

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
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	1	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Action Paper RE: Campaign Strategy. 1 pg.
16	1	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Polls to Key People. 4 pgs.
16	1	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Larry Higby RE: Trial Heat Analysis. 1 pg.
16	1	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Thomas W. Benham To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Trial Heats-Shifts in Voter Preference by Demographics (January 1972 versus November 1971 versus June 1971). 9 pgs.

<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	1	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Assigning one man the responsibility of harnessing the incumbency for political purposes. 1 pg.
16	1	12/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: H.R. Haldeman To: Fred Malek RE: Political Review for Incumbency. Page of notes attached along with three copies. 5 pgs.
16	1	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Larry Higby RE: William Timmons' convention proposal. 1 pg.
16	1	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: William Timmons RE: Young People on T.V. Convention. 1 pg.
16	1	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Charles W. Colson RE: Spokesman Resources. 1 pg.

<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	1	1/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: H. R. Haldeman RE: Catholic Vote. 4 pgs.
16	1	1/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: H. R. Haldeman RE: The Environment. 4 pgs.
16	1	1/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Larry Higby RE: Ehrlichman's campaign memo. 1 pg.
16	1	11/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: John D. Ehrlichman To: H. R. Haldeman RE: Re-Election Campaign. 9 pgs.
16	1	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H. R. Haldeman RE: Request for analysis of the Ethnic vote. 1 pg.

<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	1	1/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: W. Richard Howard To: Bart Porter RE: Warning against repeating past mistakes involving the ethnic problem. 1 pg.
16	1	12/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Michael Balzano To: Charles W. Colson RE: The Ethnic Vote in the 1972 Election. 5 pgs.
16	1	9/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	President Nixon's Labor Day Address. 20 pgs.

ACTION PAPER - CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

In general strategy planning, we've got to consider more appearances in the country to counteract the adverse media. In other words, the President's personal campaigning may be indispensable to combat the slanted coverage that we are going to be getting from the media. We should look carefully at the idea of moving out into the country. The President, as of now, veers away from the concept of serenely soaring above the battle. He does feel, however, that he must at all costs, maintain a strong, calm, serene attitude.

There is a lot of validity to the Connally theory of uncertainty but the problem is how to deal with it.

One flaw in our approach may be that when we advance new programs, that is saying, in effect, that things are in bad shape. It therefore plays into the opponent's hands. It's like the doctor with a pill for every ill. It's a bad way to treat a patient over the long haul.

It's clear that going into the country is good for the people regarding the uncertainty questions so we've got to do a lot of it.

HRH:pm

2/7/72

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/7

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This is Benham's best effort at trial heat analysis - it doesn't contain some vital key because Benham says, "I wish there was some subtle analysis to be made but I don't know what the hell it would be."

Opinion Research Corporation

NORTH HARRISON STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540 telephone: 609/924-5900

CHICAGO • LONDON • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • WASHINGTON, D.C.

THOMAS W. BENHAM
President

MEMORANDUM

February 3, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Thomas W. Benham

SUBJECT: Trial Heats -- Shifts in Voter Preference by Demographics
(January 1972 versus November 1971 versus June 1971)

Over the past six months, President Nixon has made substantial gains among various population subgroups in trial elections against Humphrey, Kennedy and Muskie. These gains in most subgroups carry over to the three-way races which include Wallace. The improvement is not a function of any one group becoming more favorable while the rest stay the same. It tends to be scattered across many subgroups. Most changes occur between November 1971 and January 1972 and virtually no (statistically significant) changes for any candidate are noted between June 1971 and November 1971.

President Nixon's gains from November 1971 to January 1972 are fairly consistent regardless of who the Democratic candidate is. This is also true for the three-way races. There tends to be a corresponding decrease for the Democratic candidates among the groups where President Nixon gains. The Democratic candidates make no substantial gains. Shown on the following page are the population subgroups in which President Nixon gains in the period November 1971 to January 1972.



Population Subgroups Showing
 Trial Heat Gains for President Nixon,
 November 1971 to January 1972

	Nixon vs. ...			Nixon vs. ...		
	Humphrey	Muskie	Kennedy	Humphrey Wallace	Muskie Wallace	Kennedy Wallace
Total Public	X*	X*	X	X*	X*	
Men	X	X*		X	X*	
21-29 years	X					
30-49 years	X	X	X*	X	X	X
High school graduates		X*			X	
Some college	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*
Union families	X			X		
Nonunion families		X*			X*	
Whites	X*	X*	X	X*	X*	X
Catholics	X			X	X	
\$5,000-\$15,000	X	X	X	X	X	X
Registered	X	X		X*	X	
Republicans			X*			X*
Conservatives	X					
Independents	X*					
Liberals		X			X	
Nonvoters in 1968	X*	X*	X*	X	X	X
East		X		X	X	
Midwest		X*				
Disapprove of Job as President	X*	X*				
Approve of Job as President			X			
Approve of Handling of Vietnam	X	X	X	X	X	
Disapprove of Handling of Economy		X		X	X	

X = Statistically significant gain

* = January also higher than June

Nixon vs. Humphrey

President Nixon gains more against Humphrey than any other candidate and in most of the subgroups where gains are noted for President Nixon corresponding losses occur for Humphrey. Most gains for President Nixon occur from the November 1971 survey to the January 1972 survey; a few occur from June 1971 to January 1972. No changes occur between June and November.

No real pattern is apparent in the subgroups in which President Nixon gains. There are, in fact, many diverse elements, making it difficult to identify the cause or causes of this upsurge.

When Wallace enters the Nixon-Humphrey race, almost all the gains noted in the two-way race are repeated both in the period November 1971 to January 1972 and the period June 1971 to January 1972.

Nixon vs. Muskie

In the trial election against Muskie, President Nixon gains over the period November 1971 to January 1972. These gains are very similar to the gains noted in the Nixon-Humphrey race. Losses are noted in far fewer subgroups for Muskie, however, than for Humphrey. Again, the entry of Wallace into the race has little impact on President Nixon's gains.

Nixon vs. Kennedy

President Nixon gains among fewer subgroups against Kennedy than against the other Democratic candidates. But the groups where President Nixon does gain tend to be the same as in the other races. As in the previous races, however, most of President Nixon's gains occur between November 1971 and January 1972. Most gains for President Nixon in the two-way race carry-over to the three-way race.

NIXON VS. MUSKIE

January 1972 vs. November 1971

Nixon		Muskie	
<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>
Total Public Men 30-49 years High school graduates Some college Nonunion families Whites \$5,000-\$15,000 Registered voters Liberals Nonvoters in 1968 East Midwest Disapprove of Nixon's Handling Job as President Approve of Nixon's Handling of Vietnam Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Economy			Some college* \$5,000-\$15,000* East* Midwest*

January 1972 vs. June 1971

Total Public Men 18-20 years High school graduate Some college Nonunion families Whites Will register Independents Nonvoters in 1968 Midwest Disapprove of Nixon's Handling Job as President			Men* High school graduate* Some college* Independents* Nonvoters in '68* East Disapproved of Nixon's Handling Job as President*
---	--	--	--

November 1971 vs. June 1971

NO CHANGES

NO CHANGES

* Areas where President Nixon has gained

NIXON VS. MUSKIE VS. WALLACE

January 1972 vs. November 1971

Nixon		Muskie		Wallace	
<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>
 Total Public# Men# 30-49 years# High school graduates# Some college# Nonunion families# Whites# Catholics \$5,000-\$15,000# Registered voters# Liberals# Nonvoters in '68# East# Approve of Nixon's Handling of Vietnam# Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Economy# 		 Some college* 		Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Economy*	
<u>January 1972 vs. June 1971</u> Total Public# Men# Some college# Nonunion families# Whites# Independents# Midwest# 		 Some college* Democrats East 		 (Empty) 	
<u>November 1971 vs. June 1971</u> <u>NO CHANGES</u>		<u>NO CHANGES</u>		<u>NO CHANGES</u>	

Gains also noted in 2-way race

* Areas where President Nixon has gained

NIXON VS. KENNEDY

January 1972 vs. November 1971

Nixon		Kennedy	
<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>
Total Public	Nonwhites	Nonwhites	21-29 years
30-49 years		Over \$15,000	\$5,000-\$15,000*
Some college			Nonvoters in 1968*
Whites			Approve of Nixon's
\$5,000-\$15,000			Handling Job as
Republicans			President*
Nonvoters in 1968			
Approve of Nixon's			
Handling Job as			
President			
Approve of Nixon's			
Handling of <u>Vietnam</u>			

January 1972 vs. June 1971

30-49 years	X	X	Some college*
Some college			Nonvoters in '68*
Nonunion families			
Republicans			
Nonvoters in '68			
Midwest			

November 1971 vs. June 1971


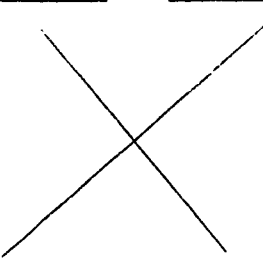

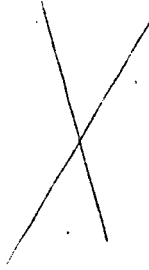
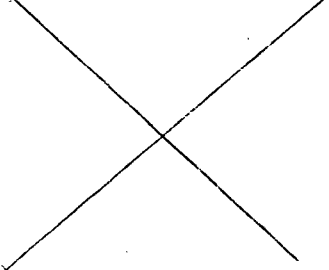
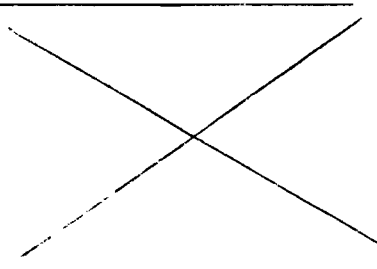
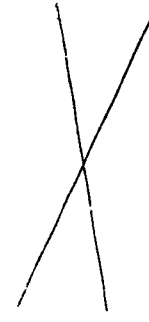
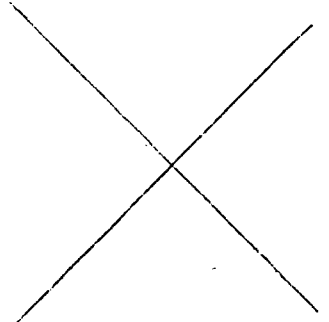
NO CHANGES

NO CHANGES

* Areas where President Nixon has gained

NIXON VS. KENNEDY VS. WALLACE

January 1972 vs. November 1971

Nixon		Kennedy		Wallace	
<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>
30-49 years# Some college# Whites# \$5,000-\$15,000# Republicans# Voted for Nixon in 1968#		Over \$15,000	Protestants \$5,000- \$15,000		
<u>January 1972 vs. June 1971</u>					
Some college# Nonunion families# Protestants Republicans# Midwest#			Some college* Nonvoters in 1968		
<u>November 1971 vs. June 1971</u>					
			Over \$15,000		

