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 Folder List

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45	32	1/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Charles W. Colson From: George T. Bell RE: "Ethnics and 1972." 4pgs
45	32	1/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Laszlo Pasztor From: Paul M. Deac RE: "Father Baroni/John Gardner/Common Cause." 2pgs
45	32	1/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Chuck Colson, George Bell From: Laszlo C. Pasztor RE: "Non-Republican Ethnic Activities." 2pgs
45	32		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Laszlo Pasztor From: Z. Michael Szaz RE: "Joint Proposal of F.A.C.E. and the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs of Mgr. G. Baroni." 4pgs
45	32	11/11/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Notes on Political Organization and Problems focusing on specific problem areas that require immediate intensive attention. 5pgs
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January 21, 1971

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MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON

SUBJECT: Ethnics and 1972

I have reviewed the attached material from Laszlo Pasztor and Ilmar Heinaru, as well as that relating to Monsignor Baroni; and discussed it with Pasztor, Heinaru, Brad Patterson and Tom Huston. It appears there are two aspects:

- I. The organization and support of political activities specifically directed to heritage groups, mostly first and second generation citizens, which still maintain strong ethnic identification.
- II. Dealing with issues which bear heavily on the blue-collar, middle-class citizen who generally has an ethnic background several generations back, but is primarily issue oriented. This is by far the larger group and one which cannot really be organized. It includes a large segment of the population, upon which is focused a vast array of Administration programs and to which our entire Administration philosophy is applicable. Nevertheless, it has ethnic overtones which cannot be ignored and offer opportunities for exploitation.

The following recommendations are submitted for consideration:

1. Contacts with Monsignor Geno Baroni.

Father Baroni has identified with the lower income middle class and, although his vehicle is called the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, I believe his constituency is probably more consciously Catholic than specifically ethnic and his focus is upon

issues, programs and legislation. As a member of the United States Catholic Conference, I propose that we push our contact with him, maintain an ~~open~~ door, and do all we can to identify with and support, where appropriate, his efforts.

This is not to say that some of the things that will result from his leadership, such as the Calmuet Community Congress, will not be directed against us or led by people who would like to defeat us at the polls. I do not believe that is his purpose, however, and that we should maintain a visible sympathy and support for solutions to the problems he is highlighting.

2. Ford Foundation grants were recently announced to:
  - (a) The National Opinion Research Center for a Center for the Study of Ethnic Pluralism at the University of Chicago.
  - (b) Center for Policy Research at the University of Michigan for research on white, ethnic workers.
  - (c) Research Foundation of the City University of New York for a conference of white, ethnic workers.

I believe someone should be designated to express interest in these activities, maintain liaison with the grantees, monitor to some extent their activities, and be in position to take advantage of their findings or activities where that may appear desirable.

3. Activities of Heritage Groups Division of the RNC.

In Pasztor's memo of January 6, he made recommendations which are not in conflict with the above, and I believe are fine to the extent he can carry them out. Some of them are ambitious, but I suggest giving him full rein to do the best he can. His suggestions are listed verbatim below:

- (a) Maintain polite, but friendly, relations with Monsignor Baroni and other key leaders in this movement, listen to their suggestions -- but do not financially support their activities,

January 21, 1971

since they are chiefly committed to the New Left and to liberal Democrats;

- (b) Infiltrate their movement and attempt to minimize the liberal democratic influence, and the use of the movement as a "front" for the Democrats. (The Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Division has already begun to do this);
- (c) Counteract further their activities among the ethnics by:
  - (1) continuing to strengthen the Republican national, state and local nationality organizations (Republican ethnic Federations, Councils and Clubs);
  - (2) making use of these Republican (and other) ethnic organizations, and their "sympathizers" in the Catholic/ethnic community not only to infiltrate this new ethnic movement, but to establish a Republican-controlled national ethnic organization -- as I have already recommended in my 1971-72 proposal.
  - (3) obtaining financial support for friendly ethnic organizations (such as the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, the Ethnic Foundation, the National Captive Nations Committee, etc.). With this we could not only "control" such groups, but take them over completely as front organizations.
  - (4) organizing, with the help of one of these organizations (or with a new ethnic organization established by us), a major National Ethnic Conference late in 1971 which could be used to counteract these new ethnic movements, and also provide support for the Nixon Administration and the Republican ticket in 1972.

