

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
53	15	02/19/1962	Letter	To Frank Avren, from H.R. Haldeman. Haldeman asking Avren for a copy of the Bliss Report. 1 page.
53	15	n.d.	Memo	To Bob from Pat Hillings. Regarding asking for a copy of the Bliss Report. Attached to previous. 1 page.
53	15	02/15/1962	Newspaper	Copy of editorial from Wall Street Journal called "City Republicanism" discussing Robert Novak's analysis of the Bliss Report. Attached to previous. 1 page.
53	15	n.d.	Other Document	Archival Envelope with two copies of editorial from Wall Street Journal called "City Republicanism" enclosed. Attached to previous. Not scanned. 3 pieces.
53	15	n.d.	Report	Report of the Committee on Big City Politics. 113 pages.
53	15	n.d.	Other Document	C Divider. Between folders 15 and 16. Not scanned.

February 19, 1962

Mr. Frank Avren
Republican State Headquarters
17 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Frank:

For some time I have been meaning to drop you a note -- to say "hello" and ask a favor -- all in the same breath.

Could you get me a copy of the Bliss Report? I would like very much to have it and am sure you're the right person to ask.

How are things going? We're rolling along - with the hectic and enjoyable days we all expected.

Many thanks, Frank, and best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

File: Bliss Report
x - A
x - Chron.

for your information
from **PAT HILLINGS**

Ack

Bob - did you ever ask
the Dept for a copy of
the Bios Report? no
Want me to -
three Bios
yes pls.?

City Republicanism

Editor, The Wall Street Journal:

Robert Novak's analysis of the report of the Elias Committee on Republican weakness in the big cities (Jan. 29) in some respects contributed more to discussion of the problem and its possible solution than the report itself.

However, there are several points touched on by both Mr. Novak and Mr. Elias which bear special emphasis in analyzing the plight of the GOP in metropolitan America. I respectfully suggest the following, as a four-term Republican Congressman and the Party's 1960 Chairman in Los Angeles.

1. A party organization does not have the basic responsibility of establishing philosophy or issues. The organization's primary role is to turn out all registered Republicans at election time. If the GOP leadership had concentrated its organizational energies in meeting this responsibility, it could have avoided many past defeats in the big city areas.

For example, the Republican organization in Los Angeles County in 1960 turned out more than 95% of its membership and helped Nixon to carry California despite the fact that the Democrats had a 1,300,000 majority in registration. Obviously, the Democratic organization did not turn out as high a percentage of its membership. Meanwhile in Philadelphia, the GOP organization was able to vote only 70% of its membership and Nixon lost Philadelphia by a wide margin and the entire state of Pennsylvania as a consequence.

2. Most GOP meetings in big cities are cornball. They offer little intellectual stimulation. The typical meeting is held in a schoolhouse at night and is attended largely by elderly ladies who don't know the difference between Katanga and Kalamazoo. Party leaders must determine methods of making political meetings more exciting and stimulating if the party is to attract middle class America, which forms its basic membership.

3. Shakespeare said, "The play's the thing. . . ." In politics, "The candidate's the thing." Unfortunately, the Republican Party has no candidate recruitment program. The typical election year situation finds party officials waiting for self-appointed candidates to enter the arena but no one assumes basic responsibility to encourage high caliber candidates in the metropolitan areas. The problem is accentuated by the fact that the man on his way up in business or the professions who has the background to be a good candidate usually can't take a year off to campaign. If it is necessary to subsidize good candidates so that they can afford to run, then the Republican Party must be prepared to resort to subsidization.

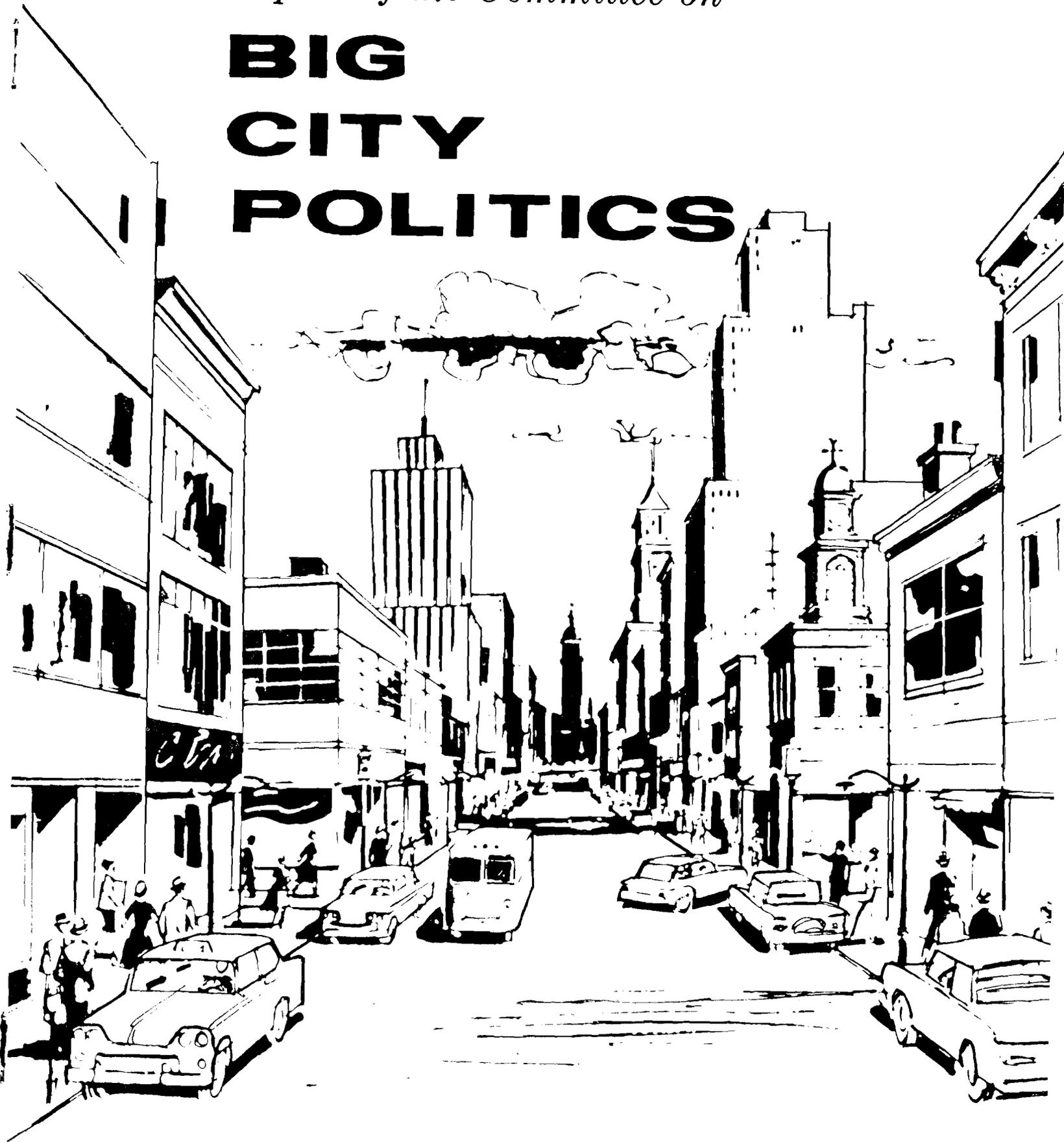
There is no substitute for victory and the whole purpose of a party organization is to help the party win.

PATRICK J. BILLINGS

Los Angeles, Calif.

Report of the Committee on

BIG CITY POLITICS



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

BIG CITY POLITICS

CHAIRMAN

Ray C. Bliss, Chairman of the Republican State Central and Executive Committee of Ohio; member of the Republican National Committee and Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

VICE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. C. Wayland Brooks, National Committeewoman for Illinois and Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

MEMBERS

The Honorable Bruce Alger, Member of Congress for the Fifth District of Texas.

The Honorable Glenard P. Lipscomb, Member of Congress for the Twenty-fourth District of California.

The Honorable Gordon Allott, United States Senator from Colorado.

L. Judson Morhouse, Chairman, New York Republican State Committee and member of the Republican National Committee.

George I. Bloom, Chairman, Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania and member of the Republican National Committee.

The Honorable P. Kenneth Peterson, Former Mayor of the City of Minneapolis and former Chairman of the Minnesota Republican State Central Committee.

The Honorable Silvio O. Conte, Member of Congress for the First District of Massachusetts.

Mrs. William C. Cruse, Jr., Vice Chairman, Kentucky Republican State Committee.

John Stender, Vice President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers (AFL-CIO).

The Honorable Edward J. Derwinski, Member of Congress for the Fourth District of Illinois.

Charles Thone, Former Chairman, Nebraska Republican State Central Committee and former member of the Republican National Committee.

Miss Shirley Field, Former member, House of Representatives of the State of Oregon.

Mrs. Emery C. Johnson, National Committeewoman for Arizona and member of the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

The Honorable John Volpe, Governor of Massachusetts.

Republican National Committee Staff Members

William S. Fleishell, Art Director

Louis R. Lautier, Special Assistant to the Chairman

Robert J. Gormley, Director, Labor Division

John B. McDonald, Public Relations

Albert B. Hermann, Director of Political Organization

Dr. Earl A. Nehring, Director, Arts and Sciences Division

Dr. William B. Prendergast, Director of Research

January 2, 1962

The Honorable William E. Miller, Chairman
Republican National Committee
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chairman Miller:

Last year Senator Thruston Morton, then Chairman of the Republican National Committee, proposed, and the National Committee approved, a program recommending the appointment of several committees to study ways to eliminate some of the problems encountered by the Party in the 1960 Presidential election. One of these problems was the "Big City Gap" and the inability of the Republican Party to maintain in our largest cities the voting strength it demonstrated elsewhere.

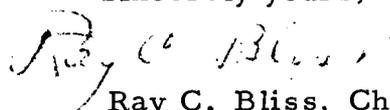
A special Committee on Big City Politics was appointed "to study the practicalities of big city politics" and recommend steps to improve our Party's performance in these vital centers of political, economic and social activity. Committee members included party leaders from various sections of the United States.

Committee members worked as four separate Subcommittees, each devoting its attention to a particular aspect of the problem. Several meetings of the full committee were utilized to reach general agreement on the Subcommittee reports and recommendations.

Rather than prepare a single, formal summary report for the full committee, we have decided to present each individual Subcommittee report as it was approved by the full committee. In this way those matters given concentrated attention by each Subcommittee are emphasized, and specific conclusions and recommendations are placed in better perspective.

I submit these reports to you in behalf of all members of the Committee. Our reports contain no miracle remedies. We believe they contain the essential ingredients for strengthening the Republican Party in big city areas. To this end, we urge that all party leaders concerned give these reports serious study and work for their fulfillment.

Sincerely yours,



Ray C. Bliss, Chairman
Committee on Big City Politics

January 5, 1962

Mr. Ray C. Bliss, Chairman
Committee on Big City Politics
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ray:

On behalf of the Republican National Committee, I thank you and the other members of the Committee on Big City Politics for your superior performance of a very difficult task. You are to be congratulated for the diligence and thoroughness reflected throughout your report and for the soundness and realism of your recommendations.

Your study, originated by my predecessor, Senator Thruston Morton, has always had my strong support. I have repeatedly urged the necessity of attacking our problems in the big cities. Your committee has pinpointed the difficulties and produced an excellent blueprint for action. It is now up to the rest of us to build the victories which will come if we will display a similar diligence and realism in our efforts.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Miller

William E. Miller, Chairman
Republican National Committee

SUMMARY

of

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Republican Party activities in every big city should be placed on a year around basis.
2. Emphasis should be put on precinct organization and activity, to get precincts manned with dependable workers, to assure concentration on registration activities, and to establish personal contacts with voters.
3. There should be full-time, paid, professional staffs in city committee headquarters.
 - a. A minimum staff would include an executive director, an organization director, a public relations specialist, an office secretary, plus necessary clerical staff.
 - b. There should be field coordinators, operating out of city headquarters, to assist party workers in the precincts and to help coordinate activities of the intermediate levels of party organization in big cities.
4. City chairmen should organize working committees, concerned with major party activities and composed of party supporters both in and out of the official party organization, to help develop and execute plans and programs.
5. An effective fund-raising program should be in operation at all times.
6. Regular training programs should be conducted for all party workers and leaders.
7. Candidate recruitment should be conducted on a continuing basis through programs which encourage the development of future candidate possibilities.
8. Big city organizations should develop systems for preparing "local platforms" where there are no Republican holders of local office to set forth Republican positions on local affairs.
 - a. Methods also should be devised for handling the impact of state and national issues on the local party.
9. Full-scale programs should be undertaken by party organizations to identify Republican-oriented people in the labor, business and professional fields, recruit them into active party work, and develop from their ranks candidates for party leadership positions and for public office.

10. Realistic, continuing communication with labor, business and professional groups must be maintained and a responsible, relationship established with the active leaders in these fields.

11. Cooperation with nonpartisan, independent community groups should be undertaken in every possible way, and programs and activities should be developed which make it possible to present Republican philosophy and achievements to these groups.

12. The Republican National Committee should organize a Special Activities Division to develop and implement a permanent program for building party support among language-culture groups.

13. A Special Activities Council, composed of leaders from various language-culture groups, should be created to work with the Special Activities Division in preparing and carrying out its programs.

14. City, metropolitan or regional committees should be formed, in states having large ethnic groups, to implement special activities programs in their areas.

15. The Republican National Committee should enlarge and broaden the scope of existing programs directed at building support among Negro voters, and increase its field forces for work with big city organizations.

16. Intensive use should be made of public opinion surveys to help establish effective communication with voters and to assist in the determination and execution of party programs and campaign activities.

17. Extensive use should be made of all media of mass communication in big cities, through development of a carefully-designed, complete and continuing program of public relations and publicity.

18. Political education programs should be designed for use within the party organization, in schools and colleges, and for use by community groups. Advisory committees of Republican scholars should be utilized in the preparation of these programs.

19. Research should be recognized as a fundamental tool of politics, basic to almost every party activity, and research activities should be made an important part of big city party operations.

Committee on
BIG CITY POLITICS

REPORT

of the

**Subcommittee on Party Organization
and
Candidate Recruitment**

THE HONORABLE GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, Chairman
Member of Congress (24th District, California)

GEORGE I. BLOOM
Chairman, Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania and member
of the Republican National Committee

MRS. WILLIAM C. CRUSE, JR.
Vice Chairman, Kentucky Republican State Committee

MRS. EMERY C. JOHNSON
National Committeewoman for Arizona and member of the Executive
Committee of the Republican National Committee

Preface

The purpose of this report is to aid in improving the Republican Party's vote-getting performance in the large cities of this nation. The problem we face is implicit in this purpose -- the Republican Party is enjoying too few victories in these cities. As an ever larger percentage of citizens cluster into and around these urban centers, national and state-wide election victories stem more and more from them. The implications for the Republican Party in these population and voting trends are obvious.

In 1960 a major factor in the defeat of the Nixon-Lodge ticket was the poor party showing in many of our larger cities, which negated substantial Republican majorities in other parts of these states. Of the 41 cities (excluding Washington, D.C.) with over 300,000 population, only 14 produced Republican majorities. Republicans led in 5 of 9 cities located in the deep South; we carried 9 of the remaining 32 cities.

These 41 cities cast about 22% of the nation's vote in 1960. They contain 20% of the nation's population. The counties in which these 41 cities are located contain 28% of our population, a figure including many suburban areas, where relative Republican strength declined in 1960. These cities and counties can, and often do, determine the outcome of state-wide elections in one-half the states.

There are 123 Congressmen elected from districts lying wholly or partially within the boundaries of these 41 cities. Republicans won 40 (32.5%) of these seats in 1960, and ten of these were in California districts. Note also that Republicans in 1961 hold only 5 Governorships in the 26 states in which our 41 largest cities are located. These are the measures of our problem.

There are many reasons for its existence: precinct and headquarters organizations unmanned or inadequately manned, volunteers lacking or not used, patronage sources non-existent, finances inadequate, weak candidates or no candidates at all, bad publicity or poor public relations, wrong issues or wrong positions on issues, and too much apathy. But all these explanations and excuses only demonstrate that our problem is one that faces all levels of Republican Party organization -- national, state and local. It touches elections at every level and failure in one affects the outcome in another.

As a concrete illustration of one aspect of the problem faced by the Republican Party in securing a maximum number of votes in the nation's largest cities, look at Philadelphia. There the Republican city headquarters has four full-time persons on its staff. They work in small quarters -- several rooms in an office building -- and have very little office equipment. There is an excellent clippings library, but few other political records are kept. Before this year, for example, no statistics on division (precinct) voting patterns were maintained.

Contrast this with the Democratic headquarters in Philadelphia. The Democratic staff has about thirty full-time people. In addition to a large group of clerk-stenographers, the Democrats enjoy the full-time services of such specialists as a director of surveys and research, a registration director, and several publicity men. The staff is located in well-equipped quarters in a building owned by the party (purchased this year for cash, according to reports quoting the Democratic city chairman). In addition to this staff and equipment, the Democratic headquarters contracts to have a private firm handle its mailings and rents IBM record-keeping services. It maintains data not only on Philadelphia but on other counties in the state. In the same building the Democratic city finance chairman has his own staff of ten persons.

If we hope to improve our performance in big cities, we shall have to face up to such contrasts as this and reduce such organizational disadvantages.

Especially can we see to it that future elections will find the Republican Party with the organization and candidates which will produce maximum Republican votes in the big cities. To achieve this, we need the strongest possible organization, the best candidates, and year around activity, everywhere. It is with these aspects of the problem that this Subcommittee has been concerned.

Our report is submitted in the form of a manual on basic matters of organization and activity. This has been done to give some order to the many details involved, to present our recommendations in better perspective, and to permit proper emphasis on such important activities as candidate recruitment.

The basic purpose of our report is to set forth principles, techniques, suggestions and ideas on organization and candidate recruitment which will help achieve our goals. We hope it will serve as a target and a measuring stick for improving our party's effectiveness in getting Republicans registered and voted and in recruiting new members to the ranks in the big cities of the United States.