Gains also noted in 2-way race

* Areas where President Nixon has gained

NIXON VS. HUMPHREY

January 1972 vs. November 1971

Nixon		Humphrey	
<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>
Total Public Men 21-29 years 30-49 years Some college Union families Whites Catholics \$5,000-\$15,000 income Registered voters Independents Conservatives Nonvoters in 1968 Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Job as President Approve of Nixon's Handling of Vietnam No opinion of Nixon's Handling of Economy		21-29 years of age* 30-49* Some college* Union families* Whites* \$5,000-\$15,000* Independents Conservatives* Nonvoters in 1968* Midwest Approve of Nixon's Handling of Economy	

January 1972 vs. June 1971

Total Public Some college Whites Independents Nonvoters in 1968 Midwest Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Job as President		21-29 years Some college* Independents* Nonvoters in 1968* Midwest*	
--	--	---	--

November 1971 vs. June 1971

NO CHANGE

NO CHANGE

* Areas where President Nixon has gained

NIXON VS. HUMPHREY VS. WALLACE

January 1972 vs. November 1971

Nixon		Humphrey		Wallace		
<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	<u>Gains</u>	<u>Losses</u>	
Total Public#			21-29 years			
Men#			Some college*			Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Economy
30-49 years#			\$5,000-\$15,000*			
Some college#			Independents			
Union families#			Nonvoters in '68*			
Whites#			Midwest			
Catholics#			Approve of Nixon's Handling of Economy			
\$5,000-\$15,000#						
Registered voters#						
Voted for Nixon in '68						
Nonvoters in '68#						
East						
Approve of Nixon's Handling of Vietnam#						
Disapprove of Nixon's Handling of Economy						
<hr/>						
<u>January 1972 vs. June 1971</u>						
Total Public#		21-29 years				
Some college#		High school graduate				
Nonunion families		Some college*				
Whites#		Independents*				
Registered voters		Nonvoters in 1968				
Independents#						
Midwest#				<hr/>		
<u>November 1971 vs. June 1971</u>						
<u>NO CHANGE</u>		<u>NO CHANGE</u>		<u>NO CHANGE</u>		

Gain also noted in 2-way race

* Areas where President Nixon has gained

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: Dec. 29, 1971

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

On Sears' political memorandum you indicated agreement with the idea of assigning one man the responsibility of harnessing the incumbency for political purposes.

Higby and I believe Malek should be the one man responsible.

A memorandum for your signature is attached.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

December 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

H.R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Political Review of Incumbency

The most important function you can perform before November 7, 1972 is to assume personal responsibility for harnessing the powers of the incumbency for political purposes. In addition to an analysis of the budget to determine how and where federal monies are being spent, you should consider all pending and proposed programs, policies and legislation from a purely political standpoint.

There is a real need for such an operation since Congressional liaison, liaison with special interests and the present political liaison all must concern themselves with day to day problems and are not broad enough to get control over the full range of problems necessary to achieve the desired result. Also, such a function should not be left to a group decision since any actions which are taken as a result of analyzing government actions and policy from a standpoint of politics must be quite secret and quite swift. The analysis should be conducted in great detail and this can only be accomplished by one person with a small staff being entrusted with full responsibility.

It is extremely important that this function be centralized in one place. It is too much to expect that Cabinet Secretaries and other governmental officials can possibly divorce themselves from the objective good or bad of a problem or decision and provide a purely political assessment. Also, there are too many demands on their time to allow them to follow through on all the political considerations which they should.

As programs and policies are analyzed, short memos should be submitted for decision. The flexibility in OMB in terms of where money is actually spent should also be submitted for discussion.

Other projects with which you are involved, such as grantsmanship, White House Staff reorganization for the Campaign, and one man responsibility for certain issues, fold into this new assignment. However, this political review and use of the incumbency should receive your careful direct attention.

1966
New functions suggested
responsibility left by
more staff
John S.

see me
Mally should see
copy this

I. POLITICAL REVIEW FUNCTION

It is essential that someone start functioning immediately to harness the powers of office for political purposes. Such a person should have no other responsibilities between now and the election. Essentially, such a person should (1) analyze the budget to see how Federal monies are being spent and where and (2) analyze all pending and proposed programs, policies and legislation from a purely political standpoint.

agree
what are we
doing

There is a real need for such an operation since Congressional liaison, liaison with special interests and the present political liaison all must concern themselves with day to day problems and are not broad enough to get control over the full range of problems necessary to achieve the desired result. Also, such a function should not be left to a group decision since any actions which are taken as a result of analyzing government actions and policy from a standpoint of politics must be quite secret and quite swift. The analysis should be conducted in great detail and this can only be accomplished by one person with a small staff being entrusted with full responsibility.

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As programs and policies are analyzed, short memos should be passed to the President so that he may decide problems with the benefit of a full disclosure of their political ramifications. The flexibility in OMB in terms of where money is actually spent should also be brought to the President's attention in similar fashion. This should all

CYron

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By OMP, date 8-17-87
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

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Other projects with which you are involved, such as grantsmanship, White House Staff reorganization for the Campaign, and one man responsibility for certain issues, fold into this new assignment. However, this political review and use of the incumbency should receive your careful direct attention.

JANUARY 28, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Polls To Key People

The action memo suggests that segments of good, positive polls, get quietly to Connally, Rogers, and so forth. To implement this request the following system could be established:

Harris Polls -- Colson's office currently receives Harris Polls approximately one week before they are released to the public. Only you and Colson receive copies currently. Colson should ~~now~~^{begin} send copies of all Harris Polls to Connally, Rogers, the Attorney General, Kissinger, and Ehrlichman.

Colson periodically talks with Lou Harris about long term trends. Colson summarizes his conversations in memoranda for you. As these arrive, you should make the decision as to whether these memoranda should be distributed to the above list ^{group}. It is fairly common knowledge among the White House Staff that Colson has a special relationship with Harris, so there would seem to be no problem disclosing the Colson/Harris relationship to the ~~above list~~^{group}.

Gallup Polls -- Harry Dent and I receive the Gallup releases usually the day before the information becomes public. Occasionally, Dwight Chapin or I

can get advance information on Presidential ~~popularity~~ popularity from John Davies,
but it is usually so close to the release date that it makes little sense to send
copies ^{of Casper or Strachan memoranda} to the group.

Counsellor Rumsfield has been asked to establish a relationship with
George Gallup, Jr. Rumsfield had lunch with Gallup in December but
will neither respond to ^{our} requests for information from Gallup nor report to
anyone but you ~~self~~ should he obtain any information. The result is that
no important information is acquired from Gallup before it becomes public.

Teeter Polls -- The Campaign surveys are beginning to arrive "eyes only"
for you and the Attorney General. Most of this issue information should be
^{made available to}
~~used by~~ the ~~above~~ group. The popularity and trial heat results probably should
not be given to them. I suggest that as you read the Teeter reports you make
the paragraphs that could be excerpted. ^{These excerpts would be} sent to the group over your
signature.

ORC Polls ---- Only the President, you, Higby and ~~myself~~ ^I work on these
polls with ORC. However, some of the questions are occasionally released to the
Staff and public. Rather than a general rule of releasing all this information
to the group, I suggest that Higby and I mark certain questions as candidates
to be sent to the group, whether other questions will be released to the public
or not. You can approve the suggestions and the material will be sent over
your signature. This will begin with today's poll.

On January 25, I started sending the Attorney General copies of the Harris
^{and Gallup releases.}

Recommendation

That the described information be distributed to Connally, Rogers, the Attorney General, Kissinger and Erhlichman over your signature.

_____ AGREE

_____ DISAGREE

_____ COMMENT

ACTION MEMO

We need to work up a plan to make sure that segments of good, positive polls, get quietly to Connally, Rogers, and so forth.

This would be both our polls and others, Gallup's, etc. It ought to go to a few of the key people that are involved with the President in general, long-range planning and so on.

HRH:

1/20/72

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/4

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Timmons' convention proposal must still be in with Bob.

To get this T. V. aspect moving I suggest the attached memorandum.

Any problems?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. TIMMONS
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G
SUBJECT: Young People on
T.V. at Convention

Bob read your proposal on the uses of T.V. at the RNC Convention. One of the aspects which particularly concerns him is how we plan on being sure that on all the T.V. shots plenty of young people are seen rather than the old delegates.

Harry Flemming has been working on the delegate selection process in the states. He has received some rather specific instructions from the Attorney General as to the large number of young people who will serve as delegates.

Bob asked that you, Flemming, and members of your Convention T.V. task force prepare a brief plan as to how T.V. will concentrate on young rather than old delegates.

cc: Harry Flemming

Administratively Confidential

December 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Spokesman Resources

Bob Haldeman decided on September 22 that there should be monthly "progress reports and evaluations of appearances by political surrogates". The first report for the month of November is attached. It is too long to be useful, too much of what others are doing, and too frequently a description of failure.

Chapin and I believe that three changes should be made to obtain a more effective program and to give Mr. Haldeman and the Attorney General a better understanding of what is really happening.

First, the Spokesman Resources operation at 1701 (Bart Porter and Curt Herge) should concentrate their efforts on no more than seven top flight individuals. They should receive premier assistance with speech material from Colson's office, TV and radio advice, and personal political briefings by Harry Flemming. As the word gets around that certain speakers are getting excellent treatment others that should be used will go to 1701 for similar treatment. In addition to Goldwater, Brock, Scott, Taft, Dole, Romney, and Butz could be the basic seven.

Second, spot checks should be made to determine how the rest of the spokesmen are doing, so that the pressure is maintained.

Third, John Scali has not followed up on his presentation at the November 5 Cabinet meeting. Bob Haldeman sent him a memorandum November 9 praising his performance and directing him to meet individually in three or four weeks to be sure the Cabinet Officers have begun implementing his message. A check with Scali indicates that he has spoken with Rogers and Laird ("nonpolitical") and Connally and Volpe (who don't need Scali's advice).

Chapin, Higby, and I think it would be helpful if you would look over this report, consider it in light of Pat O'Donnell's operation, and suggest what might be done to improve the quality of our entire Spokesman Resources operation. Could you please give us your comments at your convenience?

GS:lm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

January 6, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By emf, Date 8-17-81

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: CATHOLIC VOTE

This memorandum is in reply to your request for my thoughts on the Catholic vote.

While I think we should reserve any hard conclusions until our first wave of polling is completed in February, a few trends have emerged from studies we have done in the past, which I think allow us to make some tentative decisions. It is, however, a very difficult political issue because much of the evidence is conflicting. There are clearly cases in which Governors have helped themselves markedly by making overtures directly to the Catholic vote and other instances where other Governors in other states have either failed to help themselves or hurt themselves at the polls by attempting to appeal directly to Catholics.