January 21, 1971

- (5) and finally, coordinate the activities of the White House and the Republican National Committee in the ethnic areas by calling a meeting (during the second half of January 1971) involving key people in both the White House and the Republican National Committee who deal with the nationalities; or, call a meeting of the White House Task Force on Opportunities for Ethnic Americans, which is headed by Secretary of Transportation Volpe, to deal with this new ethnic movement.

#### 4. Publicity.

The fact that the larger problem referred to in Item II has ethnic and religious overtones provides additional "handles" I believe we can use to publicize many things this Administration has done and will be doing to cope with the basic problems of concern. Thus, I suggest that we establish a program through Herb Kelin's office to provide that sufficient news releases are cast in ethnic terms for the general press, and that we make full use of the opportunities provided by the Catholic News Service and the ethnic press.

George T. Bell

# NATIONAL CONFEDERATION of AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUPS

562 Davis Building

Washington, D. C. 20006

Tel: 296-8325

January 7, 1971

Mr. Laszlo Pasztor  
Executive Director  
American Heritage Groups Division  
Republican National Committee  
310 First Street, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Laszlo:

Re: Father Baroni/John Gardner/Common Cause

As a followup to my December 24, 1970 communication, I have received more ample information from the field about the above.

## FIELD REPORT

From all appearances and utterances of its promoters in Gary, Ind. and other cities, Common Cause is clearly emerging as an anti-Nixon "citizens lobby."

1. It has the endorsement and support of nearly all presidential hopefuls in the Democratic party -- Muskie, Kennedy, McGovern and even ex-Senator Eugene McCarthy whose youthful followers form the "shock troops" of Common Cause.
2. Common Cause and its much-publicized "good intentions" are the instrument through which the Liberal-Democrats plan to separate President Nixon from his white and blue collar workers.
3. Ethnic whites are being singled out for special attention. The most frequent approach is as follows: Nixon has not taken care of the "forgotten Middle Americans." Join and support Common Cause and we'll see that you get the consideration for your problems which is now being denied ethnic Americans. We'll show you how to get in on poverty programs, Model Cities, etc. In some instances, CC promoters held out promise for more and better jobs -- a particularly strong enticement for those without jobs.
4. C.C. organizers, young and old alike, clergy and layman, are of the Radical-Liberal persuasion. Invariably, their enemy is the present "establishment" -- the Nixon Administration and Congress.

January 7, 1971

5. The only ethnics attracted so far are leftwingers and perennial malcontents, also ex-city-hall hacks with a sprinkling of well-intentioned citizens. Our organizations, alerted in time by us, have so far resisted Mr. Gardner's appeals. To date, no bona-fide ethnic organization or leader has joined Common Cause, despite Father Baroni's urgings: The question is how long can we win out empty-handed over C.C. organizers who seem to have plenty of money and bagsful of fresh promises?

Our Comment: John Gardner's Common Cause represents a real danger to the Republican party and in particular the Nixon Administration. C.C. organizers are approaching ethnic voters at a time when many are griping about the slowness with which the Republicans are getting around to consider the needs and problems of ethnic Americans. Some of our leaders, Nixon supporters, have been put on the spot by these Administration delays. They are angry and restless.

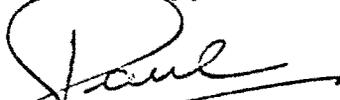
However, it is considered unlikely alienated ethnic voters can be coaxed back into the Liberal-Democratic fold so soon after their disaffection. Fedup with party neglect and abuses many ethnic voters vote as Independents, others have registered as Republicans. Just the same, the danger is real.