MANUAL
for
BIG CITY CHAIRMEN

Introduction	Page 4
1. The City (County) Organization	Page 5
a. City-county ties. Legal requirements.	
b. Goals. Services for party and public.	
c. Roles of state and national organizations.	
2. You Must . . .	Page 7
a. General principles that should be followed everywhere	
3. A Model Precinct Organization	Page 8
a. Organization chart and explanation	
4. A Model Central Headquarters Organization	Page 14
a. Organization chart and explanation	
b. Intermediate levels of organization--wards, state legislative districts, Congressional districts	
5. A Model for Problems of Candidates and Issues	Page 25
a. On candidate recruitment--criteria and guide points	
b. On public issues--State and national party policy stands. Local issues.	
Appendix	Page 30

INTRODUCTION

This manual has been prepared, primarily for the use of big city chairmen, as a ready reference to basic principles and techniques of city organization and activity, culled from past successes and failures. The lack of organization staff and of effective activity in most of our big cities is obvious in recent election results. It seems crucial that some fundamentals of party politics be re-emphasized. This manual seeks to do so. Its contents are the product of the advice and assistance of party leaders from all parts of the United States and of specific inquiries and studies of the big cities with which we are concerned. The manual includes many ideas and suggestions which experience indicates have value as practical alternatives and variations for meeting special situations or circumstances.

Common sense tells us that no two cities are exactly alike and that it is impossible to present a plan of organization and activity which will serve all equally well. The problems of a city of 2,000,000 cannot be resolved in the same way as those in a city of 300,000. Still there are many common problems which can be approached in similar ways. And without some reference point it is difficult to judge where one is or to know where one is going. What this manual tries to do is to furnish this point of reference. It outlines what may be called a model plan for organization in a large city. If this plan were fully implemented -- and the activities involved carried out completely and effectively -- in one of our large cities, the Republican Party ought to obtain every vote available to it in that city. In this sense it is an "ideal" plan.

There is discussion also of other general factors related to effective party performance. These include comments on party goals and the roles of the state and national party organizations in big city politics. Of major concern are the ever-present problems of recruiting party candidates for public office and of handling local party involvement in public issues -- matters which lend themselves less readily than organization to ideal solutions. Candidates and issues nevertheless are of vital importance to the success of the party. Without effective approaches to these matters even an ideally structured organization will have trouble attaining its goals.

Not every city organization will be able to follow this manual to the letter. Our hope is that every city's party leaders will use it as a basis for studying existing organization and activity, and for making changes designed to improve our party's effectiveness in performing its key missions of getting every Republican registered and voted and of so conducting its affairs as to attract ever larger numbers of citizens to Republican ranks.

1. THE CITY (COUNTY) ORGANIZATION

Almost without exception, the Republican party organization serving larger cities is a county committee. This means there is no special city committee in addition to the county organization; the county organization performs this role, even though, as is usually the case, there are county areas outside city limits. Since these non-city areas are closely-tied suburbs of the central city, such a single central organization makes sense. It does cause a difficulty in terminology, since our concern in this manual is with city political affairs, while our organizational attention must be on the county committee. To maintain our emphasis throughout the manual, references will be made only to "city" organization. Substitute the word county wherever appropriate in your locality.

Other than fairly common requirements on election of committee members and officers, there are few statutory provisions regulating party organization or activity in large cities. Those that do exist are concerned principally with financial reports of receipts and expenditures. The committee selection provisions are important, for they limit organization freedom to control its membership. Still the absence of strict legal controls permits considerable leeway in committee activity. On the whole it must be said that legal requirements are not a serious obstacle to effective party performance in big cities, except for the difficulties caused in manning the organization. These can be overcome if party leaders are willing to face up to the task.

The key missions of Republican Party organizations have been mentioned already -- getting every Republican registered and voted and constantly enlarging party ranks. These are the basic goals of the city organization. Many party leaders would add to this list the procuring of good candidates and the support of state and national organizations and candidates.

A political party has public responsibilities as well as its internal welfare to consider, and city organizations must share in handling these responsibilities. Many are met in the process of performing party activities. Parties present to the public programs and candidates and ask for the privilege and responsibility of administering governmental affairs. In so doing they must present the best possible candidates, offer sound, constructive policy programs, and make their plea for support honestly and sincerely. These are the party's commitments to the general public. They are ignored at our peril.

City organizations do not operate in a vacuum. They are affected by state and national party actions, and needless to say, city party affairs can have considerable impact at state and national levels. Some degree of cooperative effort is essential in the interests of all. The degree of control and supervision that is desirable or possible poses quite another situation.

If a local organization is doing the best possible job of achieving its goal then it is performing its role in the party system. But what role should the state party organization play with regard to these big city activities? Since this role may vary from state to state -- depending on the laws, traditions, and personalities involved -- it is possible here to do no more than note some general opinions about this role.

Most local leaders are inclined to view the state party headquarters as a center for dissemination of literature, information and technical assistance and a clearing house for ideas. They consider it the state organization's task to keep city organizations informed on state issues, state-wide plans and activities, and to exercise general leadership and encouragement. Only a few consider close supervision or control appropriate.

City leaders respond in the same vein when asked about the role of the national party organization in city party affairs. Informational, reportorial and assistance activities are emphasized, along with a need to provide the local arena with a regular supply of major party speakers. Also mentioned is the need for working with and through regular organization channels if maximum coordination is to be achieved.

In sum, the backbone of the party and its ultimate source of success or failure is the local organization -- according to local leaders. Few state and national leaders will argue with that stand. It still leaves a valuable role to be played by them. But state and national leaders are likely to feel a greater need for giving positive leadership than is suggested by informational and assistance roles alone. They feel a responsibility to observe closely work of local party units and to recommend such actions as seem appropriate. If the local organization is the party's backbone, its state of health is bound to be of concern to the entire party. Thus the state and national organizations believe they must prod when circumstances require. To ignore local weaknesses is to shirk their duty to the party and to the nation. And so it is that this manual, drawing on state and local experiences, has been prepared. It is intended as information and assistance -- and as a prod to action.

2. YOU MUST. . .

1. maintain a full-time, paid, professional staff to have effective year around programs.
2. seek volunteers everywhere and use them effectively.
3. have precinct organizations working throughout the year.
4. have party officials justify their positions only by producing results beneficial to the party.
5. have Registration Chairmen active in every major level of the organization.
6. have headquarters staff members personally visit precinct organizations regularly to check the effectiveness of their activities and develop a spirit of cooperation and common interest.
7. clearly define lines of authority and responsibility to allow flexibility in meeting changing conditions.
8. hold regular training programs for workers at all levels of the organization.
9. have every GOP affiliate organization represented on any central advisory council.
10. seek positions in all legitimate areas to reward party workers and to guarantee year around workers.
11. have in operation a year around fund-raising program.
12. base candidate selection on qualifications and ability to win.
13. recognize that honest defeats make victory easier another year -- strong candidates and vigorous campaigns have a cumulative effect.
14. see that every polling place is manned on election day with dependable workers.
15. develop timetables and reporting deadlines to assure that the work is being done.
16. build a Republican leadership which is representative of all major groups in the community.
17. have direct lines of communication with the leaders of all groups in the community.
18. develop the follow through which is essential to success in any effort.

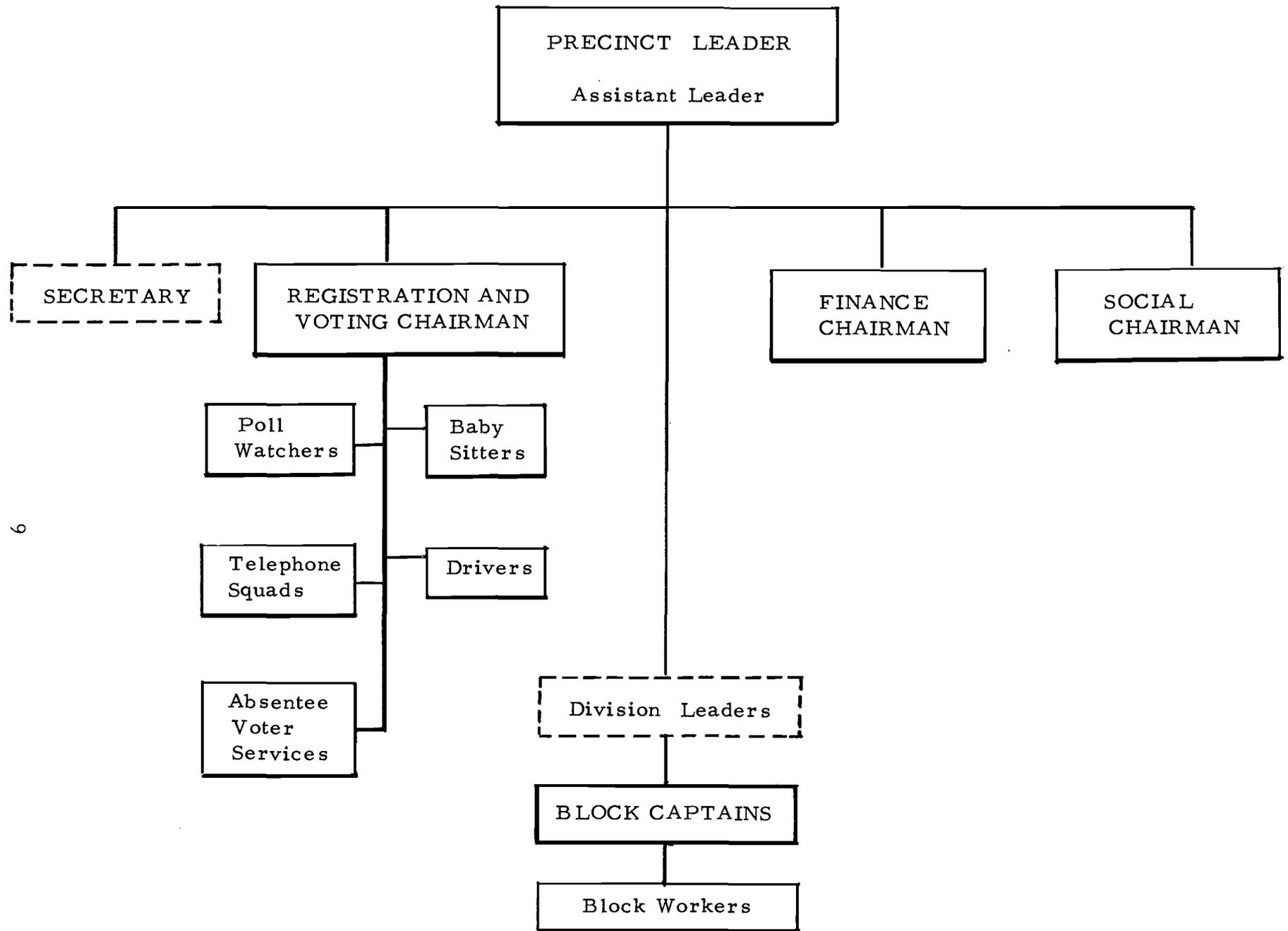
3. A MODEL PRECINCT ORGANIZATION

The precinct is the heart of our party system. The precinct organization's basic responsibilities are to insure maximum Republican registration and the maximum turnout of Republicans on election day.

To succeed, the organization must function during the intervals between elections as well as in peak campaign periods. For in a real sense, especially in the larger cities, the Republican Party must engage in a continuous campaign to hold its supporters, to convert independent-minded voters into supporters, and to make workers out of supporters.

The precinct organization is the party's personal contact with the individual voter. It must be sensitive to his needs and successful in winning his allegiance.

The chart which follows suggests a precinct organization framework which should help in achieving these goals and responsibilities. Following the chart are brief descriptions and explanations of the various positions shown, which together encompass the party's work in the precinct.



Precinct Leader

This individual is chiefly responsible for the effectiveness of the Republican organization at the basic level. He (or she) must select, supervise and stimulate key people in key positions to assist in performing the work to be done. He assigns specific duties and sees that they are carried out. A time-honored maxim applies here: You can delegate the authority but not the final responsibility. He is the liaison between the precinct and central headquarters, and should be familiar with the services the city organization can provide. He should know local election laws. He schedules regular meetings of committees, block captains and other key workers, to keep abreast of affairs and to develop esprit de corps in the organization.

In performing his duties, the precinct leader will find it necessary to use timetables and reporting deadlines, developed in cooperation with central headquarters, to assure that his organization is carrying out the best-possible performance. (A detailed example of a timetable and reporting deadline schedule is included in the Appendix.)

These responsibilities need not overwhelm even comparative newcomers to precinct politics. Enthusiasm and interest, combined with proper guidance from headquarters, has proved successful time after time. But the job is all-important and any prospective leader should be urged to consider carefully his availability and his qualifications.

Assistant Precinct Leader

The assistant leader should be the eyes and ears and voice of the precinct leader, sharing with him leadership responsibilities and helping him perform his tasks. The assistant leader may be assigned specific responsibilities or simply assist generally. Very often this is a position held by women who concentrate on developing women's volunteer services for the party. The assistant leader can perform valuable monitoring functions, such as ensuring that working groups are fully manned and active.

Division Leaders

In cities where precincts contain a sizable population or some other complicating factor is present, it may be advisable to subdivide the precinct into easily handled divisions, to assure more effective supervision of party activities. Division leaders should be appointed by the precinct

leader to serve as his deputies in specific areas, each supervising the block captains in his division. A particular responsibility of division leaders would be to develop a full crew of effective block captains. He should locate and recommend good people for appointment and when appointed give them his full support and assistance.

Block Captains

The block captain is the good neighbor working for the party who furnishes that continuity of personal contact and concern which pays off at the polls. He is the party's personal link with the voter. He is the man who gets the leg work done in canvassing, registering, and voter turnout on election day. The captain should keep a card file of pertinent political information on people in his area. He distributes literature, reports changes in residence affecting voter eligibility, helps newcomers get settled, takes complaints to the precinct leader. He should be aware of particular problems and sensitive to special needs.

Persons having the necessary time and continuous associations with the area, such as housewives, retired people and aspiring young politicians, are good prospects for this job. The chief need is for interest and willingness to work. Block workers are selected by the captain as he deems necessary, for canvassing and other assignments in the precinct.

* * * * *

The organization outlined above comprises the direct line of work responsibility in a typical city precinct. Thus it constitutes the minimum organization need in the precinct. These people could themselves perform all the essential tasks. As in business, however, some activities are especially important to the organization's success. While the work involved may be assigned in different ways, continuing attention by someone with designated responsibility offers the best results in the long run. The following positions focus attention on some key precinct activities.

Registration and Voting Chairman

This is really the first priority position in the precinct organization, for it covers the precinct's principal task. The precinct leader may assume this task himself or designate someone else. In either case this is the focal point of all precinct work. The registration chairman

has a year around registration program. Up-to-date fingertip information is the essence of effectiveness here.

He must be familiar with registration and voting laws and he should schedule his precinct work accordingly. His goal should be a registration program which on any particular day allows him to assert truthfully that every Republican in the precinct potentially eligible to vote is eligible so far as registration laws permit him to be.

Responsibilities expand during election years. The registration chairman then also helps prepare for the special election day activities of poll watchers, telephone squads, drivers and other workers. He instructs them and coordinates their efforts, under supervision of the precinct leader. He also must carry out activities to help get absentee voters registered and voted.

Finance Chairman

This position carries two basic responsibilities -- records and fund-raising. In the very public business of politics, where many people are interested shareholders in the organization, it is essential to maintain a strict accounting of receipts and expenditures. Thus this person should serve as treasurer of the organization, responsible to the precinct leader.

Any fund solicitations made by the precinct organization, for itself or in support of outside solicitation committees, should be the responsibility of the finance chairman. It is essential that the citizen be fully informed as to who is approaching him for funds and for what purposes, for lack of understanding of this can cause much dissatisfaction and criticism. Thus the precinct finance chairman should function as a coordinator of solicitations in his area.

Social Chairman

This can be a vital position at the precinct level. Someone familiar with the precinct's sociological makeup can do much to solidify contacts, assist newcomers, and make converts, in the relaxed atmosphere of a "coffee klatch" or other informal social function. At the precinct level informal appeals are likely to be most effective.

The social chairman should develop plans and activities in the social sphere which are designed to build support for the Republican Party and to make the party a real and meaningful part of residents' lives.

Secretary

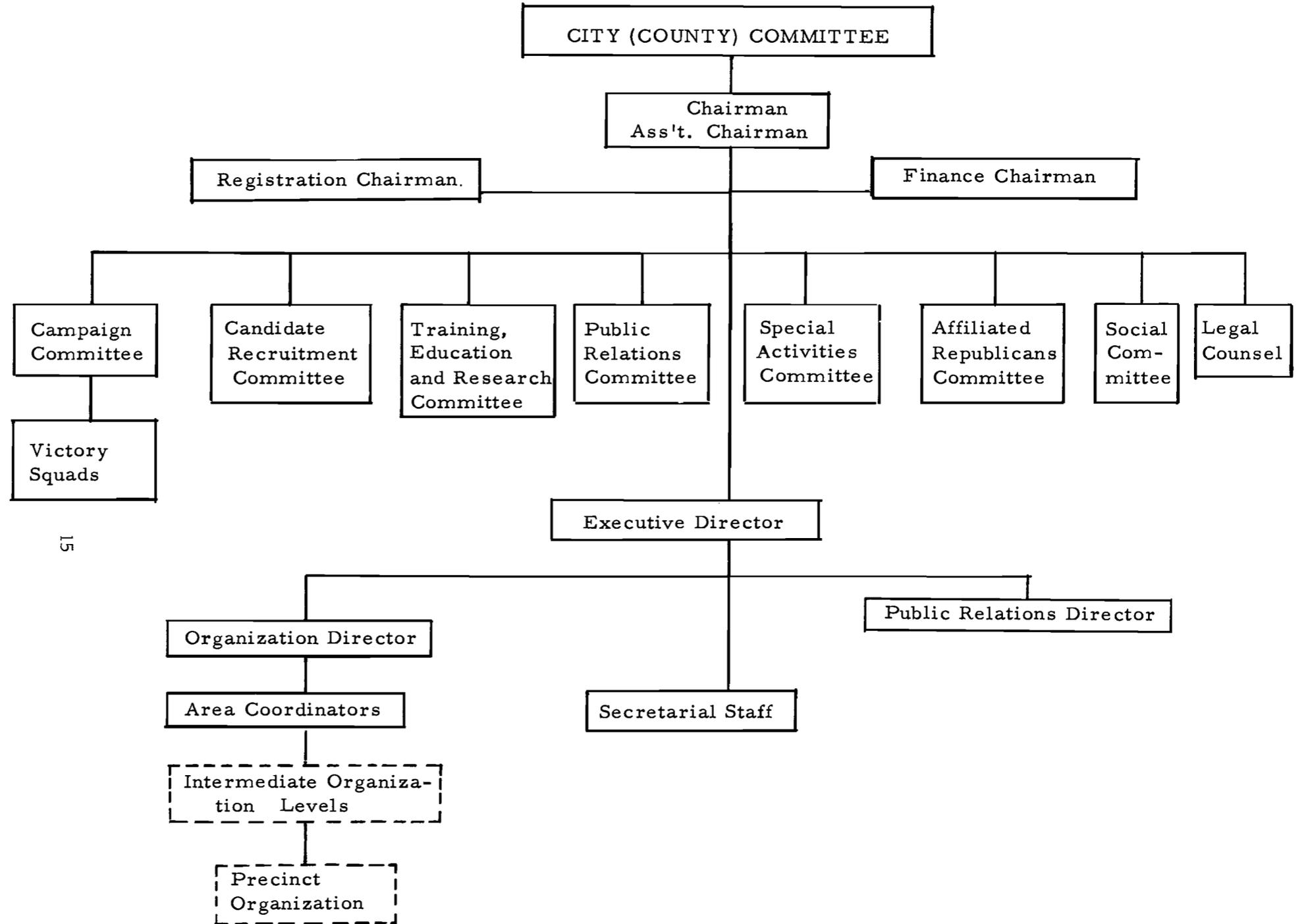
A precinct leader may perform his own secretarial and record-keeping duties, but wherever possible it is probably wiser to have a designated person serving as precinct secretary to handle correspondence, keep files and records, and obtain supplies for the whole organization. More efficiency and less confusion is likely to result. In election years, of course, clerical workers may have to be drafted to handle the additional workload.

