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Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
16	19	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordan Strachan To: Jeb Magruder RE: Teeter's Interim Analysis Report. 2 pgs.
16	19	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: McGovern's Campaign Strengths. 1 pg.
16	19	4/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert H. Marik To: John N. Mitchell RE: The Democratic Nomination. 12 pgs.
16	19	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Patrick Buchanan and Kenneth Khachigian To: John Mitchell and H.R. Haldeman RE: Democratic Nominations. Copy attached. 18 pgs.

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16	19	4/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: John N. Mitchell RE: Wallace Strategy. 4 pgs.

April 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Teeter's Interim  
Analysis Report

As we discussed this morning, I reviewed Teeter's Interim Analysis Report carefully. I spent 1 1/2 hours with Ted Garrish asking questions regarding the conclusions, format, and analysis procedure. Besides some very real problems with the text and methodology, the conclusion of the memorandum poses a very serious question regarding the whole campaign thrust. The conclusion on Page 9 is: "Demographic bloc voting is significantly less important than voting behavior in affecting the election. The only exceptions to this rule are blacks, young voters in California, and Jewish voters in New York."

Either the campaign is organized regardless of the results of the polling data or the polling data is wrong. All the work by Marik, Finkelstein and Malek's voter blocs have been aimed at the argument that particular demographic groups will be decisive in this election. The appeals have been aimed at blacks, Spanish speaking, blue collar, labor, etc. Now the conclusion from the polling is that only blacks, young voters in California and Jewish voters in New York are important. If that's the case, someone much more capable than Paul Jones should be in charge of blacks, Ken Rietz should take all his troops to California, and Garment should probably spend full time in New York with whatever resources he needs to capture the Jewish vote.

The real purpose of this long, rather rambling memorandum is to raise the whole question of Teeter's capability and service to the campaign. He continues to spend less than one day a week here in Washington. As you know, Bob has been very interested in meeting with him to review what are reputed to be the Key States. True, the meeting has been cancelled from here twice, but the re-scheduling has been made even more difficult with Teeter's absence.

There is one final note that you and I should review personally concerning the usefulness of the issue information developed by the polls. This concerns a very scholarly attack on the questionnaire and vendors' reports by Roy Morey within the Domestic Council.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/21

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This analysis of McGovern's strength is an interesting addition to Buchanan's strategy memorandum of April 12. Mitchell has a copy and Colson has requested one.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.  
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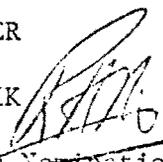
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April 20, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

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By Emp, Date 8-25-81

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK   
SUBJECT: The Democratic Nomination

This memorandum expands on the analysis of April 12, by Pat Buchanan and Ken Khachigian, relating to the Democratic Primaries. I substantially concur with their projected results in upcoming primaries. This analysis quantifies the delegate count which would result from several alternative scenarios.

At present, the delegate count stands at

Muskie	98-1/2
McGovern	100-1/2
Wallace	75
Humphrey	21
Chisholm	8
Mills	1
Uncommitted	151

based on completed selection in New Hampshire (18), Florida (81), Wisconsin (67), Illinois (160 plus 10 yet to be chosen in caucus), Arizona (25), Iowa (34 plus 12 to be selected by May 20th), Georgia (53) and Idaho (17).

SCENARIO I - ("Most probable" outcome): As a starting point, assume the following scenario in the remaining important primaries (similar to Buchanan/Khachigian). The estimated delegate counts are based in part on the National Observer projections of April 15, 1972.

April 25

Massachusetts - McGovern wins.

Delegates:	McGovern	75
	Muskie	27

Pennsylvania - Humphrey wins

Delegates:	Humphrey	98
	Muskie	60
	McGovern	24

Result: Muskie on the ropes; Humphrey climbing; McGovern at high  
===== momentum.

May 2

Ohio - Humphrey wins (based on Pennsylvania showing)

Delegates:	Humphrey	90
	Muskie	40
	McGovern	23

Indiana - Wallace wins (Crossover voting permitted)

Delegates:	Wallace	45
	Humphrey	31

Result: Muskie essentially out of race; Humphrey still in; Wallace  
===== in headlines; McGovern building in Nebraska, Oregon and California.

May 4

Tennessee - Wallace wins (Crossover voting permitted)

Delegates:	Wallace	45
	Other	4

North Carolina - Wallace wins

Delegates:	Wallace	46
	Sanford	18

Result: Wallace in high gear for West Virginia and Michigan.  
=====

May 9

Nebraska - McGovern wins (based on superior organization, and Humphrey time spent in Ohio, West Virginia.)

Delegates:	McGovern	14
	Humphrey	10

West Virginia - Humphrey wins. A close one. (This is a toss-up at this point. If Humphrey loses, he will probably pick up very few more delegates before the convention. Wallace could easily win this one.)

Delegates:	Humphrey	20
	Wallace	11
	McGovern	4

Result: McGovern in fine shape; Humphrey, Wallace still alive for  
===== Maryland and Michigan.

May 16

Maryland - Humphrey wins. A close one.\* (Wallace could win, as in West Virginia.)

