August 17, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: The 1948 Campaign.

1. What should be the main objectives of the Democratic campaign?

a. The first objective is to win a large majority of the 15,000,000 independent voters who overwhelmingly followed the liberal leadership of the Democratic Party in the last four elections. This should be done by driving home to them the failures of the 80th Congress, by linking Dewey closely to the leadership of that Congress, and by presenting the President as a crusader rallying the people to save the tremendous social gains made under the New Deal and carried forward by his administration in a difficult post-war period over the opposition of a reactionary Congress.

b. The second objective is to win support from three large groups in the Nation which can swing the election and are already predominantly Democratic in their inclinations: workers, veterans, and Negroes. This does not mean that farmers, small businessmen, and other groups should be overlooked, but it does mean that the larger effort of the campaign should be concentrated on the three groups named above.

c. The third objective is to cut through all party lines by showing that the President’s policy has kept the Nation on a road leading to peace, and that changes in this policy may lead to war.
2. How can these objectives be attained?

a. Winning the Independent, Liberal vote:

Many of the principal labor unions and liberal groups are now coming forward with endorsements of the President. These endorsements should be given dramatic reality by having the chief labor leaders, Negro leaders, Jewish leaders, etc., appear on platforms with the President, at meetings sponsored by such groups. By hammering away on the failures of the 80th Congress, the President can show the people what to expect from the Republicans. He can cite his own experience as a small business man in the 1920's when the disastrous failure of a Republican administration led to thousands of bankruptcies and bank failures, and mass unemployment. He can reiterate that the Republican party has learned nothing since 1930 -- that the Republicans have only one policy -- boom and bust. He can demonstrate that Dewey sat on the sidelines during the Special Session, and that Dewey was incapable or unwilling to move the reactionary leaders of the 80th Congress to act on inflation, housing, health, social security, aid to education, etc.

b. Winning the workers, veterans, and veterans:

In the style and delivery of his speeches, the President should closely identify himself with the principal interests of these key groups -- workers, veterans, and veterans.

1. The President should demand in very positive terms the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and call attention to his own fine record on labor issues. He should dramatize the hardships imposed on labor by the Republican refusal to restore price controls and to adopt effective anti-inflation measures.

2. The President should refer to his combat service, and make
clear his recognition of the needs of veterans. There will be no need to point out that Dewey is not a veteran; other speakers can bring out that point. The President should discuss the successful administration of the greatest program for veterans in American history, conducted under the G.I. Bill of Rights which was proposed by Democratic leadership and passed by a Democratic Congress. He should emphasize the failure of the Republicans to enact the T-V-E-W Bill.

3. The President should speak out fully on his Civil Rights record. He can refer to his votes in the Senate, his support of the wartime FEPC, and his recent Executive Orders to end discrimination in the Government and the armed services. His record proves that he acts as well as talks Civil Rights. The Negro votes in the crucial states will more than cancel out any votes the President may lose in the South. He can point out that the Dixiecrat candidates have not dared to campaign in favor of poll taxes. Even in the South, the Dixiecrats have raised the smoke screen of States Rights rather than openly oppose the extension of Civil Rights to the Negroes.

c. To win the "peace" vote:

The President should reiterate constantly that he has directed our foreign policy with the purpose of establishing not merely peace in our time but peace for all time. He should refer frequently to the Truman Doctrine and the European Recovery Program, and point out that these have been successful in maintaining the integrity of free states against Communist pressure. He should discuss his record with respect to the United Nations, and his personal contributions to Western Hemisphere solidarity by trips to Mexico, Canada, and Brazil.
3. Where should the President concentrate his campaign efforts?

a. Critical states:

The President can make most effective use of his time by concentrating on the 17 states which went to one party or the other by very narrow margins in 1948. In 1948, eleven of these states voted Democratic, six of them Republican. These 17 states have 27 electoral votes, more than a majority. The average percentage of votes needed in these states to shift from Democratic to Republican or vice versa in 1948 was only 1.9%. These states are:

New England: New Hampshire, Massachusetts
Middle Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Maryland
Middle West: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri
Mountain: Idaho, Wyoming

b. Important cities:

In addition to spending a large part of his time in the critical states, the President should make his major speeches in the 25 largest city-county areas. In terms of population and potential Democratic votes the metropolitan areas listed on the following page are of primary importance. The President should certainly make personal appearances in as many of these metropolitan centers as possible. In these areas are concentrated the largest numbers of industrial workers and the largest number of low-income families. These areas gave Roosevelt his overwhelming majorities and, in most instances, were decisive in swinging the electoral votes of their states.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Metropolitan Population</th>
<th>Democratic Votes 1934</th>
<th>Republican Votes 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>New England</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford, Connecticut</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>129,000</td>
<td>95,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven, Connecticut</td>
<td>320,000</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>109,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts</td>
<td>906,000</td>
<td>315,000</td>
<td>275,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, Massachusetts</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>98,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence, R.I.</td>
<td>720,000</td>
<td>137,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Atlantic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Maryland</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>363,000</td>
<td>111,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jersey City, N.J.</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>191,000</td>
<td>117,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark, N.J.</td>
<td>430,000</td>
<td>215,000</td>
<td>119,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>13,000,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>1,270,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh, Pa.</td>
<td>2,051,000</td>
<td>352,000</td>
<td>381,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>186,000</td>
<td>306,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle West</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>4,500,000</td>
<td>1,275,000</td>
<td>925,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis, Ind.</td>
<td>155,000</td>
<td>106,000</td>
<td>116,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>2,100,000</td>
<td>155,000</td>
<td>316,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis, Minn.</td>
<td>320,000</td>
<td>189,000</td>
<td>127,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>225,000</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>790,000</td>
<td>194,000</td>
<td>153,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, Ohio</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>331,000</td>
<td>293,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
<td>730,000</td>
<td>290,000</td>
<td>310,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pacific Coast</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>2,900,000</td>
<td>866,000</td>
<td>666,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>1,330,000</td>
<td>377,000</td>
<td>591,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Oregon</td>
<td>106,000</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>73,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>265,000</td>
<td>191,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The population figures are for metropolitan areas; the voting figures are for the counties in which these metropolitan centers are located. The boundary lines of the metropolitan areas and counties do not always coincide.
6 / 8

b. What campaign tours would meet the objectives outlined above?

The President might make three long tours during the campaign. One might be through the Middle West, one through the Far West, and one through the East.

a. The Middle West tour could begin on Labor Day, in Detroit. By using his plane the President might be able to make appearances at two large mass meetings on Labor Day, which would emphasize his role as a close friend of American labor. In addition to the Labor Day speech or speeches, the President could make addresses in Chicago, Indianapolis, Des Moines, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Cincinnati and Cleveland. This tour would cover all eight of the critical Middle West states, and include the largest cities in each of those states.

b. The next tour of the President might well be in the West. The two marginal states are Idaho and Wyoming. Idaho went Democratic by 7,000 votes in 1944, and is having a key senatorial race this year. Wyoming went Republican by only 2,500 votes in 1944 and there is also a key senatorial contest there. After his appearances in Idaho and Wyoming, the President should tour California very thoroughly. California requires special treatment by the President because it is the home of the extremely popular Governor Warren. The President might well follow up his earlier description of Warren as really a Democrat, and cite the differences between Warren's statements on issues and the statements of the Republican leaders in the Senate. The President might tell the California voters that Governor Warren would be most useful to the people in the Governor's mansion in California rather than as a helpless companion of the Vice-President's chair in an administration which would be controlled by men who differ strongly from Warren on every important point. As a former Vice-President, the President would remind Californians that under our
system of government the Vice-Presidents do not have a major voice
in the national administration. The President should discuss Civil
Rights in California to cut into the Wallace strength and he should
also discuss his policy on the federal development of the enormous
natural resources of the West. The western tour should certainly
include appearances in these cities: Los Angeles, San Francisco,
Portland, and Seattle.

The final Presidential tour should be in the East, covering the
states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New
Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. These are the marginal states
on the East coast. The high cost of living, the lack of housing, the
needs of labor, and Civil Rights should be stressed. The Civil Rights
speeches should stress the need for a federal Civil Rights program to
cover every section of the United States, to prove to the world that
the great benefits of American democracy are meant for all groups in
the country. In New York the president should appear for a major
speech at a mass meeting in Harlem, a center of Negro population. His
appearance there would have a powerful effect on Negro voters through-
out the United States. Cities in which speeches are necessary include:
Boston, Worcester, Providence, Hartford, New Haven, New York, Jersey
City, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore.

Consideration might be given to a short trip into the South. A speech
might well be made in Birmingham, Alabama or Atlanta, Georgia on the
need for the economic assistance for the South in the TVA pattern. In
this speech the President could speak to southern voters of their great
gain under the New Deal and he could assure them that the welfare of
the South is one of his primary concerns.
5. Miscellaneous observations:

a. Timing:
   The President should make at least two major speeches a week in each of the nine weeks between Labor Day and Election Day, in addition to short speeches at mass meetings. The major speeches should be delivered in the largest cities and in the 17 key states.

b. Arrangements in each city:
   (1) When the President is scheduled for a major speech in a city, he should reach that city the night before the day scheduled for the speech, and spend the entire day meeting as many community leaders as possible, and being seen by as many people as possible, as he did in Los Angeles.
   (2) Wherever possible, meetings should be sponsored by "Citizen's Committees for Harry S. Truman," with a broad representation of union men and civic leaders as well as party leaders. This would be particularly important in the areas where the relationships between the Democratic city and county committees, the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., the independent and minority groups have not been very harmonious.

c. "Intelligence Service":
   A trained observer should precede the President at every stop he is scheduled to make. This man should prepare a brief on the town the President is scheduled to visit, explaining the local issues of importance and how they tie in to the national issues. These reports should be obtained from friendly editors, Democrats and other such sources, and telegraphed to the train daily. This man should start his circuit at least two weeks before the President's tour begins. Twenty-four-hour staff reports should also be supplied by the Democratic National Committee for use by the President's staff.

Very respectfully,

CLARK M. CLIFORD