Recommendation for Action: We believe the time has come for an outside source such as our Confederation to call a national conference of ethnic organizations and leaders to give vent to ethnic grievances and complaints and to determine what ethnic needs really are and what can be done about them. Purpose of such a conference would be to counter Liberal-Democratic attempts to divide U.S. ethnic groups and prevent them from giving further approval and support to the Nixon Administration.

We, in the Confederation, feel sure such a conference could be made into a resounding success, guaranteeing continued ethnic support of the Nixon Administration if the \$20,000 to \$25,000 needed to prepare such a conference can be found.

Kindly let me know what you think of such a proposal.

Sincerely,



Paul M. Deac

Executive Vice President

PMD:cm

cc: Harry S. Dent

Republican  
National  
Committee.

January 6, 1971

TO: Chuck Colson and George Bell ✓  
FROM: Laszlo C. Pasztor, Director, Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Division *L.C.P.*  
SUBJECT: Non-Republican Ethnic Activities

1. Attached are three reports. The first two concern the Calumet County Congress (one was written by Laura-Anne Genero--a staff member who handles the "Berkshire" (Catholic) Project in our division; and the second is by Z. Michael Szaz, Ph.D.-- who is Executive Director of the American Hungarian Federation and has excellent contacts in the ethnic community). The last report is an evaluation of Monsignor Geno Baroni's joint proposal for a Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs and F.A.C.E. (a program For Arts in Community Environment).
2. From these reports, and from the information obtained by the Chairman of the Republican Nationalities Council of Indiana (Mr. Frank Mitani-- who knows several of the organizers and key participants in the CCC), it is clear that this whole new ethnic movement represents a danger to the Republican Party and our chances in 1972. It is not only motivated by, and used as a source of propaganda for, liberal democrats, but it is a very well organized and financed attempt to "woo" the nationalities back to the Democratic Party. They capitalize on the "neglect" of ethnic Americans by the government, and the just complaints of many ethnic Americans-- which are due to this "neglect."
3. According to reports in ethnic newspapers, this movement is already organizing in ten other heavily ethnic areas: Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Providence, Newark Gary, and Boston. To counteract this I recommend, therefore, that we:
  - A. Maintain polite, but friendly, relations with Monsignor Baroni and other key leaders in this movement, listen to their suggestions-- but do not financially support their activities, since they are chiefly committed to the New Left and to liberal Democrats;
  - B. Infiltrate their movement and attempt to minimize the liberal democratic influence, and the use of the movement as a "front" for the Democrats. (The Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Division has already begun to do this);
  - C. Counteract further their activities among the ethnics by:
    - 1) continuing to strengthen the Republican national, state and local nationality organizations (Republican ethnic Federations, Councils and Clubs);
    - 2) making use of these Republican (and other) ethnic organizations, and their "sympathizers" in the Catholic/ethnic community not only to infiltrate this new ethnic movement, but to establish a Republican-controlled national ethnic organization-- as I have already recommended in my 1971-72 proposal.

- 3) obtaining financial support for friendly ethnic organizations (such as the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, the Ethnic Foundation, the National Captive Nations Committee, etc.). With this we could not only "control" such groups, but take them over completely as front organizations.
- 4) organizing, with the help of one of these organizations (or with a new ethnic organization established by us), a major National Ethnic Conference late in 1971 which could be used to counteract these new ethnic movements, and also provide support for the Nixon Administration and the Republican ticket in 1972.
- 5) and finally, coordinate the activities of the White House and the Republican National Committee in the ethnic areas by calling a meeting (during the second half of January 1971) involving key people in both the White House and the Republican National Committee who deal with the nationalities; or, call a meeting of the White House Task Force on Opportunities for Ethnic Americans, which is headed by Secretary of Transportation Volpe, to deal with this new ethnic movement.

cc: Rogers C.B. Morton  
A.B. Herman  
Bill Low

Hon. John Volpe  
Peter M. Flanigan  
Rocco C. Siciliano

Harry S. Dent  
Murray M. Chotiner  
Jeb Magruder  
Patrick J. Buchanan

M E M O R A N D U M

From: Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, Ph.D.  
To: Mr. Laszlo Pasztor, Director, Heritage Groups Division,  
Republican National Committee  
In re: Joint Proposal of F.A.C.E. and the Center for Urban  
Ethnic Affairs of Mgr. G. Baroni.