All available data does, however, indicate that there has been a definite break in the traditional Democratic voting behavior of Catholics in suburban and, to a lesser extent urban areas. Catholics, in and around metropolitan areas, particularly in the north are clearly becoming more independent politically and splitting their ticket at an increasing rate. This trend is not apparent to any significant degree, however, in rural areas, the border states, or the south.

This trend appears to be primarily a result of Catholics becoming more upward mobile in the society and assuming increasingly middle class values, thereby, changing their political attitudes and voting behavior. Some of the reasons for this shift, in addition to the fact that many Catholics have improved their socio-economic status are that many urban Catholics have strong ethnic backgrounds and have remained in somewhat closed ethnic communities in the large cities until recently but have tended to leave these ethnic communities in the second or third generation as they moved up on the socio-economic scale. At this point, many of their ties to their ethnic group, including their traditional political attitudes and voting behavior, weakened.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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A second reason for the increasing political independence of Catholics is the erosion of the hitherto strong Catholic dogma, particularly among younger Catholic families. These two points - upward mobility and the diminishing importance of Catholicism per se - contribute to the increasing importance of newly attained social class and economic status in voting behavior.

At this same time, there may also be a group of Catholics who have retained their strong religious beliefs and who feel the Democratic party has moved away from them as it has become more liberal and their life-style has been threatened. These people have been primarily Democrats in the past but have always been basically conservative and held the traditional American values which many Democrats now appear to repudiate. This group tends to be lower end educationally and economically and also a group that has disliked Republicans fairly intensely for a long time. There was (in 1968) and is today some definite Wallace support among this group. Many of these voters now feel strongly cross pressured politically because their philosophical beliefs tend to push them more towards voting Republican but they have grown up disliking Republicans and formed fairly strong Democratic voting patterns. In my judgement, this group will be much harder for the President to attract than will the middle class upper end Catholics who have moved to the suburbs.

While the data indicates that socio-economic status rather than religion are generally the most important determinants of voting behavior, the issue of aid to parochial schools is clearly one where Catholics vote primarily on the basis of their religion and one which appears to cut across most socio-economic lines. It is important to understand, however, that even though religion determines voting behavior, on this issue most Catholics see it strictly as an economic rather than religious ideological issue. The opposition to aid to parochial schools among non-Catholics however, is based largely on philosophical or ideological grounds. Politically, it clearly becomes a question of whether the President can pick up more Catholics than he will lose non-Catholics by proposing some type of aid to parochial schools.

Based on the data I have available, I think the President's appeal to this group of voters should be aimed at them as a social class rather than Catholics for two reasons. First, I think there is a strong possibility that he might lose more non-Catholics than he would pick up Catholics, by proposing some type of federal aid to parochial schools. This may be particularly true in several of the Border and Southern States that are

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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important to us and where there is some definite anti-Catholic sentiment. Moreover, in many of the states with large Catholic populations where such a proposal would clearly help them or states that we have very little chance of carrying anyway, such as, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Michigan. The second reason is that there is a high probability that the President's opponent will be a Catholic and the preliminary returns on our first wave polls that Illinois, Wisconsin, Kentucky show Muskie having a very strong appeal to Catholics which I doubt could be loosened even if the President proposed some type of federal aid to parochial schools and Senator Muskie opposed it. While Kennedy's appeal to Catholics is somewhat less than Muskie's, particularly in Illinois, it is substantial in Wisconsin and Kentucky and it would probably not be changed on the issue of aid to parochial schools.

Summing up, I simply think that the potential payoff of such a position against either Muskie or Kennedy would be small in that risk of a net loss with non-Catholics is too great. The Catholics who are most available to the President are those who will vote on issues not related to their Catholicism and whose main concern is with insuring their security in their new social environment, which makes them most interested in the economic issues of inflation and unemployment. They are those who have or are just realizing the American dream and want desperately to protect their newfound status.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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TOTAL VOTE

Nixon Muskie Wallace Nixon Humphrey Wallace Nixon Kennedy Wallace

ILLINOIS

100% →

Total	45.8	39.5	5.8	45.2	36.2	6.5	44.6	48.9	6.1
Roman Catholic	21.1	73.7	--	43.1	37.1	7.3	44.4	40.5	7.3
Tot. Undecided	8.9			12.1			10.4		

KENTUCKY

100% →

Total	47.0	31.0	11.0	46.0	30.0	10.0	43.0	35.0	9.0
Roman Catholic	25.0	60.0	5.0	29.0	52.0	6.0	29.0	53.0	8.0
Tot. Undecided	12.0			14.0			13.0		

WISCONSIN

100% →

Total	38.8	48.3	6.5	43.8	42.0	7.8	38.9	50.1	5.1
Roman Catholic	29.0	58.0	6.6	36.3	49.8	8.5	28.7	62.5	5.0
Tot. Undecided	6.5			6.5			5.9		

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

January 6, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EMP NARS, Date 8-17-81

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: THE ENVIRONMENT

This memorandum is based on survey data we have collected in state-wide polls primarily in the midwest and east during the past several years, on a national study done on the environment by Harris about a year ago for the Public Broadcast Laboratory For Environmental Quality, and the Harris Domestic Council poll.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this data.

First and most important is that the environment has, along with consumerism, become the fourth major national issue complex and will continue to be an important issue indefinitely.

Since the 1930's there have been three basic national issue complexes: The war/peace issue, which is, of course, currently centered on Vietnam; the domestic peace issue, which has been oriented to racial problems and civil rights for the past twenty-five years, and the money issue which at various points in time may be oriented to inflation, cost of living, taxes or unemployment.

During the past 20 or 30 years, each of these issues has tended to rise and fall through time and rarely have all three of them been acute public concerns at the same time. Occasionally the data will indicate that one of these is of concern to a large number of people, but that it is being held down to some degree by another issue which is of more acute concern at that time. This has frequently been true in the past decade when Vietnam was perceived as the single most important problem in the country, but at the same time people were seriously concerned about domestic unrest, crime, and inflation.

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Nineteen sixty-eight was in many ways a unique year, because during the campaign period, the public was acutely concerned and unhappy over the status of all three of these problem areas. They were frustrated over the handling of the war, frightened over the increasing domestic unrest and civil disorders, and personally feeling the effects of spiraling inflation.

During the 1960's several specific environmental and consumer issues such as: traffic and highway safety, thalidomide, meat inspection, land use, safety of birth control pills, truth in packaging, wildlife preservation, mercury, DDT, etc. rose and fell. At their high point these issues would get up to a total rating of 20-25% but concern always fell off after the publicity which caused the original jump subsided. Concern over several of these issues was climaxed by books such as: Nader's Unsafe at Any Speed and Rachel Carson's Silent Spring. I think that many of these specific issues have now bound together to form a permanent fourth major national issue complex which we now call the environment/ecology issue, which is in a broader sense a quality of life issue. Almost all of the individual environment and consumer issues have the common characteristic of dealing with the individual's problems of living in a complex urban society in which he is dependent on a multitude of institutions of which he has little or no knowledge and virtually no control. This means that the individual doesn't know whether or not there is mercury in his fish, whether his vegetables have been sprayed with a harmful pesticide or whether the air he breathes is killing him, and even if he did, he's powerless to do anything about it. It is also something that people see examples of every day and is psychologically frightening to them because it is something over which they have no control but yet it directly affects their personal health and well being and that of their children.

Two other factors which will probably also help keep the environment an important issue are that it is an easy and attractive issue for the media to cover and an even more attractive one for politicians because it has virtually no negative side.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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Therefore, I think that as Vietnam subsides as an issue and the economy gets back on the upswing, there is a good chance that the environmental set of issues will increase considerably as an important national issue. This is particularly true if we continue to get by without any major national racial disturbances. There are several states where it has already been the first or second most important state issue in the past several months. Also, it is a very important issue to the younger generation.

The second conclusion is that it can be a very useful issue for the President in this campaign for several reasons.

First, a large majority of the electorate is concerned about it and virtually no one is against it. In most of the data I have studied every significant voting behavior group and demographic group is in favor of vigorous governmental action to improve the environment. It is truly a non-partisan and non-ideological issue. Some of the most ardent environmentalists come from both the left and right ends of the ideological spectrum. Regardless of the type of trade-off question that is asked, a large majority say they are willing to make the sacrifice whether it is higher taxes, higher prices or a loss of jobs. (This is also the finding of the Domestic Council poll.) In our current wave of polls we asked whether the economy or the environment should take precedence if a choice had to be made, and the environment is chosen by over a two-to-one margin in all those states where we have preliminary data--Wisconsin, Kentucky, and New Hampshire. Moreover, a majority of voters clearly do not believe that this choice has to be made.

Secondly, the groups who are most concerned with this issue and whose voting behavior appears to be most influenced by it, are groups who are important to us and who we may be able to attract on this issue but not on any other. These are the very young voters (18-24) with whom the environment is always the first or second most important issue, and the younger ticket-splitters (25-40) who are largely white, suburban middle class, and who are slightly more affluent than the average voter. I think there is a segment of both of these groups who may well vote primarily on this issue. In the large mid-western and eastern states such as Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, this ticket-splitting group has been crucial for Republicans in past elections and appear to be the key for the President in those states in 1972.

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Thirdly, neither party nor any of the candidates really has a hold on the environmental issue yet. The President is rated as handling it fairly well in most of the states we have studied and Muskie, try as he might, simply is not perceived as a champion of the environment.

Lastly, I think this issue may provide an opportunity to show the President as one who is very concerned about the health and welfare of individual citizens, as opposed to one who is generally concerned with hard-to-understand issues such as: business, the military, foreign affairs, and the international money problem.

In conclusion, I do not think the environment will be one of the primary issues in the campaign, but I do think it will be an important secondary issue and that a small but significant number of people may vote on. Even if this group is only 2 or 3% they could be critical to us in close states and I see no risk in appealing to them. While I realize that the President must act responsibly, there is no risk in terms of losing votes with strong environmental position.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 7, 1971

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This is Ehrlichman's campaign memo. The material on the Catholic vote and the environment appear on pages 5 and 6.

I gave Teeter instructions by telephone to protect against any direct quotation. Teeter, of course, does not know the source of the conflict in opinion on these issues.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

BOB HALDEMAN

RE: REELECTION CAMPAIGN

The tone or theme:

In spite of all the talk about this being an age of one-term Presidents, I believe it is very hard for the American people to turn out a sitting President. Therefore, obviously, the tone or theme of the campaign must be keyed to the fact that the President is the President, that he has done a professional and competent job, that he has made significant accomplishments and that there is, therefore, no reason to change.