Delegates:	Humphrey	29
	Wallace	24

Michigan - Humphrey wins. A close one.\* (Here too, Wallace could win.) (Crossover voting permitted)

Delegates:	Humphrey	54
	Wallace	44
	McGovern	24
	Muskie	10

\* Humphrey victories based on assumption that Muskie is very weak, HHH takes more of the Party's middle ground.

Result: If HHH wins, he is still alive; if not, he's gone. Wallace  
===== still a factor, McGovern still climbing.

May 23

Oregon - McGovern wins, based on good organization and more time in state than Humphrey.

Delegates:	McGovern	34
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Rhode Island - Muskie wins. (Although McGovern may take these away from ESM.)

Delegates:	Muskie	22
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Result: McGovern rolling for California.  
=====

June 6

California - McGovern wins. Muskie delegate slate takes votes from Humphrey.

Delegates: McGovern 271

New Jersey - Humphrey narrowly beats McGovern.

Delegates: Humphrey 56  
McGovern 53

South Dakota - McGovern wins.

Delegates: McGovern 17

New Mexico - Humphrey wins.

Delegates: Humphrey 14  
Muskie 4

Result: Momentum high for McGovern. Humphrey fighting to keep  
===== uncommitted liberal delegates and Muskie delegates from  
defecting to McGovern.

June 20

New York - McGovern wins. Many uncommitted delegates also lean toward him.

Delegates: McGovern 200  
Humphrey 25  
Chisholm 25  
Uncommitted 28

There will also be numerous delegates selected by state caucus during the period of the primaries. The estimated totals, by state and by candidate, for the preceding scenario, are given in Tab A. They show:

McGovern	1009-1/2
Humphrey	640
Muskie	495-1/2
Wallace	333
Other and uncommitted	538

SCENARIO II - (Best case for McGovern): Assume that Muskie is counted out early, and several state caucuses swing more toward McGovern. The estimate of totals by state are given in Tab B.

The overall totals are:

McGovern	1132-1/2
Humphrey	610
Muskie	412-1/2
Wallace	333
Others and uncommitted	528

SCENARIO III - (Best case for Humphrey): Assume that Humphrey does as strongly as he plausibly can; that Muskie's demise gives him substantial room to maneuver in the center and right of the Democratic Party. Specifically assume that Humphrey

1. Defeats Muskie decisively in Pennsylvania and Ohio
2. Wins Indiana
3. Beats McGovern in Nebraska
4. Beats Wallace decisively in West Virginia, Maryland and Michigan
5. Takes caucus votes away from Muskie in Kansas, Missouri and the Mountain States.
6. Goes on to beat McGovern in Oregon and California
7. Increases his share of New York delegates, following a California victory

The totals, then, are as follows: (Detailed in Tab C.)

McGovern	650-1/2
Humphrey	1155
Muskie	394-1/2
Wallace	278
Other and uncommitted	538

SCENARIO IV - (Best case for Wallace): Assume that Wallace beats Humphrey in each of their confrontations - Indiana, West Virginia, Maryland, Michigan - and that Humphrey is no longer a factor in Oregon and California, the totals are as follows: (Detailed in Tab D.)

McGovern	1035-1/2
Humphrey	558
Muskie	495-1/2
Wallace	389
Other and uncommitted	538

SCENARIO V - (Best Case for Muskie): Assume Muskie wins Massachusetts and Pennsylvania on April 25th, and Ohio on May 2nd. By this time he has nearly eliminated Humphrey from the race. He wins Nebraska on May 9, Michigan on May 16, and then goes on to take Oregon and California. He also takes some delegates from New Jersey and New York. The estimated totals by state are given in Tab E. The overall totals are:

McGovern	632-1/2
Humphrey	434
Muskie	1078-1/2
Wallace	333
Others and uncommitted	538

CONCLUSION

It is hard, if not impossible, to imagine a scenario that gives anyone 1509 committed delegates by the end of the primaries. As Buchanan and Khachigian have stated, the party regulars and the Unions have not been doing as well as was expected in electing delegates. They are being supplanted by liberals. Therefore, after the early ballots, the convention, if deadlocked, will be more liable to move left toward compromise than in the past.

In Scenarios I and II, I would judge Humphrey and Muskie to be too far back and the nomination would go to McGovern or Kennedy. In Scenario III, Humphrey has a chance. Additional support could come from Muskie delegates (possibly 200), Jackson delegates (80), Daley delegates or other uncommitted (possibly 200), and perhaps some Wallace delegates if he released them (possibly 100). Therefore, if Hubert were at 950 delegates or more, he might be able to put together another 500-600 delegates and win, if the party regulars pulled out all the stops. None of that can happen, however, unless he wins California. Scenario IV simply shows that Wallace could take Humphrey out of the race, and pave the way for a McGovern-Kennedy nomination. Scenario V shows that if Muskie came alive, he could have more than 1000 delegates at the convention on the first ballot. He would most likely become the consensus candidate and obtain the necessary 400-500 additional delegates from the uncommitted category, Humphrey, and other candidates. Once again, it would be necessary for him to take California to get within striking distance.