Introduction

In the name of the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs of the U.S. Catholic Conference and a new, proposed grouping, F.A.C.E. (For Arts in Community Environment), Mgr. Baroni circulated a proposal for possible funding to the Executive branch. The present memorandum contains a political evaluation of his project and some of his past activities on the basis of the literature given by Mgr. Baroni to me, the text of the proposal and my personal conversation with him on December 18.

Project Objectives

The program, as submitted, is designed to create new community organizations among "white ethnics" of lower middle-class background with the avowed purpose of facilitating black-white ethnics cooperation and alliances and giving the "white ethnics" the right to affect the decisions on the local level dealing with his socio-economic welfare.

In order to do so, Mgr. Baroni wants to expand assistance to his previously existing projects of organizations, and to help create new community leadership structures in northern cities in order to achieve the above ends. He intends his overall program to be organized from above by his Center which would also serve as a liaison between the communities and the prospective local, state and Federal resource agencies. Monies are asked for organizing activities (travel, salaries), leadership training sessions and workshops on an inter-area basis and liaison work. In the not too distant future (Phase III) the project foresees a consultant staff (Center Fellows) on the national level and a final report identifying appropriate target areas and programs not included in the present project and further financial support for the target areas already covered.

The second part of the proposal consists of a project based on the concept of Ethnic Research Centers as described in the Pucinski-Smith (now Pucinski-Schweiker bill), known as H.R. 15493.

### Underlying Project Assumptions

The underlying socio-economic assumptions of the submitters form the political core of the proposal. In his December 18 conversation, Mgr. Baroni stressed that the "white ethnics" are caught in the squeeze of what he termed the black revolution seemingly threatening their job security and housing and the New Left revolution of affluent higher middle-classer college youth of elitist students looking upon the heritage groups as Fascist or reactionary racists.

While this description contains many kernels of truth, the conclusions reached by Mgr. Baroni are questionable at best. He maintains that the only way the "white ethnics" will gain political power is to make common cause with the blacks against the local Establishment. It is hard to see why the heritage group worker must be revolutionized in order to gain his local rights. Would it not be better if he were to form the stable center against revolutionary unrest on the fringes (as he had done in the recent past)? In that case he holds a key position which would earn him a redress of real or alleged grievances much faster by becoming the pivot in helping to maintain a functioning and orderly society. This fact is now recognized by many of the local, state and Federal administrations.

A radicalization of even part of the heritage group community and its assumption of the tactics of the civil rights movement would only open the sluices for generalized unrest resulting in widespread fragmentation and ultimately, in a dictatorship of the far Left or the far Right. After all 34 to 40 million Americans fall into the heritage group category, almost twice as many as the number of black Americans.

Thus, Mgr. Baroni's approach must be considered faulty. This is not say that the grievances are not real and should not be solved in cooperation with the heritage groups by local, state and Federal governments. The creation of black-"white ethnic" alliances on a populist or semi-radical basis would not be in the interest of the Administration or the Republican Party.

### Political Conclusions

Under separate cover I am attaching a detailed report on one of Mgr. Baroni's pilot projects, the Calumet Community Council.

It displays, despite the involvement of many local church leaders, mainly at the instigation of Mgr. Baroni and Bishop Grutka, unmistakable signs of radicalization in its staff. The second pilot project does not even involve blue-collar ethnic workers, but is a middle-class Black-Polish Alliance in Detroit and is probably included because of its interracial aspects. I do not have adequate information on the Little Italy Project, but based on Mgr. Baroni's information it looks like the most constructive one of the five and the one which is least political. I have little reliable information on the Boston and Baltimore projects, but Miss Mikulski's rhetoric as quoted in the national press, is not reassuring.