I think people tend to vote against a candidate perhaps more frequently than they vote for him; and certainly a Presidential race always weighs a candidate against his opponent. An incumbent President has an obvious advantage and President Nixon has a very clear advantage in view of his international initiatives on the question of "compared to what?".

At the same time, the President is the national father figure, the exemplar, the leader, and the nation's champion against other nations. This is what the American people believe a President is and they want him to act out these parts. They want him to evidence compassion for the poor, even though individually they may say and do things showing callous disregard for the poor. It is alright for Mr. Voter to be indifferent to the poor but it is not alright, in his eyes and mine, for his President to be indifferent to the poor. In fact, I suspect he gets a certain amount of psychic relief from the knowledge that his President is being concerned about the less fortunate even at the time that he himself is not.

I think it is indispensable for the President to act out these roles in the course of the next year, with feeling and sincerity, to fulfill these expectations. To the extent that he does not we will find vague discontents and negative reactions expressed as "the President has no compassion, he doesn't care, he is cold and indifferent, he has no thought for the little people, he only cares about big business, etc."

*father
leader
exemplar
man's
champion*

Since this is role-acting, let's approach it as such. The President has a natural antipathy for doing the phony, the unnatural and the not-felt. But we are now not talking about making him comfortable in what he is doing; we are talking about getting him reelected and, in looking at that project coldly, there are some things that are going to have to be done to do the job properly that he may not totally like. But I am sure he and we would like the alternative even less. Because I think the alternative is to give exposure to an Achilles heel to which the President may be attacked mercilessly and effectively with unknown results.

And like a tennis game, as long as you can return the ball without mistake every time it doesn't really matter how hard you hit it. You keep playing for the other fellow's mistake. We occupy the high ground now since the President is the incumbent and all he has to do is go on being the incumbent. The other fellow has to figure out how to take the high ground. Therefore, we should avoid giving him handholds, avoid making mistakes, avoid acting rashly or without calculation or contemplation (e.g., the re-run of the Phoenix speech) and close as many of the doors as possible through which the enemy might enter.

In short, I would like to see the President put in situations which would act out his compassion, his fairness, his true concern for his inferiors, his leadership, etc. It does almost no good at all for those of us who know him well to tell about these things. One acting-out session will be worth ten thousand interviews with White House staffers or members of the Cabinet.

But he doesn't get coverage or credit when he does do them - neither others follow up - which they generally fail to do.

The President's part in the campaign

We had a good session with the Cabinet yesterday in the President's absence, and we told them all the things that they had to do in order to get the President reelected. But I suspect you know, and I strongly feel, that in the last analysis it isn't going to make much difference what the Cabinet says or does. The President himself is going to have to do much more than he is inclined to do, much more than he would want to do and probably much more than his responsibilities in fact permit him safely to do. But nevertheless I think he will have to do them.

Television and Radio

I know there is a concern that the President is over-exposing himself on television. And yet the singular criticism which I hear as I go around the country talking the issues to people is that the President is not talking to them about the issues. The Cabinet is talking to them, the staff is talking to them, Bob Dole is talking to them but they want the President to talk to them. They want fireside chats. Over and over again I receive the suggestion that the President sit down and talk to the country about the issues of the time on a periodic basis, so that they may count regularly on hearing from him not just at times of crisis but under circumstances that will permit them to pull their chairs up to the television and listen to him explain to them about the problems of our aged, health problems, the problems of our youth and our cities in terms which they can understand and react to.

That's what they want, but who will listen?

They don't want to.

We have discussed the fireside chat format in the past and I gather that the ten o'clock meeting or the five o'clock meeting or the Saturday morning group or somebody doesn't think it's a very good idea. All I know is that there is considerable consumer demand out there in the field for this kind of thing. *Everyone thinks it is a good idea -*

As a variation on this, let me suggest that we think about this hunger? or market demand in terms of regions. As Ed Harper pointed out to us in his analysis, the issue of support to parochial schools is a hot issue in limited areas. The issue of the problems of the aged is almost completely confined to 8 or 9 states. The farm problem is obviously localized. Perhaps there is a regional approach to this fireside chat idea that would prevent the President from becoming over-exposed nationwide and would avoid whatever disadvantages are inherent in such over-exposure.

hard to get free regional time. can't control it.

Problem is that things are not really that regionalized - and it's just as much work to do a regional chat as a national one

Something like this would have to be started before campaigning begins in earnest and I know the equal time problem exists, but I also know there is a very strong pull for this among people who are thinking about the Presidency and about the nation's problems.

Personal Appearances

Who can't 4/10 7/1% Belemate

Aside from the fact that it prevents the press from writing that the President is ducking the people, I don't know that there's a great deal of advantage in personal appearances during the campaign. We've always been very big for rallies, crowd shots, motorcades and balloons but I really seriously question whether they are in any way important for an incumbent President. It may be that we need some bandwagon psychology but I wouldn't think so. There are obvious tolerance maximums in terms of the use of television, but I think those limitations are perhaps limitations on campaigning generally then, since I think the idea of the President getting out and whistle stopping or stumping the nation is doubtful.

Agree

New Hampshire

I think I would stay completely away from New Hampshire under the circumstances. McCloskey may do better than anyone thinks at this time simply because he is effective up close and can be expected to make substantial inroads in the meager population of that state by an intensive hand-shaking and coffee hour campaign. I would think it's safer simply to take the position that New Hampshire has little or no significance in terms of the Republican nomination. It happens to be the first primary but somebody had to be first and it doesn't stand for anything. We might even play up McCloskey's obvious advantage in being able to devote unlimited time to hand-shaking in New Hampshire while the President is busy saving the world. McCloskey's absence record might be emphasized and our chairman up there might make the point that it's more important for the President to be hard at work in the White House than up in New Hampshire trying to tilt for delegates with some unknown Congressman. If we write it off now, we don't have to apologize for any results later, assuming we can bring it off.

U Don't give this memo to Tedder & don't copy verbatim

Trips into the Country

I would subscribe to John Whitaker's proposal for more issue oriented trips and fewer rallies. I don't think I would go quite as far as he in degree but I think he has the right idea. He forgets to make the point that most of these issues are regional in character and we can pretty well localize our attack on an issue with some intelligent analysis. But he is certainly right that trips should be taken to discuss problems.

Local issue - cause limits effect
w/ps limiting effort

Running as an out

I think John Connally is right that the President has to run as an out, against the status quo, rather than as a defender of the status quo. There are simply too many unfulfilled proposals, too many unsolved problems, too many unsatisfied needs and wants as demonstrated by the Harris poll. People don't like the way the country is going and the only way to respond to that discontent is to run against the conditions which they identify. You have to advocate change under such circumstances, rather than to run on a platform of accomplishment.

have to do

If it's skillfully done, the President can attack his Senator opponent on the ground that he, the member of Congress, is the defender of the status quo since the Congress wouldn't change things even though the President wanted them to. The Senator perpetuated pollution, he perpetuated poverty, he perpetuated the conditions in the cities which might have been solved by revenue sharing, etc.

The Catholic Vote

Need a response to this.

We are operating under a set of assumptions about the Catholic vote that I suspect are totally invalid. You have seen Roy Morey's preliminary analysis and Pat Buchanan's seat-of-the-pants emotional response. I took the position with Buchanan that Morey had made the prima facie case and it was up to Buchanan to sustain his burden of proof and I am afraid Pat has not done so. He has told us with great fervor what he, Buchanan, believes but he has no answers for the statistics and polls which indicate the contrary. Because a strongly pro-Catholic position on some issues costs us votes (as shown by the polls) in the border states and the South, and we are relying on those areas as part of our base of support, we had better be very sure of the validity of our assumptions on this subject before we go much farther. ?

→ The Environment

A somewhat kindred subject is that of the electoral effect of the environmental issue. There is an instinctive distrust of this issue by the President. Yet the polls tell us very clearly that it is a highly important issue and everything that we can develop on an objective basis tells us over and over again that it is motivating and significant. If I read the Harris poll correctly (and it would seem inescapable to me on the basis of this poll) people don't want "balance" between the environment and the economy. We know that balance is right, makes good sense from the standpoint of the future of the country, has to be an important consideration in the things we do around here, but it will turn off the environmentally oriented voter. And here we are talking about broadening our base. It's the young, the women, the middle bracket wage earner who is concerned about pollution in overwhelming numbers.

*Answer
this from
Poll
data*

Now, whether we like it or not, and whether the President agrees emotionally with the evidence or not, I think we have to be realistic about this issue and begin to act more politically about it.

On both these points, what I wish to argue is that we are making emotional responses to these two issues. Rather, we have to be cold, calculating and thoroughly political in our analysis of the issues and how to treat them.

Labor

I'm of two minds on this issue and I don't quite know what to suggest. We need to know a lot more about the situation than we do. We would like to think that we can make inroads into the labor vote; we would like to think we can even pick up some labor leaders at the margin who will help us. But we are under heavy attack by our friends at the moment for being soft on labor, for having sold out to labor on Phase II, for having tolerated wage increases and strikes to the serious damage of business and the nation and, in effect, for being "dupes" who have been taken into camp by labor, largely on a bluff.

In a minute I am going to mention credibility. We are telling people not to worry about the China trip and the Russia trip because the President is tough, he's able to handle them, he won't be taken in by them and they can't bluff him. It is being argued that our labor record makes these assertions incredible.

The President or the politician?

To be reelected the President must attract the support of people who are not party Republicans. The campaign must be inclusive rather than exclusive. It must bring to him people who are attracted by that extra ingredient rather than by the former Senator from California. In other words, everyone knows that the President is a consummate politician and frequently does things for political reasons. They often assign political reasons to things done for non-political reasons. There's a sort of rebuttable presumption that everything the President does is done for political reasons.

Key
My thesis is that he will attract additional support if his campaign is essentially Presidential and not political. The closer we get to election day the harder it will be not to be political; not to say and do the purely political thing, to drop the Presidential mantle and wade into the fray at the level of the lowest common denominator. Yet I think that the strategy can be that of the front runner which was so successfully employed in the weeks just before the 1968 convention.

Credibility

In thinking about vulnerability, this has to be an avenue that we should be concerned about. McCloskey is already playing this tune in New Hampshire, to what effect I don't know. I think many people want to believe that their government officials are trying to pull a fast one, trying to slide one by them, trying to get away with something, etc.

I think each time Chuck Colson is caught at one of his escapades or the Defense Department is nailed on a North Vietnamese pipeline exhibit or we attempt to excuse some indefensible mistake by a subordinate we lose some people that we otherwise could have won. There's no doubt that we're going to be attacked as dishonest and incredible and I think we have to lean over backward to avoid creating grounds or even the appearance of grounds for these attacks.

