

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Schedule Plan- States to be and Not to be Visited. 2 pages
33	12	09/14/1968	Newspaper	Table of Expected Electoral Votes. Author unknown for the New York Times. Not scanned.
33	12	09/15/1968	Report	1968 Congressional Races- Prospects for GOP Pick-ups. 3 pages.
33	12	09/23/1968	Newspaper	Will HHH Come in Third? Unknown author for Newsweek. Not scanned.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Battleground: Calif., Ill. Mich., N.Y., Ohio, Penn., Tex.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Plan 270: Schedule Committee. 2 pages. Duplicate not scanned.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Had written notes on Hopless, Sure, and Contested States. 2 pages.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	From: Bob. Re: Phone Call Campaign. 4 pages.
33	12	08/15/1968	Memo	To: Nixon. From: Buchanan. Re: Some thoughts on Strategy. 4 pages.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Schedule Planning June-October. 3 pages.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Schedule Committee- Further Classification of the Hopless States. 2 pages.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten note on States.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	To: Schedule Committee. From: John Whitaker. Re: Electoral Breakdown Based on State Classifications.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
33	12	07/11/1968	Memo	To: Bob Haldeman. From: John Whitaker. Re: RN '68 Campaign Schedule. 8 pages.
33	12	n.d.	Memo	Memorandum on the Organization Of The Campaign Together with Which States Can Be Carried In November And How. 49 pages.
33	12	07/19/1968	Memo	To: RN. From: John Sears. Re: General Analysis Of How Money, Candidate's Time, Vice President's Time And Other Prominent Figure's Time Should Be Spent On The Campaign. 7 pages.
33	12	06/20/1968	Memo	To: Nixon. From: Haldeman. Re: Campaigning and Implementation. 15 pages.

Schedule Plan

States to be Visited

Major Background

40 California
 26 Illinois
 21 Michigan
 26 Ohio
29 Pennsylvania
 142

43 New York
 25 Texas

Sure States

13 Indiana (home)
 9 Iowa (fam)
 8 Oklahoma (Bellman)
4 Utah (Mormon)
 34

General Background

6 Colorado N
 14 Florida N
 12 Georgia? W
 9 Kentucky N
 14 Massachusetts H
 12 Missouri ?
 17 New Jersey N
 13 No. Carolina ?
 11 Tennessee N
 12 Virginia N
 9 Washington U
12 Wisconsin N

141 -
 8 So. Carolina
 10 Maryland

159

States Not Visited

Hopeless

10 Alabama W
3 D.C. H
10 Louisiana W
10 Minnesota H
7 Mississippi W
4 Rhode Island H
7 W. Virginia H
51

Leaning

3 Alaska N
6 Arkansas H
8 Connecticut H
3 Delaware N
4 Hawaii H
3 Nevada N
4 New Mexico H
4 N. Dakota ?
6 Oregon N
4 S. Dakota N
45

Sure

5 Arizona
4 Idaho
7 Kansas
4 Maine
4 Montana
5 Nebraska
4 N. Hampshire
3 Vermont
3 Wyoming
73 = 34 + 39

<u>State</u>	<u>No. of District</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Likely Chance</u>	<u>Good Chance</u>	<u>Outside Chance</u>	<u>Needed to control state delegation</u>
Alabama	7	Gadsden			x	2 seats
Arkansas	1	N.E. area of state			x	2 seats
California	29	Alhambra	x			* 3 seats
	22	Northridge		x		
	34	Los Alimitos		x		
	9	Santa Clara			x	
	17	Torrance			x	
Colorado	3	Colorado Springs	x			2 seats
	1	Denver			x	
Connecticut	2	New London	x			3 seats
	4	Bridgeport	x			
	1	Hartford			x	
Florida	4	Daytona Beach	x			4 seats
	12	South Miami	x			
	7	Sarasota		x		
	9	Palm Beach		x		
Georgia	1	Savannah			x	4 seats
Illinois	3	Chicago		x		* 1 seat
	11	Chicago		x		
	21	Carbondale		x		
	23	Vandalia		x		
	5	Chicago			x	
Indiana	9	Columbus	x			
	3	South Bend		x		
	10	Muncie		x		
	11	Indianapolis		x		
Iowa	2	Cedar Rapids	x			
Kentucky	6	Lixington			x	1 seat
Louisiana	2	New Orleans			x	5 seats
Maine	1	Bangor		x		* 2 seats
	2	Portland		x		
Maryland	5	Prince George County		x		2 seats
Massachusetts	3	Newton			x	2 seats
	7	Lynn			x	
Minnesota	4	St. Paul			x	
	5	Minneapolis			x	
Missouri	6	St. Joseph			x	4 seats
	9	N.E. area of state			x	
Montana	1	Helena	x			* 1 seat
New Jersey	3	Monmouth County	x			* 2 seats
	9	Hackensack	x			
	4	Trenton			x	
New Mexico	1	Albuquerque		x		* 2 seats
	2	Santa Fe		x		

* Target state for control of state delegation

(CKMcW)

<u>State</u>	<u>No. of District</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Likely Chance</u>	<u>Good Chance</u>	<u>Outside Chance</u>	<u>Needed to control state delegation</u>
New York	28	Kingston	x			6 seats
	34	Syracuse	x			
	3	Nassau County		x		
	5	Nassau County		x		
	27	Middletown		x		
	15	Brooklyn			x	
	16	Staten Island			x	
	25	Westchester County			x	
	35	Auburn			x	
39	Buffalo			x		
North Carolina	6	Greensboro	x			* 3 seats
	5	Winston-Salem		x		
	8	Salisbury		x		
	11	Asheville		x		
Oklahoma	6	Enid	x			
	2	Bartlesville			x	
Oregon	2	Salem			x	* 1 seat
	3	Portland			x	
Pennsylvania	6	Reading		x		* 1 seat
	4	Philadelphia			x	
	15	Allentown			x	
	24	Erie			x	
Rhode Island	2	Providence		x		2 seats
	1	Providence			x	
South Carolina	3	Anderson			x	3 seats
	4	Greenville			x	
Tennessee	7	Memphis/Jackson		x		* 1 seat
Texas	13	Dallas/Wichita Falls	x			9 seats
	21	Odessa/San Antonio	x			
	10	Austin		x		
	5	Dallas			x	
	22	Houston			x	
Virginia	2	Norfolk	x			* 2 seats
	7	Charlottesville	x			
	3	Richmond			x	
	5	Danville			x	
Washington	2	Everett			x	2 seats
	6	Tacoma			x	
			19	26	37	

* Target state for control of state delegation

(CKMcW)

Congressional Races - 1968Prospects for Democratic Pick-ups9/15/68

<u>State</u>	<u>No. of District</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Alabama	1	Mobile	All three GOP incumbents in Alabama are nervous over impact of Wallace landslide in state
	2	Montgomery	
	6	Birmingham	
Maryland	6	Frederick	Seat vacated by Mathias - could be close
Missouri	2	St. Louis County	Seat vacated by Curtis - could be close
North Carolina	4	Durham	Seat vacated by Gardner - tough race
	10	Hickory	Broyhill and Whitener put in same district
North Dakota	2	Bismarck	Kleppe's district - a third party candidate supporting Wallace with same name as Kleppe (a cousin) has created a problem
Ohio	22	Cleveland	Mrs. Bolton put in same district with Vanik RN will have to run strong to save seat
	23	Cleveland	Bill Minshall has tough fight because of redistricting
Oklahoma	4	Central Oklahoma	Jim Smith put in same district with Steed
Pennsylvania	19	York	Goodling has tough opponent in close district
West Virginia	1	Wheeling/Clarksburg	Seat vacated by Arch Moore - tough race

(CKMcW)

Battleground

Calif - 1- SF motorcade, S. Clara Rally; 3- State TV, prop Bsk, Fresno
5- LA rally; 7- Marin, Solinas, S. Wings

Illinois - 1- Loop motorcade, State TV; 4- C60 sub. rally
5- Peoria; 8- train day

Michigan - 5- State TV; 8- train day

N. York - 2- State TV; 4- Syracuse won; 6- Staten Island rally
6- Suff. Nassau Shop etc 8- Buff & Roch
8- Brooklyn & Wall str.

Ohio - 2- State TV; 4- Clew shop etc + Polish
8- 2 train days + Cincinnati & Col. rallies

Penna - 1- Pitts airport + B. Baker; 3- State TV, Phil shop etc;
4- Erie prop; 7- train day + Pitts rally
8- W.B. + Secret. 9- Phil sub motorcade + rally

Texas - 1- Houston rally; 5- Dallas rally + State TV

Plan 270

Schedule Committee
Page Two

Time	Count	State	Notes
0	0	X 10 ALABAMA	Hopeless - Wallace
1	0	+ 3 ALASKA	Battleground - RN
0	0	(5) ARIZONA	RN
1	0	06 ARKANSAS	Battleground - leaning Humphrey
3	= B 40	CALIFORNIA	Battleground - toss up
1	✓ + 6	COLORADO	Battleground - leaning RN
2	0	08 CONNECTICUT	Battleground - leaning Humphrey
1	+ 3	DELAWARE	Battleground - leaning RN
0	0	X 3 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	Hopeless
2	+ 14	FLORIDA	Battleground - leaning RN
2	✓ 0/2	GEORGIA	Battleground - leaning Humphrey
1	0 0 4	HAWAII	Battleground - leaning Humphrey
0	0	(4) IDAHO	RN
3	+ B 26	ILLINOIS	Battleground - leaning RN
0	✓	(13) INDIANA	RN
0	✓	(9) IOWA	RN
0	0	(7) KANSAS	RN
2	✓ + 9	KENTUCKY	Battleground - leaning RN
0	0	X 10 LOUISIANA	Hopeless - Wallace
0	0	(4) MAINE	RN
2	0 0 10	MARYLAND	Battleground - leaning Humphrey
0	✓ X 14	MASSACHUSETTS	Hopeless - Humphrey
3	= B 21	MICHIGAN	Battleground - toss up
0	? X 10	MINNESOTA	Hopeless - Humphrey ?
0	0 X 7	MISSISSIPPI	Hopeless - Wallace
2	✓ = 12	MISSOURI	Battleground - toss up
0	0	(4) MONTANA	RN

Hopeless	X - 9	108
sure	(A) - 13	73
	B - 7	184
	# - 22	+12 92
		= 4 37
		0 6 44
		173

13	sure	73
2	B +	52
		125
12	+	92
		217
Short 53 Calif + one	B =	103
		320
		37
		357

29 states
we have to carry

22	- no campaigning	
10	- 1	carry 6
12	- 2	carry 6
7	- 3	carry 4
29	- Campaign	carry 16

<u>0</u>	0	(5)	NEBRASKA	RN		
<u>1</u>	0	+3	NEVADA	Battleground - leaning RN		
<u>0</u>	0	(4)	NEW HAMPSHIRE	RN		
<u>3</u>	= B	17	NEW JERSEY	Battleground - toss up	+ag new by leaning N	
<u>1</u>	0	0	4	NEW MEXICO	Battleground - leaning Humphrey	
<u>0</u>	?	X	43	NEW YORK	Hopeless (but John Mitchell disagreed with this classification)	
<u>2</u>	✓	=	13	NORTH CAROLINA	Battleground - toss up	
<u>1</u>	0	=	4	NORTH DAKOTA	Battleground - toss up	
<u>3</u>	+	B	26	OHIO	Battleground - leaning RN	
<u>0</u>	✓	(8)	OKLAHOMA	RN	? Bellman	
<u>1</u>	0	+6	OREGON	Battleground - leaning RN		
<u>3</u>	0	B	29	PENNSYLVANIA	Battleground - leaning Humphrey	
<u>0</u>	0	X	4	RHODE ISLAND	Hopeless - Humphrey	
<u>2</u>	?	=	8	SOUTH CAROLINA	Battleground - toss up	leaning W
<u>1</u>	0	+4	SOUTH DAKOTA	Battleground - leaning RN		
<u>2</u>	✓	+11	TENNESSEE	Battleground - leaning RN		
<u>3</u>	= B	25	TEXAS	Battleground - hopeless if Connelly on ticket		
<u>0</u>	✓	(4)	UTAH	RN	Mormon temple	
<u>0</u>	0	(3)	VERMONT	RN		
<u>2</u>	✓	+12	VIRGINIA	Battleground - leaning RN		
<u>2</u>	✓	+9	WASHINGTON STATE	Battleground - leaning RN	Seattle	
<u>0</u>	0	X	7	WEST VIRGINIA	Hopeless	
<u>2</u>	✓	+12	WISCONSIN	Battleground - leaning RN		
<u>0</u>	0	(3)	WYOMING	RN		

States

Hopeless

- X Alabama X 10
- X DC X 3
- ? Louisiana X 10
- ? Massachusetts 14
- X? Minnesota ? 10
- X Mississippi 7
- ? New York 43
- ? Rhode Island X 4
- ? W. Virginia X 7

108

Sure

- ✓ Arizona 5
- ✓ Idaho 4
- 90 ✓ Indiana 13
- 90 ✓ Iowa 9
- ✓ Kansas 7
- ✓ Maine 104
- ✓ Montana 4
- ✓ Nebraska 5
- ✓ N. Hampshire 4
- 90 ✓ Oklahoma 8
- 90 ✓ Utah 4
- ✓ Vermont 3
- ✓ Wyoming 3