4. A MODEL CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION

If the precinct is the working core of party organization and the ultimate source of success or failure, the city central committee bears the responsibility for giving the leadership, guidance and assistance which must be available if the precinct is to do its job. The central committee must have an organization and headquarters staff designed to provide these necessities. It cannot be done on a part-time basis in large cities. There must be a permanent, full-time, paid professional staff at city headquarters, if there is to be any real continuity and day-to-day supervision of party activities.

This permanent staff performs its work under the direction of the city chairman, acting for the whole committee. In carrying out his tasks, the chairman also needs the assistance and advice of other party and community leaders. This can be obtained most effectively through the creation of a number of committees, each dealing with an important aspect of party affairs, and with the chairmen of these committees serving as an advisory council for the chairman. Such an arrangement will assure continuing attention to all important party matters, will permit drawing many people into active party roles, and will permit effective utilization of the party's top leaders and supporters regardless of official party positions. Committee members should be chosen from the city committee, from affiliated Republican groups, and from all important segments of community life.

The chart following sets forth a city headquarters organization and staff which should enable a chairman to fulfill his responsibilities in large cities. It is followed by brief descriptions of the duties and activities which would be allocated to the various positions and committees.



Chairman

The chairman has the duty and responsibility of building, maintaining and directing the party's city organization to the end that the party fulfills its purposes and achieves its goal of maximum support for local, state and national Republican candidates. It is a full-time job. Since political tradition is such that most chairmen are selected on bases other than their freedom to spend full-time at their task, one can only express admiration and gratitude for those who manage to do so anyway, and recommend the urgent need of a full-time staff for all.

The chairman's workload, of course, is proportional to the qualifications and conscientiousness of the committees appointed and the staff retained. An effective use of the party executive committee (if one exists) and of the advisory council idea will help materially to lessen the load while assuring fulfillment of responsibilities. Chairmen also will find that insisting on the use of, and compliance with, timetables and reporting deadlines does much to develop a working organization that produces results. (A detailed example of a precinct timetable and reporting deadline schedule is included in the Appendix.)

Assistant Chairman

Whether elected or appointed by the chairman, the assistant chairman's job is to help the chairman perform his. The assistant chairman may be given specific assignments, as is often the case when women serving as assistant chairmen handle all women's activities, or the assistant chairman may have a general assignment to be the eyes and ears of the chairman on all matters. The choice must be one which both the chairman and the assistant chairman find satisfactory.

Finance Chairman

The finance chairman's position is set apart on the organization chart to emphasize its vital importance in party affairs. Adequate funds are essential to effective party performance.

The finance chairman probably will serve as the treasurer and accountant for the city organization. Along with his finance committee he has the basic responsibility for planning and executing fund-raising activities

for the party. If the committee functions as an independent fund-raising organization, the chairman and his staff also would serve as a liaison between the regular party organization and the separate fund-raising group. (Detailed examples of the organization and activities involved in fund-raising campaigns are included in the Appendix.)

Registration Chairman

This position also is set apart on the organization chart to indicate its fundamental significance. It should have first priority in organization. The registration chairman ought to be responsible for nothing else but seeing to it that a year around registration program is functioning with maximum effect. This includes absentee voting arrangements in election years. He should report directly to the chairman. He must work in close coordination with the executive director, but he should be free to deal directly with precinct registration chairmen, to make spot checks in the field, to do work with all parts of the organization as necessary. Every party activity is reduced in significance and effectiveness to the degree that the registration program fails to achieve 100% Republican registration.

The committee structure described below is based on the idea that a city chairman needs the help of central committee members and other leading party supporters in moving the Republican Party along the road to success and that, in so doing, he needs the best continuing assistance, advice and advance planning he can get.

These committees should fulfill these functions if their membership is well-chosen and their roles and responsibilities are clearly defined. A city chairman should find it valuable to have the chairmen of these committees meet with him regularly as an advisory council to coordinate general plans and activities and in other ways provide the local party a cohesive effort.

Any such committee arrangement will have to be tailored to the needs of a particular city or chairman. The committees described herein, however, encompass the major areas of activity which require constant attention if the party is to achieve maximum success. Hence they should provide a useful guide.

Campaign Committee

This group should assume responsibility for preparing overall, detailed, coordinated campaigns within the city for local, state and national elections. This would be primarily a "plan for the future" operation, but the committee might actively direct campaigns as well. One obvious committee task would be careful planning of the proper build-up of campaign activity, scheduling for maximum impact and continuing enthusiasm.

Another responsibility should be plans for the formation of Victory Squads to provide special campaign task forces. Victory Squads are campaign groups organized to supplement where necessary the efforts of regular precinct organizations. Their principal function is to handle election day activities on special assignments. A squad is made up of whatever trouble-shooting workers are needed, running the gamut of election day requirements from poll watchers to baby sitters. The Victory Squad approach may be used as well for assisting in meeting registration deadlines and other party activities requiring temporary manpower concentrations.

Candidate Recruitment Committee

The responsibility of this committee is to develop and carry out a continuing program for finding, screening, developing and encouraging the best prospects to run as Republican candidates for public office. The value of continued recruiting efforts, even in non-election years, must be recognized if our party wants to interest and prepare top candidates for every campaign.

Members of this committee must be selected with special care. The committee should reflect all elements of the party, and include both men and women. It should be capable of judging objectively the merits and voter appeal of potential candidates. It must avoid any hint of bias or favoritism at the same time it actively engages in recruiting and encouraging prospective nominees.

The task of a recruitment committee is delicate but vital. Many of the best candidate possibilities are reluctant to seek public office. This committee must work to create a system and an environment which eliminates such reluctance. Its goals must be to assure the Republican Party of excellent candidates for every office in every election.

Training, Education and Research Committee

This committee should undertake the task of developing and conducting regular work training programs for precinct leaders, election judges, poll watchers -- in fact, for all party workers. It should prepare general education programs on party principles and policies for party workers and all interested citizens. It also should develop incentive and reward programs for party workers. It should plan continuing research activities to provide the organization with useful political information.

This committee might initiate a program of study and discussion of important public issues -- local, state and national -- as part of its educational program. Such a program could serve as a means for determining sound party positions on local issues and for promoting understanding of the positions taken by state and national party leaders on issues at those levels.

A major function of the committee should be the development of a program of continuing research activities to provide the organization with election and vote analysis data, depth studies of public issues and policies, public opinion surveys and similar inquiries.

In developing these training, education and research projects, this committee should utilize in every possible way the talents and facilities available at local educational institutions.

Public Relations Committee

This committee ought to be responsible for those activities involving preparation and distribution of party information, campaign literature, and party bulletins and newspapers. It should maintain a Speakers Bureau for coordinating public appearances of party leaders and assuring that Republican speakers are available as needed. The committee needs to supervise radio and TV programming for the party. It should serve as the information outlet to newspapers and periodicals in the city. When the city organization has a full-time Public Relations Director this committee will have less importance, but it might still serve usefully as an advisory group and auxiliary public relations staff.

Special Activities Committee

The purpose of this committee is to assume responsibility for developing such special programs and appeals as are deemed necessary for building party strength in particular nationality, racial, religious, economic, professional, and social groups. This committee would devote attention to matters involving such groups as business organizations, labor unions, minority ethnic groups, nonpartisan citizen associations, medical associations, and church organizations.

This committee must have members who are interested in and belong to the groups in question, able to interpret the party to them and to keep them interpreted to the party, for this committee should serve as the principal avenue for building party strength among these groups and bringing their members into active party roles.

Affiliated Republicans Committee

The purpose of this committee would be to establish effective ties between the official organization and party auxiliaries such as Young Republican organizations, Senior Citizens groups, and Republican Women's Clubs. The committee should be composed of representatives of the party organization and of all affiliates to encourage coordinated activities among these groups. Such a committee would keep affiliate leaders in direct, close contact with the regular party organization at all times, and should play a key role in defining and detailing duties and responsibilities so that all energies pull in one direction. To give affiliated groups maximum participation in the chairman's advisory council, this committee could be co-chaired by representatives of all auxiliaries, or the chairmanship could be rotated periodically.

Social Committee

In the broadest sense, this committee would be responsible for devising ways and means to stimulate party support through the medium of social activity. This would include formal and informal efforts, through parties and get-togethers, to stimulate party loyalties, strengthen party ties, and generally help make the party a more significant part of people's lives. The extent of such efforts by the committee, or even the need for a special committee to deal with these matters, will vary considerably from city to city. Much will depend on the functioning of other committees discussed herein and on the strength of any existing party clubs.

Legal Counsel

A political party bears heavy public responsibilities and participates in many public and governmental activities. It is subject to various statutory regulations, particularly in the area of party finances. For these reasons, and because a political party can not risk the consequences of committing legal errors, however unintentional, every city chairman should have a legal counsel on his staff. The chairman has such an obligation both to himself and to his party.

* * * *

The following positions constitute a recommended framework for a full-time, paid, professional staff. Financial resources necessarily must be the determining factor here, since every large city can make good use of such a professional staff. The staff described here is one that many city chairmen seem interested in securing as soon as possible. It is small but it gives promise of a solid professional working nucleus in headquarters. It can be enlarged readily without upsetting established procedures. Where money factors do not permit even this staff, one position at a time can be added without need for major organizational re-vamping. Every large city organization, however, should consider the following positions as its minimum staff requirements.

Executive Director

This is the must position -- the absolute minimum that any large city should have as full-time staff. The executive director should be the day-to-day administrator of party affairs, acting for the city chairman. He should direct the headquarters staff, deal with the various committees, supervise precinct activities and, in general, be the know-all and do-all of the local party organization. As well as an effective administrator, he needs to be a competent political organizer and public relations specialist, at least until such time as full-time specialists are employed to perform these duties.

He should assume responsibility for handling or arranging for the handling of the personal services for voters that are involved in taking care of special complaints and other matters reported by precinct leaders. He should be responsible for developing a satisfactory plan for the use of volunteer services on a year around basis.

Organization Director

This member of the staff should be responsible for the execution of all plans regarding organizational matters and the implementation of specific activities at the intermediate and precinct levels of party organization in the city. The organization director also should be the trouble shooter who watches for problems, prods the slow movers to action, checks on performance generally and in other ways serves to keep the organization functioning smoothly and effectively.

Area coordinators serve as the organization director's assistants. They are field men whose responsibility is to see that instructions are carried out and to serve as on the spot trouble shooters. They should be assigned specific intermediate and precinct organizations to cover.

Public Relations Director

This staff member is to be responsible for preparation and dissemination of party information, campaign literature, party bulletins and newspapers, and for maintaining a Speakers Bureau. He should handle radio and TV programming for the party, and work with newspapers and periodicals in the city. He has the same tasks as earlier noted with regard to the Public Relations Committee. Generally speaking, his responsibilities are to develop and execute a well-rounded public relations program.

Secretarial Staff

There should be at least one full-time paid person serving as office secretary in city headquarters, to handle secretarial and clerical duties, keep files and records, order supplies and otherwise handle housekeeping functions and to serve as headquarters receptionist. The size of the clerical staff needed to assist the office secretary depends on many factors and no specific recommendations can be made here. Both full-time and part-time assistants, paid or volunteer, are likely to be necessary if the city headquarters is to maintain adequate records and keep on top of the local political scene.

Intermediate levels of organization

In most large cities there are a number of party organizations operating on levels between the precinct and the city headquarters. Ward organizations are among those most commonly found at these intermediate levels. In many cities there also will be organizations based on state legislative districts and Congressional districts. All of these are related to geographic divisions of the city, and more specifically to the public offices based upon these divisions.

Futhermore, there may be additional levels of party administrative organization between the precinct and the central headquarters. In one of our largest cities, for example, the following organizational levels exist: the County Central Committee, Congressional District Central Committees, state legislative district central committees, section chairmen from central headquarters (each supervising several areas), area chairmen (each supervising several divisions), division chairmen (each supervising a number of precincts), and the precinct.

These intermediate organizations pose a real problem. They result in varying activities and numbers of headquarters in different parts of the city and frequently confuse the general organizational lines and responsibilities. The more there are the more difficult it is to maintain good communications among all elements of the party.

It is not feasible to prescribe an intermediate level organizational arrangement which would serve all cities reasonably well. What the model organizational chart herein does is call attention to the need for a line of communication through several administrative and geographic levels from the city chairman to the precinct. Each city organization will have to construct the intermediate level system best suited to its particular situation.

Below are listed some points which merit consideration when dealing with the problems involved in establishing levels of organization.

--- The central headquarters organization chart includes area coordinators. By whatever name, these individuals, operating out of city headquarters, are likely to be a chairman's best bet to keep on top of the situation created by numerous intermediate levels of organization and activity.

--- Keep in mind that the fewer levels of organization there are, the better chance there is for city headquarters to be heard in the precinct.

--- The key goal in creating intermediate levels of administrative organization is to establish supervisory units to see that precinct work gets done. If a proposed level does not clearly contribute to this goal, it probably is unnecessary.

--- Any intermediate organization levels created should be related to such statutory election areas as state legislative districts, Congressional districts, judicial districts, and councilmanic or ward districts.

--- In organizing intermediate levels, avoid as much as possible duplicating work at each level. Consider the possibility of assigning a special project responsibility to each level, in addition to general supervisory responsibilities deemed necessary.

5. A MODEL FOR PROBLEMS OF CANDIDATES AND ISSUES

Candidates and issues are the reasons for building and operating party organizations, but they do not lend themselves to model descriptions. For while it can be argued that all organizations should engage in similar political activities, it is difficult to maintain that "typical" candidates and issue treatments will serve all large cities well.

Nevertheless, the essential purpose of this manual is to assist in winning elections. Candidates and issues are parts of the picture, and even though no common prescription can be given for them, something can be said about the common problems and organizational approaches involved in finding candidates and handling issues. What follows is a consideration of some of these common problems and suggestions for resolving them which should have general application in large cities.

On Candidate Recruitment

Without candidates a party organization is nothing. This is recognized in the fact that most organizations feel it is their responsibility to go out and find candidates if no satisfactory possibilities come forward voluntarily. When this is done, the organization must become concerned about two things -- recruitment practices and selection criteria.

. . . the recruiters

A permanent candidate recruitment committee is recommended as part of the central party organization. The merit in this approach lies in its making possible a continuing effort to maintain a list of high caliber potential candidates available for the party. It permits more careful scrutiny of the qualifications of likely prospects. One group assuming responsibility also should minimize confusion and working at cross purposes when a large slate of candidates must be found.

Candidate recruitment committees have two services to perform. One is the screening function -- to check over the possibilities and decide which persons the organization can support. This also includes the task of seeing that the party has a candidate for every office to be filled.

Where laws or tradition forbid party organization endorsement of candidates in a primary election, then a formal screening process cannot function. But the organization can still work to get candidates for every office on the ballot, and nothing prevents a study of all candidates' qualifications as a way of preparing for post-primary support of the winning candidate.

The second service of a recruitment committee is really the more important in the long run. This is the committee's work in developing a plan which will help produce and maintain a solid roster of good candidate possibilities. This constitutes a kind of long range screening process, for it entails a responsibility for finding prospects now who may become the objects of screening for specific candidacies at some future date.

Members of recruitment committees should be chosen with care, for theirs is a delicate assignment. They must have understanding of the city's special socio-economic complexion. They must be able to judge people in terms of their political potential -- a sensitive mixture of human nature and local politics. Political perceptiveness and experience are important requisites for committee members. They also will find it useful to have a considerable facility for persuasion.

. . . the candidates

In seeking potential standard-bearers for the party, recruiters necessarily must develop a set of criteria for evaluating prospects. Personal qualification criteria such as integrity, community standing and party loyalty are always included. But other factors must be considered as well. Each city organization will have its own special needs with regard to finding its best possible candidates, but here are a few additional points to bear in mind regardless of local peculiarities:

- * Candidates need ability to persuade and to reach people through ideas.
- * Candidates need ability to work with others on the ticket.
- * Candidates must have broad appeal for voters -- including those who are party workers. It is dedicated workers who get candidates elected, and the necessary dedication comes with close identification with the candidate.

- * Candidates should understand and accept the personal demands of a full-scale campaign.
- * The best candidates are able, articulate and attractive.
- * Check prospective candidates to be sure they meet such legal requirements as age and residence.

When searching for prospective candidates, no possibilities should be overlooked. The ranks of businessmen and lawyers should be only the beginning. Highly capable and politically astute persons are to be found in almost every professional activity, in labor ranks, among retired persons, housewives and others. Leaders of various community and minority groups should be considered. And do not overlook the possibilities among those Republicans holding nonpartisan public office.

A word of caution about approaching potential candidates: Be honest with them. Appeal to them on the basis of duty and need, point out the pluses of a political campaign, but don't fail to note the negatives as well. A really disillusioned candidate -- win or lose -- may be lost to the party.

In developing an effective, continuing recruitment program, consider the value of a training operation, with gradual progression from lesser to higher office. Don't deliberately overmatch promising new candidates. By the same token, don't let a candidate knowingly commit himself to promises he cannot keep.

On Public Issues

Public issues cannot be ignored by local party organizations for the simple reason that it is impossible to do so. The organization's basic tasks must be carried on at all times, but issues and current events quite obviously affect the performance of these tasks. Therefore local organization leaders are likely to find themselves at various times coping with situations brought about by problem issues. When this occurs it is usually wise to undertake steps to deal with them.

The American party system does not provide for the laying down by one party body of official stands on all public issues which must then be followed by all other party organizations. What our party does have is a

set of principles and positions on broad general issues which guide party leaders, including the party's holders of public office, in making specific policy decisions. These decisions then tend to become labeled as the party's position on these issues. In our heterogeneous nation, this system means that no party stand (so-called) on a major issue is likely to be satisfactory to every party supporter in every city. Yet the party needs to maximize its appeal everywhere.