It seems unlikely that Humphrey will win in California, and even less likely that Muskie will. Thus, McGovern will go to the convention as the front-runner. If Kennedy wanted McGovern to get the nomination,

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George will probably be close enough for Teddy to put him over the top with an endorsement. If McGovern continues to gain momentum, as in Scenario II, Teddy may not be able to take the nomination away from him, even if he desires to do so. With McGovern's over 1,000 delegates on the first ballot, and Muskie's cause hopeless; he could probably find 500 more delegates from Muskie and the uncommitted group. The nature of McGovern's delegates is such that erosion is unlikely for two or three ballots, even for EMK, if George wanted to stay in the battle.

As Buchanan/Khachigian said---McGovern's the One.

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PROJECTED COUNT OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	2-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	111-1/2	13	100-1/2	0	0
<u>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</u>						
New York	278	--	25	200	--	53
New Jersey	109	--	56	53	--	--
Pennsylvania	182	60	98	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
Maryland	53	--	29	--	24	--
West Virginia	35	--	20	4	11	--
TOTAL	670	63	234	285	35	53
<u>SOUTH</u>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<u>PLAINS</u>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
Nebraska	24	--	10	14	--	--
Kansas	35	6	9	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	18	35	66	10	0
<u>MIDWEST</u>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
Ohio	153	40	90	23	--	--
Indiana	76	--	31	--	45	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
Michigan	132	10	54	24	44	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL:	828	170	238	169	91	160
<u>MOUNTAIN</u>						
Montana	17	17	--	--	--	--
Wyoming	11	9	--	2	--	--
Colorado	36	10	5	21	--	--
New Mexico	18	4	14	--	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
Nevada	11	6	--	3	--	2
Utah	19	10	--	9	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	68	21	54	0	11
<u>PACIFIC</u>						
California	271	--	--	271	--	--
Oregon	34	--	--	34	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	0	320	0	64
<u>OTHER</u>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
Puerto Rico	7	7	--	--	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Guam	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
GRAND TOTAL	3016	495-1/2	640	1009-1/2	333	538
*****	*****	*****	***	*****	***	***

PROJECTED COMPOSITION OF DELEGATE DELEGATIONS BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leading or Qualified to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Moskio	Furness	McGovern	Callace	
<b>NEW ENGLAND</b>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
* Vermont	12	8	--	4	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
* Rhode Island	22	--	--	22	--	--
* Connecticut	51	10	13	28	--	--
TOTAL	225	78-1/2	13	133-1/2	0	0
<b>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</b>						
New York	278	--	25	200	--	53
* New Jersey	109	--	30	79	--	--
Pennsylvania	182	60	98	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
Maryland	53	--	29	--	24	--
West Virginia	35	--	20	4	11	--
TOTAL	670	63	208	311	35	53
<b>SOUTH</b>						
* Virginia	53	15	5	11	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	27
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	--
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	53	99	20	197	226
<b>PLAINS</b>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
Nebraska	24	--	10	14	--	--
Kansas	35	6	9	20	--	--
* Oklahoma	39	10	11	8	10	--
TOTAL	129	16	35	68	10	0
<b>MIDWEST</b>						
* Kentucky	47	30	--	10	2	5
Ohio	153	40	90	23	--	--
Indiana	76	--	31	--	45	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
Michigan	132	10	54	24	44	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
* Missouri	73	10	12	32	--	21
TOTAL:	828	163	238	166	91	150
<b>WESTERN</b>						
* Montana	17	7	--	10	--	--
* Wyoming	11	5	--	6	--	--
* Colorado	36	5	5	26	--	--
* New Mexico	18	2	10	6	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
* Nevada	11	3	--	6	--	2
* Utah	19	5	--	14	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	39	17	87	0	11
<b>PACIFIC</b>						
California	271	--	--	271	--	--
Oregon	34	--	--	34	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	0	320	0	64
<b>OTHER</b>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
* Puerto Rico	7	--	--	7	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Cuba	2	--	--	--	--	2
TOTAL	31	0	0	7	0	24
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>3016</b>	<b>412-1/2</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>1132-1/2</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>528</b>

\* States where increased McGovern delegate strength is assumed, compared to Scenario I.

PROJECTED COURSE OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATE BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Haskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	111-1/2	13	100-1/2	0	0
<u>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</u>						
* New York	278	--	75	150	--	53
New Jersey	109	--	56	53	--	--
* Pennsylvania	182	30	128	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
* Maryland	53	--	39	--	14	--
* West Virginia	35	--	25	4	6	--
TOTAL	670	33	329	235	20	53
<u>SOUTH</u>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<u>PLAINS</u>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
* Nebraska	24	--	14	10	--	--
* Kansas	35	--	15	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	12	45	62	10	0
<u>MIDWEST</u>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
* Ohio	153	--	130	23	--	--
* Indiana	76	--	56	--	20	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
* Michigan	132	10	69	24	29	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL:	828	130	318	169	51	160
<u>MOUNTAIN</u>						
* Montana	17	7	10	--	--	--
* Wyoming	11	4	5	2	--	--
* Colorado	36	5	10	21	--	--
New Mexico	18	4	14	--	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
Nevada	11	6	--	3	--	2
* Utah	19	5	5	9	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	43	46	54	0	11
<u>PACIFIC</u>						
* California	271	--	271	--	--	--
* Oregon	34	--	34	--	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	305	15	0	64
<u>OTHER</u>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
Puerto Rico	7	7	--	--	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Guam	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>3010</b>	<b>394-1/2</b>	<b>1155</b>	<b>650-1/2</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>538</b>

\* States where increased Humphrey delegate strength is assumed, as compared to Scenario I (Tab A).