73

Contested

- 0 Alaska + 3
- ? 1 Arkansas - 6
- ✓ 3+ California ? 40
- ✓ 1 Colorado + 6
- ? 2 Conn. - 8
- ? 1 Delaware + 3
- ✓ 2 Florida + 14
- ✓ 2 Georgia -- 12
- 0 Hawaii - 4
- ✓ 3+ Illinois + 26
- ✓ 2 Kentucky + 9
- 0 Maryland - 10
- ✓ 3+ Michigan ? 21
- ✓ 2+ Missouri + 12
- 0 Nevada + 3
- ✓ 3 New Jersey ? 17
- 0 New Mexico - 4
- ✓ 2 N. Carolina + 13
- 0 N. Dakota + 4
- ✓ 3+ Ohio + 26
- 0 Oregon + 6
- ✓ 3+ Pennsylvania - 29
- ? 2 S. Carolina + 8
- 0 S. Dakota + 4
- ✓ 2 Tennessee + 11

-
- ? 3+ Texas ? 25
 - Utah
 - ✓ 2 Virginia + 12
 - ✓ 2 Washington + 9
 - ✓ 2 Wisconsin + 12

<u>Key Battleground</u>		<u>General</u>	<u>?</u>
40 California	1357	6 Colorado + 3	6 Arkansas
26 Illinois	1458	14 Florida + 3	8 Connecticut
21 Michigan	248	12 Georgia + 5	3 Delaware
43 New York	24668	9 Kentucky + 9	8 S.C. Carolina
26 Ohio	248	12 Missouri = 25	Maryland 7
29 Pennsylvania	1379	14 Massachusetts - 4	
<u>25 Texas</u>	15	17 New Jersey + 368	
210		13 N.C. Carolina = 2	
		11 Tennessee + 6	
		12 Virginia + 27	
		9 Washington + 3	
		<u>12 Wisconsin</u> + 2	
		14 1	
<u>sure</u>			
13 Indiana (home)	3		
9 Iowa (farm)	5		
8 Oklahoma (Bellman)	1		
4 Utah (mammoth)	6		

drop one Mo. stop. - 12 St. Louis thru 12th

do Utah earlier?

cut train to 2 days.

do one Mich. earlier as addition

state TVs too close together?

Copy

To:

Subject: Phone Call Campaign

During the tour this fall we will be conducting a phone call campaign to key leaders throughout the country. This program will involve calls on a periodic basis by the political staff on the tour to:

1. Key local and regional leaders that will be called as we visit various sections of the country.
2. Key national or regional leaders that will be called on a weekly basis.
3. Other leaders that will be called on a monthly basis.

The group of people called will include national state and local political and party leaders, editors, publishers and opinion makers.

Would you please forward to my office, by next Wednesday, August 28th, the names, phone numbers and classifications of those who you feel should be included in this program.

Attached is a list of the states and cities we may be visiting. It may be helpful as a guide to local and regional leaders we should be contacting, both in these cities, surrounding areas and states.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Bob

EAST

New York
New York City
Syracuse
Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Erie
New Jersey
Newark
Atlantic City
Camden
Massachusetts
Boston
Maryland
Columbia
Annapolis

SOUTH

Texas
Houston
Dallas
Virginia
Arlington
North Carolina
Louisiana
Missouri
St. Louis
Florida
Miami
Jacksonville
Georgia
Atlanta
South Carolina
Columbia
Tennessee
Memphis
Nashville
Chatanooga
Kentucky
Louisville

MIDWEST

Illinois
Chicago
Downstate
Peoria
Ohio
Cleveland
Milwaukee
Michigan
Saginaw
Flint
Lansing
Detroit
Indiana
Indianapolis
Iowa
Des Moines

ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES

Colorado

Denver

Utah

Salt Lake City

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City

FAR WEST

California

Fresno

San Jose

Bakersfield

Los Angeles

San Diego

Washington

Seattle

Oregon

Rose Mary Woods

✓ John Sears

Charlie McWhorter

✓ John Whitaker

✓ Bob Ellsworth

Peter Flanigan

Herb Klein

Ron Ziegler

Pat Buchanan

Len Garment

Maury Stans

H. Kalmbach

✓ Pat Hitt

Dwight Chapin

John Erlichman

Ray Price

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMO TO RN

From Buchanan

August 15, 1968

Strategy, Some Thoughts on

1) This period of tranquility, has like the days after the Oregon primary, lost us some momentum I think. I think that moratoriums have just about outlived their usefulness, when we consider it is 85 days to the finish. When we sit idle like this---without taking the offensive and holding it, we enable others like HHH, McBarthly, the Establishment on Thurmond, to start nit-picking us--and we have to answer them. Maybe this is inevitable during this period---but I think that, like the period between May and August, we are letting the others do the firing--and we are only defending, not an enviable political position.

2) I am inclined to go with RFK's theory of going "flat out to the finish line" in the fall. Throw Humphrey on the Defensive, and keep him right there until November. Indict this Administration for every ~~xxx~~ ~~sin~~ sin of which it is guilty and they are ~~many~~ many. I think we will be making a mortal error if we think that the Establishment is going to give RN points for running anything approaching a Goody-Two Shoes Campaign. I don't think we need to ever again say that HHH is a nice and honorable man, in whose hands the country would be well off. We don't have to be irresponsible---just candid---and as President this weasel would be a disaster.

3) The ancient complaint. I got a call from some character from Downey, Cal., who said that the tv spot he heard was an excerpt from RN's acceptance speech, promising something on law and order----followed by fifteen minutes of applause. It was general and not specific; he thought it very ineffective; so did his friends. I know this is old ground---but I think the spots we run ought to start clearly and tersely what the hell has happened in this country in the last five years---specifically, what RN is going to do---and then say, damn, it, elect him. Maybe we ought to write the spots ourselves---or get some of Reagan's ad guys to write them. Honestly, much as I like Len, he just doesn't have the instincts to cut the hell out of these people like HHH, or to make the gut issues that anger and concern people. They're all soft sell---telling them to start hitting gut issues, and making gut appeals is ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ like trying to get Mary Poppins to act like Eartha Kitt. They don't know how to do it.

4) The Republicans are far behind the Democrats in types of appearances. I am sure we are now scheduling speeches and rallies and the rest of the traditional crap. What we should realize is what the Democrats do so well---speak not only with their words but with their settings. Where RN appears sometimes says as much to the nation as what he says there. Because Democrats have lower income, lower education supporters, they have to use symbols to appeal to all the senses---as well as to the intellect with words. Thus LBJ wanders through Appalachia and RFK inspects an Indian reservation. So, too, Lindsay's tours through Harlem are essential symbols. By ~~making~~ walking, he is saying he gives a damn.

Thought should be given to issue-oriented appearances by RN. I have sent examples to Whitaker of a number of them. Maybe they are no good---but we should think in these terms. We can speak to poor people ---other than by the words from the candidate's mouth.

There will be pockets of unemployment in the Steel Industry in Nov. What about a visit to Union Hall, drop a statement there, talk to these guys about their problem. What about a visit to a prison--to talk about how these places are turning out as many criminals as we put it. What about a visit to some shipyards to talk with some idle workers about the decline in the Merchant Marine. The Computer Job bank thing is in North Carolina---What is RN went down to that thing--and gave the reporters a briefing on how it works--and how it can apply on a national scale.

RN has mentioned at times that a lot of people don't read the papers; they look at the pictures---this, pictures plus captions, is how a number of immigrants learned the language. RN can speak through pictures as well as through words---and there must be one hundred thousand good settings for RN to be in when he drops his statements---so that his surroundings reinforce what he has to say.

For example---RN might stroll into a Catholic School and lecture the fifth grade for a little while---and there drop some statement on the contribution of religious parents who take the burden of education etc. and that this contribution should be reflected and recognized by government.

A visit to a hospital might serve as a background for talking about Vietnam (if war wounded are there) or to talk with the staff about the shortages in doctors and nurses etc.

5) RN has talked about excitement in a campaign. One way to be exciting is to be controversial. I think we ought to give consideration to holding our fire on the likes of these bastards like Abernathy and others. Charges RN with racism etc. And just wait on them. And one day, get up on a high horse and kick the hell out of them. Ninety per cent of the people in this country think that Abernathy is a unpolished and disreputable clod. The same is true of those who are saying Thurmond is running the campaign. We ought to give thought to some occasion, when we can program a little righteous indignation against these clowns---which will score heavily I think, and stir up the enthusiasm. What we want to avoid is to allow the ~~Establishment~~ Establishment to be setting some sort of guidelines of niceness which we are supposed to follow in this thing.

For what they are worth.

I talked briefly with Timmons and the others who are going to be with the Truth Squad group in Chicago. I think I know RN's positions better than anyone---and can write up the attack material rapidly. So, I talked with them and I wondered if I might not be ~~more~~ more useful writing for those guys in Chicago during those days, than being in N.Y. watching it on television.

Schedule Planning

I June-July	Total 8 weeks - Useable 4 weeks -	Prep. 1 week Vac. 3 weeks
II Convention	1 week	
III Mid August	2 weeks - Useable 1 week -	Planning 1 week
IV D. Convention	1 week	
V Campaign	9 weeks - Useable 8 weeks -	Planning 1 week

June 9 - Vacation - Nassau _____ Fri - Mad
 16 - _____ Sat - Longland School
 23 - _____
 30 - Sun PN Texas Vacation _____

July 7 - Vacation _____
 14 - _____
 21 - _____
 28 - Convention Preparation _____

Aug 4 - Convention _____
 11 - Post Conv. Planning - VP mtgs - Cab Offer. - TV filming
 18 - _____
 25 - Dem Convention _____

Sept 1 - Post Dem. Conv. Planning - TV filming _____
 8 - I
 15 - II
 22 - III
 29 - IV

Oct 6 - V
 13 - VI
 20 - VII
 27 - VIII

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appearances Appointments Meetings TV work Radio work Speech Preparation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> PN schedule Girls schedule Other speakers Media appearances TV interviews | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> re sked Michigan Illinois edit no Penna ? (Capt. Nat) CBS special News in off periods ? Gov Conf (Rhodes) |
|--|---|--|

General Campaign

don't rule out hitting all states

prop-stop 7-8 in one day - once a week

back up with TV tailored to each state

on regional basis - bring in people from each state

tape 1/2 hr TV with small group interview re NH

last 3 weeks - 100% in 6-8 big swing states

daily radio tape to service states + UP

Shed Proceed

Comm

A - Hald - Garm - Kl - Ols - F - shld have Skypa
for RN add Pat + Ray

add couple fm long (ask Kulow who has big feet?)
Chapin sit in

B - group (same?) to handle PN shed

FURTHER CLASSIFICATION OF THE HOPELESS STATES OF:

Alabama	Minnesota
District of Columbia	Mississippi
Louisiana	New York
Massachusetts	Rhode Island
West Virginia	

LOUISIANA

Weakest of the 3 Wallace states - poll in the middle of the campaign to keep a slight option open to visit there.

MASSACHUSETTS

Keep slight option open

NEW YORK

~~Haldeman felt not even worth campaigning in New York City even though a large media center.~~

RHODE ISLAND

Keep slight option open based on (a) top of local ticket so popular, and (b) winning one Congressional seat there could change the electoral vote pattern.

WEST VIRGINIA

Keep a slight option. McWhorter feels that Arch Moore will win the Governorship.

TIME ALLOTMENT

RN's time was classified at:

- (1) for low priority
- (2) middle priority
- (3) top priority

as follows:

Alaska	1	—Ohio	3
Arkansas	1	Oregon	1
—California	3	—Pennsylvania	3 ?
Colorado	1	South Carolina	2 ?
Connecticut ?	2	South Dakota	1
Delaware	1	Tennessee	2
Florida	2	—Texas	3 (if Connelly not on ticket)
Georgia ?	2	Virginia	2
Hawaii ?	1	Washington State	2
—Illinois	3	Wisconsin	2
Kentucky	2		
Maryland ?	2		
—Michigan	3		
Missouri ?	2		
Nevada	1		
—New Jersey	3		
New Mexico ?	1		
North Carolina ?	2		
North Dakota ?	1		

STATES THAT SHOULD BE POLLED REGULARLY:

The Committee recommends California, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina

ANOTHER GROUP OF STATES TENTATIVELY RECOMMENDED FOR POLLING:

Virginia, New York, Connecticut, Washington and Wisconsin

SCHEDULING OF MRS. NIXON, THE GIRLS, AND DAVID

There seemed to be agreement that they receive maximum exposure via women's publications and TV, and that a media oriented person should run their schedule. Ellsworth suggested Clint Wheeler as a possibility.

A KEY VIP SPEAKERS GROUP

Ellsworth suggested that the following group be put on the road as soon as possible:

National Committeemen Wilkin'son & Callaway

Senators Baker, Percy and Fannin

Governors Agnew, Hickel and McCall

Congressmen Brock, Bush, Morse, Rumsfeld, McGregor

and McWhorter suggested that Riegle from Michigan should be added to this list.

Haldeman suggested that these political VIPs be advanced as a way to train advance men because RN's schedule is so light between now and Miami.