Given this need, party organization leaders in our cities may find it useful at times to interpret "party stands" on state and national issues in the light of their community's special circumstances. This may involve no more than preparation of a statement by a recognized party leader, or answering inquiries. Some city chairmen also will find it helpful to assign someone the specific task of analyzing the impact of particular policy stands on the community. This should help local leaders get maximum advantage from every important state or national party action.

Whatever approach is used, it is wise to avoid unnecessary confusion on issue matters. Close and regular contact between organization leaders and officeholders -- or candidates during campaigns -- should help minimize the problems that arise. Both candidates and officeholders undoubtedly would find it very helpful to be kept fully informed by local party leaders of such things as the type and source of public policy problems and questions being raised.

The important thing to recognize is that dealing with state and national issues cannot be avoided by local organization leaders. Failure to take action when the need arises will only complicate other tasks.

If the Republican Party is to have any "stands" on strictly local community-oriented issues in cities where Republicans do not hold public office, they will have to come from local party leaders. The Republican Party can hardly avoid local issues and then hope for state-wide and national successes, yet in many cities Republicans do not hold policy-making offices. This is particularly a problem in our large cities, for they are sources of so many local issues and problems which have reached the state and national governments for resolution. Local party leaders, therefore, must consider carefully and positively possible approaches to developing local party "platforms" which give bread-and-butter emphasis to local party affairs at the same time they effectively relate the local party to state and nation.

Another problem faced by party leaders in many large cities (in over one-half of those over 300,000), is the existence of some form of nonpartisan local government. This means that the Republican Party as such can not put forward candidates for local office, and it frequently means in addition that local custom forbids the party from taking official stands on local issues. Where these practices occur there is little the party can do about it, even though it eliminates an area of activity in which the party has a legitimate and great interest and complicates the task of maintaining an effective party organization. In certain instances, of course, nonpartisanship has come to mean only that party activity is conducted through some unofficial non-party organization.

In handling nonpartisan situations, local party leaders must be guided by local circumstances. They should be alert to the possibilities present and watchful of the tactics of other partisan groups, to be sure the interests of the Republican Party are protected. One simple way for earning some Republican advantage from nonpartisan government is to encourage leading Republican party supporters to participate actively in local government affairs and so build good will and recognition for our party and its leadership.

A P P E N D I X

The following section contains various ideas and suggestions, largely drawn from experiences in many areas, which may be helpful in working out details of party organization and activities.

They have been compiled under the following headings, which generally correspond to the headquarters structure and activities discussed in this manual.

	Page
Staff and Organization	31
General	
Timetables and Reporting Deadlines	
Incentives and Rewards	
Canvassing	35
Campaign Activities and Techniques	36
Candidate Recruitment	37
Training, Education and Research	38
Public Relations -- Public Issues	39
Special Activities	40
Affiliated Republicans	41
Social Activities	42
Finances	42

Staff and Organization

General:

Recruit young people for organization duties. College students and recent graduates are usually enthusiastic workers.

Have an "adopted precinct" program for trouble areas, wherein outside aid is utilized on a systematic basis.

A key problem always is keeping the organization usefully active and enthusiastic between election campaigns. To do this personal contacts among party workers must be maintained and the best general approach is to develop a positive, active, and useful program of activities for every part of the organization and insist on its execution.

Try to develop a chain of command which is understandable but which allows maximum personal supervision and contact between a supervisor and the units or people being supervised.

Stress in every way possible the importance of the precinct organization and its work, and seek the best people for precinct service.

Conduct leadership workshops for all members of the organization.

Try to establish clear lines of responsibility for fulfilling programs so there can be no buck-passing over failures.

Develop a locally-oriented program designed to get every precinct fully manned with capable people. In so doing, don't overlook the aid of news media in promoting acceptance of workers in unfriendly areas.

Have a working plan for quick filling of vacancies in precinct organizations.

Develop a system of reports or charts that give a constant record of organization performance.

Don't call people to work in the organization unless you actually have something for them to do.

Remember that the headquarters receptionist may create more lasting impressions of the party than anyone else.

Remember that women provide most of the party's task forces. Use them well.

Plan ahead on use of volunteers and try to schedule their services at times they'll find convenient.

Keep a record of the special abilities of volunteers -- not just on clerical and secretarial prowess, but for purposes of training and education programs, absentee ballot programs, public speaking, research work, etc.

Training sessions also can be used to ensure that temporary help is qualified.

Have a well-advertised and accessible reference center so that volunteers know where to get answers to their questions.

If possible a full-time employee should supervise volunteer work for more effective control of records and assignments.

It may prove useful to maintain a special 'ready list' of volunteers who have agreed to respond to emergency calls for help.

Hold regularly scheduled meetings of the city committee to help build a solid organization.

Remember the party organization exists to work for the whole party. Organization members should not neglect party duties because they have accepted special commitments to work in one particular candidate's personal organization.

Consider the possibility of forming a standing committee of persons interested in providing campaign management services in future elections, as a means for assuring potential candidates they can get campaign assistance.

Timetables and reporting deadlines are of key importance in building an effective organization. Success is built on doing a task when it should be done, properly timed and coordinated with other efforts. To be certain that tasks are performed on time and in time you must set up timetables which cover doing the work and reporting deadlines which assure keeping the proper leaders informed. It's the best way to know what is going on and what needs to be done. Following is an example of a timetable and reporting deadline schedule (the activities, times and dates must naturally be set in accordance with local election laws and campaign needs):

Sample Precinct Timetable and Reporting Deadlines

- March 6 -- County chairman begins holding District meetings with Precinct Leaders.
- April 6 -- Deadline for Precinct Leaders to send names of block workers to County headquarters. Precinct Leader meets with block workers and distributes work materials.
- May 6 -- Precinct Leader appoints Telephone, Transportation and Babysitter Committee. Deadline for block workers to turn in completed canvass cards to Precinct Leader. Precinct Leader processes cards immediately.
- May 23 -- Deadline for information from block workers on voters needing babysitters, transportation, etc.
- June 6 -- Primary Election day. Precinct Leader and his staff follow up on all election day activities.
- Sept. 28 -- Precinct Leader sends to County headquarters additions and changes in list of block workers. Precinct Leader meets with block workers and distributes additional work materials. Deadline for selecting poll watchers.
- Oct. 7 -- Block workers begin making final calls on voters in their area.
- Oct. 24 -- Deadline for information from block workers on voters needing babysitters, absentee ballots, etc. Brief poll watchers.
- Nov. 4 -- Precinct Leader makes final check on election day preparations. Telephone Committee starts calling Republican voters urging them to vote and checking transportation needs.
- Nov. 7 -- General Election day. Precinct Leader and his staff follow up on all election day activities to get out the entire Republican vote.

Incentives and Rewards:

Develop motivation for the fundamental jobs of canvassing and recruiting with a coordinated appeal via training, education and public relations activities.

Ideas for reward programs to spur workers:

- Washington, D. C. trips
- State Capital trips
- Free tickets to \$100 dinners
- Plaques or trophies for contest winners
- Cash prizes, TV sets, etc., for contest winners
- Special badges, emblems, identification for workers
- Special honors for exceptional service
- Certificates for training programs

Consider contests for:

- Highest percentage of registered Republicans voting
- Highest percentage or highest number of new registrations
- Highest percentage or highest number of ticket sales
- Highest percentage or highest number of financial pledges obtained
- Highest percentage or highest number of new club memberships

Warnings:

Reward programs can be troublesome if not carefully planned and executed, or if overdone.

Be sure any program planned does not violate any statutes.

Be sure any contest judging system is understood.

Be sure any contest planned creates a fair opportunity for all participants.

See to it that every worker receives an appropriate expression of appreciation for his efforts.

Canvassing

Door-to-door personal canvassing is the fundamental party activity, and developing its effectiveness should always be a top priority effort.

Have some calling cards for door-to-door canvassers to leave if no one is at home.

When Republicans move from the city to the suburbs, see that the appropriate party organization is alerted to keep in touch with them.

Door-to-door canvassing for registration should be conducted by trained personnel. Have adequate training programs for canvassers.

Be sure the registration canvass focuses on the unregistered Republican voter.

Door-to-door canvassing in teams of two frequently proves more effective than a single canvasser or a squad.

Have canvassers distribute appropriate literature while making their rounds.

Encourage canvassers to develop their own approaches, but to be natural, alert and sympathetic to special problems.

Special canvassing techniques may need to be used in large apartment buildings.

Women's clubs frequently are willing as a unit to undertake telephone canvassing of an area.

Be sure canvassers see canvassing as a serious business as well as a social contact.

Organize post-canvass sessions to allow canvassers to review and exchange experiences.

Campaign Activities and Techniques

- Consider using a good "mailing service" during campaigns for big mailings.
- Know your opposition.
- Have campaign goals, schedule completion times for each, and insist on compliance.
- Try to disorganize and demoralize your opposition, so they fight among themselves instead of against you.
- Many small meetings of 10-12 voters accomplish more than one "extravaganza."
- Pace yourself and the campaign -- a balanced performance brings the best results.
- Integrate the ticket -- see that local candidates appear on the platform when state and national candidates appear in your city.
- Poll watching is an activity which lends itself to being called a public duty. Consider using this appeal to seek the services of independents and professional people.
- Keep candidates free of organizational and mechanical problems.
- Remember pretty girls are usually excellent literature distributors.
- Junior executives do an excellent job of manning the polls.
- Where election day polling activities put a premium on poll watchers, develop a training program to assure having watchers who know their business and their rights.
- Where poll watchers do not have to be residents of their polling districts, develop a trained cadre of poll watchers to be spotted around the city as needed.
- Where poll watchers must be residents of their polling districts, insist on their selectors giving evidence of the watchers ability and devotion to duty.
- A mailing which contains the party slate for all offices -- local, state and national -- and is sent to every registered voter will avoid the necessity of individual candidates each having a separate mailing.
- Inquire into the feasibility of using some kind of automatic data processing system for preparing work kit materials and record keeping.

Candidate Recruitment

In complex local situations, consider "fusion ticket" candidates with local political groups.

Secure training opportunities for potential candidates, such as memberships in Toastmasters Clubs.

Develop programs for publicizing potential candidates.

Get employers to give candidates leaves of absences to run for public office.

Conduct a good school for candidates on issues and policies.

Select candidates early.

Offer a full slate of candidates for partisan offices.

Develop an attractive, effective plan of action for organization support of candidates who win nomination, as an inducement to seek the nomination.

Solicit candidate suggestions from various community groups.

Solicit candidate suggestions from party workers.

Do not make candidacy support solely a reward for faithful party service. There are other ways to reward the faithful when they are not the best candidate material.

Help prospective candidates develop and qualify through active participation in organization programs.

Develop a realistic set of criteria for judging candidate qualifications.

Emphasize the importance of top quality candidates for local office as well as higher levels.

Do not promise potential candidates support and assistance you cannot deliver.

Training, Education and Research

Prepare or secure a leadership training film for the use of party officials.

Use training and education programs to foster better communications in the organization.

Prepare work kits for precinct workers.

Prepare a "Handbook for Workers."

Develop a training program for election day poll watchers, including actual case histories of experiences in Chicago and elsewhere.

Develop training programs for election board judges and clerks if the local government does not do this adequately.

Develop training programs for ward and precinct commiteemen.

Schedule regular training sessions throughout the year.

Consider an ideas study school for education of party workers.

Contact local schools and colleges for assistance in developing training, research and education programs for the party. Locate Republican teachers and enlist their services.

Have a well-advertised and accessible "reference center" where volunteers and interested citizens can get answers to their questions.

Organize a volunteer research group among local educators and professional people to help collect and analyze data for use in party publications.

Know the research facilities and data available from state and national party headquarters, and develop your research activities to supplement rather than repeat them.

Public Relations -- Public Issues

- If balloting irregularities are a problem, consider supporting or undertaking a drive for use of voting machines.
- Develop a program for coordinating speaker appearances before service clubs and other organizations.
- Send greeting cards and literature to new citizens. Contact them personally.
- Send letters to new residents telling them what they would want to know about living in your city.
- Welcome Wagons are effective contacts with new citizens. Have Republican information and literature included.
- Organize newcomers clubs to welcome new women into party activities. Acquaint people with their precinct.
- Use big name speakers whenever possible. Make maximum use of national speakers whenever they visit your city.
- One area in which many opportunities arise for developing good public relations involves urban renewal projects. Contact Republican businessmen, architects, attorneys concerned with these projects and help tradesmen and residents affected by them.
- One good approach to public issues: organize a Republican Forum to discuss issues, conduct surveys, study politics, advise on public opinions throughout the year.
- Some cities might find it useful to draft a "party platform" on local issues.
- Publicize the role and importance of precinct work at every opportunity.
- Promote and assist teenage and college activities which can earn credit for the Republican Party.
- Consider organizing a team of speakers -- each expert on one topic or issue -- to give effective coverage of issues and to provide ready-made discussion forums.
- Good public relations call for imagination as well as writing talent.
- Investigate using a professional advertising or public relations agency for the mechanical aspects of your campaign promotion. It often costs no more than doing it within the organization and frees your staff for other duties.

Special Activities

Develop films designed to recruit support among language-culture and racial groups and have important speakers to accompany film presentations.

Locate key members of labor, professional, language-culture, racial groups who are sympathetic to the Republican Party and draw them into party activities.

Have Republican Clubs make a concerted effort to draw membership from all groups in the community.

Ask leaders of special groups in the community to speak to Republican meetings.

Give the major community socio-economic groups an opportunity to express themselves on possible party candidates.

Try a regular "dutch treat" luncheon or other periodic gathering of party leaders with leaders of local groups.

Use special group representatives on advisory committees.

Do not ignore an important group just because it is considered unfriendly or Democratic. It is almost impossible for the membership of any group to be 100% against you -- if you are not against them.

Encourage representatives of special population groups to seek election to party committees.

Take an active role in naturalization activities -- have party representation on any pertinent council and send letters and literature to newly naturalized citizens.

Be sure candidates meet with as many special groups as possible.

Develop activity programs which will have special appeals for members of professions and encourage them to participate: for example, attorneys and educators might find appealing a program designed to insure honest election day balloting. Another idea -- a Republican Forum to discuss issues, make surveys, advise on policy and public opinion, etc., which draws on professional talents.

Develop a roster of special professional talents available for use by party committees.

Organize fund-raising clubs in professional groups.

Consider neighborhood party club organizations as a means of making special group appeals.

Get a directory of organizations in your city and develop a long-range project with the goal of establishing a direct and useful contact with every one.

Work as closely as possible with nonpartisan voter organizations and encourage active Republicans to join such groups. They are the source of some important and useful studies of issues and policies and carry considerable influence among so-called "independent" voters.

Where local elections are nonpartisan, encourage active Republicans to participate as private citizens in local nonpartisan election organizations. If they don't, they lose their main chance to have influence on local affairs.

Develop a program of activities which can be made the basis for a year around appeal to the undeclared and independent voter.

Affiliated Republicans

When and where possible, maintain joint, or adjoining, headquarters facilities with affiliated Republican groups. It should help in coordinating efforts, in promoting feeling of common purpose, and in providing an easily remembered place for the public to find and deal with Republicans.

Consider the possibility of having each affiliated group assume responsibility for complete handling of a specific activity or program for the regular organization.

Encourage the development of social clubs under Republican auspices.

Absentee voter programs are good assignments for one of the affiliated organizations.

Promote and assist teenage and college associations of Young Republicans. Collegiate Young Republicans can be of tremendous help -- give them guidance, speakers, financial aid, and assignments.

Organize a GOP Senior Citizens group. The population age group over 65 years old is becoming larger and more important all the time, and constitutes a group with the time, interest and ability to contribute much to party activities.

Analyze the membership and organization of party auxiliary groups and develop projects which will use the available resources most effectively.

Social Activities

Use "coffee Klatches" as devices to open "locked apartment doors."

Work with recreation groups for children.

Participate in newcomers clubs welcoming new residents. Welcome new wives into women's party activities.

Don't forget the old stand-bys: picnics, neighborhood cook-outs and barbecues, box suppers, group attendance at sporting events, baseball games, boat cruises, etc.

Develop social activities that produce profits for the party treasury.

Develop social affairs appealing to teenagers and college students.

Get Senior Citizen groups to work on social programs.

Organize trips and tours to government agencies, the legislature, the courts, etc., and combine recreation with political education.

Use small social gatherings to get frank opinions on candidates and issues.

Finances

With good plans you can get money. Set up specific plans and programs to show what the money buys.

It is the finance committee's responsibility to work out plans which will provide sufficient money to do the job.

Neighbor-to Neighbor finance plans have proved effective money raisers in many areas.

Consider a regular series of \$10 and up dinners to broaden the basis of financial support beyond the limited reach of \$100 affairs.

Don't overlook the financial possibilities of various social activities.

In some cases services of a professional fund-raising organization may be worthwhile.

If separate finance committees raise your funds, be sure that citizens reached understand the relationship of the committee to the regular party organization.

When different groups are involved in fund-raising, see to it that their activities are coordinated and that repeated appeals are not made to the same people.

Consider the use of a regular dues-paying membership program for fund-raising as well as for developing strong party ties.

Consider including a subscription to a party publication as part of a plan for collecting membership dues.

Have a special program for training workers in asking for financial contributions.

Develop specially-tailored financial appeals for various segments of the labor, business and professional communities.

Try to raise election year special financial contributions before the beginning of the campaign so effective planning can be done.

The budget spells out your program. Prepare it well in advance even though the money required is not in hand.

Get sound legal advice on all finance matters before acting. The statutes on financial operations are the most stringent.

Mail solicitations must be exceptionally well-prepared to compete with the great volume of mail promotions received by citizens.

Acknowledge every contribution, regardless of size.

Expenditures should be made only on authorization of one or two designated persons, to control disbursements and to assure proper records for accounting purposes.

Do not overburden the willing fund collector -- keep him willing for another year.

See that fund collectors have sufficient knowledge of candidates, platforms and party philosophy to answer basic questions while soliciting.

Give the public an understandable accounting of party finance.

* * * * *

The following excerpts from a publication of the Republican National Finance Committee contain suggestions helpful in conducting fund-raising campaigns:

... The object of the campaign is to organize a large enough team of volunteer salesmen so that each potential contributor may be personally asked to give by that person best qualified to obtain a maximum contribution.

The basic mechanics leading to a successful campaign are simple but important:

- (1) Ledger cards or lists or both showing the name, address and contributions of all previous contributors.
- (2) Names and addresses of potential new contributors who ought to give to the Party even if they have not done so in the past.
- (3) Pledge cards, prepared in advance for all contributors and potential contributors.
- (4) A clear statement of the need for funds.
- (5) A budget including amounts for local, state and national use.
- (6) A plan for the campaign, including (a) the divisions of the campaign organization (see sample organization chart), (b) the division quotas. (c) the time schedule (see sample timetable).