I think the Bureau of Labor Statistics effort, while right, is going to cost us in the long run on this score. We're going to have the same trouble in punishing or firing those guilty of leaking. Suppression of the truth comes under the general heading of incredibility. This is a problem we're going to have to deal with on an almost daily basis, making the best judgment calls we can but always keeping in mind the overall problem.

Perhaps under this general heading comes the Justice Department and some of its activities lately.

The Law and Order Issue

The nationwide crime statistics for the last three years have not been very good. On the other hand, Washington, D. C.'s record has been excellent, given all the problems of this place. In truth, the difference is that we have poured an unbelievable amount of money into law enforcement in the District and it is governed by a dictatorship rather than an elected Mayor and City Council. We've been able to do a lot of things in the management of the city government that the electorate would never have stood for if they had had any say in it. And it's gotten results.

I'm not sure how this issue can be handled in the coming campaign. I suppose one approach would be to point with pride at the city we have responsibility for and say that big city Democrat Mayors could do the same thing if they were as good as we are. And we can say that we've been trying to send more money to the cities in the form of revenue sharing but the Congress wouldn't let us. But all in all it is not a good national record and we're going to be on the defensive in this area and we'd better start laying some plans right now for meeting the political onslaught. There is no sign that the statistics are going to get any better in the coming year.

*Drugs - Key concern, Key opportunity &
no headway.*

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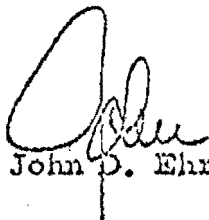
There is going to be a major political offensive against us in the civil rights area and we will have a separate report coming to the President within a couple of weeks as to the dimension of this problem and the directions that the attacks probably will take.

This memorandum started out to be general and ended up being specific on certain issues. Going back to the general, I think that the President should "declare peace" at the start of his campaign, say that the Vietnam war is at an end as he promised it would be, that the country is emerging into an era of peace and prosperity and that we have come through the dark night (please, not nightmare) with the President's firm hand on the helm. Many, many problems remain to be solved but now we're in a position to attack them with the same leadership, vision and courage that has been displayed in bringing us through the problems of war and recession.

To earn a generation of peace many international problems are yet to be tackled and it's a very bad time to be thinking about changing Administrations, particularly when such a good start has been made by the incumbent President.

We don't try and defend the domestic status quo; we urge that it be changed and we run against the failures of the Congress (the Democratic nominee almost surely coming from that body).

I apologize for the rambling nature of the memorandum but we'll try and organize this subject matter better for you in succeeding notes.



John D. Ehrlichman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: Jan. 19

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Colson asked Mike Balzano to prepare this analysis of the Ethnic vote. It is substantially different than the Hallett memorandum you read two weeks ago.

Balzano is Colson's candidate for the Ethnic post on the Campaign.

Reed

January 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BART PORTER

The attached is additional thinking from Michael Balzano that arrived this weekend.

There is strong thinking over here that it is very important that we not repeat our mistakes of 1968. The ethnic problem requires considerable amount of creative thinking and we are very impressed with Balzano.

W. Richard Howard

cc: Mr. Bell

bcc: Mr. Strachan ✓

December 31, 1971

Mr. Charles W. Colson
Special Counsel to the President
The White House Office
Washington, D. C.

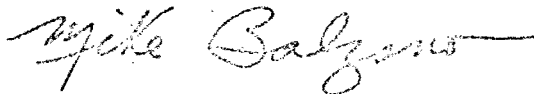
Dear Mr. Colson:

Enclosed are the papers you requested. As you know, these few pages contain three and a half years of thinking about this problem.

You will probably have a host of questions concerning details. I am prepared to discuss or support that which I have written in greater depth.

I hope that in distilling the essence of my theory, or in greatly oversimplifying the mechanism, I have not so diluted its meaning that it appears valueless. But distilled or not, this theory can be operationalized, and I know it can be done in time to win this election.

Sincerely,



Michael Balzano

MPB:dw

Enclosures

December 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Michael Balzano

Subject: The Ethnic Vote in the 1972 Election

The following pages contain a discussion of a theory for capturing the support of ethnic Americans from all levels of the economic and social spectrum. My theory, and the plan of action I am advocating in the paper, rests on the following assumptions:

- (1) That the Democrats have turned on their traditional ethnic supporters and are advancing the cause of racial minorities over and above the interests of the ethnics.
- (2) That because of the enunciated policies of the Democratic leadership, the ethnics who have traditionally supported the Democratic Party have become alienated from that Party.
- (3) That the ethnic Americans from all levels of the economic and social spectrum are more in tune, philosophically, with the Republican Party than they are with the Democratic Party.
- (4) That in the elections of 1968 and 1970 many ethnics voted for the Republican candidates, or for George Wallace, out of outrage and out of a white backlash. Today, however, the "perceived" problems in the economy may frighten these ethnics into supporting the Democrats.
- (5) That the Republicans have used a level of approach which focused on lower income, first generation ethnics. This level of appeal may not be, and probably is not, sophisticated enough to attract middle income, second and third generation ethnics. Middle income and better educated ethnics can be insulted and "turned off" by a well-meaning staff of campaign strategists which is culturally off balance (that is, weighted down with "professional ethnics" who speak to ethnics as though "they just got off the boat").

THE THEORY

(1) A technique can be developed by which the President, through a series of carefully worded and strategically coordinated speeches, can capture the highly diffuse array of ethnic groups and weld them into a permanent ideological Republican coalition. To accomplish this the domestic speeches of the President must be constructed so as to deliver a consistent pattern of symbolically laden messages to selected members of every audience.

(2) The message of each speech must be constructed so that it contains verbal symbols capable of uniting ethnics from different educational, occupational and age levels, by the conscious and unconscious common denominators which connect them. To do so the symbols must convey and generate a common identity by association. The messages must carefully avoid flashing symbols which produce a negative identification. For example, "Mafia" is an odious term to honest, middle class Italians.

(3) Most importantly, the selected verbal symbols must convey ideas which establish categories of symbolic exclusiveness, i.e. symbols which ideologically unify some people and, by definition, exclude others. For example, the symbol "Black is beautiful" cannot stand for Italians, Poles or Germans. It unites blacks and, by definition, it excludes all non-blacks. It is at once unifying and mutually exclusive.

The concept of symbolic exclusiveness is the key to the entire success of our mission. Inherent in the concept of symbolic exclusiveness is a calculated but carefully contrived form of polarization. One form of this ideological polarization, for example, can be seen as arising out of a controversy as to whether or not the traditionally accepted formula for upward economic and social mobility i.e. individual initiative and merit, should be replaced by something else. More precisely, should all Americans be judged equally and success be earned, or should a vociferous but minuscule minority (whatever their race) change the formula to suit themselves?

In theory, the object of the speeches, then, is twofold:

First, to unite ethnics around the Republican Party on the basis of self-interest;

Second, to identify the opposition party as the party in favor of sacrificing the majority of Americans (the hard working lower and middle class and the entire tradition of individual success based on self-reliance) to appease a racial minority.

THE PROBLEMS

(1) How can the President convince traditionally Democratic ethnic Americans that on social issues they have more in common with the Republican Party and that it would be in their interest to become Republicans?

(2) How can the President tell ethnic members of the lower and lower middle classes that the Democrats are yielding to the demands of non-white minorities at the expense of those at the lower end of the economic and social ladder, that for "working class" (hard working) people in general to support the Democratic Party is to be displaced on the social ladder by a new Democratic philosophy of "reverse discrimination?"

(3) How can the President bring about an ideological political realignment without having the essence of his argument easily identified, thus exposing him to the charge of polarization?

(4) Rather than to focus its appeal toward ethnic immigrants from predominantly lower income levels, how can the President broaden the base of his ethnic support to encompass ethnics with widely differing occupational, educational, and income levels?

(5) Given the array of ethnic representation in the hierarchy of our economic and social spectrum, how can the President focus his appeal on the members of one stratum without offending or alienating the ethnic counterparts in other strata? For example, praising Italians by exalting spaghetti and meat balls or calling Mexican-Americans "Chicanos" can offend middle class Italians and Mexican-Americans.

(6) Once the President has selected a plan involving a verbal appeal to the ethnic voter, given the reality of a hostile news media, how can he get the media to convey his message without distorting it?

THE ANSWER

The President must be able to speak to the people of the nation at large and have in his speech a hidden message, hidden to all but those for whom the message was intended (in this case, ethnic Americans who traditionally vote Democratic). The message must attract these ethnic Democrats to the Republican Party by effectively communicating the idea that the Democrats have abandoned "hard working people" and that the interest of these people is now championed by the Republicans. Finally, the message must be so disguised that the news media will not be able to identify it, let alone distort it.

This technique would be employed in a three-pronged overall strategy:

- (1) in the general domestic addresses of the President;
- (2) in contrived situational and occasional speeches delivered by the President;
- (3) in speeches delivered by selected high level personalities in the Administration and/or national celebrities.

These speeches would be conducted under the auspices of the campaign organization.

The overall purpose of this approach would be to provide a carefully contrived symbolic continuity between the domestic speeches of the President. It would also provide this same symbolic continuity in a host of other planned speeches which, when added to the domestic addresses, would form a unified campaign tactic exclusively articulated through the office of the President.

If the technique is properly employed, the news media will unknowingly carry the political ball for the President.

THE THEORY DEMONSTRATED
AND OPERATIONALIZED: THE MECHANISM

The Theory Demonstrated

A Major Presidential Address: The Labor Day Speech

The next three pages are xerox copies of the text of the Labor Day address of 1971.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S LABOR DAY ADDRESS
September 6, 1971

1. On this Labor Day, 1971, I call upon all Americans to dedicate ourselves to a goal we have rarely been able to achieve in the past 40 years -- a new prosperity without war and without inflation.

2. A nation starting out in quest of a great goal, like a young worker starting out on his career, does not always get what it wants; rather, a nation gets what it deserves.

3. What must we do, as a nation, to deserve a generation of peace? What must we be, as a people, to deserve -- and to achieve -- the new prosperity?

4. I would like you to join me in exploring one of the basic elements that gives character to a people and which will make it possible for the American people to earn a generation of prosperity in peace.

5. Central to that character is the competitive spirit. That is the inner drive that for two centuries has made the American working-man unique in the world and has enabled him to make this land the citadel of individual freedom and opportunity.

6. The competitive spirit goes by many names. Most simply and directly, it is called "the work ethic."

7. As the name implies, the work ethic holds that labor is good in itself; that a man or woman at work not only makes a contribution to his fellowman, but becomes a better person by virtue of the act of working.

8. That work ethic is ingrained in the American character. That is why most of us consider it immoral to be lazy or slothful -- even if a person is well off enough not to have to work or deliberately avoids work by going on welfare.

9. That work ethic is why Americans are considered an industrious, purposeful people, and why a poor nation of three million people, over a course of two centuries, lifted itself into the position of the most powerful and respected leader of the free world today.