RN



JCW:lec

- page
- Alabama
 - Arizona
 - D.C.
 - Idaho
 - Indiana
 - Iowa
 - Kansas
 - Louisiana
 - Maine
 - ~~Mass.~~
 - Minn.
 - Miss.
 - Mont.
 - Nebr.
 - N.H.
 - N.Y.
 - Okla.
 - R.I.
 - Utah
 - Vt.
 - W. Va.
 - Wyo.

- Southern Day
- 2) Alabama
 - 3) Mississippi
 - 4) Louisiana
 - 1) W. Va.
 - 5) Oklahoma
- leads in to Texas

- N. Englan
- 1) Maine
 - 4) Mass
 - 5) R.I.
 - 3) Vt.
 - 2) (N.H.)
- leads in to 1

- North Cent Day
- 5) Minn.
 - 4) Iowa
 - 2) Kansas
 - 3) (Nebr.)
 - 1) (Ind.)
- leads in to Ill.

- Western
- 1) Mont
 - 2) Idaho
 - 4) Utah
 - 3) Wyoming
 - 5) (Ariz)
- leads in to Ca

4 days of prop-stops
 one each week - 1st 4 weeks

<u>RN</u>	<u>BATTELGROUND LEANING RN</u>	<u>BATTLEGROUND TOSSUP</u>	<u>BATTLEGROUND LEANING HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>HOPELESS</u>	<u>HOPELESS-HUMPHREY</u>
ARIZ. 5	ALA. 3	CALIF. 40	ARK. 6	ALA. 10	D.C. 3	MASS. 14
IDA. 4	COLO. 6	MICH. 21	CONN. 8	MISS. <u>7</u>	LA. 10	MINN. 10
IND. 13	DEL. 3	MO. 12	GA. 12	17	N.Y. 43	R.I. <u>4</u>
IA. 9	FLA. 14	N.J. 17	HAW. 4		W.VA. <u>7</u>	28
KAN. 7	ILL. 26	N.C. 13	MD. 10		63	
ME. 4	KY. 9	N.D. 4	N.M. 4			
MONT. 4	NEV. 3	S.C. 8	PA. <u>29</u>			
NEB. 5	OHIO 26	TEX. <u>25</u>	73			
N.H. 4	ORE. 6	140				
OKLA. 8	S.D. 4					
UTAH 4	TENN. 11					
VT. 3	VA. 12					
WYO. <u>3</u>	WASH. 9					
73	WISC. <u>12</u>					
	144					

*To Schedule COMMITTEE
ELECTORIAL BREAKDOWN
BASED ON STATE CLASSIFICATIONS
AGREED ON AT 6/10*

John Whitaker

Whitaker

MEMORANDUM

JULY 11, 1968

TO: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: JOHN WHITAKER
RE: RN '68 campaign schedule

As requested I enclose a first-try RN schedule through election day.

The media requirements are fuzzy but a quick talk with Len Garment indicates a very large segment of time for TV and he is firming up his requirements in a meeting with Shakespeare today. The tentative requirements would be something like the following:

1. During the August Mission Bay period 2 days in Los Angeles for five and one-minute spots 2 days
2. A day in Denver, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Houston for regional TV (Hillsboro type Q&A format) and ~~where possible~~ an extra day for rest connected with these appearances 10 days
3. 2 network telethons throughout the campaign period in Los Angeles and New York each requiring 2 days because one day of rest is needed before each appearance 4 days
4. Bring in some of the highly rated panel or talk TV shows from the major states and tape, say in New York. I show this on the schedule for the first week in September but possibly RN could do some of it during the Democrat National Convention but I show this period open for his own personal plan 3 days
5. I am also putting aside 6 days on the basis that there might be 3 Nixon-Humphrey debates each debate requiring one day of rest preceding the debate 6 days
6. I also show statewide telethons in California, Michigan Illinois, New Jersey, each requiring a day with another day's rest 8 days
33 days

Add to the 33 days for TV additional days of rest at Key Biscayne, a California beach and Montauk Point and you quickly see that we are running out of time to do anything but the battleground states. This requires therefore an extra hard-nosed approach in keeping RN out of sure winner and sure loser states.

Based on our meeting of June 10 with you, Mitchell, Kleindienst and Ellsworth I list below the sure losers and the sure winners.

Sure Losers:

1	Alabama	Wallace
2	Mississippi	Wallace
3	D. C.	HHH
4	Louisiana	Wallace (Kleindienst thinks RN has a good chance here)
5	New York	HHH (Mitchell thinks RN has a good chance here)
6	West Virginia	HHH
7	Massachusetts	HHH
8	Rhode Island	HHH
9	Minnesota	HHH
10	Connecticut	HHH (some think RN has a chance here)

Sure Winners:

11	Arizona
12	Idaho
13	Indiana
14	Iowa
15	Kansas
16	Maine
17	Montana
18	Nebraska
19	New Hampshire
20	Oklahoma
21	Utah
22	Vermont
23	Wyoming
24	Alaska
25	Hawaii

Excluding Alaska and Hawaii because of the distance, and adding 3 winners (Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma) to add enthusiasm, I come up with a total of 29 states to visit.

The lesson I learn from the attached calendar is that if you really have the singlemindedness to make a media approach to this campaign with adequate rest time to do the media work well, then you really have no option left to do more than about 29 states:

Arkansas	New Mexico
California	North Carolina
Colorado	North Dakota
Delaware	Ohio
Florida	Oregon
Georgia	Pennsylvania
Illinois	South Carolina
Kentucky	South Dakota
Maryland	Tennessee
Michigan	Texas
Missouri	Virginia
Nevada	Washington
New Jersey	Wisconsin

You could easily go to 35 states if the Humphrey debates don't come off or if you want to press him harder with less rest, by throwing in some prop-stop days particularly in the Rocky Mountain states.

The above schedule is basically slanted toward having a conservative VP candidate, i.e., intensive time in the big urban dominated states to the exclusion of the rural midwestern and Rocky Mountain states.

If you have a liberal VP candidate he might be willing to give up some of his time in the big urban dominated states but only on the risky theory that the liberal VP could bring home the bacon in those states.

Even given the extensive time needed for a TV approach to the campaign as shown on this calendar, you still have to make some hard choices in the big urban dominated states. For example:

1. I have cut out a train ride in Ohio on the perhaps dubious theory that we are in pretty good shape there.
2. New Jersey just gets a Northern New Jersey motorcade plus perhaps a kick-off opening day from the Newark airport -- an idea not calculated to endear myself to RN but I do recommend a New Jersey telethon.
3. I don't recommend a Michigan train ride because we can prop stop the state fairly adequately provided we have a heavy dose of TV
4. In Pennsylvania I go for the Southern Pennsylvania train ride to the exclusion of a Pennsylvania telethon

You can see that each of the above examples are politically very risky but if you look at the cold facts of the time available, risks like this are going to have to be taken.

You will notice that I have devoted the final week of the campaign exclusively to statewide telethons.

Finally, I enclose Charles McWhorter's list of 11 target Congressional Districts where winning one seat could change the electoral ballots. However, this information is not given consideration on the attached calendar although maybe it should be.

Cheers,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'John', written in black ink. The signature is positioned below the typed word 'Cheers,'.

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
<u>AUGUST</u> <u>1968</u>				1 -----LAGUNA STAFF TIME-----	2	3
4	5 Fly LA-Miami Fly LA-Miami airport rally on TV	6 RN Delegate reception	7	8 RN acceptance speech VIP party	9 Press conference Fly Miami-San Diego - Drive Mission Bay	10 Staff time
11	12	13	14	15	16 Los Angeles or TV 1 and 5 minute spots	17 San Diego spots
-----STAFF TIME - MISSION BAY-----		1. Confer Vice President 2. National power groups 3. Foreign Ministers?				
18 Reno, Nevada prop stop Albuquerque prop- stop Overnite Dallas	19 Dallas power groups	20 Oklahoma City prop stop Overnight Chicago	21 Chicago power groups	22 Chicago power groups	23 Detroit power groups or So. Illinois Springfield rally Fly NYC	24 Montauk Point
25 Montauk Point	26	27	28	29	30 RN ACTIVITY?	31 RN ACTIVITY?
		-----DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION-----				

1968							AUGUST							1968						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
4	5	6	7	8	16	30	10	11	12	13	14	15	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31							

SEPTEMBER

1968

1968							OCTOBER							1968						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31				
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31									

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	2 LABOR DAY Bring to New York best rated TV shows from Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Texas, Pa., Florida and Texas and tape	3	4	5 TV ads in NYC	6 TV ads in NYC	7 Montauk Point
8 Fly NYC-Pittsburgh Billy Graham TV Fly NYC	9	10 Newark airport rally Columbus, Ohio Noon rally Houston, Texas rally	11 Houston TV ads San Francisco rally	12 Portland Ore. Noon rally Seattle rally Overnight	13 North Dakota prop stop Milwaukee, Wis. rally	14 Lexington, Ky.-Noon rally Atlanta, Ga. rally Fly Key Biscayne
15 Key Biscayne	16 Columbia, S.C. Noon rally Philadelphia rally	17 Philadelphia TV Boston TV	18 Erie, Pa. prop stop Saginaw, Mich. prop stop Detroit TV	19 Fly Detroit-Chicago Chicago TV ads Midwest groups	20 Chicago TV Midwest groups Chicago Loop Noon rally Fly NYC	21 North New Jersey motorcade Montauk Point
22 Montauk Point	23 Fly NYC-St. Louis St. Louis Noon rally Los Angeles rally	24 Rest.. Laguna Beach	25 Nixon-HHH debate	26 Los Angeles TV Dallas, Texas rally	27 Little Rock, Ark. Noon rally Memphis, Tenn. rally	28 Greensboro, N.C. Noon rally-see Billy Graham Roanoke, Virginia Fly NYC
29 Montauk Point	30 Wilmington, Del. Baltimore, Md.					

1968 SEPTEMBER 1968						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

OCTOBER

1968

1968 NOVEMBER						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

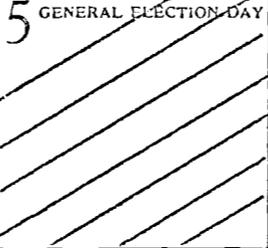
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1 Louisville, Ky. Noon rally Cleveland, Ohio	2 Cleveland TV Grand Rapids, Mich. - rally Fly Chicago-overnight	3 Chicago TV Rockford, Ill. rally	4 Jacksonville prop stop Orlando prop stop Key Biscayne	5 Key Biscayne
6 Key Biscayne Tampa Noon rally Nashville, Tenn.	7 Raleigh, N.C. Richmond, Va. Fly NYC	8	9 Nixon-HHH debate	10 Philadelphia TV Philadelphia suburban rally	11 So. Penna. train Allentown Bedford Connellsville McKeesport Pittsburgh rally	12 Lansing prop stop Muskegon prop stop Detroit TV
13 Chicago suburb afternoon motorcade	14 Illinois train Cincinnati	15 Fly NYC Montauk Point	16 Montauk Point Al Smith dinner NYC	17 Montauk Point	18 Network TV telethon - NYC	19 Indianapolis Noon rally San Francisco rally
20 Prop stop San Jose Sacramento Bakersfield San Diego rally	21 Laguna Beach rest	22 Nixon-HHH debate LA	23 Portland TV Seattle TV	24 Seattle rest Fly Dallas	25 Texas Telethon	26 Fly LA rest Laguna Beach
27 California Telethon	28 Fly Chicago rest	29 rest Ill. telethon	30 Fly Detroit	31 Michigan telethon		

1968		OCTOBER		1968	
S	M	T	W	T	F
20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31

NOVEMBER

1968

1968		DECEMBER		1968	
S	M	T	W	T	F
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
					1 New Jersey telethon	2 rest
3 Network telethon	4	5 GENERAL ELECTION DAY 	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28 THANKSGIVING DAY	29	30

*Schedule
after revision*

11 Target Districts

<u>State</u>	<u>Dist. No.</u>	<u>Dem. Inc.</u>	<u>1966-GOP</u>	<u>Cities or Area</u>
1. Montana	1	Olsen	49.2	Butte, Helena
2. Illinois	11	Pucinski	48.7	Chicago (N.W.)
3. Colorado	3	Evans	49.0	Pueblo, Colo. Springs
4. Maine	1	Kyros	45.2	Bangor, Lewiston
5. Maryland	5	Machen	46.2	Prince George's County
6. New Mexico	A/L	Walker	49.6	Albuquerque, Sante Fe
7. Virginia	3	Satterfield	49.4 (1962)	Richmond
8. Pa.	4	Eilberg	48.1	Philadelphia (N.E.)
9. Tennessee	7	Blanton	48.4	Jackson
10. New Jersey	3	Howard	46.9	Ocean & Monmouth Counties
11. New Jersey	9	Helstoski	49.2	Bergen County

CONFIDENTIAL *Kaldeman*

MEMORANDUM ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CAMPAIGN TOGETHER WITH
WHICH STATES CAN BE CARRIED IN NOVEMBER AND HOW

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS - Although some of this may seem like repetition of some basic principles and other portions may sound like political insanity, I would like to make a few general observations on the conduct of the campaign.