The Necessary Organization

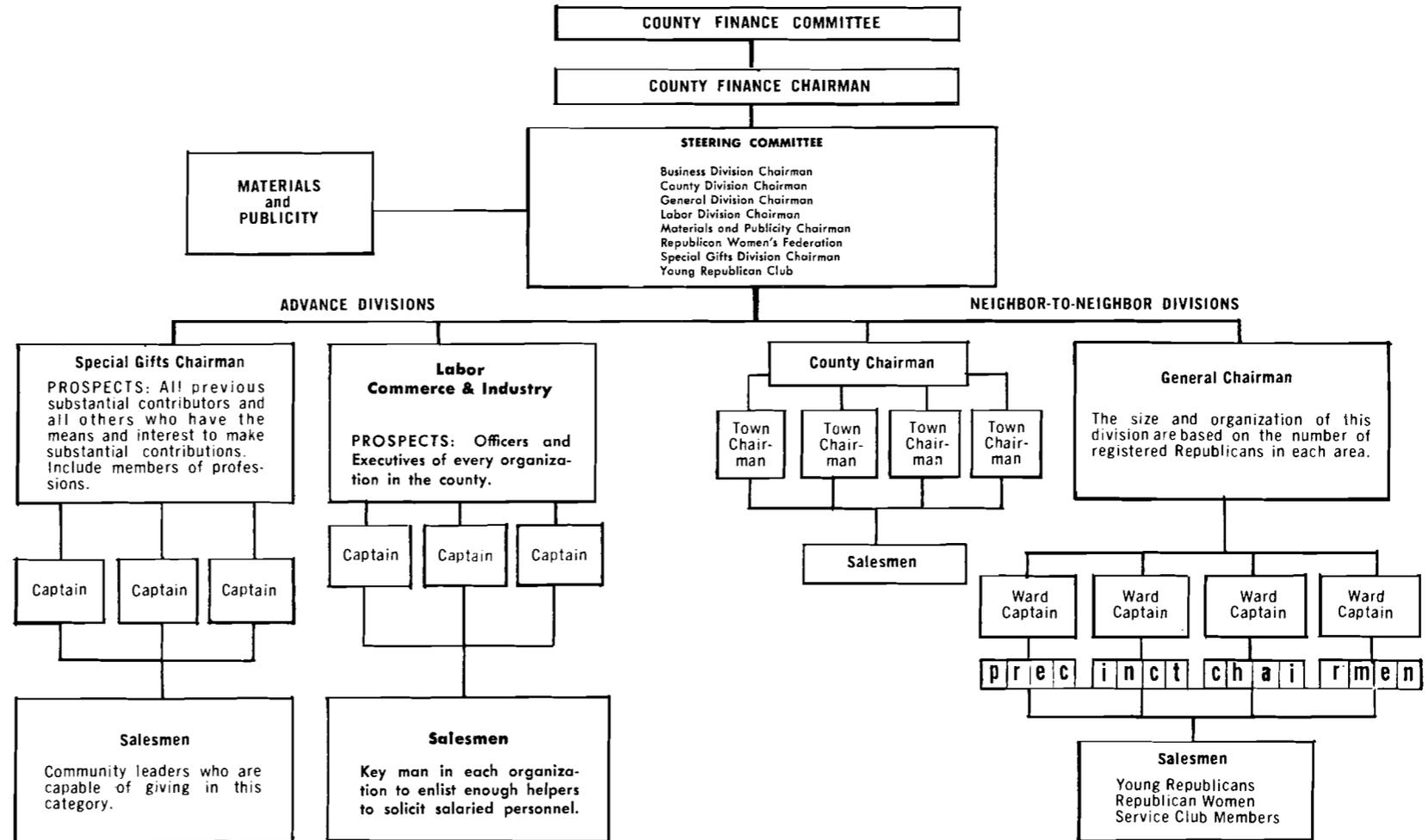
The size and socio-economic complexity of counties vary greatly, therefore one fund-raising campaign plan would not be appropriate for all counties. The organization chart on the following page would be appropriate for most counties containing a large city...

Suggested Timetable

1st Week -- Finance Chairman enlists Division Chairmen and meets with them to outline plans and discuss responsibilities.

2nd Week -- Division Chairmen enlist Captains, Town and Ward Chairmen.

ORGANIZATION OF A TYPICAL UNITED REPUBLICAN FINANCE CAMPAIGN



- 3rd Week -- Each Division Chairman meets with his Captains, Town or Ward Chairmen to discuss plans. Begin enlistment of salesmen.
- 4th Week -- Deadline for enlistment of team members or salesmen for Advance Divisions. Information letter to all prospects.
- 5th Week -- Instruction of team members and prospect selection meeting for Advance Divisions. Solicitation begins. (Neighbor-to-Neighbor Divisions will continue to enlist personnel.)
- 6th Week -- Begin report meetings, twice weekly, preferably Tuesdays and Fridays (Advance Divisions).
- 7th Week -- Report meetings continue (Advance Divisions). Instruction and training of Neighbor-to-Neighbor Division personnel.
- 8th Week -- Final report meetings for Advance Divisions. Neighbor-to-Neighbor Divisions begin solicitation.
- 9th and 10th Weeks -- Neighbor-to Neighbor Divisions complete solicitation. Report meetings as scheduled.

Some Tips on Solicitation

Select the best people available to serve as Division Chairmen.

Good meetings both inspire and instruct.

Assign prospect cards with care. It is very important and desirable that each prospect be solicited by the person best qualified to secure his contribution.

A pre-solicitation letter may be well worthwhile and will increase the productivity of the personal call made a few days later by the solicitor. Always follow up a letter with a personal call.

Acknowledge every contribution promptly.

Go all out on publicity.

Basic Outline of Procedures for Fund-Raising Dinners

A. The Finance Chairman appoints a Dinner Chairman.

B. The Dinner Chairman appoints an Executive Committee. Each member of the Executive Committee is assigned a specific job by the Dinner Chairman, and most of the members are asked to serve as Vice Chairmen, heading up specific divisions in the sale and promotion of tickets.

C. The following Vice Chairmen are usually designated. They are listed here in the normal sequence of program planning.

(1) Program Chairman -- must make all arrangements and contacts necessary to obtain a speaker or speakers. It is absolutely necessary that a firm commitment be received from the main speaker before final plans of the committee are made.

(2) Arrangements Chairman -- will contact hotels or other establishments that can provide dinner facilities; must have commitments from establishments as to price and maximum capacities; presents figures to the Executive Committee which will choose location; after location has been chosen, submit contracts to committee attorneys for legal counsel.

(3) Publicity Chairman - will handle all publicity releases, printed literature, invitations, program, etc. (In large cities it may be wise to engage the services of a professional publicity man.)

(4) Ticket Sales Chairman -- must coordinate all ticket sales being handled by the following vice chairmen:

Commerce and Industry Chairman -- will enlist a ticket sales force who will promote ticket sales throughout all the major industries in the county.

Special Gifts Chairman -- will provide a sales force of prominent persons in the community who, through business or social contacts, can approach those people whose names appear in the records of the Finance Committee.

Hostess Chairman -- a prominent woman is appointed to conduct a series of weekly luncheons for women who are able themselves or through their contacts to sponsor a table. A Host and Hostess approach is used in the sale of tables of ten. They buy two tickets and guarantee to sell the other eight, thus filling the table. The Hostess Chairman also appoints Hostesses for each table. This group ushers guests to their tables at the dinner. Each Hostess buys a ticket in order to serve on the Committee.

Geographic Chairman -- a general geographic solicitation is a popular ticket plan whereby a large number of people are contacted and their small individual gifts are pooled toward the purchase of one ticket. Anyone who desires to attend the dinner but cannot afford the ticket price himself can raise the money by soliciting several smaller contributions. The general geographic group also works through such political organizations as Women's Clubs and Young Republicans, who give the dinner wide publicity in their bulletins and may sponsor special events to raise money to purchase a ticket and send a representative of their group to the dinner.

(5) Reservations Chairman -- will obtain a floor plan from the hotel or restaurant where the dinner is to be held and will set up a definite program of assigning tables and tickets.

Committee on
BIG CITY POLITICS

REPORT

of the

**Subcommittee on Labor, Business,
Professional and Independent Groups**

THE HONORABLE GORDON ALLOTT, Chairman
United States Senator from Colorado

THE HONORABLE SILVIO O. CONTE
Member of Congress (1st District, Massachusetts)

MISS SHIRLEY FIELD
Former member, House of Representatives of the State of Oregon

JOHN STENDER
Vice President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship
Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers (AFL-CIO)

CHARLES THONE
Former Chairman, Nebraska Republican State Central Committee and
former member of the Republican National Committee

The Subcommittee on Labor, Business, Professional and Independent Groups has undertaken a series of studies, interviews and discussions in reaching its conclusions. We find that too many leaders in the Republican Party have taken for granted that Labor is in the other camp. At the same time our Party leaders have taken for granted that Business as such generally not only is Republican but works at it.

Neither of these views is correct, and much potential Republican strength in both areas has been lost by neglect and default.

Securing the working participation and the vote of both the labor and the business communities should be among the major objectives of the Republican Party. Trite as it may sound, the only formula for success is alert, knowledgeable hard work. This is particularly true in the complex metropolitan areas where a majority of our citizens live.

Subcommittee findings indicate that spokesmen for labor and business, as well as specialists on political activity in these areas, believe that the problems and the solutions in both fields are quite similar. There has been a minimum of organized Republican activity in both areas. Large blocks of potential votes remain relatively untapped. So are manpower and financial resources.

Republican policy makers at all levels must recognize these facts. They must agree on the need for specific programs. They must back those programs long enough to let them have a real impact.

The community of interest between working people and the Republican Party must be constantly and clearly identified. The same is true of both corporate management and the independent businessman.

Five general recommendations are made:

1. Develop realistic, regular communication with the action leaders of both groups.
2. On this foundation, build a responsible relationship with labor and business.
3. Provide immediate, meaningful assignments within the party and its affiliates for volunteers from these groups.
4. Give recognition and express appreciation for support and interest.

5. Give strong party leadership, and follow through with programming, staff and budget.

The problems and needs go far beyond this, of course, but here are their roots. There has been insufficient guidance, instruction and encouragement from the national and state levels in these fundamental activities, even though it is true each must ultimately be performed at the precinct, city or county level by both candidates and party officials.

Individual reports and recommendations for each area of the Subcommittee's inquiry follow:

LABOR

Problems

The national work force is 68 million, of which 25 million are women. Only 16 million are organized. Many of these regularly receive union literature on political issues, mostly anti-Republican. This sets the general tone in factory, office and neighborhood discussion. Workers who are Republican-inclined are supplied with few, if any, answers by the Republican Party.

Democrats in the 1930's attracted a majority of the labor vote. That majority has stayed in their column largely by Republican default. The Republican Party has made only intermittent, irregular efforts to recapture it.

Such efforts generally have been intensive only at campaign time. Any interested citizen wants to feel he is a factor 365 days a year. Further, a union leader who is given public recognition by the party only at campaign time is likely to be suspect to his fellow workers and lose his value to the party.

The problems center in Republican organization. In the field of labor, the organization too often has had poor liaison work, poor discipline, poor follow-up. At times, city organizations appear hesitant to broaden the base of the party, because they take for granted that labor's ranks are dominated by their leaders in the Democratic Party.

Recommendations

I. Identification

- A. Careful surveys and canvasses to determine union members and other industrial and office workers who are GOP workers (committeemen, poll watchers, local officials, etc.). Use these as a nucleus to locate others who are GOP-oriented.
 - 1. Include husbands, sons, daughters of GOP women workers.
- B. Methods and Sources.
 - 1. Through plants, contractors, companies, railroads, etc., as sources for names.
 - 2. Through union Republicans.
 - 3. Use of businessmen in politics programs to help identify Republicans in blue collar and white collar jobs.
 - 4. Utilization of nucleus group to identify and locate working people who are Republican-inclined through:
 - a. Labor union political action groups.
 - b. Union legislative representatives.
 - c. Local employer associations.
 - d. Trade associations.
 - e. Chambers of Commerce.
 - f. City directories, voting lists.
 - g. Neighborhood clubs.
 - h. Door-to-door canvasses.
 - i. Workers in previous campaigns.

II. Recruitment

- A. Regular Party organization is responsible.
 - 1. Establish staff and/or special program to utilize committeeman, YR's, women's groups, businessmen in politics groups, etc., to bring labor people into active party work. Have specific tasks for them to do when you enlist them.
 - 2. Utilize local party officials; sponsors; prominent individuals; outside help from State, National or Congressional and Senate Campaign Committees; friendly unorganized working leaders. Assign special organizers at appropriate levels for party activity.

3. Support the program with:

- a. Finances.
- b. Literature.
- c. Recognition.
- d. Training.
- e. Continuity.
- f. Communication.

B. Training school for volunteers with special worker orientation.

1. Special precinct projects to identify and recruit.
2. Discussions of political records.
3. In-plant and in-office activities.
4. In-union activity.
5. Selection of potential leaders.

C. Assign specific tasks, provide specific interests and information, detail special organizers and coordinators at appropriate levels of party activity.

1. Define role of county and city committees as it relates to national and state committees. Establish and require responsibility.
2. Utilize advisory committees.
3. Professional management and direction of the total project.

III. A Labor Program

A. To utilize persons recruited through formulation of an organized program and specific assignments for labor groups.

1. Three functions:
 - a. Organizations.
 - b. Information and Research.
 - c. Public Relations.
2. Coordinated at state, county, city levels, and all active persons consolidated within the party.

IV. Communications

- A. A continuing program of research, recording and dissemination of information of specific interest to the working man and woman is essential. It must be constant and utilize all forms of communication. Most important are aggressive personal contacts, not only by Republican-oriented working people, but by Republicans at all levels of party and office with labor spokesmen at all levels whose advice and cooperation should be sought actively and constantly. This must seek to relate the Republican Party to the working man and the working man to the Republican Party.
- B. Develop a consolidated record of all personal assistance and cooperation to labor representatives by Republican officials and legislators. This can be done from city hall-council areas, state legislative and congressional sources. Compile summaries through which labor can identify its individual, family and group aspirations with Republican philosophy, especially individual opportunity and anti-inflation fiscal responsibility.
- C. Present bold statements of Republican positions, both national and on pertinent local issues. Use speakers who know labor problems and answers.
- D. Point out inconsistencies and duplicities in the records of Democratic incumbents and party: North-South split, inflation and tax increases under Democrats, Democratic control of Congress 26 of past 30 years.
- E. Carefully consider development of material relevant to formulation of a favorable GOP labor attitude.
 - 1. Type of fact content.
 - 2. Utilization of original research rather than secondary source material.
 - 3. Special emphasis on original and boldly Republican-labor oriented material.
- F. Consider use of general media approach to supplement personal contacts and influences.

- G. Concentration on neighborhood approach, particularly in suburban areas where many working people are now moving. Greet the new family and cultivate it.
- H. Specific programs to put material directly into hands of laboring people.
 - 1. Plant visitation programs.
 - 2. Literature distribution programs -- plant or office plus neighborhood.
 - 3. Utilize labor officials and leaders who are Republicans to speak not only to labor groups but to Republican and civic groups on subjects of labor and Republicanism.
 - 4. Mailing lists compiled and kept current from identification and recruiting programs.

V. Incentives

- A. Recognition should be continuing -- honorary appointments, committee assignments, business encouragement, convention delegate posts, speaking assignments, press coverage.
- B. Encouragement must include part-time patronage jobs, aid in financing campaigns for better prospective candidates.
- C. Candidate selection.
 - 1. Evaluate blue collar and white collar workers, union members and officials, outstanding unorganized workers for potential in running for office on Republican tickets.
 - a. It is the responsibility of state and local chairmen to develop potential leaders in this group.
 - b. Assign special committees for this program.
 - c. Since most of this group are unable to meet even minimum financing requirements for election campaigns, provide special campaign financing and patronage rewards.

- d. Explore external sources of assistance for this type of project.

VI. Women

- A. One of the best potentials for the labor vote is through family association in the neighborhood.
- B. A definite program also should be planned for such women workers as white collar clerks and waitresses.
- C. These projects should be coordinated with those of the Republican Women's Federation.

Labor Summary

The stands of the Republican Party over the years are for the good of the wage earner -- for lower taxes, against inflation, for establishment of the eight-hour day, etc. Unless Republicans sell this record, unless they support workers who support the party, unless they communicate regularly -- and do it throughout every year -- the Republican Party cannot expect the backing of the working men and women. Properly organized, the labor vote can become an important factor in Republican election victories.

BUSINESS

Problems

Contrary to hourly workers encouraged by shop stewards on a basis of self-interest, salaried management people and small businessmen have a tendency not to participate in politics. Corporate managers commonly are encouraged to believe they will benefit in their company by civic work, for which they generally receive no company recognition. There is no provision for time off for politics. A businessman (whether corporate or independent) can be active in politics only by curtailing other activities, usually with a loss in income. For this he receives no compensation -- and usually no recognition -- from politics.

Businessmen often have little voice in party councils. Their needs may be ignored in political catering to special interest groups. Volunteers may be rebuffed on their initial approach to the party -- or at least given no specific assignment because none is ready.

There has been insufficient follow-up by the Republican Party to the businessman-in-politics training courses, whether conducted by such groups as the Chamber of Commerce or by the management of a specific company. Many businessmen simply do not understand politics and therefore sometimes find specific aspects of it distasteful.

Many small businessmen who may be unable to make large financial contributions are either unwilling to display their inability to do so or are unaware that party financing requires many \$1, \$5, \$10, and \$25 gifts, preferably on a year around basis.

Small businessmen and even large retailers often fear retribution if they are openly partisan.

The business community represents:

1. One of the major sources of manpower for the urban Republican Party.
2. One of the major sources of finances for the entire Republican Party.
3. One of the major reservoirs of needed skills of politics:
 - a. Organizing
 - b. Selling
 - c. Communications
 - d. Human Relations

The business community presents a challenge to the party to instill more desire for party activity, both group and individual, a challenge to broaden the funding base and a challenge to evoke a pride in Republicanism. Yet there is no program and no focal point in the Republican Party for work in the field of business.

Recommendations

I. Introductory

- A. The business community offers a medium for
 1. Attracting labor support through education and contact.
 2. Recruiting party adherents from present "independents."
- B. The business community is involved in a gray field of undecided legal questions about its participation in politics.