It is my own conclusion that the great rush to organization is little more than a thinly disguised attempt to regain heritage group voters for liberal Democratic causes. Mgr. Baroni himself had high praise for his Senatorial friends of Muskie, Pastore, Kennedy and Hartke and blamed the Republican Senators for not passing the Pucinski-Smith bill. Yet it was the liberal Republican Senator from New York, Jacob K. Javits who in April 1970 refused to submit to the Senate the Pucinski bill and it was a conservative Republican Senator from Illinois (Ralph E. Smith) who did finally so. Now Mgr. Baroni mentions his conversation with Mr. Ehrlichman in which he requested direct White House support for the passage of the Ethnic Heritage Research Centers Bill during the next session of Congress. Interestingly, he was not too enthusiastic about Roman Pucinski either who he had accused of ducking during the civil rights controversy. In assessing Mgr. Baroni, it must be recalled that he had spent several years in the civil rights movement and inner-city black parishes and he tries to transfer his experiences with the black community to the heritage groups which simply cannot be done very effaciously.

Mgr. Baroni's ties with the U.S. Catholic Conference are tenuous. On December 1, 1970 New York Times reported that the Task Force on Urban Affairs would be phased out by the Conference by June 10, 1971 and Mgr. Baroni will become a program planner in the conference's Department of Social Development. I wonder whether his relegation to more general social problem duties might not be the reason he is seeking funding for his project outside of the Catholic Church.

Conclusions

It is my belief that Mgr. Baroni will receive funding from outside of Church sources for his project, we certainly do not need to fund him as he is essentially working against our political interest. The ideological and personal cleavage is so deep that funding would not represent adequate control over him.

This leaves us with the problem of what to do to counteract the liberal Democratic effort for which he is a willing front man. This will be the subject of third memorandum.

November 11, 1970

NOTES

RE : Political Organization and Problems

Specific problem areas requiring immediate intensive attention are:

Suburbs - Rumsfeld to ride herd on developing a new strategy.

Farm - Need a whole look at political necessities in this area.

Economy - Can't do anything on this directly but must keep a close eye.

Regions - Don't write off these areas - particularly New England and the South. We'll go after all regions in almost all states - even Massachusetts unless Teddy Kennedy is on the ticket.

Population Groups - Blue Collar, Catholics, etc. Colson in charge of overall program.

Specific states requiring immediate attention and overall plans:

California

Illinois

Ohio

Wisconsin

Missouri

Texas

Florida

Pennsylvania

All of these must be organized not around the Republican Party but on a Committee for Nixon. This especially applies in the South. Committees should also be set up in :

Georgia

North Carolina

Virginia

A fresh approach must be established.

Immediate thought must be given to plans for a number of backers must be prepared to move in and this should be explored thoroughly and scientifically. Colson should be on top of this.

We must be prepared for the Democratic strategy in Congress which will probably be to introduce a number of major programs that we can't approve in the area of education, health and pollution. Their plan will be to force us to veto these popular programs and thus put us in the worse possible light. To counteract we need our own legislative program on a positive basis with a few really good measures. Also we must develop an expansive budget for 1972 - not based on the HEW giveaways, but in the areas that create jobs - not the areas that take care of the poor.

We also have to recognize we can't blame the Democrats anymore for what we inherited, everything from here on is our problem.

General strategy on the Democrats should be to build up all the Democratic candidates so that there is no unifying factor behind any one front leader. We need to develop a program to pin every Democratic Senator in Congress on the compulsory integrated housing issue. This should be done by letters to each candidate and by questions and press conferences to get them on the record at this early stage. One individual must be assigned to get this done. We need to develop immediately a plan for polling activities leading up to 1972. Specifically we should have a program for quickie polls in key states to keep a continuous benchmark reading. We don't need very many huge polls in depth.