A. The Citizens' Movement

I think it is a mistake to try to construct a Citizens' organization in all 50 states. There are some states that we cannot carry this year and therefore any effort by the citizens is a waste of time and money; there are others in which the party structure itself is strong enough that a winning vote can be delivered for RM without setting up a separate organization for citizens; and there is a third group of states in which the Citizens will have to carry almost the total burden of the campaign and therefore should command a larger amount of the time, effort and money.

The past history of Citizens' organizations in both parties has been that while all can see the necessity for having them, no one so far has been able to solve the problem of the frictions which are naturally created between the Citizens' groups and the regular party apparatus. Much of this is because the thrust of

Citizens' operation in the past has been to set up a duplicate apparatus to that which exists under the auspices of the party and thereafter, since two organizations supporting the same candidate are in being, they naturally become competitive. This is certainly a waste of effort and money.

On the one hand, there is no reason to maintain any Citizens' activity in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Rhode Island, West Virginia or probably Massachusetts since we have little or no hope of carrying these states. In these states a "Democrats for Nixon" operation should be set up as an off shoot of the regular Republican organization and we should let them handle it locally. In places such as North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Arizona, Utah, Kansas and Idaho, the regular Republican organization is strong enough that whatever votes are there for us can be delivered. In these places the local Republican organization should also set up a "Democrats for Nixon" branch to its operation but we should not invest any time, effort or money in duplicating the Republican apparatus. It is, in my mind, silly for us to get complaints about friction between the South Dakota Republican Party and the Citizens' operation there. It may be true that we might add a percentage point or two to our ultimate total by maintaining a Citizens' operation in a state like South Dakota but that one or two points is going on top of an already

No "Citizens"

with little or no outside investment of time or money

negot.
winning percentage and therefore the time, effort and money which we would expend to gain the couple of points would actually gain us nothing.

In the vast majority of states and certainly the large electoral vote states we should try to make some attempt to decipher which portions of the state the Citizens' operation will be expected to carry the ball and which areas of the state the Republican apparatus is strong enough to deliver whatever vote we have. This is not to say that in all portions of many of the states we will not have both Citizens and regular Republicans but the point is that one or the other must be responsible in any particular area or, as past history has shown, neither will actually do the job. I have therefore in the course of this memorandum mentioned various areas of most states in which, in my opinion, either the Republican party or our Citizens' operation should be responsible for doing the job. Again, the point is not that we must go with just one or the other; the point is that in most areas one should be dominant over the other and have the major share of the responsibility for delivering whatever vote we need.

B. Coordination with other Campaigns

In many states there will be other statewide races going on at the same time as the presidential race. Here again, in my opinion, we must analyse the states

to decide which of the other statewide candidates we wish to run closely with and in which areas and which are going to be a drag on the top of the ticket. As an example, it would be foolish in my mind for our campaign literature in the city of Chicago to mention Dirksen; rather it should be combined in that area with Ogilvie. In the downstate area just the reverse would be true. I therefore have made numerous recommendations in the course of this memorandum in regard to which other statewide races we can coordinate with and in what areas.

It is not my contention that we should ignore any candidate seeking a statewide office but there are degrees of closeness and we should pay particular attention to this.

C. RN's Schedule

Approximately 75 to 80 percent of the 56 campaign days between Labor Day and the election should be spent in the states listed in this memorandum as swing states. A large amount of this 75 to 80 percent should be in the cities. If the Vice Presidential candidate is a conservative, he should spend the majority of his time in the safe states and the southern states. If the Vice President is a Liberal, RN will have to spend more time in the South and the safe states.

D. Special Interests

Part of the defence to the Democrats' normally heavy labor vote involves appeal to special interests. I am concerned that as of now we are not doing enough in this regard.

A thorough analysis of the lobbying interests registered with Congress should be conducted and out of that a list of special interest groups compiled. After that, ~~contracts~~ should be established either to members of Congress who sit on the committees dealing with the special interest or through the lobbyists themselves to determine what the vital issues are with each special interest group. Thereafter a position paper should be prepared, mailing lists obtained and as many members of each special interest group as possible informed thereby of RN's position on the dominant issues pertaining to that particular group.

Most of these groups individually do not warrant enough consideration for RN to make any public speeches although there are a few exceptions to this. Usually the candidate who reaches a special interest group with an appealing stand on its problems commands its support. Most of the groups do not care whether they wind up dealing with the Democrats or Republicans as long as something is promised about their particular problem.

*Need separate
org. to do this.
or have
key issues
group handle*

Much of this operation could be handled by Ellsworth's research group in Washington and I would urge that we start on it as quickly as possible. The support or lack of it by many of these groups is enough to win or lose a particular state.

E. Speakers

I would like to take some issue with the manner in which extra speakers have been used in past campaigns. By way of example, if Senator Scott or former Governor Scranton is interested in helping the Nixon campaign this fall, their best use does not involve shipping them off to Missouri or Texas, or Montana somewhere to give a speech in RN's behalf. The best job that can be done for us is right in Pennsylvania. Presumably, in their home state, they have some personal following which, if it was aware of the fact that Scranton or Scott were strongly for RN would work for him.

The point is that many individuals, especially those from the larger states, can do the most good for us if they will just stay at home and campaign in their own states as though they were running themselves. The effect of having a Scranton or Tower or Romney campaign around his home state night after night talking only on the subject of why Nixon ought to be elected President would be far more beneficial than sending any of them off to far distant places

re:
Surrogates
&
Speakers

I disagree

where first of all they are not well known and secondly, they have no following. I therefore would like to recommend that in at least the big states, we use the big names to campaign right at home.

There are some exceptions to this - certainly we should have Thurmond campaign extensively throughout the South and if Lindsay is available he should go to many of the cities but in regard to most other individuals they can do the most for us right at home.

F. Nixon Men in the Key States

In the states of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Texas, Florida, Missouri, and California, I recommend that we place a Nixon man from outside the state to keep a close watch on the day to day activities of the organizations, both Republican and Citizens', which are carrying the burden of our campaign in those particular states. His job will be to resolve any disputes or differences between various arms of the operation, receive instant guidance on any problems directly from the candidate or his campaign manager, and, while not necessarily running the campaign himself, be able to tell on a day to day basis whether what's being done in our behalf is satisfactory or not.

The above mentioned states are of material importance to us and in my opinion any problems which develop in them should be solved as quickly as possible

without sending them up through the bureaucracy of the National Committee or the "National Citizens' for Nixon" operation. In those cases where we are closely coordinating our campaign with other statewide races, the Nixon man would sit in on joint meetings with the regular Republican party chairman, the Citizens' chairman and the other campaign chairmen and insure that the coordination desired was being carried out.

This last suggestion, in my mind, is highly important since without it we will lose precious days while unresolved problems pass their way up through the various levels.

STATE BY STATE ANALYSIS

I. SAFE AND SOUTHERN STATES

VIRGINIA

The Republican State Party in Virginia is not strong enough as a whole to wage a successful statewide campaign. Emphasis instead must be placed upon certain congressional district organizations, which are good, and a combination of party workers and citizens in Richmond (3rd congressional district) and the Norfolk-Newport News area.

We should expect to run strongly in the 10th district (suburban Washington), the 6th district (Roanoke) and win narrowly in the 8th (central Virginia) and 9th (western Virginia). If we

can do this and carry the city of Richmond as we did in 1960, we should be able to make up the expected losses in the Norfolk-Newport News area.

To carry Richmond, as well as cut down on the Democratic margin in Norfolk-Newport News, the Citizens will have to put forth a major effort. There will be no friction problem in the Norfolk-Newport News area since the Republican party there is almost non-existent. There will be a friction problem in Richmond where various elements of the party are worth having and we will have to coordinate with them.

By running with the four incumbent Congressmen, none of whom seem to be in any danger of losing this year, and spending extra money in Richmond and Norfolk-Newport News only the 5th and 7th congressional districts are left uncovered. We will have to make an effort in these two districts locally but this is of lower priority than the matters discussed above. Both areas will field decent Republican congressional candidates and although these candidates will probably get over 40% of the vote it is unlikely that either will win. In the 5th district, votes that we lose to Wallace will be taken from Humphrey and not us. The 7th is Harry Byrd's home region and while we can do

very well in this district with some effort we probably won't carry it.

Outside of the substantial number of government workers in the 10th district, there are no particular special interest groups of any significance. A special pitch will have to be made to the government workers, of course.

Summing up, extra money and effort should be spent in Richmond and Norfolk-Newport News and a strong combined effort must be run in the four congressional districts where we have Republican Congressmen. Beyond this, local effort should be extended in the 5th and 7th districts to keep the Democratic margin of victory reasonable.

NORTH
CAROLINA

The Republican party is strong in the middle and western parts of the state. It is extremely weak in the eastern part, an area which comprises about four congressional districts. Although this eastern section is strongly Democratic it is conservative bordering on being racist. Wallace should do well in this particular area. The middle and western parts of the state are conservative but have been affected greatly by the influence of northern industry and are much less concerned with the race problem. There are, however, some small pockets of

potential Wallace support in the extreme western part of the state (11th district).

While both a Senate seat and the Governorship are up for election this year, only the Governorship holds promise for the Republicans. Congressman Gardner, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, has considerable more support in the eastern part of the state than a Republican candidate normally has. If we are able to run with him in this area he will help us to combat the Wallace thing. Anywhere west of Raleigh it will be up to the regular party apparatus, assisted by a vigorous Citizens' operation directed by the party, to deliver a substantial vote big enough to cope with expected losses in the East.

There are three special interest groups that have considerable importance in the state: tobacco, textiles and small trucking concerns. The importance of the first two is obvious; the third is a significant endeavor because most of what is manufactured in North Carolina is taken by truck out of the state to its destination.

The Citizens' effort should concentrate in the cities of Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Durham, Raleigh, Ashville, and Wilmington. Let me emphasize again, however, great coor-

dination should be had with the regular Republican party since they are aware of which Democrats in this area can be influential if involved with these Citizens' groups.

Summing up, we must run with Gardner in the East and on our own anywhere west of Raleigh; the Citizens' groups must be organized with close coordination to the regular Republican organization; and particular attention should be given to three large special interest groups in the state.

SOUTH
CAROLINA

Given the backing of Senator Thurmond, Mark Clark and Congressman Watson, the key to carrying South Carolina is to stay in step with them. With this backing we should run strongly in the 1st district (Charleston), the 2nd (Columbia) and the 3rd (Anderson). The race will be about fifty fifty in the 4th (Greenville, Spartanburg). The 5th and 6th should go heavily Democratic. There is a large Negro vote in the state but with Senator Thurmond's endorsement we have little chance of getting any of it. Therefore, we might just as well ignore it.

The state party is in good shape and is used to the problem of attracting a large number of Democrats. The citizens therefore should work in conjunction with it and under its control.

FLORIDA

Time, effort and money should be concentrated from Jacksonville south. The area comprised by the first two congressional districts will go for either Humphrey or Wallace and little attention should be given to it. The people in this so called panhandle area did not even vote ^{strongly} for Barry Goldwater. Actually Wallace will help in this area since these votes have normally gone to the Democratic candidate.

The citizens will have to be very active in Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa, Sarasota and perhaps Gainesville. Here again, the local Republican leaders know a great deal about which Democrats to contact for assistance in forming Citizens' groups and this knowledge should be made use of.

We should run pretty much with Gurney, the Republican senatorial candidate, as far south as Fort Lauderdale but we should run a little bit on our own in Miami. Gurney's district organization in Orlando and Cramer's in St. Petersburg are very good and in these areas we can run the campaign pretty well through these organizations.

Special interest groups, of course, include the large number of retired people who live in Florida, the citrus growers, the space program workers at Cape Kennedy and the vacation-leisure

time industries.

KENTUCKY

Normally in a national election, if a Republican candidate can carry Jefferson County (Louisville) by more than 12,000 votes he can win the state-wide election. The same will be true this year. A strong effort, of course, will also have to be waged in the 5th district as well as the 4th but this should be no real problem.

The regular Republican organization in Jefferson County is a good organization and has managed to enroll as registered Republicans approximately one-half of the Negroes in Louisville. It does not get along very well with the statewide organization put together by Governor Nunn but this should be no problem for us. We should run with Judge Cook, the senatorial nominee, in Jefferson County and make use of the Nunn organization in the normally Democratic areas (1st, 2nd, 6th and 7th districts). Governor Nunn did substantially better in these four congressional districts than a Republican normally does.

ARKANSAS

In 1960, RN lost Arkansas by about 30,000 votes out of approximately 400,000 cast. Since then we have added a Republican governor and a Republican congressman. To carry the state in the national election we shall have to pile up big gains in the third congressional district

(Fort Smith), cut down on the Wallace vote in southwestern Arkansas and take advantage of Winthrop Rockefeller's pulling power with the Negro vote in the state. We should run strongly with Rockefeller in the 3rd district and in the Negro areas and stay away from him in the 4th and 1st district. Citizens' efforts should be concentrated in Little Rock, West Memphis and El Dorado. Close coordination on a mechanical basis should be maintained with the Rockefeller organization since it has computerized the registered voters in the state; this information and their experience in matters of direct mail and otherwise would be of great value to us.

TENNESSEE

RN will run strongly in the eastern part of the state comprising the first three congressional districts. The 4th and 5th, in the central part of the state running westward to Nashville will go Democratic. West of there, our winning percentage will depend upon whether we can cut down on the Wallace vote.