1. A determined program should be undertaken by business, as was conducted by labor unions, to clarify these questions in the courts.
 2. Party officials must recognize these legal problems.
- C. Businessmen are not accepting responsibility for the political system under which they live and function.
1. Managers of business need to devote time to political affairs if they wish to maintain a free enterprise economic system.
 - a. They must do so on a continuing, year around basis.
 - b. They must point out labor's stake in business success.

II. Identification

- A. Careful surveys and canvasses to determine businessmen who are active GOP workers and use them to locate others who have displayed interest in party work to serve as a nucleus.
1. Include husbands, sons, daughters of GOP women workers.
- B. Utilize this nucleus to identify and locate Republican-minded persons who are opinion leaders in their companies, fields of work, trade associations, civic organizations and social activities.
1. Use particularly those who have displayed an awareness through participation in current schools for businessmen in politics or in corporate public affairs efforts. Send the best party workers to participate in such schools.

III. Recruitment

- A. Again, the regular party organization is responsible.
1. A staff and/or special programs should be established to recruit businessmen and their families.
 2. Utilize local party officials; finance workers; outside help from National, Senatorial and Congressional Campaign and State Committees; Volunteer businessmen, especially corporate public affairs directors.
 3. As in labor, the program must be supported with funds, literature, recognition, leadership, training continuity and communication.

B. Actively solicit party participation by businessmen, instead of assuming some natural Republican bent will propel them into party work.

1. The need for developing the businessman's political awareness of his stake in our political system is just as acute as the need for promoting Republican orientation of the working man and woman.
2. The stimulus for any company interest in politics must stem from a decision that one of the basic management responsibilities is achieving a fair political climate.
3. Cultivate the policy maker in each company or business group. Ensure that he realizes politics is the art and science of government. Relate partisan GOP activity to the welfare of both the individual and the company. When he responds, give him party and/or public recognition. He will convince his associates.
4. Work to get political activity recognized within a company and credited in personnel files on the same basis as other civic work. If the husband is assured politics is a proper activity, his wife generally will follow suit.
5. Actively seek businessmen with that specific personality needed to maintain a continuing interest and activity in political work.
6. Assign specific tasks to those organizing support from the business community, but give coordinated professional management and direction to the project.

IV. Communications

- A. Much that applies to labor applies to business. Communication must be constant and thorough. It must be two-way. It must present the Republican position and the errors of the Democratic position. It must create a better image which in turn will bring support.
- B. A key to communication can be found in the public affairs directors of corporations and business associations. They want guidance and, in turn, they have advice well worth considering. When individuals in these positions are doing a good job, make sure that top management knows it.

V. Incentives

- A. Recognition and appreciation for work well done is essential. Patronage appointments, including the honorary type, are one important means.
- B. Assign businessmen party tasks for which they are fitted. Volunteer campaign groups, for a single cause or candidate, often are ideal because of limitations of time and inclination. So are fund drives and honest ballot groups. Utilize effectively the wealth of talents which industry provides when those talents are volunteered to the party organization.
- C. Encourage the younger businessman to consider candidacy for public office at any level. If interested, help him prepare himself.

Business in Summary

Both the Republican Party and business leaders must consider whether top party officials and top corporate executives have well-articulated political policies and whether local leadership, both party and corporate, perceives these programs and policies in the correct light. This requires close coordination at all levels -- a careful assignment of responsibilities and functions. At National Committee headquarters, a specialist or group of specialists should be retained on salary, part time fees or a voluntary basis to develop this liaison.

PROFESSIONAL AND INDEPENDENT GROUPS

The Subcommittee considered the problems inherent in obtaining support from professional associations and independent organizations and makes the following observations and recommendations:

- I. Activity with professional and independent groups
 - A. Recognize that most such clubs and associations are organized and chartered on a definite nonpartisan basis.
 1. They cannot be and should not be utilized as adjuncts to the Party.
 2. They can be and should be used as sounding boards for Republican philosophy and achievements.
 - a. Encourage Republicans in such groups to stress constantly the GOP viewpoint.

- b. Help bring Republicans, particularly potential candidates, before these groups as speakers.
 - c. Utilize acquaintances among these groups in mail campaigns.
 - d. When Democrats present their views to these groups, insist on equal treatment for Republicans.
- B. Rapport can be established with these groups by joining in their "civic-politico" or "profession-politico" action campaigns when they are within the Republican philosophy.

Committee on
BIG CITY POLITICS

REPORT

of the

**Subcommittee on
Nationalities and Minorities**

THE HONORABLE EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, Chairman
Member of Congress (4th District, Illinois)

MRS. C. WAYLAND BROOKS
National Committeewoman for Illinois and Vice Chairman of the
Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee

THE HONORABLE JOHN VOLPE
Governor of Massachusetts

Preface

The report of the Subcommittee on Nationalities and Minorities recommends a number of actions designed to create effective continuing programs for attracting to the Republican banner many population groups in our big cities who, for a variety of reasons, have not generally been sources of Republican strength in these areas. Not the least of the reasons is the lack of organized party effort to attract them to our ranks.

Thus it must be emphasized that the proposals set forth will have small chance of success unless they are concurred in and actively promoted by top-level Republican leaders as a permanent program.

National Committeemen and Committeewomen, State Chairmen, County and other local Republican leaders must all become fully aware of the potential that lies in this field and understand its effective utilization.

The Subcommittee recommendations are made largely in general terms. This is done deliberately, to encourage thought and suggestions from others in implementing the general program. The need for a concerted effort to improve our vote appeal among these groups has been realized for a long time. The problem has always been in development and implementation of an effective permanent program. This can be done only by our Party's leaders and by its workers.

Emphasis in this program in 1962 should be placed on Senatorial, Congressional and statewide races, in cooperation with the Senatorial, Congressional and State Campaign Committees and with individual Senators and Representatives. If we concentrate on organizing the basic structure for this special operation, its effectiveness can be tested in the 1962 campaign. The errors and weaknesses then disclosed could be ironed out before the 1964 Presidential campaign. The recruitment of volunteers, the organization of committees at all levels, the assignment of speakers and other steps must be undertaken immediately if we are to achieve the desired effect in the coming elections.

* * * *

REPORT

People in distinctive language-culture groups frequently are sensitive about what sometimes seems to them to be Republican lack of interest in them except during the last hours of campaign vote-solicitation. They sometimes assert that the Republican Party is not interested in the working class to which most of them belong. This attitude, needless to say, has been cultivated by the Democrats.

Reversing these mistaken attitudes is not something that can be accomplished in a six months' campaign, however intensive. It must be done by starting with a well thought out strategic plan, and the committees and administrative staff to develop and implement this strategy should be set up at once. Anything less than a full-time operation for such a program would be an empty gesture. The Democrats maintain a successful full-time operation, and last-minute Presidential election year activities are doomed to fall short.

The basic modus operandi which is recommended herein for the development of a permanent program for working with language-culture groups within the Republican Party organization is flexible enough for adjustments to meet the state, regional and national organizational problems that activity in this field will naturally face.

PERMANENT SPECIAL ACTIVITIES PROGRAM -- Nationalities

1. The Republican National Committee should initiate a full-time program among language-culture groups by creating a permanent Special Activities Division headed by an executive director. He must be provided the necessary secretarial staff and the necessary public relations and promotional assistance facilities to do the job.

2. A Special Activities Council should be organized to develop programs and work among these groups throughout the country, in complete coordination with the Director of the Special Activities Division.

In forming the Activities Council, proper consideration should be given to the size and geographic distribution of various language groups. Membership on this committee should be divided into two basic categories-- advisory and active; the advisory being primarily honorary and extended to respected veteran leaders of each group whose names will lend prestige and authenticity to Committee efforts; the active consisting of younger, intensely dedicated Republicans from such groups, who have a knowledge of politics as well as their group, and who show the ability and potential to provide leadership within their areas.

3. In at least the following key states, where sizable ethnic groups exist, the Special Activities Division and the Activities Council should organize immediate programs directed at the 1962 elections:

California	Missouri
Connecticut	Nebraska
Delaware	New Jersey
Illinois	New York
Indiana	Ohio
Maryland	Pennsylvania
Massachusetts	Rhode Island
Michigan	West Virginia
Minnesota	Wisconsin

In the above states effective work would produce substantial gains in the House of Representatives and could be a key factor in numerous Senate contests. There also would be a great impact on state-wide and local elections.

4. In each of these states it should be practical to establish one or more city or metropolitan committees whose activities would be closely coordinated with state and national operations. We recommend state committees be urged to take such steps. In Pennsylvania, for example, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Scranton, Erie, and the Wilkes-Barre area could all have local committees. And, in Illinois, the Chicago metropolitan area might be served by one committee with an East St. Louis committee serving that portion of the state.

* * * *

These committees at all levels--national, state or regional, and local-- must be active and meet frequently, with emphasis on maintaining a coordinated program through the entire structure. Properly done, such an effort would mesh into genuine effectiveness at the local community level. The committees should be organized on a volunteer basis, should be kept broad enough to provide thorough coverage, but should not be so large as to become unwieldy. The leaders at all levels must be carefully selected, with emphasis on their ability to coordinate effectively the individual efforts of the members serving with them. It is important to avoid the pitfall of striking out in all directions at the same time, in an effort to please everyone equally. Care must be taken to assure that members of the committees will provide more than just use of their names and, in addition, will not be a source of controversy within their own language-culture group.

The real key to a successful operation, however, will be the director of the Special Activities Division who, within the framework set by the Republican National Committee, must proceed to organize a permanent program, in keeping with our ultimate objectives, which will succeed in winning the votes of these population groups.

MEDIA THROUGH WHICH PROGRAM SHOULD BE CONDUCTED

A continuing program of public relations and publicity could be used to coordinate meetings and activities, to generate enthusiasm long before an election and to avoid the charge of last-minute selfish purposes. Many means are available and can be used effectively.

1. Fraternal insurance groups, religious and patriotic associations and clubs, veteran, education and historical groups--all can be effectively and efficiently exposed to Republican activity. These groups appreciate the support and good will of outside organizations and genuine rapport can be successfully established with them.

2. A policy of recognizing the traditional observances of each ethnic group should be instituted through regular use of special messages from Republican VIPs.

3. A special Speakers' Bureau of prominent national, Congressional, state and local Republican officials should be developed for key engagements at conventions, banquets, commemorative occasions, and regular meetings of language-culture organizations.

4. The Foreign Language Press must be contacted regularly to develop effective working relations with them. This activity could be coordinated with appearances and press releases to cover the activities of the above-mentioned Speakers' Bureau. Since many voters in big cities still depend heavily on foreign language newspapers for their information, these publications often represent the best vehicle through which our message can reach these people. The most effective arrangements with the foreign language press would be those initiated by local communities, with informational material supplied from national headquarters.

5. Foreign Language Radio Stations in big cities offer similar opportunities for broad coverage. The large number of foreign language broadcasts found in major metropolitan areas provide the same relationship to their listeners that the press does to those who must use the foreign language press. Therefore this channel also must be used to the greatest possible extent.

6. Republican Party supporters should be encouraged to utilize these communication media in every possible way.

7. Party organizations should develop advertising budgets providing for regular periodic advertising in all foreign language communication media.

SOME SPECIFIC PROGRAM CONSIDERATIONS

New Immigrants

A tremendous source of support for the Republican Party can be found in post-war immigrants who, because of strong anti-Communist feelings and previous community positions, have a definite affinity to the principles of the Republican Party. They must be cultivated at every opportunity since they are steadily assuming positions of major importance in language-culture group organizations.

Political Appointments

Consistent efforts should be made to see that party organizations, in distributing such political patronage as may be available, give due consideration to the various language-culture groups. Once again, complaints have been heard that some Republicans forget this source of support after the campaign is over. Government employment is held in high esteem by many of these groups, especially in large cities, and its political impact should not be ignored.

Candidate Recruitment

The Special Activities Division, the Special Activities Council, and other state and local committees organized to implement the program of activities recommended herein will be concerned with drawing into active party roles citizens from these distinctive segments of our population. One major function of the program thus should be to encourage a widespread effort to develop and recruit Republican Party leaders and candidates for public office from among the members of these groups.

— — — —

PERMANENT SPECIAL ACTIVITIES PROGRAM -- Minorities

The regular Republican organization in predominantly Negro wards in our big cities frequently is woefully weak and just as frequently nonexistent. Our problem in these situations is to establish effective personal contacts within the Negro community and draw Negro citizens into regular party activities. Certainly our Party's splendid record in the field of civil rights merits greater recognition and response than it has received.

The Republican National Committee has had for many years a permanent Minorities Division which has concentrated primarily on working among Negroes. Building on this foundation, we recommend that:

1. The National Committee expand its public relations activities especially directed toward building support among our Negro population. At the present time only one column a week, aimed particularly at the Negro press, is distributed by the National Committee. This program should be expanded to include the regular release to all communication media oriented to the Negro community of special items which would benefit the Republican Party.

2. The National Committee enlarge its field forces to permit increased organizational activities in those states most concerned with this program.

3. The National Committee place special emphasis on encouraging organizational activities in our big cities which will bring Negro citizens more fully into all Republican programs.

4. The Republican Party at all levels particularly concern itself with encouraging Negro women to work in their communities in behalf of the party and Republican candidates.

5. Special emphasis continue to be placed on bringing young Negro citizens into active participation in Young Republican Clubs.

6. The Republican Party make a concerted effort in big cities to develop and recruit party leaders and candidates for public office from the ranks of its Negro supporters.

Committee on
BIG CITY POLITICS

REPORT

of the

**Subcommittee on Public Relations,
Use of Surveys
And Educational Methods**

L. JUDSON MORHOUSE, Chairman

Chairman, New York Republican State Committee and member of the
Republican National Committee

THE HONORABLE BRUCE ALGER

Member of Congress (5th District, Texas)

THE HONORABLE P. KENNETH PETERSON

Former Mayor of the City of Minneapolis and former Chairman of the
Minnesota Republican State Central Committee

Preface

This report of the Subcommittee on Public Relations, Use of Surveys and Educational Methods has been divided into two sections. Section I deals with Surveys and the Use of Surveys, Section II covers Public Relations and Educational Methods.

In our report we have endeavored to be brief, to the point, and factual. We believe the report contains considerable food for thought for those who would guide the destinies of the Republican Party. We hope it will be of assistance in helping the Republican Party find the pathway to further victories.

If it is possible to summarize the findings of this Subcommittee, it would be as follows:

The problem of maintaining two-way communication between party and public becomes greater as our population grows and our society becomes more complex. The problem is magnified in our big cities. To avoid the political consequences of a lapse in these communications, we must utilize every means to get our message to the public and to obtain their opinions on public affairs. In this connection it seems to us that:

a. The Republican Party will be a minority in the big cities until its true concern with the problems of all citizens is accurately and fully identified. Our party is too frequently mistakenly identified with big business and privilege.

b. People think in terms of immediate problems and crises, not broad issues. Semantic arguments usually only confuse the public or convey an aura of insincerity to people whose chief interest is "What are you doing about it?"

c. The Republican Party must re-emphasize its position as a dynamic, forward-looking movement with answers to the people's problems.

1. The principles of the Republican Party, derived from the American heritage of individual initiative, free enterprise, thrift and planning ahead, can best solve the problems that confront the American people in the 1960's.

2. The Republican Party must fight being erroneously labeled as the party which is against change and new ideas.

3. The Republican Party must continue to emphasize the rights and the freedom of expression of its individual members.

To accomplish these purposes, we recommend year around, intensive and expert use of:

1. Public opinion surveys to provide one important basis for an effective two-way communication system between party and voter. Surveys have special value for:

- a. evaluation of candidates
- b. determination of problems and their importance
- c. determination of party strength
- d. testing ideas and tactics
- e. planning educational programs

2. Public relations and publicity programs which effectively utilize the particular advantages of press, radio and television as media of mass communication in big cities.

3. Programs of political education within the party organization and also in schools and among community groups, to assure that our record and our purposes are understood by everyone and to build support for our party.

4. Research as a fundamental tool of politics which provides much of our working material and is basic to good public relations and educational programs.

SURVEYS AND THE USE OF SURVEYS

Introduction

There are more than one hundred and eighty million people in the United States. This is thirty million more than there were in 1950. As for voters -- twenty million more people voted in the Presidential election of 1960 than voted for President in 1948. Nearly seventy million people voted for President in 1960. Voters in the 41 largest cities cast about 22% of this vote.

Successful politics involves two-way communication between party and voters. But how well can the Republican Party know seventy million voters -- their problems, their fears, their hopes, their beliefs, their ideas? Or how can our city organizations know these things about the millions of voters they serve? At an earlier time political leaders could be closer to people's thinking because there were fewer people. Today there is always danger of a communications gap between party leaders and the general public.

Public opinion surveys are a principal means of avoiding such a gap -- of maintaining the close relationship between citizens and their political leaders which has been the mainstay of our republican form of government.

Any communication by sight or sound will be interpreted by the recipient on the basis of his own attitudes, beliefs and knowledge. If the President of the United States makes a speech on television, everyone sees the same picture and hears exactly the same words. Yet his speech will be interpreted as good, bad or indifferent, depending upon the political affiliation, expectancy, attitudes, ideas and opinions of the various listeners. What seems very logical to one person may be considered completely illogical by another.

Therefore, a true leader -- to influence people to his way of thinking, to gain support for a program, to accomplish what he thinks should be accomplished -- must have some knowledge about the frame of reference in which his communications will be received by the public. It is not enough for a political leader to have principles and convictions. He must know how to communicate his beliefs so that they will be accepted by those he represents. It may be unfortunate, but it is true that we live in a world of decreasing personal communication and increasing mass communication.

Another fact of life in contemporary politics is that the voter has learned how to split his ballot. When a candidate has well-known qualifications or rises above party image (or professional politician image) voters are inclined to ignore party labels and vote for him. When candidates are not well known or are not considered outstanding, the voter relies on party image. With more voters considering themselves Democrats than Republicans, this gives the Democrats an obvious advantage toward winning national elections. The practice is just as significant in state and local elections.

Hence it is vital for the Republican Party to know the voter's image of it and of its candidates. It is not enough for Republican leaders to know what they think of themselves -- they must know what the housewife, the truck driver, the businessman, the farmer and the Democrat think of them.

It is for these reasons that surveys and education in politics must be looked upon not as mere head counting and propaganda, but as providing two-way communication between political leaders and the general public. The problems of mass communication are common to all parts of our nation, but they have special importance in the impersonal atmosphere of our big cities.

Two examples will serve to illustrate the practical significance of the foregoing comments for the Republican Party:

A. To Whom Do Party Leaders Listen In Their Own States ?

An interesting test of how well leaders know their own states was made during the 1956 election campaign. Through official channels a party leader in each of four critical states was asked to list the most important problems or issues in the election in his state. Following this, intensive surveys were made of a scientific cross-section of adults in these same states. The following tables indicate the degree to which the replies of leaders in three states reflected the problems and issues as the voters saw them.

