinci lists will begin 1-1192

Result

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"ENSIEAD, we got confusion," Malloy said he believes it was a scult of high command changes at the pational headquarters with Stuart Spencer, a professional carehales organizer, taking over opera-tional direction of the campaign from Howard (Bo) Callaway, Ford's national chairman. mational chartman.

He said that since that change,
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Skip Watts, primary states coorminator for the Food campaign. dis-

### By JOHN MCDERMOTT

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Skip Watts, primary states coor-dinator for the Ford campaign dis-



# GOP Faction Challenges Party Leaders

Wismy

By PAT SEALEY Herald Staff Writer

In a move to take control of the local Republican party, a slate of candidates — supporters of President Gerald Ford allied to legislators elected during the GOP rise to power in the 1960's — have filed for election as precinct committeemen.

The challengers say the party needs new leadership to appeal to a broader spectrum of voters and to encourage harder work at the precinct level. One of their backers, Fort Lauderdale Mayor E. Clay Shaw, said the challenge is not a liberal versus conservative conflict because "certainly all those running for seats are very conservative Republicans."

Though County Chairman A. Gray Boylston has backed neither Ford nor Ronald Reagan publicly, Mrs. Boylston is a member of the Reagan committee.

FORMER Circuit Court Judge C. Lavon Ward, one of those who has filed for election as a precinct committeeman, said the challenge arises from the party's need for "rejuvenation."

"It's like a team that's in last place. The first thing you do is get rid of the manager regardless of who is at fault. It's an identifiable change you can make."

Fort Lauderdale City Attorney William W. Caldwell is making a direct challenge to Boylston by opposing Boylston in his own precinct, precinct 21A in northeast Fort Lauderdale.

STATE ATTORNEY Philip Shailer also is challenging Boylston for Boylston's job on

the Republican State Committee.

Others who have filed as candidates for the county Republican committee include former state Rep. Joel Gustafson, former County Commission Chairman Robert Huebner, Ward and Mrs. Shailer.

Gustafson, Huebner and Ward have been rumored ready to challenge Boylston for the county chairman's job, but all deny it.

However, should Caldwell beat Boylston in Precinct 21A, a new chairman will have to be chosen. Gustafson's and Ward's names are the most often mentioned.

"I AM GLAD both Billy Caldwell and Phil Shailer have decided to get active in the Republican party because, ever since I have

been involved, they never have been any help. They've never come in the office nor given a single suggestion," Boylston said.

Caldwell acknowledged that he has not participated in party activity, saying "It's hard for someone like myself who hasn't come forward to help to find fault. If Gray doesn't get reelected as chairman, it'll be up to the critics to produce, as opposed to criticizing. Nobody may be to blame, but for the last six years, nothing seems to have happened to the (Broward) Republican Party. For that reason, change is good."

Most of the seekers after the committee posts said they want to see the party take a new direction.

# Despute mars rord campa

payroll in

director of Frey's House Republican charge of day-to-day operations. ort in Florida. He said Starling, an old college chum campaign, and placed him Committee about a year to help set up director November executive

anyone expected," Starling said. "I

getting volunteers

of the new campaign financing laws and a "general cynicism about polistruggle between the state and na tics" among potential contributors. tional campaigns, however. Instead he blamed it on the tight restric fund-raising problems to the power -time fund-raisrequirements

campaign began to develop," Starling said, "they decided the

nuts."

November and December.

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Starling

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paign is also running well behind its fund-raising goal of \$450,000 than \$65,000 had been colle om Florida as of a week ago. been collect.

fessor of American studies at SMU. didn't want to do to bail out," he said. Frey and Juarez have not

has not yet been approved by the national campaign headquarters.
"Most fund-raising coordinating right now is being done from the s being done non-office, because we're in id an aide at the Ford Fian aide at the ... and Frey

cans not speak ill of one another —

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Ignoring Reagan's Commandment" — tl

that, so possibly hard-core Reagan supporters.

operations, former keagan suarc-gist Stuart Spencer, are equally determined that Reagan not what Callaway calls a "free ride." the state party's moderate and servative factions. publican primary that further splits his director of bitter ReDispute mars Ford chances in Florida

By CHARLES OSOLIN Cox Newspapers Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON - A behind-thescenes dispute over control and direction of President Ford's Florida campaign has dimmed his prospects in Florida's crucial March 9 primary, according to a key political aide who recently left the campaign.

The President's state and national campaign managers have been squabbling over strategy and tactics since last fall, creating "confusion and discontent," the aide, Jay Starling, said in an interview.

"They are defeating themselves,"

Starling charged.

In Washington, the President's top campaign managers privately confirmed that they have become unhappy with the low-key door-todoor campaign being mounted by Rep. Louis Frey Jr. of Orlando, Ford's Florida manager.