Extra money and effort should be placed in Memphis, Jackson and, if time and resources allow, in Nashville. There are no statewide races in Tennessee this year so the presidential election will be of major significance.

If we can get out the Republican vote in the

first three congressional districts, hold down the Democratic margin in the 4th, 5th and 6th and cut down on the Wallace vote in the 7th, 8th and 9th we will win Tennessee convincingly.

INDIANA

Indiana should be a safe win this year but special attention should be given to a couple of things to be sure of this. The citizens should be very active in Gary, South Bend, Indianapolis and Evansville. Aside from that, effort should be made to coordinate effectively with the gubernatorial campaign and to a lesser degree with the senatorial. We have nothing to lose by running with the ticket in Indiana this year.

In working on the Citizens' problem, attention should be given to the ethnic groups in Gary and South Bend, most principally the Polish and Slavic Catholics in both of these areas. The Citizens should by all means work under the direction of the statewide party and in conjunction with it.

IOWA

The key to carrying Iowa resides in strongly carrying the rural six congressional districts. If this can be done, the Democratic margin in the 5th congressional district (Des Moines) can be made up with ease. The Citizens should concentrate almost entirely on the Des Moines area and whatever auxiliary groups are necessary

in the outlying districts should be handled through the party. Coordination can be of benefit with the gubernatorial campaign but it would be in our self interest to steer shy of the senatorial race there. The five incumbent Republican congressmen from Iowa all should be re-elected and we should run with each of them in their respective districts. In the 2nd congressional district (Cedar Rapids and the surrounding area), the only outlying congressional district which is not held by a Republican, we stand a good chance of picking up the seat and should have little trouble running with the Republican candidate there.

SOUTH DAKOTA We should carry South Dakota with ease and little or no additional effort should be expended there. There is no real reason for maintaining any extensive Citizens' activity in the state. Coordination with the gubernatorial candidate, Frank Farrar, would be desirable but we should be careful of linking ourselves too closely with the senatorial race at this time. If, later on in the campaign, we are secure enough of our own margin we might try to assist in the senatorial effort by linking more closely with former Governor Gubbrud. At the moment, however, he trails Senator McGovern badly in all polls taken.

NORTH DAKOTA Here again, there is little or no reason for

any concerted Citizens' activity, the party being strong enough to carry our campaign on its own weight. Milton Young and the two congressmen should be re-elected with ease and we can coordinate with their campaigns to maintain the effort there. The Democrats may be able to hold on to the governorship in the person of Governor Guy but at least the race run by the Republican candidate will be strong enough so as not to be a drag on the top of the ticket. Here again, little or no extra money or effort need be applied and there is little reason for any Citizens' activity on our part.

MONTANA

The basic strategy in Montana is to build enough of a lead in the second congressional district (Battin's) so as to cut down on any margin which the Democrats might compile in the western part of the state. In this regard we should run strongly with both congressional candidates, Battin and Dick Smiley, who will be running in the first district this year. Smiley came within an inch of being elected in 1966 and has an even better chance this year. The only difficulty in Montana revolves around the fact that Governor Babcock will have some difficulty getting re-elected. He probably will not run as strongly as we do in either of the two congressional districts but if the margins

are big enough on our part he should be able to ride back in. He must be sure that the party pays more attention to the Great Falls area as well as Butte and Missoula. These are key cities in the Democratic column and much of our success will depend upon our ability to cut down on Democratic margins in these areas.

WYOMING

We should win with ease in Wyoming as long as we are careful to do well in Cheyenne, Laramie and Casper. No extra money or effort is necessary to carry the state and none should be spent. Whatever Citizens' activity is necessary should be done under the jurisdiction of the party.

IDAHO

Idaho went strongly for RN in 1960 and should easily do so again. We should run strongly in the second congressional district and will have to pay a little more attention to the first which is marginal. Congressman Hansen is running against Senator Church this year and stands a fifty fifty chance of beating him at this time. It would do us no harm to work closely with him. Aside from a little additional effort in Boise to get out the vote, no extra effort or money is really necessary in Idaho.

UTAH

The Republican ticket and party are so strong in Utah this year that it should take little additional effort on our part to insure victory.

No extra money or effort will be necessary and whatever Citizens' activity is deemed necessary should be conducted under the auspices of the local party. RN is extremely popular in Utah and this should be enough to carry him.

ARIZONA

Arizona will go strongly Republican this year without any extra effort or money on our part. We should coordinate closely with Senator Goldwater who looks like a sure winner as well as Congressman Rhodes. Essentially the job is to turn out a big vote in Maricopa County, hold down the Democratic margin in Tuscon (second congressional district) and run about even in the third.

NEVADA

All trends through the last six years indicate that this time the national ticket should be able to carry Nevada. There is a Senate race there this year which should be fairly close although it is not at all sure that we will win it. We will have to invest a little extra time and effort in vigorous Citizens' activity in Las Vegas and Reno but the former Democratic stranglehold on these two areas has been broken and if we work at it I'm sure that we can do well in both places. RN almost carried it in 1960 and should do better this time.

NEW MEXICO

If we are able to build up a significant margin

in Albuquerque we will be able to carry the state. Governor Cargo will be of help among the Mexican minority in the state since he has close identity with this group and did very well among them in 1966. We should make the effort to coordinate this aspect of our campaign with his. The Citizens should be active in Albuquerque as well as Santa Fe where the job is to cut down on the Democratic majority. A little extra time and effort will be required to bring it off but New Mexico can be carried this year.

COLORADO

Colorado will be won or lost in the city of Denver and its suburbs. The 2nd congressional district which is in suburban Denver should provide us with a margin and if we can do as well in the city of Denver as we did in 1960 we will win with ease. The Citizens' activity should be intensive in the city of Denver itself and some effort in this regard should be devoted to Pueblo. Otherwise, we should take attention to turn out a normal Republican vote in Boulder, Arapahoe, Jefferson and El Paso Counties.

Senator Dominick is seeking re-election this year and although he never wins with ease he should win this time. Coordination can be effectively had with his campaign.

NEBRASKA

Other than the presidency, there are no state-wide elections going on in Nebraska this year. The great popularity which RN enjoys in the state together with its Republican leanings should reliably send it into our column. There is no significant need for extensive Citizens' activity in the state and whatever auxiliary help is necessary can be run through the regular party organization. The city of Omaha should be given a little extra attention by the party (Douglas County) and some extra effort should also be put out in Lincoln. If these few things are done locally there should be no need for any extra effort on our part.

KANSAS

Kansas has one of the most reliable histories of voting Republican in national elections. We should carry the state again with ease and can coordinate effectively with Bob Dole's senatorial campaign. The state party can do most of what needs to be done there and as long as it pays a little extra attention to Johnson County, Topeka and Wichita we should have no trouble at all in carrying the state.

OKLAHOMA

RN carried Oklahoma by a very large margin in 1960 and his popularity there remains very high. The Citizens should be active in Oklahoma City which normally provides a Democratic

margin and to a lesser degree in Tulsa which normally goes Republican. The southeastern portion of the state will go strongly Democratic (Carl Albert's district) but there is real strength in the Republican party in the west and northern regions. Governor Bellman's campaign for the Senate is going extremely well and he looks like a sure winner. Therefore, close coordination would be mutually beneficial with his campaign. Wallace should hurt the Democrats more than he does us in the southeastern part of the state where he has good strength. In the rest of the state, however, we must be mindful to dry up his vote.

ALASKA

The key to carrying Alaska involves carrying the Anchorage-Fairbanks area well and also carrying Ketchikan. If this can be done the normal Democratic margins in the outlying cities can be made up with ease. RN carried the state in 1960 and due to a good growth in the party in the intervening years stands a better chance of carrying it this year. An extra effort by the Citizens should be put forth in Anchorage and Fairbanks to insure our carrying it.

HAWAII

RN narrowly lost Hawaii in 1960 but stands a good chance of carrying it this year. This is one state in which the Citizens will have to be

highly active and to a large degree supplant the regular party organization there which so far has not proven effective in any statewide races. Senator Fong can be of great assistance and we should also look to Mayor Blaisdell of Honolulu to provide advice and personnel. It will take extra effort and money together with dominant activity by the Citizens but we can carry Hawaii this year.

MAINE

Maine has a history of going Republican in national elections and this year should be no exception. There are no statewide races this year except for the presidency and this will allow the party there to focus a great deal of attention on the national race. It will take little or no help from us to get the state to remain in the Republican column this year.

NEW
HAMPSHIRE

The results of the New Hampshire primary should give us good indication of RN's strength there and it is obvious that little new needs to be done to assure that the state remains in the Republican column this year. Senator Cotten is seeking re-election and should be re-elected with ease. The party seems more unified there than it has been in many years. Again, very little needs to be done to insure that the state remains Republican this fall.

VERMONT

Vermont will go Republican this year even if we paid absolutely no attention to it from here on out.

II. THE SWING STATES

MISSOURI

The basic problem in Missouri revolves around cutting down the Democratic margins in St. Louis and Jackson Counties and creating a strong organization in the areas in between to bring out the vote for RM. With the exception of the 7th congressional district and to some extent the 2nd, there is no real Republican organization in the state. This means that the Citizens' effort will have to supplant the normal party apparatus and carry the majority of the burden for running the campaign. In organizing the state, the Citizens will have to be mindful of the fact that its image should be conservative in the rural areas, moderate in the cities and attentive to the Catholic and Jewish votes in St. Louis. It should not attempt to duplicate the good organization which we have in the 7th district and to a large extent should stay out of that particular area.

Wallace will be a factor in the middle part of the state and in these areas will draw votes from RM. In the cities, some of the vote that he draws will be from the Democrats. It is

interesting to note that while RN lost the city of St. Louis in 1960 by 101,000 votes, Goldwater only lost it in 1964 by about 76,000 votes. Had we done as well in St. Louis in '60 as Goldwater did in '64 we would have carried the state. This fact underlines the importance of having a very active and vigorous organization in the city.

Tom Curtis has about a fifty fifty chance of being elected to the Senate this year and outside the two major cities it probably would do us both some good to work together. The Republican gubernatorial candidate, Mr. Roos, has good strength in St. Louis and most probably we should run with him in that area. He lacks appeal in the rural areas and the fact that he is a Jew hurts him outstate. Therefore, we should run with Curtis in most of the outstate areas and Roos in St. Louis.

ILLINOIS

The basic political problem in Illinois is to get out the vote downstate and cut down on the Democratic margin in the city of Chicago. The Citizens' operation therefore should supplement the Republican party apparatus in the downstate areas and more or less supplant it in Cook County. We should coordinate our campaign with Dirksen in the outstate areas and run strongly with Ogilvie in the Chicago area. Needless to

say, extra money and effort should be placed in Chicago. If we can cut the Democratic margin in Cook County to as little as 250,000 we can win the state with ease.

MICHIGAN

In 1960, RN lost Michigan by approximately 67,000 votes out of 3.2 million cast. He lost Wayne County (Detroit) by approximately 380,000 votes. The problem therefore, becomes obvious - we must cut down on the Democratic margin in the city of Detroit. If we can cut it down to something in the neighborhood of 250 to 275 thousand we will win the state with ease. The Citizens should be extremely active in Detroit with special emphasis on the Catholic minority groups there most particularly the Polish people. Outstate, the Citizens' operation should assist the Republican apparatus in getting out the vote. If it appears after the convention that Governor Romney is not enthusiastic in his support, it may be necessary for the Citizens to become doubly active to pick up the slack from the party. We have 12 out of the 19 congressmen from Michigan and control all of the geographic area outside the city of Detroit. Most of these Congressmen appear to have no problem in getting elected although there is some looseness in the Flint district as well as the Kalamazoo district. Needless to say, extra time, effort and money

should be devoted to cutting the margins in Detroit. There are no other statewide races in Michigan this year therefore, most of the time and attention of the party can be directed toward the presidential election.

OHIO

RN carried Ohio in 1960 by about 73,000 votes. Reviewing the figures it is easy to see how this was accomplished. We kept the margin in the city of Cleveland down to 141,000 votes, carried the city of Cincinnati by 35,000 votes, carried the city of Dayton by about 10,000 votes and carried the city of Columbus by 41,000 votes. In the rural areas and smaller cities we were able to win significantly. A duplication of this effort will be necessary in 1968.

The Republican party of Ohio is in many senses the best party organization that we have in the country. It operates with a registration deficiency which is greater than that which pertains to Michigan and yet has produced 19 out of the 24 congressional seats. Ohio is very heavily unionized and yet the party is strong enough that the unions are unable to deliver a large share of their membership to the Democrats. The Ohio party is used to working with Citizens' organizations and holds them in high esteem. Therefore, with that small amount of tact, there should be little cause for friction between the

Citizens and the regular party in Ohio. Hence, time and money will have to be devoted to duplicating the 1960 effort but if this is done we should carry the state more easily than we did in 1960.

There is a Senate race in Ohio this year and we are fortunate that we are not running against Senator Iausche. Had Iausche been running he would have cut into some of our conservative vote and some of it may have remained in the Democratic column. With Gilligan, however, this will not be a problem. Saxbe should run a good race and Rhodes is certainly doing all he can to help him. He is not a very attractive candidate, however, and has difficulty in public appearances but in the interest of getting a maximum effort out of the party for RM it probably would be good to run fairly closely with him. The one exception to this would probably be in Cleveland.