10 Recently we have seen that work ethic come under attack. We hear voices saying that it is immoral or materialistic to strive for an ever-higher standard of living. We are told that the desire to get ahead must be curbed, because it will leave others behind. We are told that it doesn't matter whether America continues to be number one in the world economically and that we should resign ourselves to being number two or number three or even number four. We see some members of disadvantaged groups being told to take the welfare road rather than the road of hard work, self-reliance and self-respect.

11 It is not surprising that so many hard working Americans are wondering: What's happening to the work ethic in America today? What's happening to the willingness for self-sacrifice that enabled us to build a great nation, to the moral code that made self-reliance a part of the American character, to the competitive spirit that made it possible for us to lead the world?

12 One answer to those questions was given in the response of the American people to the new economic policy I announced last month.

13 I called then for some degree of sacrifice, some inconvenience and some belt-tightening, some temporary restrictions on our economic freedom -- in order to create new jobs, to stop the rise in the cost of living, and to protect the American dollar.

14 The overwhelming response to that call is a new justification for every American's faith in himself and faith in his country.

15 Of course, there have been complaints; there have been counter-suggestions; there have been criticisms by special interest groups.

16 But the most heartening reaction was the surge of national confidence, the reaffirmation of our competitive spirit, the willingness to make a personal sacrifice in pursuit of worthy goals by the man in the street, the worker on the job, the homemaker trying to balance the family budget.

17 This letter from a state employee in Texas, whose wife is a school teacher, is typical of thousands that came into the White House after I made that speech. It reads: "We were both due for salary increases in September...but we will survive. If it were necessary to cut our income in half, I still know of no other country I would choose to call my own. I've heard the young people using a phrase that might fit: Right on."

18 Let the detractors of America, the doubters of the American spirit, take note. America's competitive spirit, the work ethic of this people, is alive and well on Labor Day, 1971.

19 The dignity of work, the value of achievement, the morality of self-reliance -- none of these is going out of style.

20 With that fact clearly understood, let us also recognize that the work ethic in America is undergoing some changes.

21 It means that business, labor and government should explore the new needs of today's wage earners: We must give the individual worker more responsibility -- more of the feeling that his opinion counts.

22 We must find ways to better recognize and reward the extra effort a worker puts into his job.

23 We must open up new and equal opportunities to allow a person to grow in his job.

24 And we must give more respect to the proud men and women who do work that is all too often considered "menial."

25 I read a report recently about some on welfare in one of our cities who objected to taking jobs that they considered menial. As I read that report, I thought of my own father. During the years that I was growing up, he worked as a streetcar motorman, oil field worker; he worked as a farmer, a carpenter and a brick layer. He worked also in a filling station.

26 Let us recognize once and for all -- no job is menial in America if it leads to self-reliance, self-respect and individual dignity.

We must make it possible for workers to try "refresher courses" and "second careers" to open up the chance for a new variety in work.

We must reinstill a pride of craftsmanship, a pride in good service, that results in quality workmanship.

And we must make sure that technology does not dehumanize work, but makes it more creative and rewarding for the people who will operate the plants of the future.

Here are the same three pages rewritten so as to demonstrate the kind of symbolic manipulation we have been discussing.

The Labor Day Address: The New Version

(Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 are the same as the original.)

Central to that character is the work ethic. That is, the inner drive that for two centuries has made the labor of the American workman the prime ingredient of America's greatness.

The work ethic implies a number of things. But to all of those who have achieved a solid measure of success through their own toil and sacrifice, it reaffirms the promise inherent in the concept of the American dream: that in the United States economic and social rewards are largely determined by merit.

From the earliest days of our colonial period, through the era of westward expansion, and through the horrors of the great World Wars, America grew in greatness. But let us remember, America's bounty is but a reflection of the industriousness, perseverance, and achievements of its working people.

All through our history, people came here from all parts of the world. They knew that America was the land of opportunity. They knew that in America it was possible to work their way up the economic and social ladder.

Those who came here after the country was settled (the ethnics) quickly took the example set by the workmen already here; they rolled up their sleeves and went to work. They were happy to work at whatever jobs they could find. No job was below the dignity of those who truly wanted to better themselves. American workmen have always lived by the code of hard work and sacrifice and in doing so they earned and deserved the economic and social rewards that they achieved. The greatest reward of all was knowing they were successful, that they succeeded in making a better life for themselves, their children and all Americans who followed them.

Yes, the great majority of the American people pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps and proved that the American dream was within the reach of anyone who was willing to work to achieve it. We know that the work ethic has helped to build the moral fiber of our people. That is why we have come to respect those who seek to better themselves through gainful employment.

Recently we have seen that work ethic come under attack. We hear voices saying that it is immoral or materialistic to strive for an ever-higher standard of living. We are told that the desire to get ahead must be curbed, because it will leave others behind. We are told that it doesn't matter whether America continues to be number one in the world economically and that we should resign ourselves to being number two or number three or even number four.

At the same time, we hear these same voices saying that the American dream is dead. They say that today it is not possible for Americans to better themselves or to improve their economic and social position.

It is not surprising then that hard working Americans today are wondering what is happening to the work ethic in America. Why is it that some people are unwilling to sacrifice and to work to improve themselves? Why is it that some people refuse to start at the bottom of the ladder as did everyone else in America?

All those who have achieved success by working their way up from the bottom of the ladder cannot understand the unwarranted attacks upon the same economic system that enabled the overwhelming majority of Americans to rise and to achieve. Those who have attacked the American dream have been blind to the reality of the American experience. They are blind to the fact that better than 75 percent of our people who enjoy unprecedented prosperity come not from families of great wealth but are themselves a generation of self-made men.

There comes a time in any country's history when it becomes necessary to reaffirm its faith in its established traditions. In America that time is now.

I know that most Americans still cling to the spirit of sacrifice and perseverance. One indicator of that living spirit revealed itself in the response of the American people to the new economic policy I announced last month.

(Return to the original text of the speech and read paragraphs 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17.)

Let the detractors of America, the doubters of the American spirit, take note. America's competitive spirit, the work ethic of this people, is alive and well on Labor Day 1971. In America, the morality of hard work and sacrifice, the dignity of

self-reliance through gainful employment, and the well-deserved pride of achievement are still the ingredients of success. None of these is going out of style.

(Return to the original text and read paragraphs 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24.)

We hear reports today which tell of some unemployed people who refuse to take jobs because they consider the jobs menial and below their dignity. When I hear stories like this, I cannot help but think of my own father. During the years that I was growing up, he worked as a streetcar motorman, an oil field worker; he worked as a farmer, a carpenter and a bricklayer. He also worked in a filling station. My father was no different than other Americans. Your parents were the same. They accepted all kinds of jobs and worked at them with pride.

(Return to the original text and read paragraph 26 through the end.)

Analysis

What the revised speech says to the American workingman:

- (1) The work ethic is the inner drive; labor is the prime ingredient--your labor.
- (2) The American dream is based on merit. Those who are successful succeeded because of their own toil and sacrifice.
- (3) Opportunity in America equals the chance to work your way up the ladder. If some people regard a job as below their dignity, they do not truly want to better themselves. Economic and social successes are earned. Racial minorities want the gains without the sacrifices.
- (4) The majority of Americans deserved to achieve success; they are entitled to it because they earned it by working for it through gainful employment, not welfare or reparations.
- (5) Today, racial minorities are saying that you can't make it in America. What they really mean is that they refuse to start at the bottom of the ladder the way you did. They want to surpass you at your expense.

- (6) Those who are attacking the work ethic are a small minority who do not accept the self-made man idea. They want it handed to them.
- (7) You worked the menial jobs to get where you are. Let them do it too.

The speech has a subconscious thrust:

- (1) It conveys to the American laborer a set of symbols with which he identifies and with which he sees President Nixon as identifying.
- (2) It tells the audience that President Nixon knows that:
 - (a) some people refuse to work and sacrifice;
 - (b) some people want the gains of those who have toiled and achieved, but they refuse to work to obtain success.
- (3) It suggests that the Democrats have initiated and supported the demands of racial minorities and that they are determined to appease these minorities at the expense of the working-man. The Republicans are fighting to protect your hard-earned successes and your self interests.
- (4) By praising those who have succeeded, President Nixon has withdrawn approval from those who seek to get around the work ethic. (You can draw your own conclusions about who those people are.)
- (5) He has not opened his flank to the opposition by slapping welfare recipients. Not all welfare is unjustified. The opposition likes nothing better than to picture the Republicans as the enemy of a widow with three children.
- (6) The remarks are disguised and fit only those who are unjustifiably on welfare.

A concentrated effort must be made to have the President's domestic speeches conform to this calculated pattern so that each speech provides the President with an opportunity to bombard a selected segment of his audience with a message which is clearly audible to them but not to those philosophically out of tune with the President.

Calculated Occasional Speeches

In these instances a series of natural situations will be exploited to allow the President to make a calculated appeal

to a target group. For the present, we will refer to this tactic as "The President's Achievement Ethic Award." This award could be given to a person, a group, or a community. With each person, group or community awarded there would be:

- (1) a speech delivered by the President directly to the recipient of the honors;
- (2) mass coverage by newspapers, television, which will blanket the nation, swamp the home town and the state.

The speech must contain verbal symbols capable of striking sympathetic cords in the target population. The words must carry symbolic spill-over; that is, they should honor and praise others who will identify with those receiving the award. The words must also carry symbolic exclusiveness. (Remember, "Black is beautiful" conveys just that.)

Example 1--A Person. A human interest story appears in the New York Times about a resident of the Bronx or Queens: "Angelo Esposito, former sewer cleaner, gets MD degree." Immediately a check is made on the individual. If it is deemed appropriate, the President would make a speech congratulating this man for his accomplishment.

The speech would probably run along the following lines:

- (1) This person did well because of personal "initiative," "drive" and "determination."
- (2) This proves once again, "Only in America"--the Horatio Alger myth is still true.
- (3) Your parents should be proud of you (salute them by implication).
- (4) Your neighbors must be proud of you, because you are one of them (they helped, too).
- (5) Carefully insert: At a time when academicians might have tended to lower the standards to let this underprivileged man get by, they demanded more from him, and it paid off.

Out of this speech, the words or verbal symbols actually convey:

- patience
- sacrifice
- perseverance
- self-reliance
- merit
- achievement

} These are the rules by which
 } ethnics and all Americans have
 } lived.

These symbols are the opposite of, and exclude those identified with:

- impatience--I want it now
- selfishness, self-interest
- drop-out--the system is wrong.
- government's responsibility, not self-reliance
- not by merit, but by right
- reward and success are given, not achieved

} These symbols convey the mental
 } picture of militant minority demands.
 } They will evoke different races in
 } different minds, depending whether
 } you are in Buffalo, Newark, Bridgeport
 } or Houston. They will all produce
 } the same kind of polarization.