PROJECTED COUNT OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

State	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Mackie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<b>NEW ENGLAND</b>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	111-1/2	13	100-1/2	0	0
<b>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</b>						
New York	278	--	25	200	--	53
New Jersey	109	--	30	79	--	--
Pennsylvania	182	60	98	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
* Maryland	53	--	19	--	34	--
* West Virginia	35	--	10	4	21	--
TOTAL	670	63	188	311	55	53
<b>SOUTH</b>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<b>PLAINS</b>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
Nebraska	24	--	10	14	--	--
Kansas	35	6	9	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	18	35	66	10	0
<b>MIDWEST</b>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
Ohio	153	40	90	23	--	--
* Indiana	76	--	15	--	61	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
* Michigan	132	10	34	24	64	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL:	828	170	202	169	127	160
<b>MOUNTAIN</b>						
Montana	17	17	--	--	--	--
Wyoming	11	9	--	2	--	--
Colorado	36	10	5	21	--	--
New Mexico	18	4	14	--	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
Nevada	11	6	--	3	--	2
Utah	19	10	--	9	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	68	21	54	0	11
<b>PACIFIC</b>						
California	271	--	--	271	--	--
Oregon	34	--	--	34	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	0	320	0	64
<b>OTHER</b>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
Puerto Rico	7	7	--	--	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Guam	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>3016</b>	<b>395-1/2</b>	<b>558</b>	<b>1035-1/2</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>538</b>

\* States where increased  
Wallace delegate strength  
is assumed, as compared to  
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PROJECTED GAINS ON DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<b>NEW ENGLAND</b>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
* Massachusetts	102	70	--	32	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	154-1/2	13	57-1/2	0	0
<b>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</b>						
* New York	278	50	--	175	--	53
* New Jersey	109	30	26	53	--	--
* Pennsylvania	182	98	60	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
Maryland	53	--	29	--	24	--
West Virginia	35	--	20	4	11	--
TOTAL	670	181	141	260	35	53
<b>SOUTH</b>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<b>PLAINS</b>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
* Nebraska	24	14	--	10	--	--
Kansas	35	15	--	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	41	16	62	10	0
<b>MIDWEST</b>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
* Ohio	153	90	40	23	--	--
Indiana	76	--	31	--	45	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
* Michigan	132	54	10	24	44	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL	828	264	144	169	91	160
<b>MOUNTAIN</b>						
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Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Cuba	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
GRAND TOTAL	3016	1078-1/2	434	632-1/2	333	538

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: JOHN MITCHELL  
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN/KEN KHACHIGIAN

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them to run for delegate; strong grass roots effort is essential here; so McGovern should do extremely well in the Empire State, probably more delegates than anyone else, but not more than 100.

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Several points need to be made.

- A) Regular Democrats are not doing as well as they have in the past.
- B) A lot of liberals are getting into the convention who weren't there in 1968.
- C) Unions are not doing as well.
- D) There are sizable numbers of "undecided" delegates winning -- and we do not know precisely to whom they will go.
- E) McGovern is doing extremely well in non-primary states, maximizing his potential -- when George is winning them in Georgia, and Virginia, and picking off two-thirds of the Kansas delegation, it means they have a Goldwater type operation going, and going well.

#### THE SCENARIOS

SCOOP JACKSON -- No way we can see him winning the nomination, and no reason for his continuing much further. Wallace has eclipsed him on the party's social conservative right. We predict Jackson will either be out after Ohio or after Oregon -- the longer he stays in, however, the better for us, as he draws votes that would otherwise be Humphrey's or Muskie's -- and so he aids George McGovern.

HUBERT HUMPHREY -- Victory for Hubert lies in knocking Muskie out of the race in Pennsylvania and Ohio, in taking West Virginia and Michigan and Maryland from George Wallace, and winning California. Humphrey, in our view, is the odds-on favorite to become the Last Best Hope of the party Regulars against the McGovern insurgents. By and large, he does not contest any more major primary races with McGovern, directly, head-on -- before the decisive California primary. His competition in Pennsylvania and Ohio is Muskie, and if he takes Muskie out of the play there -- he contests Wallace in West Virginia, Maryland and Michigan.

Clearly, once Muskie is eliminated -- if he is -- Humphrey's approach in California is to paint George McGovern to the Regulars as the death-knell of the Democratic Party they have known. Even should Hubert lose California narrowly, he will likely carry New Jersey and pull some delegates out of New York.

Our problem with HHH is that he has never won a contested Democratic Presidential primary.

ED MUSKIE -- It is truly ten minutes to midnight for Big Ed. If he loses both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania on April 25 -- which he could -- it is hard to see how he can regain his momentum to become the Candidate of the Party Regulars. McGovern has already locked up the Left.