We also need an analysis of what happened to the polls in 1970, particularly why they didn't show the significant shift that took place in the West.

The general strategy has got to include a major run at New York and Pennsylvania especially because of the softness in Illinois and California. Also we need a very careful analysis of the way to approach Texas.

We need to make a decision on the general approach to the convention fairly soon. On an overall basis our convention should be second and it should be late. We should work for a short campaign with Presidential participation limited to three weeks maximum.

The convention should be cut down to approximately two days - certainly not four and we should look for a new approach to the whole thing. The city should not be the same as that of the Democrats. First choice is probably Chicago, if Illinois is winnable. Second choice would be to take one of the states that we need - New York, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, would be the prime contenders.

The whole approach to the convention should be based on how to make it a good television program.

We have to set up a man to man operation on each of the Democratic candidates with full follow through. Ed Morgan should be in charge of this. There should be full research with a desk man on each candidate.

We need a systematic study of all the publishers who will be important in terms of endorsements and are worth going after. We need to lock up the good ones that are with us such as Annenberg but also pursue those who are doubtful. This would include Knight, Cowles, all the Chicago papers, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Newhouse, Miller, Copley, Hearst, Chandlers.

We can't let any of these get away and we've got to determine at each paper who will be making the editorial endorsement decision and then work on him.

In the area of television we've been working on the wrong targets. We haven't gained much ground with Sarnoff, Paley and Goldenson. We should be working on the real power people that are on the air such as Reasoner and Smith, Kaplows, etc. Colson should be riding herd on the TV, not just the networks, but to be sure we're covering all the major independence.

We should start work immediately on a documentary for television. The one done by the RNC missed the point cause it didn't build the enormous importance of the key things such as the November 3rd speech. The new one must be done much better.

We've got to stay on top of the mock conventions at universities, also develop a program for reaching professors and intellectuals and a program for reaching and maintaining contact with our columnists. Also we need to develop a real youth thrust to make sure that we don't leave youth to the opposition.

Dent should move now on the South but not as a Republican just a Nixon organization. Also he should develop his regional plan.

We have to have plans immediately for New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, California, and Texas. At the second level, Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Connecticut and Florida. At the third level, the Southern states, the Mountain states, and the farm states. Each state must be handled differently and a plan developed for each one fitting its particular situation.

In addition to having one man in charge of each state - and we should start setting that up now so that we do have a key person assigned to each one of these individual states and reporting directly to the President when he wants a report - we should also plan for polling state by state - these will be much more helpful than national polls.

We should investigate bringing in Bob Price to put him in charge of New York. Also the question of what Mitchell thinks about Bob Lee and Cliff White. Also Mitchell should talk to O'Daugherty regarding the true story of who really put the New York victory together.

The Ripon Society has succeeded in getting a lot of play with their stuff. Can't we set up an opposing force to get equal mileage? Maybe something under Jim Buckley's banner.

Something has to be done on the selection and bringing in of a finance chairman quickly.

A lot of thought has got to be given to campaign scheduling - the question of whether a dog and pony show really does any good - or whether we should simply concentrate on television with only enough public exposure to make the point.

November 11, 1970

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NOTES

RE : Political Organization and Problems

Specific problem areas requiring immediate intensive attention are:

Suburbs - Rumsfeld to ride herd on developing a new strategy.

Farm - Need a whole look at political necessities in this area.

Economy - Can't do anything on this directly but must keep a close eye.

Regions - Don't write off these areas - particularly New England and the South. We'll go after all regions in almost all states - even Massachusetts unless Teddy Kennedy is on the ticket.

Population Groups - Blue Collar, Catholics, etc. Colson in charge of overall program.

Specific states requiring immediate attention and overall plans:

California

Illinois

Ohio

Wisconsin

Missouri

Texas

Florida

Pennsylvania

All of these must be organized not around the Republican Party but on a Committee for Nixon. This especially applies in the South. Committees should also be set up in :

Georgia

North Carolina

Virginia

A fresh approach must be established.