The preceding speeches of the President as demonstrated here obviously have far-reaching racial implications. However, the same technique could be used to gather support by utilizing the enormous powers of the President to convey honors and thus pick up support. Note the following variation on the award theme that does not have the racial overtones.

Example 2--A Group. The following story appears in the paper: General Motors was ready to move out of Dayton, because wages were \$1 to \$2 higher than the nearest competitor. November 21st, workers agreed to forego scheduled contract raises whereupon G.M. recalled 50 employees. Prices on Frigidaires will be reduced. Everybody sacrificed.

The speech would say something like:

I salute you (workers).

- (1) The example you have set is a credit to your character.
- (2) America (in the name of its leader) thanks you.

- (3) Like good Americans, you thought of your neighbors when they needed you. Your forefathers would be proud to see you maintaining the American spirit of generosity.
- (4) You have set an example for Americans to follow.

Beyond the words, the message conveyed:

- (1) The President of the United States actually talked about me, and us.
- (2) President Nixon gives honors.
- (3) President Nixon recognized and rewarded.

The News Media Unwittingly Carries the Ball

In the first two examples, the presidential address and the occasional speech, the news media carries the message. In the Labor Day speech, the national networks provide the blanket of information over the nation. In the occasional speeches, the local media would blanket the local city and probably the state. If the human interest aspect of the story is interesting and really unique, we would probably get the national media to pick it up and carry it along.

Notice, however, that in all of these examples the media is almost forced to carry the message. Moreover, no matter what they say we can only gain.

- (1) If only the local or state television carries it, we will be able to say, "See, no one wants to spread the good news about how the President honored you."
- (2) If the media blasts the President, "Tricky Dick," they will incur the wrath of those who have been honored. "You are stealing my honors. The President is praising me and you are damning him for it."
- (3) The President's enemies are my enemies. Agnew was right.

With the occasional award tactic, great care must be taken to avoid having the President walk into an embarrassing situation. If each specific potential award recipient is properly researched, this danger can be minimized. Further, the "occasional" or "surprise" element here is vital. There is no new, stated presidential policy of starting to award people for achievement.

The President simply does it. The press or television would say:

"This morning, in an unprecedented move, President Nixon went to Dayton, Ohio, and spoke to a crowd of 1,000 G.M. workers. The President paid tribute to the laborers who last month sacrificed their own personal gain to help fellow workers who were laid off, etc., etc."

"This afternoon President Nixon honored a former sewer cleaner who recently received an MD degree from Georgetown University."

If the President takes the initiative (that is, it is not an award for which one can apply--the President finds you), there is no embarrassment of having to stop the process.

The Theory Operationalized: The Mechanism

In order to operationalize this set of conceptualized techniques, a key core of personnel must be put together. Many of the people described in this sketch may already be working in the White House, but many will have to be recruited. Initially there will be a need to establish two intellectual teams: a White House team and a counterpart working at the highest level of the campaign organization.

The White House Team

There must be a core or team of no more than six or eight people working in the White House. These people would be charged with the responsibility for writing and coordinating the series of symbolic speeches of the President. They would select the symbols to be projected at each target population. In addition, this group would edit (i.e. symbolically load) all other speeches touching on domestic issues emanating from the President.

CAUTION -- DANGER

With respect to the calculated polarization described in this paper, ABSOLUTE SECRECY CANNOT BE OVERSTATED. If our strategy is leaked to the press or to the opposition, there would be no way of calculating the damage to the Administration. Therefore, the inner workings of the core will be known only to the President and those with the highest degree of White House clearance, that is, his immediate advisors.

Most of the men who merit membership on the White House team should have the following intellectual preparation and/or general characteristics:

- (a) They should be men who have traveled the social spectrum from a non-English speaking ethnic lower income level to a middle or upper class level. The team should include at least one Armenian, one Spanish-speaking American, one Pole, one German, one Greek, one Italian, one Hungarian, and one Swede.
- (b) They should know the "cultural peculiarities" of the ethnic groups they represent, i.e. work habits, superstitions, morality, sense of fairness and prejudices. Most of these men should be knowledgeable concerning class conflicts and social tensions arising out of these class conflicts, or be skilled political practitioners who have practical experience in this area and a feeling for the mission we are undertaking.
- (c) Some of these men must be skilled in the use of symbol analysis and meaning, and (given the assistance of the other team members who must be considered experts on, as well as representatives of, the particular ethnics within the given target population), they must be able to select the appropriate symbols for the occasion.
- (d) Some of these men must be writers of the highest caliber. They must be able to write and edit speeches and exercise imaginative and innovative judgment.

Special Research Staff
Adjunct to the Team

The White House team must have the use of staff and research personnel to do any leg work when needed. That is, if a member of the team needed information on a given area with respect to ethnic income, education, voting patterns, etc., the team would not be burdened with staff work. In addition, the team must have access to all surveys and polls now being conducted and should have the authority to conduct surveys to obtain deeper insights into a target population or to assess its impact on an area, with an eye to correcting for effectiveness.

Although the special research staff will be at the disposal of the team, the staff will not know why the information is required or the strategy behind its use.

In addition to the special research staff there must be a core staff which, via newspapers and magazines, scans the country for special human interest stories like "Angelo, the sewer cleaner" and the G.M. Frigidare examples. These talent scouts must research the situation and clear the individual (so as to avoid an embarrassing situation for the President) and set up some congratulatory award in the particular state and community. After consideration of the incidentals, the team will write the speech for the President.

The White House team, then, will be responsible for that part of the 1972 campaign which actually deals with a series of calculated maneuvers exercised by the President himself.

In addition to calculating some of the President's major movements in the 1972 campaign, the team will coordinate similar but different tactics throughout the country in the key electoral states. To accomplish this, a second team will be necessary.

There should be a second team of eight to ten men working at the highest level of the campaign organization. These men will again be drawn from the ranks of ethnic groups, who have worked their way into the middle class. They should be from different parts of the country and from the highly sought after electoral states. The intellectual and/or background characteristics of this second team should be similar to those of the White House team. While it is not necessary for them to be symbol analysts, there should be several excellent writers in the group.

The second team will concentrate upon utilizing several key Administration spokesmen. These spokesmen would function in a capacity similar to that of the President in that they, too, would be making speeches in selected areas.

The operation of the second team would be as follows. They would choose an area in a key state where there is a heavy concentration of ethnic groups. They would then arrange for a series of high level speakers, such as Secretary Volpe or Phillip Sanchez, to go into the area and make a successive wave of speeches. The speeches might, and probably would, be written by the second team. But in all cases, they would be edited by the White House team. Like the President's speeches, these too must be symbolically loaded. It is not necessary for anyone but the campaign director (John Mitchell) to be aware of what modifications the speeches would undergo by the White House team.

The Speakers

The speakers must have many or all of the following characteristics:

(a) They must be people who come from non-English speaking groups. It is desirable, but not necessary, for them to have a speaking knowledge of the language.

(b) They should be people who have achieved a high degree of economic success or social prestige. Their achievements should be directly traceable to their determination to exploit their God-given talents and to their perseverance in the attainment of their goals.

High level government officials.--Speakers might include, for example:

(a) A Cabinet member: John Volpe. During the Depression he went into the construction business. He took a gamble and worked hard. Today he is a success.

(b) The Director of a federal agency: Phillip Sanchez. From migrant worker to the Administration's top anti-poverty official.

Lower level, but just as vital, national personalities.-- Here, what is needed is the "salt of the earth," plain and pure type of man who to ethnic groups could be seen as a modern embodiment of a hero. The perfect example of the kind of man needed would be a Vince Lombardi. But there are others with his traits. They could come from the entertainment world, such as Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope or John Wayne. Or, they could come from countless other fields. The lesser known persons might be better utilized in their own states or areas, but a Vince Lombardi would have credibility in any environment. Given the President's proclivity for sports, celebrities drawn from this category would be quite appropriate. Again, no matter who is chosen to speak, the White House team will edit or write the speech.

The common factor in all these speakers must be that they made it from the bottom of the deck by their own steam. They still identify with the people who are trying to emulate their success and the people will identify with them.

They, the speakers, support the President, because the President is protecting the systemic and social rules of the games which allowed them to be successful. Those ethnics

identifying with the speaker should support the President, because he is protecting their personal interests.

The Execution

The actual execution of the plan can be carried out as follows.

- (1) With respect to the domestic addresses of the President, the speeches would send out a coast-to-coast wave of symbols from the eastern and western White Houses. These speeches (the exact number and occasion to be established) are diagramed in Figure I, plastic sheet #1. The purple wave represents one symbol-laden domestic address.
- (2) Figure I, plastic sheet #2, superimposed over #1, plots a series of contrived occasional speeches by the President honoring some individual or group. These speeches are diagramed in orange. Again, the exact number and frequency will be determined.
- (3) Figure I, plastic sheet #2, superimposed over #1 and #2, plots speeches by different high level officials and celebrities.