Muskie's chance to rehabilitate himself comes April 25 in Pennsylvania, and then a week later in Ohio. If he wins the first, he can conceivably win the second, and become himself the Candidate of the Regulars -- the last man who can prevent a McGovern nomination. The problem for the Regulars is that unless they settle on a single candidate before California, they are going to lose California -- to McGovern. From our standpoint, then, it would be good to have Muskie win something, good to have him and Jackson stay around for the California primary.

Muskie is today in a position not dissimilar from RN in 1968 -- had RN not swept the primaries. Had Miami come down to a three-way contest between RR, NR and RN -- then as soon as it appeared, the left or right candidate would win -- RN in the center would become the beneficiary of the opposite wing's support. In other words, had Nixon not won on the first ballot, he could still have won on a later ballot, by getting the panicked Rockefeller support, should Reagan rise, and the panicked Reagan support should Rockefeller approach the nomination.

Ed's second chance lies in the fact that he is more acceptable to the Left than Humphrey and to the Regulars than McGovern.

Absenting only Teddy Kennedy, he still has the best chance of uniting the Democratic Party today.

One final note: Muskie could come alive and well if he should two weeks from now win both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. That could bring him to life in an instant -- and though highly unlikely, it is not altogether outside the realm of possibility.

GEORGE MCGOVERN -- McGovern has these assets going for him:

- A) He is maximizing his support in the non-primary states, with a hustling team maximizing his support and winning him, nickel and dime, delegates in some of the damndest places.
- B) Even in the primary states where he is very nearly conceding defeat, such as New Jersey, Maryland, Michigan -- he will be picking up small pockets of delegates.
- C) He has momentum after Wisconsin; he has generated tremendous enthusiasm on the Left; he has convinced the True Believers that they can take over the party; and their challenge now has a "credibility" it has never previously had.
- D) He is targeting well. The states he says he can win -- he can conceivably win, i. e., Massachusetts, Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota, California and New York.
- E) He will go to Miami with support in every section of the country if not damn near every state.
- D) The convention he goes to will be more liberal and conscience oriented than any previous convention since the GOP in 1964. If Kennedy stays out and the convention goes more than two ballots, a lot of delegates are going to vote their hearts instead of their heads -- and the Democratic Party could wind up with this fellow as nominee.

McGovern's problems are apparent; he is of course anathema to conservative Democrats; but also, after Massachusetts, he is going to have a dry spell in terms of publicity for a few weeks -- and this could hurt him if Humphrey is dominating the news and building momentum with headline victories.

GEORGE WALLACE -- As someone put it, if Wallace were nominated, the Democratic Party would self-destruct on his way to the rostrum. There is no scenario for a Wallace nomination. However, he could take 300 delegates into the convention; his delegates will be challenged; anything is likely to happen; there is no way now to predict what he will do or what will be done to him -- the Democrats themselves will have to decide that.

## OUR NEXT GOAL

What we need now is a decision on whom we want to run against. We believe that McGovern is our candidate for dozens of reasons. He could be painted as a left-radical candidate, the Goldwater of the Democratic Party; and at this point in time we would inundate him. The Wallace Democrats, South and North, as well as the Daley and Meany Democrats, would have to take hemlock to support a fellow whose major plant is to chop 32 billion out of defense. Also, he is weak with the blacks, and would have to cater to that vote -- to his great disadvantage. Humphrey can take the blacks for granted in a contest with the President.

If we want McGovern -- and we believe we should -- then what we want is a showdown in Miami between the Regulars and the Left -- between Humphrey and McGovern with McGovern winning. And if McGovern loses that showdown -- then by all means, we want Humphrey. The Left would never take him again; he would guarantee a horror show in Miami Beach and a walkout of the Left following.

Muskie is our third choice -- the reason being that Muskie, despite his weaknesses is still a potentially unifying candidate for the Democrats, after a Humphrey-McGovern deadlock.

## EDWARD MOORE KENNEDY

Evans-Novak, in a column that looks to have come from the horse's mouth, say that Kennedy would accept a genuine draft. He is in the catbird's seat today. Tough there will be pressure on him to endorse McGovern -- if McGovern carries Massachusetts two weeks from today -- he can sit back and observe until July.

If the convention deadlocks on the first ballot, and if there is a deep division within the Democratic Party -- he is the major unifying figure on the national scene today. Though he would be unacceptable to the South, in a national election, he would bring to his candidacy all the McGovern support, plus the Kennedy charisma, plus the support of the Meanys and Daleys. A Democratic Party deeply divided, thirsting for unity and victory, would welcome a Kennedy.

For this reason, we do not believe our strategy should be to flush Kennedy out. As Kennedy is elevated, McGovern recedes -- and We Want McGovern.

Just as it would have been foolish for LBJ -- who wanted Goldwater in April -- to flush out and elevate the more formidable RN -- so it is foolish for us we believe to flush out and elevate EMK -- when he is far stronger and more dangerous than McGovern. We should elevate and assist McGovern in every way conceivable.

