

*Haldeman*

June 9, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC  
Mitchell  
Stans  
Haldeman  
Flanigan  
Kleindienst  
Garment

FROM: Ellsworth

RE: Notes on Strategy and Tactics through November 5.

Summary: The campaign in 1968 has become a national campaign in a more complete sense than ever before. The old politics of regional geographical campaigns, and the old politics of ideological and class campaigns, have to a substantial extent given way to the new politics of media campaigning (as suggested in the Haldeman memorandum of 1967) with tactics based on demographic analysis.

One of the deep running currents in American politics today is the demand for a change in leadership: the opening theme of the Nixon campaign, the Johnson abdication, the Kennedy and McCarthy campaigns (netting some 75% of the vote in recent Democratic primaries), and the Wallace campaign -- all give evidence of this current. One effect of the RFK killing and TV coverage is to heighten the sense that the "ins" have failed to govern effectively and to intensify the pressure for changes in policies and leadership.

Assuming that Nixon and Humphrey\* are the nominees of the two major parties, Wallace would be the main competitor against Nixon for the votes of those who desire substantial change. In addition, Wallace will tap a substantial regional popularity in the South, plus the residual racism of the South, plus whatever white backlash may have been generated in recent years in the rest of the country.

Given the nationwide character of the "new politics" campaign that is indicated this year, it remains that the President has to be elected (according to the Constitution) by the electoral college. This means that local and regional factors must be taken into account, that the demography of the principal states has to be read and accounted for, and that the Wallace candidacy has a double potential for mischief: in that Wallace may win a substantial number (35 or more) of electoral votes, and in that he might drain off enough "we want a change", anti-Humphrey and white backlash votes in several states to deprive Nixon of electoral votes by throwing those states to Humphrey.

In thinking about campaign tactics, it is also necessary to keep in mind that we will have 25 candidates for Senate seats (including incumbents running for reelection) who appear to have a reasonable chance of winning. All of those votes in the Senate will be important to Nixon as President.

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\* A source close to Secretary Fowler says LBJ will now accept a draft at the Convention.

The foregoing points: 1.) the national quality of the election campaign, 2.) the electoral college effect, and 3.) the Senate candidates effect -- are analyzed in some detail on the following pages, and at the end the campaign efforts -- budget, non-candidate efforts, the Vice Presidential candidate's effort and the Presidential candidate's effort -- are assessed in light of the entire analysis.