2

Immediate thought must be given to plans for a number of backers must be prepared to move in and this should be explored thoroughly and scientifically. Colson should be on top of this.

We must be prepared for the Democratic strategy in Congress which will probably be to introduce a number of major programs that we can't approve in the area of education, health and pollution. Their plan will be to force us to veto these popular programs and thus put us in the worse possible light. To counteract we need our own legislative program on a positive basis with a few really good measures. Also we must develop an expansive budget for 1972 - not based on the HEW giveaways, but in the areas that create jobs - not the areas that take care of the poor.

We also have to recognize we can't blame the Democrats anymore for what we inherited, everything from here on is our problem.

General strategy on the Democrats should be to build up all the Democratic candidates so that there is no unifying factor behind any one front leader. We need to develop a program to pin every Democratic Senator in Congress on the compulsory integrated housing issue. This should be done by letters to each candidate and by questions and press conferences to get them on the record at this early stage. One individual must be assigned to get this done. We need to develop immediately a plan for polling activities leading up to 1972. Specifically we should have a program for quickie polls in key states to keep a continuous benchmark reading. We don't need very many huge polls in depth.

We also need an analysis of what happened to the polls in 1970, particularly why they didn't show the significant shift that took place in the West.

The general strategy has got to include a major run at New York and Pennsylvania especially because of the softness in Illinois and California. Also we need a very careful analysis of the way to approach Texas.

We need to make a decision on the general approach to the convention fairly soon. On an overall basis our convention should be second and it should be late. We should work for a short campaign with Presidential participation limited to three weeks maximum.

The convention should be cut down to approximately two days - certainly not four and we should look for a new approach to the whole thing. The city should not be the same as that of the Democrats. First choice is probably Chicago, if Illinois is winnable. Second choice would be to take one of the states that we need - New York, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, would be the prime contenders.

The whole approach to the convention should be based on how to make it a good television program.

We have to set up a man to man operation on each of the Democratic candidates with full follow through. Ed Morgan should be in charge of this. There should be full research with a desk man on each candidate.

We need a systematic study of all the publishers who will be important in terms of endorsements and are worth going after. We need to lock up the good ones that are with us such as Ammonberg but also pursue those who are doubtful. This would include Knight, Cowles, all the Chicago papers, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Newhouse, Miller, Copley, Hearst, Chandlers.

We can't let any of these get away and we've got to determine at each paper who will be making the editorial endorsement decision and then work on him.

In the area of television we've been working on the wrong targets. We haven't gained much ground with Sarnoff, Paley and Goldenson. We should be working on the real power people that are on the air such as Reasoner and Smith, Kaplows, etc. Colson should be riding herd on the TV, not just the networks, but to be sure we're covering all the major independence.

We should start work immediately on a documentary for television. The one done by the RNC missed the point cause it didn't build the enormous importance of the key things such as the November 3rd speech. The new one must be done much better.

We've got to stay on top of the mock conventions at universities, also develop a program for reaching professors and intellectuals and a program for reaching and maintaining contact with our columnists. Also we need to develop a real youth thrust to make sure that we don't leave youth to the opposition.

Dent should move now on the South but not as a Republican just a Nixon organization. Also he should develop his regional plan.

We have to have plans immediately for New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, California, and Texas. At the second level, Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Connecticut and Florida. At the third level, the Southern states, the Mountain states, and the farm states. Each state must be handled differently and a plan developed for each one fitting its particular situation.

In addition to having one man in charge of each state - and we should start setting that up now so that we do have a key person assigned to each one of these individual states and reporting directly to the President when he wants a report - we should also plan for polling state by state - these will be much more helpful than national polls.

We should investigate bringing in Bob Price to put him in charge of New York. Also the question of what Mitchell thinks about Bob Lee and Cliff White. Also Mitchell should talk to O'Daugherty regarding the true story of who really put the New York victory together.

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