Nor can we surface Kennedy -- if he doesn't want to be surfaced. If we indicate we are apprehensive about his candidacy, that makes his candidacy more likely.

Right now, Kennedy is still in the background. There is a liberal media love affair going on with George McGovern; they will help George against Humphrey and we should help him as well. Every notch we move Kennedy up, we move McGovern down a peg. What we should do is begin publicly to take George McGovern seriously, and any pressure we could place upon EMK to endorse McGovern as the leader of the Left should be exerted. We might even attack McGovern to elevate him -- also, to get the record on him into the media.

McGovern has a long shot at the nomination, a very long shot. But if he wins, we win. Let's let him have his run at the nomination, and assist him in every way we can. Today, he gets 5 percent of a Democratic vote nationally; and RN swamps him in the polls -- and people do not yet know what a wild man he is. McGovern's The One.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By CRP NARS, Date 8-25-87 April 12, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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- C) Unions are not doing as well.
- D) There are sizable numbers of "undecided" delegates winning -- and we do not know precisely to whom they will go.
- E) McGovern is doing extremely well in non-primary states, maximizing his potential -- when George is winning them in Georgia, and Virginia, and picking off two-thirds of the Kansas delegation, it means they have a Goldwater type operation going, and going well.

#### THE SCENARIOS

SCOOP JACKSON -- No way we can see him winning the nomination, and no reason for his continuing much further. Wallace has eclipsed him on the party's social conservative right. We predict Jackson will either be out after Ohio or after Oregon -- the longer he stays in, however, the better for us, as he draws votes that would otherwise be Humphrey's or Muskie's -- and so he aids George McGovern.

HUBERT HUMPHREY -- Victory for Hubert lies in knocking Muskie out of the race in Pennsylvania and Ohio, in taking West Virginia and Michigan and Maryland from George Wallace, and winning California. Humphrey, in our view, is the odds-on favorite to become the Last Best Hope of the party Regulars against the McGovern insurgents. By and large, he does not contest any more major primary races with McGovern, directly, head-on -- before the decisive California primary. His competition in Pennsylvania and Ohio is Muskie, and if he takes Muskie out of the play there -- he contests Wallace in West Virginia, Maryland and Michigan.

Clearly, once Muskie is eliminated -- if he is -- Humphrey's approach in California is to paint George McGovern to the Regulars as the death-knell of the Democratic Party they have known. Even should Hubert lose California narrowly, he will likely carry New Jersey and pull some delegates out of New York.

Our problem with HHH is that he has never won a contested Democratic Presidential primary.

ED MUSKIE -- It is truly ten minutes to midnight for Big Ed. If he loses both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania on April 25 -- which he could -- it is hard to see how he can regain his momentum to become the Candidate of the Party Regulars. McGovern has already locked up the Left.

Muskie's chance to rehabilitate himself comes April 25 in Pennsylvania, and then a week later in Ohio. If he wins the first, he can conceivably win the second, and become himself the Candidate of the Regulars -- the last man who can prevent a McGovern nomination. The problem for the Regulars is that unless they settle on a single candidate before California, they are going to lose California -- to McGovern. From our standpoint, then, it would be good to have Muskie win something, good to have him and Jackson stay around for the California primary.

Muskie is today in a position not dissimilar from RN in 1968 -- had RN not swept the primaries. Had Miami come down to a three-way contest between RR, NR and RN -- then as soon as it appeared, the left or right candidate would win -- RN in the center would become the beneficiary of the opposite wing's support. In other words, had Nixon not won on the first ballot, he could still have won on a later ballot, by getting the panicked Rockefeller support, should Reagan rise, and the panicked Reagan support should Rockefeller approach the nomination.

Ed's second chance lies in the fact that he is more acceptable to the Left than Humphrey and to the Regulars than McGovern.

Absenting only Teddy Kennedy, he still has the best chance of uniting the Democratic Party today.

One final note: Muskie could come alive and well if he should two weeks from now win both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. That could bring him to life in an instant -- and though highly unlikely, it is not altogether outside the realm of possibility.

GEORGE MCGOVERN -- McGovern has these assets going for him:

- A) He is maximizing his support in the non-primary states, with a hustling team maximizing his support and winning him, nickel and dime, delegates in some of the damndest places.
- B) Even in the primary states where he is very nearly conceding defeat, such as New Jersey, Maryland, Michigan -- he will be picking up small pockets of delegates.
- C) He has momentum after Wisconsin; he has generated tremendous enthusiasm on the Left; he has convinced the True Believers that they can take over the party; and their challenge now has a "credibility" it has never previously had.
- D) He is targeting well. The states he says he can win -- he can conceivably win, i. e., Massachusetts, Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota, California and New York.
- E) He will go to Miami with support in every section of the country if not damn near every state.
- D) The convention he goes to will be more liberal and conscience oriented than any previous convention since the GOP in 1964. If Kennedy stays out and the convention goes more than two ballots, a lot of delegates are going to vote their hearts instead of their heads -- and the Democratic Party could wind up with this fellow as nominee.

McGovern's problems are apparent; he is of course anathema to conservative Democrats; but also, after Massachusetts, he is going to have a dry spell in terms of publicity for a few weeks -- and this could hurt him if Humphrey is dominating the news and building momentum with headline victories.