State A

<u>Statement of Issues by Party Official</u>	<u>% of Voters Who Mentioned These as Issues</u>
Foreign Policy & Peace	37
Hard Money	Less than 1
Public Power	3
Honesty in Government	Less than 1
Nixon	3
Outside Influence	0

State B	
<u>Statement of Issues by Party Official</u>	<u>% of Voters Who Mentioned These as Issues</u>
Peace	31
Prosperity	11
Taxes	18
Inflation	Less than 1
Honesty in Government	Less than 1
Civil Rights	7

Note that in State A three matters, and in State B two, seen as issues by party leaders were seen as issues in the election by less than one percent of the people in each state.

State C	
<u>Statement of Issues by Party Leader</u>	<u>% of Voters Who Mentioned These as Issues</u>
Nixon's Qualifications	3
Right to Work Initiative	4
Continued Prosperity	5
Public Power	7
Foreign Affairs	21
Hard Money	0

As can be seen, the issue listed first by the party leader in State C was an issue for only three percent of the people, while the issue that he listed sixth was mentioned by 21 % of the people in the survey.

B. What Is The Frame Of Reference In Which People Judge And Interpret Republican Communications?

In view of the preceding discussion it might be fairly assumed that, at times, there is a breakdown in communications between some Republican Party leaders and the people. The greater the real gap in communications between groups, the more the actions and statements of each will be received and interpreted in the light of the "image" that one group has of the other. What is the "image" of the Republican Party?

The Republican Party image has been discussed almost ad nauseum. After the re-election of President Eisenhower in 1956, a number of studies were conducted to determine why he won so easily but still did not carry Republican Senators and Congressmen into office with him.

The surveys suggested a relatively simple answer to the question. President Eisenhower was not considered as a political image figure. He was "Ike" and people voted for "Ike". When it came to other offices, they voted on the basis of party image or individual personality.

Unfortunately and erroneously -- and traditionally at the instigation of the Democrats -- the Republican Party has been labeled the party of big business, while the Democratic Party has been labeled the party of the working man. When our lines of communication are weak, these images tend to prevail -- to our decided disadvantage.

Actually, the Republican Party has been outstanding in its accomplishment of benefits for all people. But seldom has it received credit for its efforts.

This presents the real challenge of today to Republicans, a challenge to meet the false contention of the Democrats -- to explain in detail our Party's accomplishments, goals and objectives so that the people of our country will fully understand them and obtain the correct "image" of Republicanism.

It is our foremost challenge to show everywhere that the Republican Party has been and still is the party that Lincoln represented when he spoke of government "of, by, and for the people."

The magnitude of this challenge is illustrated in the results of a 1956 survey reported on in detail later in this report. In that survey voters were given a number of statements about things that had been accomplished during the first four years of President Eisenhower's Administration and asked whether they were true or false. All twenty statements were true, but only five were believed to be true by over one-half of the voters questioned! In fifteen of the twenty cases less than 40% of the voters contacted through the Administration had done what was indicated and what, in fact, had been done.

- - - - -

The next section of this report will point out ways in which survey data can be used to improve two-way communication between Republican leaders and voters.

It should be clearly understood that survey data is but an additional source of information for Republican leaders in determining programs and courses of action. Survey data must always be interpreted in the light of all sources of information. As the armed services must interpret the information derived from intelligence operations with all other factors, so must survey intelligence be analyzed and interpreted by leadership in determining strategy and tactics.

Nevertheless, surveys provide a fundamental element in the picture. We strongly recommend that party organizations use them to the fullest possible extent. Without them party efforts may well be ineffective and wasteful of resources. Do not forget that the survey technique can be used not only to gather information but also to test ideas, programs and positions.

As Artemus Ward once said, "It's not only what we don't know that gets us in trouble ... it's also what we do know that ain't so."

WAYS IN WHICH SURVEYS CAN PROVIDE INFORMATION FOR USE IN DETERMINING STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Probably the least important function of surveys is attempting to predict who is going to win the "horse race." Estimates of where parties and candidates stand at various stages in a campaign can be developed, but the money required to predict through a sample technique the actual percentage outcome of an election would be tremendous.

The two main difficulties in giving precise estimates of how an election will turn out, other than the problem of sample size, are that there are no devices yet available that are precise in estimating actual voter turnout, and there are no precise techniques available for "guessing" what the undecided voter is actually going to do when he steps in the voting booth. In view of these problems the record of surveys in estimating elections has been far better than is generally realized.

There are survey questions which can be asked which will indicate the probable strength of parties or candidates at certain stages of a campaign. Examples of questions on voting intention will not be included here because there are many varieties, but the usual type involves asking the person what he thinks he would do if the election were to be held that very day.

Far more important than estimating election outcome are the uses of surveys in the areas of:

1. Evaluation of Candidates.
2. Determination of Problems and Evaluation of the Importance of Issues.
3. Determination of Party Image and Strength
4. Testing Ideas, Reactions and Effectiveness of Tactics.

1. Evaluation of Candidates

a. A number of approaches may be used in evaluating candidates or people presently in office. One is to learn how well the candidate is known by the voters. The following question is one of several that are designed to measure knowledge:

"How well do you know each of the following names?
By that I mean how well can you identify who the
person is or what he has done or what he is doing?"

The person being interviewed is handed a card with the following statements on it and he picks the statement that comes closest to what he feels he knows about the candidate.

1. Know a great deal about him.
2. Know something about him.
3. Know a little about him.
4. Just recognize the name, that's all.
5. Don't know him at all.

Obviously, replies to this type of question are not precise and the respondent might either over-rate or under-rate his own knowledge. But, when tabulations of these replies are made for a large sample, the results give an excellent relative picture of knowledge about candidates.

b. Knowledge about candidates, however, is only one of many factors. It is important also to find out how those who do know a candidate rate him. Rating can be accomplished in a number of ways. The following example indicates one approach:

"Now, what about Mr. X? What kind of a job do you think he would do as (insert office for which the candidate is considered)? Outstanding, above average, average, below average or poor?"

When the replies to such a question are tabulated and cross-analyzed with a question on knowledge, candidates can be compared as to their standing among those who indicate they know something about the candidate. This cross-analysis of rating with knowledge is essential to avoid penalizing candidates who are not well-known but rate well when compared with candidates who are well-known but poorly regarded.

c. Another technique used in evaluating candidates is to ask those who have rated a candidate above average or outstanding, or below average or poor, just why they gave that rating to the candidate. A careful analysis of such replies will disclose strengths and weaknesses of candidates and show what must be done in communicating with the voters.

d. Another method is to compare your candidate with some "ideal image of a candidate." The following is an example of this type of question.

"In _____ we know that _____ is _____. But forgetting him and anyone you've heard mentioned for the job lately, would you describe for me the characteristics of the kind of man you think would make the perfect _____."

The characteristics mentioned by respondents are recorded, along with the frequency of mention.

Having determined this picture of an "ideal candidate" later surveys can use a scaling device to measure each candidate against this ideal. A typical technique is to give each respondent a card which has the numbers from 0 to 10, with the card stating that 10 means outstanding and 0 signifies very poor. Then interviewers are asked to rate each of several candidates on characteristics making up the "ideal candidate." For example, they can be asked to rate a candidate on such items as the degree to which he is really concerned with problems of the people, his leadership ability and his aggressiveness, and whether or not he is an extreme partisan politician. The replies to all such questions rating candidates are to be interpreted as relative differences between candidates in the eyes of the voters, rather than as actual determination of whether or not candidates have these characteristics.

e. Another type of rating scale for candidates uses the following question.

"Here is a card which has some words and phrases. You can see that they are paired -- the first pair is aggressive and quiet and you can see that there are some numbers between the two words. I'm going to read some names to you and, as I do, would you tell me the number which best represents in your mind where you would place that person between the two words at either end of the scale. In other words if you think the person is extremely aggressive you would say number 1 on the first pair of words. If you think him extremely quiet you would say number 7. If you feel he is somewhere between, just give us the number where you think he would be placed. In other words, if he is somewhere between the extreme select a number which best describes how aggressive or how quiet you think he is. All right, let's take the first man and go right down the five pairs on him. Think first of Mr. X."

When respondents are also asked to go through this list to indicate what they think is "an ideal candidate," we can interpret the rating data much better. A particular advantage of this approach is that various concepts about candidates can be tested by inserting them in the question as opposite pairs of words or phrases.

Card

Aggressive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Quiet
Strong party politician	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Above party politics
Friendly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Unfriendly
On side of working man	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	On side of business
Forceful leader with new ideas	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Good administrator of established ideas

2. Determination of Problems and Evaluation of the Importance of Issues

A second important function of surveys is to assist in determining the problems that voters consider to be important. It should be pointed out clearly that surveys do not often show really clear-cut issues in elections. Very seldom do you find voters standing up and taking sides on something. When they do, it usually involves a very specific matter, such as whether or not to build a dam in a particular locality.

Frequently what leaders think are issues are very general ideas which, to the average voter, seem quite hazy. In national politics today, issues generally resolve themselves into different ways of trying to solve the same problem. There are so many pros and cons in every solution proposed that many voters get completely confused.

Nevertheless, every voter is conscious of problems that he wants solved -- of things he sees that need some kind of attention. And it is vitally important that party leaders know what these problems are. To say that problems require attention does not necessarily mean that the voters want government action and government spending on these subjects. What they do want is somebody in office who will show concern for these problems and who will give attention to these problems in an effort to see that they are solved one way or another.

a. There are two ways in which problems can be studied through surveys. The first approach is to use what is called an "open-end" question. A typical question is as follows:

"As far as you are concerned, what are the most important problems (or what are the three most important problems in order of importance) facing the United States (state of Oregon) (city of Chicago) today? "

Tabulations of the replies to such questions will give a good indication of the importance of various problems in terms of the number of people who are concerned with them or mention them.

The other approach to problems is to state the problem on a card, or in the question by the interviewer, and ask the respondent to rate these problems in various ways. One simple method is to ask the respondent to pick out which problem is the most important, then the second most important and then the third most important. The advantage of a "closed-end" question like this is that it permits evaluation of specific problems which Republican leaders may think are important.

A similar approach is illustrated in the following example:

"Here's a card which has a sort of ladder scale on it. You will notice that the top of the scale is marked 'great deal of concern or worry' and the bottom 'little concern or worry.' You will notice that the number 1 means little or no concern or worry and the other numbers mean an increasing amount of concern or worry. Now, I'm going to mention some problems that we face today and I'd like you to tell me how concerned or worried you are about each problem."

The advantage of this type of question is that it permits an analysis of both the frequency of mention of a problem and the importance that particular problem has for people. For example, a problem might be mentioned by 20% of the people. However, from that we would not know whether it was any great concern or worry to them. This simple "ladder scale" technique permits such an analysis.

b. In addition to discovering the number of people concerned with problems, then, we also can find out how important these problems are. This still does not give us the kind of information which can be gathered with the following question:

"(Instruction to Interviewer: Ask the next question about the problem the respondent picked as first in importance.) Well, just what do you think ought to be done about this problem?"

In a series of surveys in one locality it was found that "juvenile delinquency" always appeared high on the list of problems mentioned by people being interviewed. But the addition of a question about what should be done about juvenile delinquency disclosed the very important information that about 60% of the people felt the most immediate thing to be done was to provide protection of the public. About 40% believed that the prevention and cure of delinquency was what needed immediate attention. This analysis should suggest to party leaders that, in discussing juvenile delinquency in this particular city, the local party should develop a program concerned with two things -- immediate protection of people against juvenile delinquency and the means and programs to prevent and reduce delinquency. Stressing either approach, to the point of excluding the other, would antagonize a large segment of the population.

If the issues can be defined by party leaders, surveys can be used extensively to measure attitudes and opinions on these issues. Surveys also can be used to measure the extent of confusion among the voting public as to just what are the issues.

c. Another way to study issues is to state them as the positions of candidates, as campaign statements or as a program to solve a problem, and then ask respondents whether they agree or disagree with the position, statement or proposed program. For a real analysis of this sort, however, it is vitally important to ask people why they agree or disagree with the various positions, statements or programs.

3. Determination of Party Image and Strength

Party strength can be measured in a variety of ways. Election returns themselves are transient figures on party strength but they are so confused by the need to evaluate the degree to which the candidate himself affected the results that returns alone are not always sufficient.

a. Techniques such as those mentioned in the preceding section on issues also are useful for determining people's "images" of our Party. A simple question such as, "All in all, which party -- the Republican or Democratic -- do you think is better for people like yourself?" followed by a question, "Just why do you feel this way?", will elicit a great deal of image information.

b. Another way of getting a picture of the party is to list a series of possible crises that could occur -- international and domestic -- and then simply ask which party could best handle the situation if it did occur. Replies to just this one question will suggest the strengths and weaknesses of the Republican Party. If interviewees also are asked why they feel the party they chose is best able to handle the crisis, their replies will give additional information about the party image.

c. A very useful question, although it may seem naive, is an old standard: "If there were to be an election for Congressman today, would you vote for the Republican Congressman or the Democratic Congressman?" At first glance the question would seem to be so unreal that the results would be meaningless. They will be meaningless if the survey is made only once, but when the question is asked over a period of time a picture of the rise and fall of party strength becomes quite clear. Replies to the question will give a fairly good rule of thumb measure of relative party strength, or satisfaction with the party, at any particular time.

d. Another question that can be used to determine party strength is one which asks: "In general, do you consider yourself a Democrat or a Republican?" Over the years this question has produced the significant finding that an increasingly large number of people call themselves "Independents" rather than either Democrats or Republicans.

4. Testing Ideas, Reactions and Effectiveness of Tactics

a. One of the most important functions of surveys, when the technical work is arranged so that studies can be completed with extreme rapidity, is in testing reactions to events occurring and statements made during campaigns. Following is one example which illustrates the use of surveys in this manner. The question was asked in a quick survey done in October, 1956. The question was:

"As you may have heard, Adlai Stevenson has advocated that the United States stop all further H-bomb tests. Do you agree or disagree with him that this would be a good idea?"

Agree	27%
Disagree	40%
Don't know	33%

"Will this make you more likely to vote for Stevenson or more likely to vote for Eisenhower?"

More likely to vote for Eisenhower	2.3%
More likely to vote for Stevenson	0.3%
Will not change vote in any way	97.4%

b. Another way of testing ideas in campaigns can be illustrated by the following question:

"As concerns this proposal, do you think that Candidate X should come out openly against it, say little or nothing about it, or come out openly in favor of it?"

Come out openly against it	25%
Say little or nothing about it	14%
Come out openly in favor of it	21%
No opinion	40%

While such information should not be used to dictate the candidate's position, it does indicate how the public feels and lets him evaluate what his advisors have been telling him. There may be many reasons for an action taken by a candidate beyond how the public feels, but such information does let him determine whether the matter is of extreme or little political importance.

c. When there are definite differences between the positions of candidates or of parties, reactions to these differences can be learned through statements such as the following: "Candidate X has said that he wants to do the following...while Candidate Y wants to do it this way... which candidate do you think has the better solution to this problem, Candidate X or Candidate Y?"

d. Finding out how people interpret various actions or statements is another use of surveys to test ideas and tactics. One way to do this is to formulate a statement of what actually happened--such as that a meeting took place or something was done. Then following the statement of the situation, interpretations are made and put to the interviewees in this form: "This means that Candidate X has taken a liberal position" or that "Candidate X did this for the following reasons..." The respondents are asked to agree or disagree with the various interpretations.

This technique is exceedingly useful because it is not uncommon in politics for people to believe that what they say and do is interpreted exactly as they intend. Frequently this is not the case. Hence testing the interpretations people make of speeches, announcements, meetings and events can be of great help in planning further activities. The usefulness of survey testing procedures is exemplified in the surveys that were made following the debates between the Presidential candidates in 1960.

- - - - -

One of the less used aspects of survey work is exploring the degree of understanding that voters have about the implications of various political actions. They may favor something that the party opposes. If a survey shows that their knowledge of the situation is inadequate, then it is apparent that the party needs to institute an educational program to supply the voters with the missing information, in an effort to change their positions.

Surveys, taken by qualified personnel and carefully evaluated, can provide valuable information for planning Republican political education programs. The last section of this report on surveys will discuss briefly some of the problems facing Republican leaders in educational activities and how surveys can be used to plan such programs.

A. The basic question for which there must be answers, before any consideration can be given to strategy and tactics in political education, is simply "What do we say?" There have been two general ways of getting answers to the question.

A group of people sit down and by talking among themselves decide what they shall say, based on their own experiences, personal feelings, information, and personal prejudices of one sort or another. In this connection every person interested in political education should keep in mind an old saying: "On what do you bias your opinions?"

A second way has been reliance on politically gifted people who can "sense" things that need to be said to the voters and can express themselves so that their ideas get across. Highly successful campaigns were run long before anyone even thought of the idea of surveys. Such people have been rare, however, and with political activities today confronted by mass communication, rapidly changing events, a complex society, and tremendous numbers of voters, the "genius" of political campaigning will be found even less often than before.

The essence of successful communication with voters today lies more in basing communication efforts on what voters know or don't know about certain issues -- on the reasons for their feeling the way they do about candidates and problems and issues. The prime need is to express the Republican argument in terms the voter will understand.

B. One of the continuing problems of the Republican Party is to communicate effectively to the voters what it has accomplished and where it is trying to go. The following survey result underlines this problem. The study was made in 1956 to see whether the voters in this country really had any idea of the accomplishments of President Eisenhower and his Administration in domestic affairs.

A list of statements about various Administration activities was given voters and they were asked whether they were true or false. All statements were true but, on fifteen of the twenty items, less than 40% of the voters thought they were true! In only five instances did more than half of the voters think the statements were true, and in no case did more than 60% of the people say a statement was true. Following is the list of the statements used:

1. President Eisenhower's administration reduced Truman's last budget by \$10 billion.
2. 65 million Americans have jobs. This is the highest number of employed people in the history of the U. S.
3. The National budget has been balanced.
4. The Cabinet post and Department of Health, Education and Welfare was created under Eisenhower.
5. Social Security benefits were extended to an additional 10 million Americans.
6. The Eisenhower Administration established a small business administration to help small business.
7. James C. Petrillo, President of the Musicians Union, George Meany, President of the AFL, Jacob Pottofski, President of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have praised the handling of labor problems by President Eisenhower.