PENNSYLVANIA RM lost Pennsylvania in 1960 by 117,000 votes. He lost the city of Philadelphia by 331,000 votes and lost Pittsburgh by a little over a hundred thousand votes. Again the problem is obvious - we must cut down the Democratic margins in Philadelphia and to some extent Pittsburgh by a significant proportion. If we can come out of both of these cities with a loss to the

Democrats of 200 to 230 thousand we should be able to carry the state. Some attention should also be given to the Lackawanna County area (Scranton) which we lost in 1960 by 31,000 votes and the Luzerne County area (Wilkes-Barre) which we lost by 33,000 votes. In all of the above areas significant gains can be made in the Catholic vote.

The Republican party in Pennsylvania is in fairly decent shape but definitely needs great supplementation in all of the areas mentioned above. The Citizens should concentrate on Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. In the rest of the state, the Citizens can assist in getting out the vote.

The Senate race will be a difficult thing to contend with here since Congressman Schweiker is not very well known statewide and at present is lagging horribly in the polls to Senator Clark. It therefore does not appear to be in our interest at this time to run very closely with him. If we cannot avoid running with him as may be the case we should do so only in the eastern part of the state and run our own show in the West.

NEW JERSEY

RM lost New Jersey in 1960 by 22,000 votes. He lost Essex County by 50,000 votes, Hudson County by 61,000 votes and Middlesex County by

33,000 votes. Again the problem is obvious; we must put forth a better effort in these three areas and work a little harder to get out the vote in the remaining areas.

The Republican party of New Jersey is among the worst organizations that we have in the country. To a large extent the Citizens' operation will have to run the campaign in the state. Our greatest chance for improvement lies with the Catholic vote.

WISCONSIN

RN carried Wisconsin in 1960 by about 64,000 votes. In doing so, he held the Democratic margin in Milwaukee to 70,000 votes and ran about even in Madison. This effort of course will have to be duplicated. In the rest of the state the problem is mainly one of getting out the vote. The Citizens should concentrate on these two areas but since the Republican apparatus in Wisconsin is good, it should be the main instrument of our campaign there.

A Senate seat and the governorship are up for election this year and we can have close coordination with these two campaigns without hurting ourselves. In Milwaukee, it is again the Catholic vote that we must work at obtaining.

TEXAS

RN lost Texas in 1960 by 46,000 votes out of 2.3 million cast. RN carried Harris Co. (Houston)

by 20,000 votes, Dallas County (Dallas) by 61,000 votes, lost San Antonio by 12,000 votes and lost in the rural areas and small cities. Since then, we have become a stronger party in the rural areas and smaller cities and should do better in them this year. The basic problem is to again carry Dallas and Houston, do better in San Antonio and do better in the rural areas and smaller cities. As much as possible we should make use of the organization which Senator Tower put together in 1966 for his re-election and supplement that with a vigorous Citizens' operation throughout the state. Texas is essentially a conservative state and Wallace will be a harmful factor to us in Texas unless we can dry up his vote.

There is a statewide race for the governorship going on but it would harm us greatly to become too closely associated with it. Special attention should be given this year to the Mexican-American minority in Texas. This is a group that Kennedy did well with in 1960 and Tower has done very well with in the meantime. If we work at it we should be able to make some headway this year.

DELAWARE

RN lost Delaware by 3,300 votes in 1960. He lost New Castle County (Wilmington) by a little over 4,000 votes. The Citizens should be active

and vital in Wilmington and in the downstate areas of the state we should try harder to get out the vote. The city of Wilmington is greatly affected by both newspapers and television from Philadelphia and this will have great effect on how the vote goes in Wilmington. Downstate, the complexion of the voters is much like the eastern shore of Maryland, namely, fairly conservative and nominally Democratic. Wallace may pull some votes in the downstate area and we should be aware of this danger. The key to the situation, however, involves carrying Wilmington where the bulk of the vote is.

The governorship is up this year and while we are not fielding our best candidate, Mr. Peterson has a very good chance of beating incumbent Governor Terry. Peterson is backed heavily by DuPont interests and they will be very interested in his campaign. It will probably do us no harm to identify and coordinate with him. He should run well in Wilmington.

WASHINGTON

We have a difficult problem in Washington because of the split in our own party which shows no signs of getting any better. In 1960 RF carried Washington by 30,000 votes, half of which was provided by a 16,000 vote majority in King County (Seattle). If we can again carry Seattle and run a normal race in the rest of the

state we should be able to win in '68.

Of course, nothing that we attempt to do in Washington will come to any benefit unless we can work out the party problem there. So far we have been able to keep fairly good relationships with both wings of the party and have not been damaged by their reciprocal hatred of each other. However, we are now approaching the period where they will be forced to work together if we are to win there; this problem must be given great attention. If we cannot solve it, we will have to work almost exclusively through RN's Citizens' organization. The decision as to which we must do will have to be made very quickly after the convention.

Governor Evans will be seeking re-election this fall and there is also a senatorial seat up for election. Governor Evans faces a tough race because of hatred within his own party as well as a decline in his popularity because of new tax legislation. The Senate race looks hopeless for the Republicans. The effect of both these races is such that we will be endangering ourselves by running too closely with either race. If we wind up running our campaign exclusively through the Citizens the problem of not identifying too closely with the rest of the ticket will probably be mitigated. Under no

circumstances should we leave ourselves at the mercy of the party in its present condition.

OREGON

RN carried Oregon in 1960 by 41,000 votes. This was accomplished by carrying Multnomah County (Portland) by about 3,000 votes. If this effort can be duplicated, the rest of the state will pretty well take care of itself. Of course, extra time and effort will have to be spent in the city of Portland to assure a result similar to that of 1960. In the rest of the state we need just to get out the vote.

The Senate race in Oregon has great promise this year and we should not be afraid to identify with it. Senator Morse barely got through the primary and if the Duncan supporters can be brought around behind Bob Packwood we should stand a very good chance of picking up that seat. Packwood is bright, good looking and articulate and will run a good race. His only major problem at the moment is the fact that he is not well known across the state.

CALIFORNIA

RN carried California in 1960 by 35,000 votes. This was accomplished by carrying southern California by a respectable margin and keeping the Democratic margin in the San Francisco area from getting out of line. RN carried Los Angeles County, San Diego, Orange, San Bernardino, Santa

Barbara, Santa Clara and San Mateo by good margins and this was enough to make up for losses in San Francisco, Alameda, Sacramento and Fresno. The key to '68 remains to come out of the southern part of the state with enough of the majority to make up for losses in the North.

Both we and the Democrats have significant problems this year, we because of Wallace and the Democrats because of the anti-administration vote. Unless we can dry up Wallace's vote in southern California it will be difficult for us to come out of that region with the necessary votes to combat the Democrats. The Democrats on the other hand will have to do something about the McCarthy problem in the North if they are to earn the normal majorities that they ought to enjoy. While many people feel the Democrats have the worst problem of the two I'm not at all sure that this is the case.

Some use can be made of the Rafferty candidacy in the southern part of the state where he is destined to be more popular with extreme right wingers than we are and therefore could help to cut down on the Wallace strength for us. In the northern part of the state, however, we should run away from him as fast as possible since he would be exceptionally weak in that area.

The California operation should be run as an

entirely separate entity from anything else that we are doing. Our national Citizens' group should not get involved there nor should the portion of our organization dealing with the statewide parties. The chain of command should run directly from our state campaign manager to our national campaign manager and all problems should be worked out directly at that level. The importance of the state to us is of such magnitude that any problem arising in it I think is best handled most directly.

III. STATES THAT MAY HAVE TO BE RE-EVALUATED

GEORGIA

Governor Wallace is presently having a great deal of trouble amassing 100,000 necessary signatures to get on the Georgia ballot. At last report he had approximately 20 to 30 thousand with about another six weeks to come up with the rest. If he does not qualify for the Georgia ballot on September 1st we should devote extensive effort to Georgia in an attempt to carry it.

The key to carrying Georgia in a two man race revolves around doing well in the cities. Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, Columbus, Albany, Athens and Macon should be heavily developed by the Citizens in conjunction with the party operation put forward for Bo Callaway in 1966.

MARYLAND

At present it does not look as though we could possibly carry Maryland this year, RN having lost it in 1960 by 76,000 votes. However, if we place a liberal to moderate candidate on the ticket with us, and some of our options in the South become cut off, it may be necessary to carry Maryland.

If this is the case great attention has to be given to the suburban Washington areas of the state. In 1960 RN lost both Montgomery and Prince Georges counties by a combined total of 25,000 votes. This coupled with his loss in the city of Baltimore by 88,000 votes was too much for the Republican margin in the rest of the state to handle. If we have to carry the state, significant effort would have to be devoted to the city of Baltimore and we would have to carry Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties by about 30,000 votes.

Much of the effort in Maryland would have to be carried on by the Citizens since the party there is very weak. Congressman Mathias is running a good race against Senator Brewster for the Senate and if we ever attack the state seriously we should coordinate our efforts with his. He should run strongly in the suburban Washington area since he has represented it in the past in Congress.

CONNECTICUT

It does not appear at the moment that we have any real chance of getting Connecticut. In 1960 RM lost the state by 91,000 votes and the party is not as strong now as it was in 1960. If, however, we lose some of our options in the South and are forced to try to carry it there are four things which we must do differently this time: (1) we must carry the Fairfield County area by much more than the 21,000 votes which we carried it by in 1960; (2) we must carry the 2nd congressional district area (New London), something which we failed to do in 1960; (3) we must cut significantly into the Democratic margins in Hartford and New Haven which amounted to 59 thousand and 52 thousand respectively; (4) we must make a substantial effort across the state to win a majority of the Italian vote which is presently disaffected from the Irish leadership of the Democratic party. There are more Italians in Connecticut than any other ethnic group and normally in the past they have voted Democratic.

The party apparatus in Connecticut is exceptionally weak and any effort that we would maintain there of any nature would have to be conducted entirely through a Citizens' operation. There is a Senate seat up this year but the Republicans stand very little chance of gaining

it and if we must run there seriously we should run on our own and not in conjunction with the senatorial race.

MINNESOTA

If either Hubert Humphrey or Eugene McCarthy is the Democratic nominee the natural assumption is that we would forget about Minnesota since both are native sons of the state. However, it is not inconceivable given the hatreds presently being generated by the rivalry between the two men that a significant enough split might develop in the Democratic party that we would have to re-evaluate and put forward a significant effort in Minnesota.

The election will be won or lost in Minnesota in the suburbs of Minneapolis and St. Paul. In 1960 RN carried Hennepin County (Minneapolis) by 10,000 votes but lost Ramsey County (St. Paul) by about 31,000 votes. RN lost the state by about 22,000 votes. If we were forced to try to succeed in Minnesota this year, it would be necessary to improve our margin in Hennepin and cut down on the Democratic margin in Ramsey. Most of the possibilities of doing this revolve around our efforts in the suburbs of the cities themselves. The rural vote is quite predictable and all that should be done out there is try to turn it out in significant numbers.

The Republican party of Minnesota is in much better shape today than it was eight years ago and if we are forced to the test there it could be of much more help than was true in 1960. It is well organized throughout the state and functions in statewide campaigns in good fashion. Citizens would have to be active in the two major cities but in doing so the regular party could be of tremendous help. There is no other statewide race this year in Minnesota and therefore most attention could be focused on the presidential race.

NEW YORK

There is little hope in my mind of RN carrying New York this year but it is not inconceivable that the split in the Democratic party might reach such proportions that we would have to re-examine the state. In 1960 RN lost the city of New York by a total of 791,000 votes, losing statewide by about 383,000 votes. If he were to attempt to carry the state this year, we should concentrate on carrying the boroughs of Queens and Staten Island and cutting down on the Democratic margins in the Bronx and Brooklyn. In 1960 we lost Queens by 69,000 votes, the Bronx by 207,000 votes and Brooklyn by 319,000 votes. In all three of these areas, the intervening eight years has shown considerable strength in the Conservative Party and if we have to carry

the state we should try to work out some accommodation to get a fourth line on the ballot with the Conservatives. The value of having an extra line in New York is shown by the fact that in 1960 RN carried New York on the straight Republican-Democratic vote totals but the 406,000 votes which Kennedy carried on the Liberal line was more than enough to win the statewide election for him. It is estimated that RN, running on the conservative line would poll somewhere between 800,000 and a million votes.

Outside the city, the upstate portion of the party has decent strength except for the cities of Albany and Buffalo. These would have to have considerable Citizens' activity in addition to New York City. Extra effort should also be put in the suburban areas, namely, Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester. We carried these in 1960 but the margins there were not as much as they should have been.

IV. STATES WHICH SHOULD BE TOTALLY DISREGARDED

LOUISIANA	Wallace is just too strong, the Republican party is just too weak.
MISSISSIPPI	Wallace all the way.
ALABAMA	Wallace will register his biggest here.

RHODE ISLAND Just too damn many Democrats.

MASSACHUSETTS Democratic tendency in national election too strong this year.

WEST VIRGINIA The only state in the union where people still look kindly at the Johnson Administration.