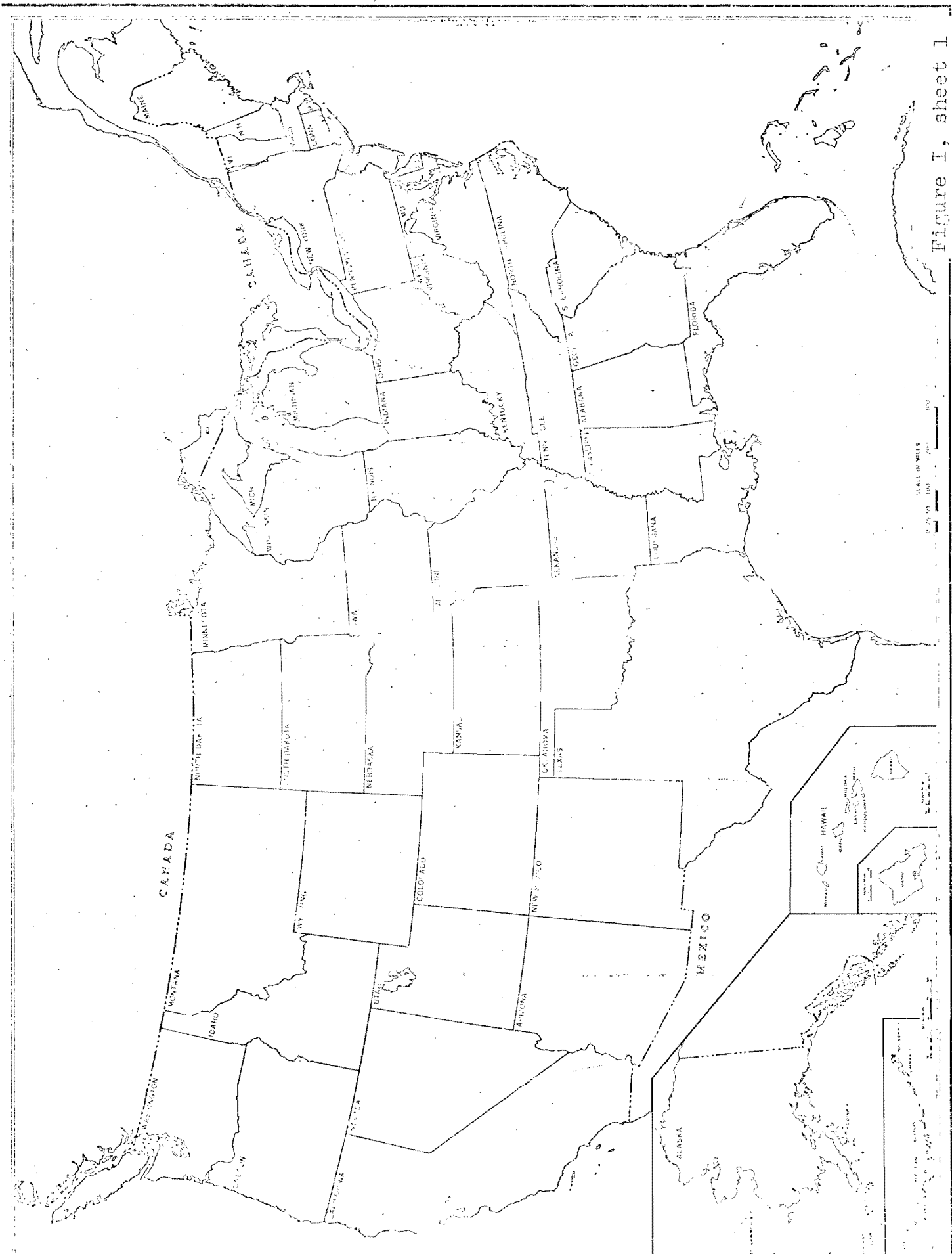


Figure I, sheet 1
National addresses

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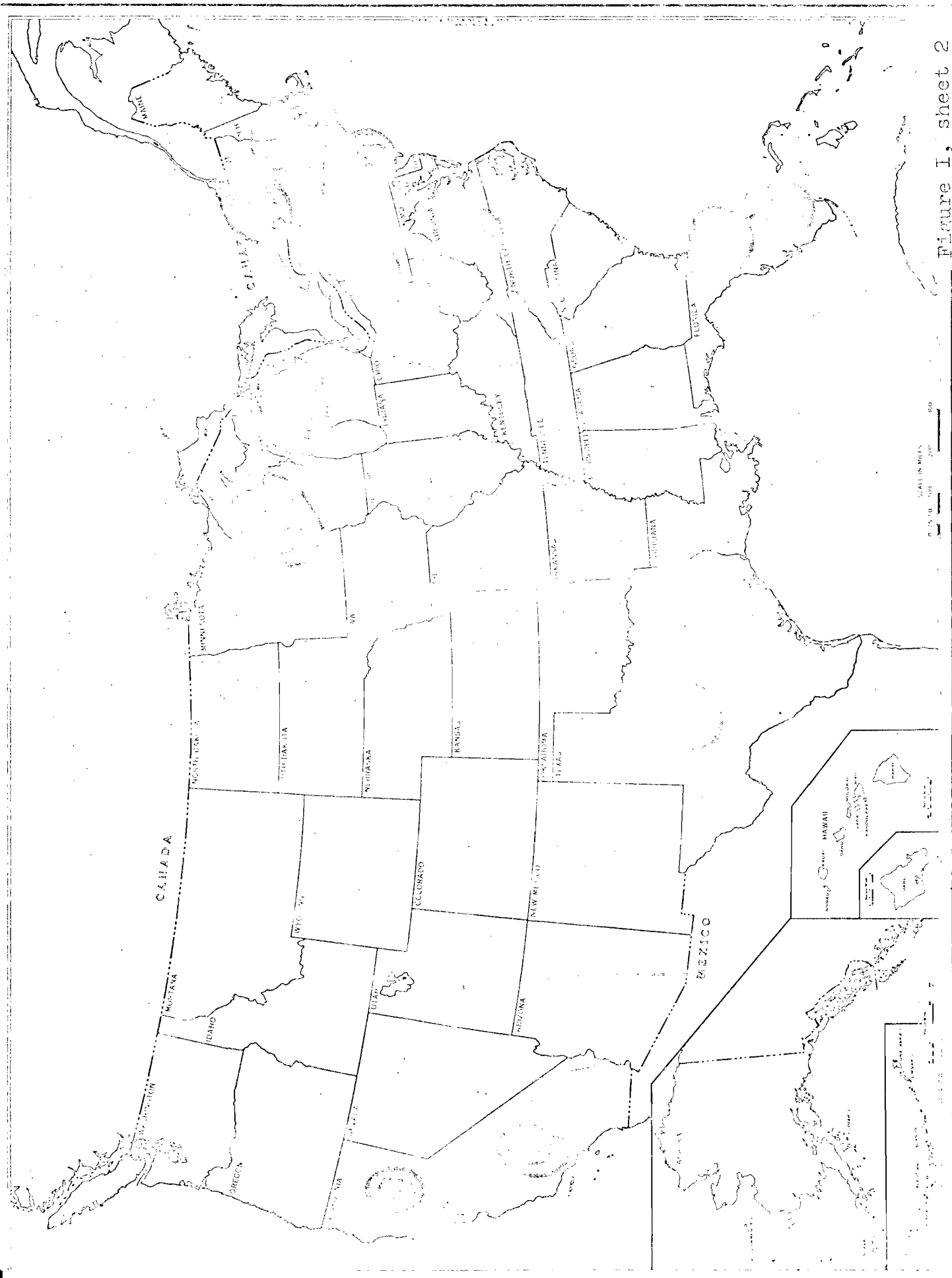
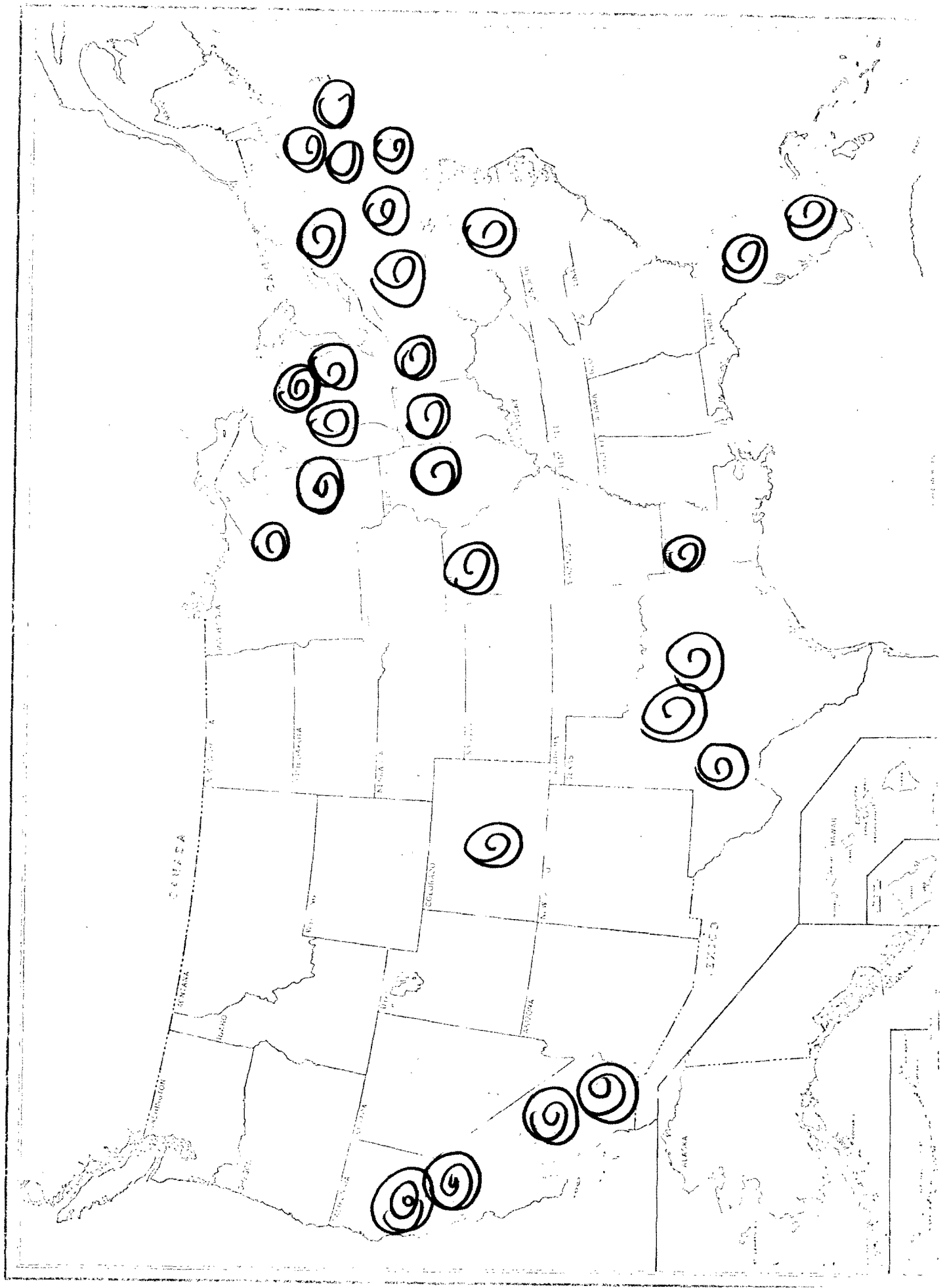


Figure I, sheet 2
Presidential
award speeches

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The frequency and the intensity of each speech will be most vital in determining the desired effect. But, if properly executed, the desired areas would be subjected to a symbolic blanket of speeches. With constant variations of this same symbolic blanket, the target population would be bombarded with opinion-shaping information which, properly engineered, would cost little or nothing. For example, a third of these speeches, the national addresses, would be carried by the national media performing their general function of public information.

The other third would be carried by state and local news media beating the drum in a series of local Greek, Italian, Polish, German or Armenian "boy makes good" stories.

The final third, of course, the campaign organization would finance.

Depending upon the social issue under discussion, i.e. crime, law and order, bussing, etc., a set of symbolic categories can be constructed to rally segments of a target population behind a given idea. In this brief outline, I have focused on one category: the achievement ethic (the work ethic). I have done so because this category has the greatest potential for enabling the President to unify the nation, to win re-election in 1972 (his immediate objective), and to encourage Democrats to become Republicans (his long-range objective).