"We've had more problems in Florida than in any other state," a senior campaign aide who asked not to be quoted by name said in expressing frustration over what is happening in the state.

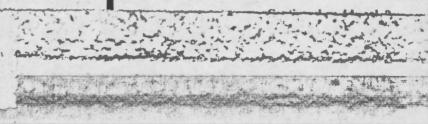
Frey asserted that he was in

"complete accord" over campaign strategy with Howard (Bo) Callaway, the national campaign manager. But, at the same time, Frey said that he would take no part in attacks on Ford's challenger, Ronald Reagan, even though such attacks have become an integral part of the Ford-Callaway national strategy to defeat Reagan in the early prima-

Frey; has agreed to preside at a Jan. 30 Lincoln Day dinner in Bres vard County at 'which Reagan is scheduled to be the featured speaker. That arrangement has angered Ford's national political staff, which believes that Frey has no business sitting on the dais with Reagan before a Florida audience.

In a telephone interview from his office at Southern Methodist Uni versity in Dallas, Starling said the problems stem "from a basic disagreement over who is running the campaign - the state campaign headquarters in Orlando or the national headquarters in Washing-

Starling said Frey agreed to head the Florida campaign last June with the understanding that he would be allowed to run things his own way. Frey took his \$35,000-a-year administrative assistant, Oscar Juarez, off





SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THRUSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13 Butz - Chicago	14 Morton - Des Moine	15 s	16	17 Callaway, Calif
18		20 Scranton, N.H. Simon, Raleigh Callaway, Atlanta-	21 Florida	22	23 Mathews, Chicago	24
25 (24 11 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	26 Kleppe, Denver Morton, San Diego	27 Morton, L.A. (Dinner Chmn.) Butz, Albuquerque	28 Rockefeller, N.Y. Butz, Las Cruces	29 Seidman, San Jose (Lunch chmn.)	30 Rockefeller, Detro	31 <u>Pres.</u> it Dearborn Williams burg
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FEBRUARY

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THRUSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	2 Pete Wilson, N.H		4 Pete Wilson, Fla Simon, D.C. (for Pres.)	5	6 Marjorie Lynch, Miami	7 Pres., N.H. Seidman, Las <b>Butz, Fla.</b>
Pres.,N.H.	9 Tower, Fla.	10 Tower, Fla. Richardson, N.H.	ll Richardson, N.H. Simon, Fla. Tower, Fla.	12 Richardson, N.H.& Mass. Simon, Fla. Griffin, Fla. McCloskey, N.H.	13 McCloskey, N.H. Laird, St. Lou	14 McCloskey, N.
l5 Friffin, Fla. cCloskey, N.H.	16 Simon, Dallas Simon, Mobile	17 Butz, Tampa/St. Pet Kleppe, Omaha		19 Kleppe, Biomarck	20	21
·	23	24	25	26	27	28 Sen. Curtis,
ARALO A. FORD						

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	TUDICDAY	TDTDAY	C.A. D.L.
	·		WEDNESDAI	THRUSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2	3	4	5 Baker, Fla	Morton
		·				Morton, LD Speech, (Palm Beac
						(Palm Beac
	8	9	10	11	12	13
				Pres. Los Ang.	Pres, San Fran Tower, Chicago	
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	29	30	31		No officer or year of the later to come on a tyle of our come and a production of the common of the	
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CUNDAY	MONUAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY.	THRUSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Jan . 25	Jan.26 Phone operation starts	Jan.27	Jan.28 <u>Phone</u> : Group recr. blitz <u>Precinct</u> operation mtg.	Jan.29 Precinct field staff deployed	Jan.30	Jan.3
1	Precinct:	Precinct: PFC Co-chrm. re-certified 20 co's	4 Precinct: Co. strategies devided Order mat'ls Devide precincts	5	Prec-major prec capts. named: 20 co's Hq.vol. staffs in place	Prec - 20 Training sessions
	Phones: I.D. 9 calls begin Prec: 20 co's into field:kick off Dir. mail piece: Sr. Citizens		11 Prec: All PFC chm. named(GT)	12	Press visit	Press vis
15	16 Spec. mailers: (Congr.,Cramer Cuban,militar	17 Start media pro. , y)	18	19	Phones: GOTV training Prec: GOTV training	Phone&Prec. ID prog. co
15VHOT	23	24	25	26	Press visit	Press visi
29						

UNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THRUSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	l Phones: Home phone prog.	2	3	4	5	6
	3	9 Election Day Phone & prec. GOTV	10	11	12_	13
	15	16	17	18	19	20
	22	23	24	25	26	27
SERVED W. LONG	} <del>{</del>	30	31			