II. SWING STATES

GENERAL - There are 55 campaign days between Labor Day and the election. If RN takes a conservative running mate I would suggest that his time be spent in the following fashion:

California	8 days
Illinois	5 days
Michigan	5 days
Ohio	5 days
Pennsylvania	6 days
New Jersey	4 days
Missouri	2 days
Texas	4 days
Wisconsin	1 day
Oregon	1 day
Washington	1 day

TOTAL 42 days

This will leave 13 additional days. 7 of these should be used to try to cover the following states in one stop, brief visits: Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Hawaii, and Alaska.

Of the remaining 6 days, 3 should be left available at the end of the campaign to revisit any state that we feel is necessary, or to make brief visits in states which were not visited up until that time. Three other days should be left available for special events (nationwide telethons, preparing for debates, etc.) The Vice Presidential candidate should spend approximately 40 campaign days in those

states referred to in the accompanying memo as "Southern and safe states". The remainder of his time should be spent thusly:

Texas	4 days
Missouri	2 days
Illinois	3 days
California	1 day
<hr/>	
TOTAL	10 days

The remaining five days should be reserved for flexibility at the end of the campaign and special appearances with the Presidential candidate.

If the Vice President is a Liberal, RN will have to visit the following states in addition to those mentioned above: South Carolina, Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, Montana and Idaho, and increase the amount of time spent in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Florida, Arkansas, Texas and Missouri. The result of this would be reducing ten full days from the swing states (except for Texas) in the following fashion:

California	5 days
Illinois	4 days
Michigan	4 days
Pennsylvania	4 days
Ohio	4 days
New Jersey	3 days
Missouri	1 day
Texas	6 days

The Vice President, if he is a Liberal, should spend approximately 40 to 45 days in the following cities: Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Kansas City, San Francisco, Portland, Newark, Scranton, Dayton, Akron, Madison and Denver. The remainder of his time should be spent in courtesy calls in the Northeast, Middle West, and Far West. If the Vice President is a Liberal, I know there will be severe pressures for RN to visit Arizona, Utah, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wyoming. No matter how intense the pressure gets, however, we should not visit any of these states.

Whatever time RN does spend in the swing states, I think approximately half of the campaign time allotted should be spent in September and the other half in middle to late October.

If 6 days are allotted in Pennsylvania, 3 should be spent in Philadelphia, 1 full day in Pittsburgh and 2 days to getting out the vote in the rest of the state. If only 5 days are available they should be spent 3 in Philadelphia, 1 in Pittsburgh, and one to get out the vote.

In Michigan, if 5 days are available, 4 should be spent in and around Detroit, and 1 day to cover the following cities: Ann Arbor, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, Jackson, Lansing, Grand Rapids, and Flint. If only 4 days are available in Michigan, RN should spend 3 for Detroit and 1 covering other cities.

If 8 are available in California they should be spent in 4 separate 2-day swings running between San Francisco and San Diego. If only 5 days are available it would necessitate cutting these trips to 2 and spending the extra day in Los Angeles County.

In Illinois, if 5 days are available, 4 should be spent in Chicago and its surrounding suburbs leaving 1 day in the rest of the state to get out the vote; if only 4 days are available, 3 in Chicago and 1 downstate.

If 5 days are available in Ohio, 2 should be spent in and around Cleveland, 1 in Cincinnati and 2 skipping around Columbus, Dayton, Akron, Toledo, Canton, Lima, Zanesville, Lancaster, Springfield, etc.; of course, if only 4 days are available, spend 1 in Cleveland, 1 in Cincinnati and 2 for the rest.

In New Jersey, if 4 days are available, 3 full days should be spent in the area north of Trenton, most particularly in Essex and Union Counties and 1 in the remainder of the state; if only 3 days are available, this would make it 2 in the North and 1 in the South.

In Texas, RN would have to carry the burden of campaigning in the rural areas of the state as well as the cities, if a Liberal were named.

Television, advertising and money will have to be increased proportionately if RN spends less time in any particular state. For instance, if RN can only spend 5 days in California instead of 8, we will have to, in my judgment, almost double the TV and media responsibilities. The TV and other media will have to pick up the slack for the missing candidate.

I would recommend the following extra speakers in relation to each state: California - Tower, Reagan, Murphy and Fannin in the southern part of the state (conservate vote); Mark Hatfield and Senator Brooke and Senator Percy in the North (Liberal Republicans and moderate Democrats).

Illinois - Reagan downstate areas, Brooke, Percy and Hatfield in Cook County. Michigan - George Romney everywhere.

Ohio - Lindsay and Brooke in Cleveland, any midwestern Senator or Governor in the western part of the state; Governor Rhodes should speak out every day wherever he happens to be. Pennsylvania - Scott and Scranton anywhere east of Harrisburg, Shafer in the West, Volpe (Italians), Brooke and Lindsay in Philadelphia. New Jersey - Volpe in Jersey City and Newark (Italians), Brooke in Newark, Lindsay in Newark and Jersey City. Missouri - Brooke in St. Louis, Reagan in rural areas and Springfield. Texas - Tower anywhere in the state. George Bush anywhere in the state. Ronald Reagan anywhere in the state. Howard Baker anywhere in the state.

Obviously, the appearances of the above and any other individual who can do us any good in these states should be programmed not to coincide with visits by RN or the Vice Presidential candidate.

July 19, 1968

MEMO TO : RN

FROM: John Sears

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF HOW MONEY, CANDIDATE'S TIME, VICE
PRESIDENT'S TIME AND OTHER PROMINENT FIGURE'S TIME
SHOULD BE SPENT IN THE CAMPAIGN

GENERAL DISCUSSION - In general terms the measure of what we should do with regard to the above four assets can be measured against what we did in 1960. As in most states that we carried in 1960 we can duplicate the effort conducted in that year; those states which need to be added in order to insure victory this year will have to be re-evaluated.

If RN selects a conservative running mate, he can then spend the vast majority of his time in the following states: California, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. If he selects a Liberal mate, RN will have to deal more directly with the Wallace Problem, this involving more time in the South, and will also have to spend extra time in some of the states now listed as sure. In this case the Vice President will have to directly confront the problems in the big states.

Without regard to whom the Vice President may turn out to be, approximately 70 percent of our advertising money should be concentrated in the above mentioned large states. Approximately one quarter of the advertising/media assets should

be devoted to the South.

I. SAFE AND SOUTHERN STATES

VIRGINIA - Advertising, television and direct mail should be concentrated in Washington, D.C. (because of its effect on the 10th district), Richmond and Norfolk-Newport News. If RN visits the state it should be Richmond. If the Vice President is conservative, he can be sent to any portion of the state which is necessary. If he is Liberal an attempt should be made to get a good portion of the Negro vote in Richmond and Norfolk-Newport News. RN will then have to take care of the Conservative side. Thurmond, Tower, and Reagan will be helpful in combating the Wallace vote; Baker and Bush would appeal to the youth in the state and it would be helpful, and the Liberal sent should give one speech in the 10th district.

NORTH CAROLINA.- Difficult state for television since there is no one dominant city - those who have run statewide claim direct mail is good. If RN comes to the state, he should appear in the middle to the state (Winston-Salem or Greensboro) and Charleston to get out the vote. He should stay out of the eastern end of the state. If the Vice President is a conservative, send him to the East to dry up Wallace and middle to get out the vote. If Vice President is a Liberal, keep him out. Thurmond can dry up the Wallace vote in the East and also selectively in the mountain areas. Tower less able to do so, Reagan good anywhere in the state.

SOUTH CAROLINA - Television and advertising should concentrate

on Charleston, Columbia and to a lesser degree Anderson. If RN comes he should go to either Columbia or Charleston. If Vice President is a conservative, he should spend at least a day in the state and try to appear in all six congressional districts. If Vice President is Liberal, keep him out.

Extra speakers - Thurmond.

FLORIDA - Television and advertising money should be spent in Miami and to a lesser degree Jacksonville, St. Petersburg and Orlando. If RN comes, he should appear in Miami. If Vice President is a conservative, he should spend a day and a half and try to cover Jacksonville, Ft. Lauderdale, St. Petersburg and Miami. If Vice President is a Liberal, might be able to sneak him in somewhere (Miami) but would probably hurt more than help statewide. Extra speakers - Thurmond in the North, Tower in the rest of the state. Baker and Bush would have youth appeal.

KENTUCKY - Vast majority of advertising and television must be devoted to Louisville. If RN comes, he should go to Louisville. If Vice President is a conservative, he should go to the 5th district and also the 4th. If time permitted he could also make one stop in the western end of the state and one in Lexington to try to dry up Wallace. If Vice President is a Liberal, he should go to Louisville. Extra speakers - Thurmond in the western and eastern ends of the state - Baker in Louisville.

ARKANSAS - Television and advertising in Little Rock and some in Fort Smith (West Memphis area should get some overlap from Memphis, Tennessee). If RN comes, he should go to Little Rock.

If Vice President is conservative he should stop in El Dorado, Fort Smith, and Little Rock. If he is Liberal, might sneak him into pick up Negro votes but difficult to tell where - otherwise keep him out. Extra speakers - Tower and Baker.

TENNESSEE - Media and advertising should be concentrated in Memphis, Chattanooga and Knoxville. If RN comes he should appear once in Memphis and once in the eastern end of the state. If Vice President is a conservative, he should campaign the western part of the state hard to dry up Wallace and the East to get out the vote. If he is a Liberal send him into the eastern end of the state. Extra speakers - Thurmond in the West to dry up Wallace; Baker and Tower in the East to get out the vote.

INDIANA - Little media necessary but it should be concentrated in Indianapolis. If Vice President is a conservative, anywhere but Gary or possibly South Bend okay. If he is a Liberal, send him to Gary and South Bend. RN should not spend any time in Indiana at all. Extra speakers - Mundt, Hruska, Jack Miller or any conservative Senator.

IOWA - Advertising and media concentrated in Des Moines. If RN comes he should go to Des Moines. If Vice President is conservative, he should take a day and cover the 7th, 6th, 3rd, 2nd and 1st congressional districts (a rural stop in the 7th, Sioux City in the 6th, Waterloo in 3rd, Cedar Rapids in 2nd and Davenport in the 1st). If Vice President is a Liberal, send him to Des Moines. Extra speakers - any conservative Senator, Governor Tiemann and Reagan.

SOUTH DAKOTA - Anything that's spent, spend it in Sioux Falls. RN should not come. If Vice President is a conservative, make one courtesy stop in eastern end of the state. If Vice President is a Liberal, same thing. Extra speakers - should not bother but almost anyone would be fine.

NORTH DAKOTA - Little or no television and advertising but if any is spent should be divided between Fargo and Minot. RN should not come. If Vice President is conservative, should make a courtesy stop anywhere he wants. Same for Liberal Vice President. No extra speakers required - any midwestern conservative is good.

MONTANA - No television or intensive advertising necessary. TV from Spokane, Washington hits the western part of Montana. If RN comes, should appear in the western end of the state. If Vice President is a conservative, he should make one stop in Missoula and one in Billings. If Vice President is Liberal, have him make two stops in the western end of the state. Extra speakers - Laxalt, Hickel and Senator Jordan.

WYOMING - Local television or extensive advertising silly. RN should not come. If Vice President conservative, send him to Cheyenne or Casper; if Liberal, Cheyenne. Extra speakers - anybody who doesn't have enough to do.

UTAH - Small amount of advertising in Salt Lake City to get out the vote. RN should not come. If Vice President is conservative, he should go to Salt Lake City. If he is a Liberal, the same. Extra speakers - George Romney.

ARIZONA - A little advertising to get out the vote in Phoenix. RN should not come. If Vice President is a conservative, send him to Phoenix. If he is a Liberal, send him to Tucson. Extra speakers - Romney (Mormon vote), and conservative.

NEVADA - Little extra media to sell RN in Las Vegas and Reno. If RN comes, he should go to Las Vegas. The Vice President, whether conservative or Liberal, should go to Las Vegas and Reno. Extra speakers - Hickel and Laxalt.

NEW MEXICO - Media money should be spent in Albuquerque. If RN comes he should go to Albuquerque. If Vice President is a conservative, Roswell and Albuquerque. If Vice President is a Liberal, Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Extra speakers - Tower (Mexican-Americans) and Hickel.

COLORADO - Media money should be spent in Denver. If RN comes he should go to Denver. If Vice President is conservative, he should go to Denver, Colorado Springs and Pueblo. If he is Liberal go to Denver. Extra speakers - Governor Love in Denver.

NEBRASKA - Any advertising and media money should be spent in Omaha. RN should not visit the state. If Vice President is conservative, Omaha and possibly Lincoln. If he is a Liberal, just Omaha. Extra speakers not necessary - any okay.

KANSAS - No media money necessary (will get benefit of money spent in Kansas City, Missouri). RN should not visit the state. If Vice President is conservative, should go to Wichita and

possibly one stop in the western part of the state. If a Liberal, somewhere in Johnson County and possibly Topeka. No extra speakers necessary - any okay.

OKLAHOMA - Any advertising money spent should be spent in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. If RN comes, he should go to Oklahoma City. If Vice President is conservative, he should go to Oklahoma City, Tulsa and Bartlesville. If he is a Liberal, go to Oklahoma City. Extra speakers - any conservative senator, Tower to dry up Wallace where necessary.

ALASKA - Any money spent should be spent in Anchorage-Fairbanks. If RN comes he should go to Anchorage. Vice President, either Liberal or conservative should also go to Anchorage. Extra speakers - they'll be glad to see anyone from the mainland.