GEORGE WALLACE -- As someone put it, if Wallace were nominated, the Democratic Party would self-destruct on his way to the rostrum. There is no scenario for a Wallace nomination. However, he could take 300 delegates into the convention; his delegates will be challenged; anything is likely to happen; there is no way now to predict what he will do or what will be done to him -- the Democrats themselves will have to decide that.

## OUR NEXT GOAL

What we need now is a decision on whom we want to run against. We believe that McGovern is our candidate for dozens of reasons. He could be painted as a left-radical candidate, the Goldwater of the Democratic Party; and at this point in time we would inundate him. The Wallace Democrats, South and North, as well as the Daley and Meany Democrats, would have to take hemlock to support a fellow whose major plant is to chop 32 billion out of defense. Also, he is weak with the blacks, and would have to cater to that vote -- to his great disadvantage. Humphrey can take the blacks for granted in a contest with the President.

If we want McGovern -- and we believe we should -- then what we want is a showdown in Miami between the Regulars and the Left -- between Humphrey and McGovern with McGovern winning. And if McGovern loses that showdown -- then by all means, we want Humphrey. The Left would never take him again; he would guarantee a horror show in Miami Beach and a walkout of the Left following.

Muskie is our third choice -- the reason being that Muskie, despite his weaknesses is still a potentially unifying candidate for the Democrats, after a Humphrey-McGovern deadlock.

## EDWARD MOORE KENNEDY

Evans-Novak, in a column that looks to have come from the horse's mouth, say that Kennedy would accept a genuine draft. He is in the catbird's seat today. Though there will be pressure on him to endorse McGovern -- if McGovern carries Massachusetts two weeks from today -- he can sit back and observe until July.

If the convention deadlocks on the first ballot, and if there is a deep division within the Democratic Party -- he is the major unifying figure on the national scene today. Though he would be unacceptable to the South, in a national election, he would bring to his candidacy all the McGovern support, plus the Kennedy charisma, plus the support of the Meanys and Daleys. A Democratic Party deeply divided, thirsting for unity and victory, would welcome a Kennedy.

For this reason, we do not believe our strategy should be to flush Kennedy out. As Kennedy is elevated, McGovern recedes -- and We Want McGovern.

Just as it would have been foolish for LBJ -- who wanted Goldwater in April -- to flush out and elevate the more formidable RN -- so it is foolish for us we believe to flush out and elevate EMK -- when he is far stronger and more dangerous than McGovern. We should elevate and assist McGovern in every way conceivable.

Nor can we surface Kennedy -- if he doesn't want to be surfaced. If we indicate we are apprehensive about his candidacy, that makes his candidacy more likely.

Right now, Kennedy is still in the background. There is a liberal media love affair going on with George McGovern; they will help George against Humphrey and we should help him as well. Every notch we move Kennedy up, we move McGovern down a peg. What we should do is begin publicly to take George McGovern seriously, and any pressure we could place upon EMK to endorse McGovern as the leader of the Left should be exerted. We might even attack McGovern to elevate him -- also, to get the record on him into the media.

McGovern has a long shot at the nomination, a very long shot. But if he wins, we win. Let's let him have his run at the nomination, and assist him in every way we can. Today, he gets 5 percent of a Democratic vote nationally; and RN swamps him in the polls -- and people do not yet know what a wild man he is. McGovern's The One.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

April 11, 1972

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By *AMP*, Date *8-25-81*

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *Yarish*

SUBJECT:

Wallace Strategy

This memorandum will outline the current impact of George Wallace on the November election and various campaign implications of his candidacy at this time.

Ballot Effect of the Wallace Vote

In our national study, George Wallace obtains approximately 11% of the vote. As expected there is great geographical variance in his strength. In those states where we have conducted campaign polls, the Wallace vote ranges from 24% in Tennessee to 5% in New Hampshire. Our 1968 experience would indicate that the Wallace vote might range up to 40% in the deep south -- Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia. Attachment A shows the vote in those states where we have polled.

The effect of a Wallace candidacy on the President's vote varies greatly depending on the Democratic nominee. Against Humphrey or Kennedy, a Wallace candidacy hurts the President's chances in several crucial northern states. On the other hand, it is to the President's advantage to have Wallace on the ballot where Muskie is the candidate. In the border states, the President defeats all potential Democratic candidates by such large margins that a Wallace candidacy has no effect.<sup>1/</sup> The following table shows the effect of the Wallace candidacy:<sup>1/</sup>

1/

A state was put in "Helps" or "Hurts" category depending upon the change in the President's margin from the two way to the three way ballots. A state was categorized as "No difference" if the margin remained the same or if the President won or lost the state by 10% or more.