HAWAII - Any advertising or media money should go to Honolulu. If RN comes, he should go to Honolulu as should anyone else who happens to come.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, VERMONT AND MAINE - Any advertising and media should come from Boston. If RN goes anywhere within territorial limits of these three states, it probably should be Maine. Vice President, whether he be a Liberal or conservative should make one stop in Manchester, New Hampshire and one in Portland, Maine. No extra speakers necessary - any okay.

J. WALTER THOMPSON COMPANY

H. R. HALDEMAN
VICE PRESIDENT
LOS ANGELES MANAGER

6505 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES 90048

June 20, 1967

Dear Dick:

Enclosed is a first draft of some general thoughts regarding political campaigning and some specific ideas for implementation.

I hope you'll be able to take a few minutes to read through it because I am firmly convinced that the whole basic approach to campaigns must be revised - and you are in an especially good position to do this in 1968.

Even if you don't buy all of these ideas, I think you'll agree with the basic concept and with at least some of the specific suggestions. Rather than trying to finalize a formal and complete recommendation for you, I felt it might be more productive to get your reaction to this draft first - and then to revise and extend it along the lines you feel would be most productive.

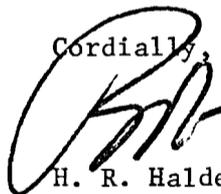
In other words, this is a general start on the subject, not an attempt at a finished product.

A great deal of truly creative thinking is needed in the development of ways to use TV, and this is especially important if this general approach is used. I have not tried to develop these in the attached draft.

The pre-primary travel period and the primary campaigns offer ideal opportunities to test and refine campaign techniques, and all of the points in the attached draft apply to this period just as much as to the general campaign.

Hope this will be of some help.

Cordially,



H. R. Haldeman

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
20 Broad Street
New York 10005

cc: Rose Mary Woods
Tom Evans
Dwight Chapin

Enclosure

I. INTRODUCTION

CAMPAIGNING

The time has come for political campaigning - its techniques and strategies - to move out of the dark ages and into the brave new world of the omnipresent "eye."

A candidate for any city-wide, state-wide or national office can't afford the old "tried and true" methods of campaigning: six speeches a day, plus several handshaking receptions, a few hours at factory gates and a soul-crushing travel schedule. Just because it has always been this way doesn't mean it always has to be.

Let's look at the whole thing from the viewpoint of just basic logic. If a national candidate actually does six speeches a day, six days a week, for the full eight-week campaign period, he'll make 288 speeches. If he has a spectacular crowd-gathering ability (or staff), he might average 5,000 per speech (but no one ever has). So he will have spoken in the flesh to a total of 1,440,000 people. A reasonable estimate is that at least 75% of those people are his loyal adherents. So he's had the opportunity to convert only 380,000. True, most elections, except national, are won by less than that. But then, will he really convert this 25% - and is it really 25%? Probably more likely 10%.

What happens to the candidate in this process? He becomes punchy, mauled by his admirers, jeered and deflated by his

opponent's supporters (and paid troublemakers), misled by the super-stimulation of one frenzied rally after another. He has no time to think, to study his opponent's strategy and statements, to develop his own strategy and statements. No wonder the almost inevitable campaign dialogue borders so near the idiot level.

Yes, but think of the great value it has in "firing up the troops." Baloney! Analyze carefully the actual number of troops that count in a campaign, and you'll find they are very few, can be fired up much more effectively and efficiently by small "private" sessions on an informal basis with the candidate, and are themselves being worn to a frazzle and constantly diverted from important activity (precinct work and telephoning) to crank up a crowd for the next rally or airport arrival.

True, maybe, but the real importance is the effect on news media and thus indirectly on their vast audiences. That's the worst argument of all. How many stories per day will any newspaper or radio or television station carry about a single candidate? Answer: one - if he's really lucky, important or controversial. So what's the use of roaring around making six, eight or ten stories every day?

Obviously it's to get localized coverage in each area of the constituency. But isn't the wire story, the commentator or the syndicated columnist what really counts? It sure is!

So what do you do - quit campaign travels and sit on the front porch? Not at all. You plan a campaign that is designed

to cover the important localities, provide excitement and stimulation for your supporters, generate major news every day, generate intensive coverage in depth by commentators and columnists, develop a meaningful dialogue (even if one-sided), and still offer a reasonable chance of the candidate's survival.

II. GENERAL APPROACH

How, then, does a candidate plan his campaign schedule (and build his campaign organization) to accomplish these objectives?

First - the whole approach and the basis for all planning and structuring must be directed to the same concept: that the candidate's time, energy and thinking will be programmed for maximum possible benefit. And maximum benefit is defined as reaching the most people most effectively. And this does not necessarily mean in the flesh.

He has to take maximum advantage of the media of mass communications, with emphasis on that or those which reach the most people and present him most favorably and believably. Television will undoubtedly be pre-eminent - but radio, newspapers and magazines should not be overlooked.

One news lead per day

The first consideration is development of one major news lead per day. (Herb Klein argues strongly for two leads per day - one timed for AM newspapers and another for PM's and TV/radio news. This should be carefully analyzed, because he's probably right. On the other hand, one per day is obviously more desirable from our point of view, and in a presidential campaign the AM's and PM's both have to cover a candidate's news, so there may be a way to work satisfactorily with just one lead per day - I hope so.) This can result from a speech made at a rally, a statement at a formal news conference, a remark made apparently offhandedly

at an airport or on the sidewalk, a television or radio address, a "confidential" interview with a columnist, a reaction to a planted position or question by a prominent supporter, an answer to the opponent's attack or position, release of a white paper, a statement by a prominent supporter expert in some field, reaction to a major external news break, or just a formal news release.

Over the period of the campaign, all of these and other devices should be used on a carefully planned but apparently random basis. No regular pattern should be established, and the element of surprise should be skilfully utilized.

Not a single day should pass without such a news lead, planned in advance as to content and method of release and coordinated with the total campaign effort. The whole approach should be one of initiation and attack, rather than reaction and counterattack. The timing and approach should not be dictated by the opposition.

Obviously, it will be necessary at times to react and to counterattack - and to revise strategy to fit the developing situation and the opponent's strategy. But this in no way precludes the necessity for a complete, preconceived plan, even though it be revised daily.

Overall schedule

After an overall skeleton is developed on the basis of the daily news lead, the candidate's schedule can be filled in, using

his time for a balanced program of corollary supporting activities. Major needs will include at least one major public appearance almost every working day, one or two offbeat "color" activities, many short and a few long personal or small group meetings, ample staff time, frequent studio time (TV and radio) and, by a wide margin most important, lots of free time for thinking, rest, recreation, reading and unplanned activity. Also maximum use of programmed phone calls.

Major public appearances

The daily public appearance(s) may or may not be the base for the news lead as mentioned above. When it is, it should be carefully staged - and when it's not, the speech should be standard so we retain control of what the lead will be. These appearances should not all be rallies. Some should be motorcades, staged visits to plants, hospitals, etc., large worker meetings, headquarters drop-bys. Some should be at night, some in the daytime. All should be designed for maximum coverage - and should not be restricted to the stereotyped kinds of political appearances. They should be dictated by the overall strategy, not by the pressures of local organizations or leaders.

Offbeat activity

The offbeat "color" activity should be planned for particular effects, generally in the "image-building" area. In many cases these would appear to be unscheduled and spontaneous. They would always be an integral part of the overall plan. These

would include frequent use of "drop-bys" at group meetings, human interest individual contacts at all levels (the shoeshine boy, Billy Graham, a kid who has collected campaign funds, spectator or participant sports, etc.). Some leeway for completely opportunistic activity, with staff always on the alert for possibilities.

Meetings

The personal or small group meetings would not be publicized and are used to make points primarily with people who will in turn reach large numbers of other people. Concentration is on TV and radio commentators, columnists, syndicate feature writers, publishers, station owners, major civic leaders, party leaders, specific issue spokesmen.

It will be argued that this approach simply does not cover enough cities - there is inadequate geographic spread. The answer is that the important thing is not the one city where the candidate is, but the coverage of his activities that goes into all cities. Only a minute fraction of the people in a city where the candidate appears actually see him in the flesh. The vast majority just watch on TV or read about it in the newspapers. To these people, what difference does it make if he's in their city, the neighboring one, or one clear across the country?

The geographic pattern should be developed to provide balanced regional coverage, with proper representation of large and small cities, urban and rural, etc. But an appearance in a small farm town in Iowa can be just as effective in its impact on

an Oregon small farm town resident as it is on the Iowans. In other words, people identify with other similar people - so get coverage of whatever group you're with and you'll affect all the similar groups who see the coverage.

Programmed phone calls

Use phone calls to keep troops fired up. During allotted time, two staff men work on placing calls. Get one lined up ahead so candidate sits at one phone - pushes buttons to utilize two lines alternatively - talks for 2 minutes on each call. Can do about 25 calls in an hour. On some can go even faster. Staff have calls programmed ahead with background card on each for candidate's quick briefing.

Use phone calls to maintain ties with key commentators and columnists. Call them two or three times a week for their reactions to campaign. Don't tell them anything - ask for their analysis and ideas. Pick some favorites and work them hard. Build the list as fast as possible and keep adding to it.

Use a phone car for all long drives, and use time for phone calls as per above - or else program car and other travel time for one of specific purposes - i.e., staff, personal meetings, work, rest, etc.

Radio network

Use network radio to keep troops fired up - by buying 5 minutes on national network every day through entire campaign - at 6:30 pm local time. Have a daily report from the candidate

and marching orders from campaign manager. A supply of fill-ins could be pretaped for emergency use, but normally candidate would tape current message each day. This could be delivered to local outlet for network feed - or fed by phone. One staff man would be producer and program would be tied to overall plan.

Mail

Use mail to fire up troops. Draft and start typing a standard but personalized letter to each local chairman. Mail them all two weeks before election day. Just thanks and encouragement. Signed by candidate.

III. ADDENDA

AVERAGE DAY'S CONTENTS

Start at 9:00 AM - finished by 10:00 PM

Work 6 days a week. Use the Sunday for complete break - rest and reading and planning.

Spend 2 hours on public events

2 hours on private meetings

2 hours for rest and writing and staff

2 hours for meals

2 hours for travel plus some of above time

1 hour for phone calls

1/2 hour briefing for traveling press - every day

1 1/2 hour TV taping.

SOME BASIC RULES

Don't go to cities that don't have adequate facilities

- good hotel with right room arrangements
- airport proximity and reasonable weather conditions
- good local organization for rally work, meeting, etc.
- major communications facilities - TV, radio, phone

Don't plan schedule on any basis except what we want.

Don't do any public fund raising during campaign -

use phone calls, private meetings and letters for this.

Use airport arrivals for offbeat color - suburban rallies, etc.,

but don't cut in to main public event.

Use a few motorcades where they'll really work - and go all out.

For all other travel, use unpublicized routes, but look for offbeat possibilities.

SAMPLE DAY 1

9:00 leave hotel for
9:15 Publisher meeting - 1/2 hour - at the paper
9:45 leave for TV studio
10:00 makeup and preparation for TV taping
10:30-11:00 tape major statement for today
11:15 leave studio for luncheon at hotel
11:30 pre-reception with small group of civic leaders
12:00 group into luncheon - candidate to room to eat - 1 hour
1:00 candidate to luncheon - standard speech - 1/2 hour
15 minutes handshaking, etc.
Drop by convention luncheon on way out or in
2:00 return to room for phone calls - 1 hour
staff work - 1 hour
4:00 private meetings in suite - individuals - 15 minutes each -
3 per hour - 6 meetings
5:00 leave for airport - fly to next city - dinner and staff work
on plane
10:00 arrive at hotel

SAMPLE DAY 2

9:00 leave hotel for airport
9:45 take off for next city
2 hours travel - staff work on plane
11:45 arrive new airport -
SUBURBAN WELCOME RALLY
standard speech
12:30 drive into town
1:00 arrive at convention luncheon in progress for drop-by
1:30 to suite -
1/2 hour lunch - staff
1 hour phone calls
3:00 to TV studio for panel program
3:15 at studio - makeup and preparation
3:45-4:15 tape show
4:30 leave for veterans' hospital visit - offbeat
4:45-5:30 at hospital
6:00 arrive at hotel - to suite - rest
6:30-7:00 cocktails - 6 key civic leaders
7:00 prepare for evening meeting - eat dinner
8:15 leave for major coliseum rally
8:30 speak at rally
9:30 return to hotel - overnight

PHONE CALL PROCEDURE

1. Maintain roto card file - 4 x 6 cards alpha by name.
Front side - name, phone numbers, basic data - political, personal, etc.
Reverse - complete record of contacts - phone, mail, personal
2. Staff pulls cards for today's calls - figure ratio of number to time - stack in order of priority.
3. Note with each card suggested points for candidate to make.
4. Staff places calls - while candidate is on preceding one.
Chat if time available - get reading and make notes.
5. Hand card and notes to candidate before he takes call - for quick pre-briefing.
6. Staff listen in on call - record any needed follow-up. Post info on card - refile - toss out notes except follow-up.
7. Two staff men needed to do this - one on current call, one on next one.

NOTE: Use conference calls - i.e., all local chairmen set up by regional man.