	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>
<u>HELPS:</u>	Indiana +4/+8 Missouri -10/-8 New Hampshire +7/+10 New Jersey +8/+11 Ohio +6/+8 Oregon +1/+3 Pennsylvania -6/-4 Texas -2/-1 Wisconsin -12/-9	Wisconsin 0/+2	Iowa +8/+9
<u>HURTS:</u>	California -5/-6 New York +1/-1	Maryland +4/+1 Missouri -2/-3 New York +9/+7 Oregon +11/+7 Pennsylvania +6/+3 Texas +9/+6	California -5/-7 Kentucky +9/+8 Maryland -1/-2 Missouri -2/-6 New Jersey +8/+7 New York +2/+1 North Carolina +14/+9 Ohio +10/+7 Pennsylvania +6/+3 Tennessee +15/+9 Texas +1/0

NO DIFFERENCE:

Florida +21/+17	California +7/+7	Florida +15/+10
Iowa +8/+10	Florida +22/+17	Indiana +8/+8
Kentucky +15/+15	Indiana +15/+14	New Hampshire +22/+20
Maryland -1/-1	Iowa +18/+21	Oregon +4/+4
N. Carolina +19/+12	Kentucky +16/+16	Virginia +25/+18
Tennessee +14/+11	New Hamp. +24/+23	Wisconsin -11/-11
Virginia +15/+15	New Jersey +18/+16	
	N. Carolina +25/+17	
	Ohio +13/+10	
	Tennessee +17/+11	
	Virginia +23/+17	

Our research shows that the farther to the left the Democratic candidate is perceived from the President the more negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. Therefore, if the Democratic nominee moves to a central position on the liberal-conservative spectrum, a Wallace candidacy should be to our advantage and vice versa. It appears that if McGovern is the nominee, the effect of a Wallace candidacy would be similar to Kennedy and Humphrey rather than like Muskie.

Approximately 50% of the Wallace vote is hard core voting for him on all ballots, while the other half switch to and from Wallace depending on the particular candidate choices offered.

### Profile of Wallace Voters

The demographic voter profile of the Wallace voter varies considerably by region. In California, Wallace voters are primarily in the \$7,000 to \$15,000 income bracket, have less education, are more Protestant and are slightly more non-union than other voters. A high percentage are male. In terms of voting behavior, Wallace draws slightly more Republicans than Democrats.

In New York, Wallace voters are more likely to be Democrats, Catholics and union members. A much higher percentage of men support Wallace than do women.

Wallace voters in Florida are highly Democratic, and have substantially lower education than other voters. Wallace also draws heavily from voters who are Protestant and non-union. The support from men and women is more even in Florida than in other states although slightly more men than women support Wallace.

In terms of issues, Wallace voters rank the issues in approximately the same importance as other voters; however, Wallace voters display more intensity of feeling about all issues.

Nationally, bussing remains the least important of all issues tested, although Wallace voters are more opposed to bussing than Nixon or Muskie voters. The most important issues are crime, drugs, and taxes, and Vietnam. The tax issue is more important for Wallace voters than other voters. A majority of Wallace voters disagree that the President's economic policies will benefit the working man, compared to lesser percentages of Nixon and Muskie voters who disagree. Wallace voters generally perceive the President's handling of issues more favorably than Muskie voters but substantially less favorably than Nixon voters.

### Other Third Party Candidates

Our research shows that our chances for winning every state are substantially improved with the addition of other Democratic third party candidates such as Shirley Chisholm and Eugene McCarthy on the ballot. This conclusion was confirmed by an independent California study showing a similar result in increasing the President's margin with addition of Benjamin Spock to the ballot.

Alternatively a conservative Republican third party candidate would undoubtedly be a detriment to the President's voting strength.

### Campaign Implications

In the border states, the President's large margins preclude any negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. The effect in the deep south, however, is uncertain and consideration should be given to conducting additional secret ballots in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana to determine whether the President would be

able to win these states with and without a Wallace candidacy. A recent poll conducted in Louisiana shows a slight edge for Nixon over Wallace. This finding should be verified and studied in other deep south states.

Our research also indicates that the Wallace voters do considerable switching and a careful program should be developed to identify concentrations of Wallace vote in critical states. The issues that appeal to Wallace voters (crime, drugs, and taxes) are ones which will need emphasis to all voters. Therefore, our success in dealing with the Wallace voters will depend largely on our ability to identify these voters and reach them with our message. Similar to ticket-splitters, Wallace voters should be easier to convert than traditional straight Democratic party voters. Direct mail and canvassing programs should first be directed at the heaviest Wallace precincts from 1968. This effort should be coordinated with an identical effort directed at high ticket-splitting precincts.

The decision as to whether we want Wallace on or off the ballot should be delayed until the Democratic candidate is chosen and his perceived position on the liberal-conservative spectrum is determined. The closer the Democratic candidate is perceived to the President, the more help a Wallace candidacy will be. As of now, it appears that a Wallace candidacy in November would be a detriment against either Humphrey or Kennedy. There are indications, however, that this situation may change as a result of the primaries and further campaigning. At this time, it seems most appropriate to us to keep our options available rather than making any firm decision.

If possible, we should begin to take whatever steps are necessary to have Shirley Chisholm, Eugene McCarthy and Benjamin Spock on the ballot in all critical states. Chisholm appears to be our best choice of these potential candidates. Consideration should be given to funding the candidacy of one of these persons to permit their filing as a third party candidate in as many states as possible. Similarly, we must make every effort to prevent a conservative third party candidate being used against us.

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