8. There have been income tax cuts of 7-1/2 billion dollars.
9. Over 80% of income tax cuts went to middle and lower income families.
10. 70 million Americans received a reduction in the income tax they paid.
11. The minimum wage of all workers in the country was raised from 75¢ to \$1.00 an hour.
12. Each year some small businesses fail and some are started. In 1955, there was a net gain of 50,000 new small businesses started in the United States.
13. The St. Lawrence Seaway was established to help the economy of the Middle West.
14. Under President Eisenhower more than 800 million dollars in military purchases was set aside to help small business in trouble.
15. In 1955, small business concerns in the U. S. received more than 3 billion dollars of government contracts.
16. In 1955, strike losses in the United States were less than one-half of the strike losses in the last year of Truman's Administration.
17. The housing bill was passed in 1954 to make it easier for people to buy, build or rent adequate housing.
18. In the first six months of 1956, there was an 11% increase in the price of farm products.
19. President Eisenhower asked for 2 billion dollars for aid to public schools and this bill was defeated by the Democrats.
20. President Eisenhower has asked for changes in the Taft-Hartley Law to benefit labor.

All evidence from this and similar surveys indicates one thing very clearly. The Republican Party has accomplished many things for the benefit of "the people" but seldom gets much credit for it. There is a tremendous need for a new kind of educational campaign to get across to the voters an understanding of what the Republican Party has achieved.

C. Adequate polls can point out what needs to be said and how to say it. A campaign based upon what voters think is important obviously is going to be more successful than one based on what they see as unimportant.

Information for a political educational program may be gathered by testing various ideas, such as campaign statements, to see which are effective and which are not. Examples of such testing were given earlier and will not be repeated here.

Perhaps the most important function of surveys in providing information for political education is in determining the factors that enter into the voter's opinions and judgments. This type of analysis involves evaluating items of the following types:

1. The knowledge the voter has concerning the party, issue or candidate.
2. The degree to which he is emotionally concerned with the problems, candidates or issues.
3. The social and economic characteristics of those having various opinions, knowledge and attitudes about problems, candidates, parties and issues.

The first of these items, the knowledge that the individual voter has, has been discussed before. But in addition surveys can test whether more information, and what kinds of information, would change his opinion.

Measuring the degree to which a person is emotionally involved in various aspects of a political campaign is more difficult but just as necessary. A variety of techniques have been developed to do this. What is desired is to learn not only people's opinions about an issue and whether these opinions are based on real understanding of the situation, but also how strongly people hold their opinions about the matter and how strongly they feel about the solutions being offered. The importance of a problem in the minds of the voters and their emotional involvement in that problem are of prime importance for any educational technique. It is much harder to communicate with a person who is "fighting mad" about something than with a person who is "calm and collected."

To find out just how important people rate a problem the following question can be asked:

"We would like you to think for a minute of the most serious problem that you can think of today. It can be your own health or your own job or the Berlin crisis or the Cuban situation or anything else that you think is the most important problem facing you today. Now, let's think of a scale running from 0 to 100. This problem that you think of as the most important today would be given a score of 100. Now on that basis just what score would you give to this problem we're talking about?"

Questions like this measure to some degree the emotional involvement in a problem. They also pinpoint what types of people are most concerned with it and what types of people are the least concerned, and they can help discover whether those who are most emotionally involved have the least knowledge about the situation.

Finally, surveys may be used to analyze the social and economic factors involved in political opinions. The following list indicates some of the basic factors which can be studied through survey techniques:

Age	Geographical Location
Education	Religion
Sex	Nationality Background
Income	Political Background

II.

PUBLIC RELATIONS, PUBLICITY AND EDUCATIONAL METHODS

It is of vital importance that our Republican Party organizations in large cities develop a well-conceived, thoroughly coordinated and continuous program of public relations. We can not win votes unless we communicate our principles, policies, ideas and achievements throughout the city. This is elementary but it requires emphasizing. Too many of our party organizations in the big cities do not have an adequate program of public relations and publicity activities.

History proves that the Republican Party is truly interested in all the people. The Republican Party has originated and developed legislation which has helped make America great. We must emphasize that the Republican Party is dynamic, progressive and responsive to the will of the people.

Public relations activities should include development of a program to let the rank and file of labor know that the Republican Party is genuinely interested in their welfare. In the public relations division there should be persons who are familiar with the interests of the workingman and able to convince him that the well-being of his family is strengthened by the programs and policies of the Republican Party.

Similar public relations attention should be given to the Negro press and to the foreign language press. In nearly every big city there are newspapers published for Negroes, for Spanish-speaking citizens and for naturalized citizens of many origins. There are, in some cities, radio stations which beam their programs to these groups.

A well-organized public relations division should include persons, at least on a part-time basis, who are qualified to work with these media and supply them with information aimed directly at serving their special needs.

Every communication medium should be used in a public relations program to carry our message to people in all walks of life; to publicize all Republican events, programs and candidates; and to publicize the opposition's failures and shortcomings.

Not all newspapers have the same policies. Neither do television and radio stations. Therefore, some of the recommendations set forth in this report may not be applicable in all cities. But, in general, they may be tailored to fit into your particular program.

This section of our report considers these aspects of public relations and publicity:

Advertising Agencies and Public Relations Consultants
Press-Television-Radio Relations
Newspaper Advertising
Television and Radio Programming
Magazines, Trade and Professional Journals, House Organs
Pamphlets and Brochures
Direct Mail
Billboards and Posters

Following this section are two others on Educational Programs and on Research.

Advertising Agencies and Public Relations Consultants

These professions have important roles in affecting and molding public opinion in large cities. In the ideal situation the advertising agency and the public relations firm, as well as their key employees, would be steadfast Republicans who are vitally interested in the party's success. Their account executives handling your campaign, in any case, must understand the issues, know the candidates and have the "feel" for politics.

The public relations consultant and the advertising agency must work in cooperation with the candidate and the local committee. Both the agency and public relations people must understand the attitudes of the people in the community. They must be familiar with the issues and know how they were developed, whether they are true or false, sound or unsound, of great consequence or of little consequence. The proper type of advertising agency and public relations consultant will not hesitate to point out weaknesses of campaign promises and party planks.

The party organization leader and the candidate must give direction-- and complete cooperation--to the advertising man and the public relations consultant if these two agencies are to function properly and effectively.

Press-Television-Radio Relations

First, last and always we must let the public know what our party stands for and what it has done for the people over the years. We must let the people know the position of our candidates on issues.

In order to present the Republican Party, its programs and its candidates to the public aggressively and constantly, we must maintain close contact with newspapers, television and radio at all times, in off years as well as in campaign years.

This applies to party organizations, party leaders, officeholders and our candidates.

Become friendly with the persons in charge of political news--the news editor or city editor or news director, as well as the man who actually writes politics or broadcasts politics.

Your candidate, too, should become well-acquainted with these same people. He should be accessible to newsmen at all times.

Always deal in facts, not rumors, when talking with newsmen. Don't ever try to mislead or deceive.

Ascertain the news deadlines on newspapers and newscast hours on the air.

Whenever possible, let newsmen know when you are going to break a story. Don't "play favorites" with your news release. Release your story as it breaks.

Arrange for copies of your release to be in the hands of all newsmen in ample time for editing.

Prepare enough copies of your release not only for the reporters but also for editorial writers and policy makers, such as publishers and owners of radio and television stations. You may want to inform the general manager as well as the owner.

Project one idea at a time.

When you have an announcement or statement, and if facilities are available, make tape recordings for the radio stations and video tapes or film with sound for the television stations. These should be made in 20-second to 1-minute segments to fit into regular newscasts. If they're too long, neither television nor radio will use them.

Your own photographer should make pictures of candidates talking with important people, or attending important meetings, or engaging in any activity which has news value or human interest. If you furnish these pictures to newspapers and television editors immediately, you can often get good publicity.

If you have several television stations in your city, attempt to get different shots for each station.

Supply releases and pictures to the wire services, such as AP, UPI and regional or state news services.

It is good policy to furnish the papers, radio and television with the news of a meeting, including resolutions and other facts of public interest. Follow up pre-event material and advance publicity by giving the press information on what actually happened.

Refrain from attempts to oversell a meeting or statement. However, do not neglect to emphasize something really important.

Newspaper Advertising

Newspaper advertising should be completely coordinated with your television and radio programs. Your ads should drive home the same points, the same arguments, whether you use a full page or smaller space to tell your story and sell your candidates.

Is a full page worthwhile? Again, as with television and radio, that depends on personal preferences and finances. Full pages, in big cities, are expensive. Experience proves that an ad five columns wide and 18 inches deep in a standard size newspaper is just about as effective as a full page. The 18-inch depth starts your ad above the fold, and it dominates or controls the entire page.

The same principle applies to tabloids, which are published in and around many of our big cities. Here again a full page is not necessary. An ad measuring four columns wide and 13 inches deep in a tabloid dominates the page.

An ad has a greater chance of being read if it appears on a page carrying news matter.

If your finances limit you to smaller space, try to design your ads to get the maximum depth rather than width on any newspaper page. An ad two columns wide and 21 inches deep is better than the same total space in four column width but half as deep.

An advertisement measuring two or three columns wide, and 6 or 7 inches in depth usually is "buried"--surrounded by several other ads bidding for the reader's attention.

Newspaper ads should not be crowded with too much copy. Do not use too many borders or heavy borders, because they detract from the point you are trying to put over to the reader.

Do not use decorations merely for the sake of decorations. Use a picture or an illustration which tells a story or which will attract or compel attention.

Use plenty of white space. Note this current trend in advertising in magazines and newspapers.

Write your copy in simple language that is easily understood.

Do not try to make too many points in a single ad. If you are discussing a candidate's stand on certain issues, do not include points about the candidate's personality.

Position in a newspaper is an important factor. Many newspapers do not sell position, but by asking a newspaper's advertising manager or business manager you may have your ad placed on a desired page.

Right hand pages are considered better than left hand pages. The back or last page is always good, but it is difficult to get in most newspapers. The Sports page is good for a particular type of ad, the Woman's page for another. Page 3 or page 5 is excellent, and the Television-Radio page readership is growing rapidly.

Political advertising in newspapers, especially in the big cities, should be directed at the people in the area. Political advertising aimed at the entire country is worthwhile in some instances, but often it would be much more valuable if it were tailored and pinpointed for a particular city or region.

If a candidate is espousing a particular issue, he should first determine how that issue affects a given area, and his advertising should be designed and written to translate the issue into terms and language that will have the greatest impact upon the people in that area. In other words, his advertising should be "localized" whenever possible, if it is nothing more than a headline such as: "To the People of Metro City" or "To the People of Metropolitan County."

A candidate himself should refrain from using "anti" or "attack" advertising over his own name. This type of advertising, if used at all, should be sponsored by someone other than the candidate or by a committee or particular group.

Television and Radio Programming

These suggestions must be modified to meet local situations involving the "image" of candidates, the offices they seek, news space and radio and TV facilities.

Although it has been said that selling a candidate is the same as selling any product, there are certain factors to be considered which modify this view:

1. Limited finances and limited time
2. Possibility of over-exposure
3. Need for especially planned programs
4. Public service programs available to officeholders and candidates.

Television

In buying TV time, a 20-second spot can be less expensive in the long run than the 10-second station break. Advantages of the 20-second spot are:

(a) You purchase the exact times your spot announcement will be shown. (In a package deal a station may show your spots at times when there are comparatively few viewers.)

(b) Some TV stations will not put a 20-second political spot back to back with another political announcement, if you request this consideration.

By pre-recording your TV spot, whether it be 20-second, 40-second or 5 minutes, you will be able to get your message across the way you want.

In the 20-second and up to a 1-minute spot, film done in cartoon, with a voice narrating what the people are seeing on the screen, is rated effective.

The question is always how much time to buy. Experience indicates that you are trying to convince only a small percent of the voters during the last week of a campaign; therefore, your commercials should be written in a manner that will cover those particular issues which you find to be of greatest importance in the mind of the voting public. (You can evaluate the issues by taking polls, which have been discussed in another part of this report.)

When it comes to 5-minute TV programs, you must have good production so that the points you make are easy for the audience to remember. There are several ways to accomplish this. You can use charts which will portray graphically the points you are endeavoring to make. You can use interviews with a person asking a question and giving the candidate the opportunity to answer by chart, graph or a brief explanation.

Again, it is cheaper in the long run to have this type of commercial filmed, rather than try to do it live, unless you are working with experienced people. It is best not to present a television spot, 5-minute program, 15-minute program or even a 30-minute program, if the people involved do not look at ease and if they are not well-informed. A fundamental point to

remember about television programs: the candidate has an opportunity to get into the homes of potential voters and the voters have an opportunity to look at and appraise the candidate.

If you have the money to do live shows, and if the production is good, a program such as "The Press Conference of the Air," in which the candidate is asked questions and answers them, can be very effective. Here again you can use charts and photographs to emphasize points. In this type of programming flubs are not too serious (depending on the flub) and people usually have sympathy for candidates who look as if they are being put on the spot, but still graciously come up with an answer.

In the campaign of 1960, effective use was made of the "Truth Squad" on television in an unrehearsed live program with newspapermen asking the questions, to bring out the facts concerning government operations, party positions and the pros and cons of the candidates.

In a survey by TV Guide, made among members of the Senate and House of Representatives, the interview show was selected by 45% as the most valuable television form for them. Five-minute segments were selected as the most effective length by 42% of the Congressmen. Among the remainder, 27% chose 10- to 20-second spots, 23% named 15-minute programs and 8% chose half-hour shows.

The straight speech was voted the least effective television program by 50% of the respondents. Neither Republicans nor Democrats recommended the open debate form, except for Presidential candidates, but both groups said they would welcome a chance to share the same programs with their opponents for consecutive addresses.

A research agency, studying the effects of television campaign techniques among big city voters, reported the following results:

- (1) Television is strongest with the youngest group of voters (21-30).
- (2) Voters emphasized the sense of personal contact television permitted them with the candidate, allowing them to participate in political events as they happened.
- (3) Voters during the campaign definitely did favor one candidate over the other because of television. The study stated, "Voters saw the candidate as a dynamic, personable, handsome man, a man with a great deal of personality. During the campaign their attitude toward him, because of television, definitely became 'more favorable'; there was almost a complete lack of any negative impression. . . . Impressions of the opponent, on the other hand, were restrained and qualified. There was. . . little change in voters' attitudes toward him because of television."

A final word on the subject: Never present a candidate on television in a manner which shows him out of character.

Radio

There is more radio being listened to now than many people suspect. The same subject matter that is used on television can be used as well on radio tapes.

Music on radio is very effective as an attention-getter. In the use of radio, again pinpoint your times. One-minute spots are especially good. According to some listener surveys, the best time to buy in metropolitan areas is from 6:30 A.M. to 9 A.M. and from 3 P.M. to 6:30 P.M.

A great number of people use auto radios; therefore, try to buy time when people are traveling to and from work. In many cities there are now police helicopter reports advising people on traffic conditions. One can often obtain spots, if purchased early enough, contiguous to these reports or within that time area.

On radio, as on television, commercials should be uncomplicated, to the point, and present one idea at a time.

Magazines, Trade and Professional Journals, House Organs

Some national magazines have correspondents in metropolitan areas. These magazines, with large circulations in every state, have a strong impact on their readers. Organization leaders and candidates should know these correspondents and develop a working relationship with them. Local magazines should receive similar attention.

Trade journals and official publications of various industries, associations and professions, offer another fertile field for public relations. Many times a party's stand or a candidate's stand on an issue which affects a particular industry or business or profession can be reported or explained in plant publications, known as house organs, or in trade and professional journals.

Become acquainted with editors of these publications and keep them on your mailing list for releases. Party spokesmen and candidates may find it well worthwhile to submit specially prepared statements setting forth their position on subjects of interest and importance to various trade and professional groups.

Pamphlets and Brochures

Pamphlets and brochures are fundamental to a well-rounded publicity program in a campaign. They also can be used on a year around basis

to publicize the party and its programs. This type of literature must be carefully prepared and attractively printed to present points clearly and forcefully.

Direct Mail

There is a definite place for direct mail in a campaign. It is true that voters are literally swamped with political propaganda as election day approaches, yet well-planned mailing pieces--to the point and eye-catching--can be helpful to a candidate or a party ticket.

The approach on the cover or on the envelope has much to do with the success of a mailing piece. It must provoke the householder's interest enough to cause him to read what is inside. Nine out of ten envelopes which merely say "Vote for Jones" will go into the wastebasket. Much better results come if you say "Jones Pays the Freight" or use a similar "come-on."

Billboards and Posters

Billboards and posters are valuable in advertising a candidate or an issue. Your message, of course, has to be direct and simple. Bus, street car, subway and taxicab posters are very good for political advertising.

Location of billboards is highly important. Not all communities permit the use of billboards. Sometimes they are limited in number or restricted to certain areas of the city.

Billboards and posters are a great reminder factor. If you can purchase billboard space in locations not too far from voting booths it will permit a last-minute appeal to voters on election day. Well-placed posters can serve a similar purpose.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

It is imperative that all party organization people know and understand the records of their candidates and their party--and those of the opposition--so that no opportunity for gaining party advantage and support is lost. For this a regular program of education must be conducted. Such a program

should go beyond the limits of organization people. We must also carry the Republican message into public schools and colleges and everywhere else in the community.

Big city party organizations should institute educational programs encompassing at least the following activities:

1. Self-contained education programs and discussion outlines on:
 - organization and operation of government.
 - party organization, history and principles.
 - current issues.
 - basic economics.
 - special subjects.
2. A basic worker recruitment and orientation program for city and other local party organizations.
3. "Issue seminars" to arm party leaders with accurate data on current issues and to obtain grass roots opinions on local, state and national affairs.
4. Education programs in the areas of government, current issues and political parties, tailored for use by nonpartisan community groups.
5. Formation of a committee composed of leading Republican educators to develop ways to ensure a balanced presentation of the Republican philosophy and position in our high schools and colleges.

RESEARCH

Public relations and educational programs will never attain their potential unless party organizations develop the fundamental tool of research. Thus a vital cog in any political organization is a research department to provide much of the party's working material.

A political party, like industry, organized labor and government, is handicapped and virtually helpless without good all-around research. We must know what the opposition is doing and saying, and we must know what the opposition has said and done. At the same time we must have basic data

to help develop our own policies, and to help promote our own programs. You need ammunition to win a war--research provides much of the ammunition for political battles.

A research department, whether it consists of one person or ten, should function along these lines:

1. Collect voter and voting statistics on every political subdivision in the city.
2. Maintain a file of all legislation--national, state and local--which affects metropolitan areas. This includes activities of Congress, the State Legislature, the City Council, the County Commissioners. It includes governmental decrees, orders and rulings by elective and appointive officials at all levels--from the President to city and county officials.
3. Maintain complete bibliographies on sources of information and research data pertaining to all major party activities. Keep them up-to-date.
4. Review legislation and proposed legislation with party officeholders or candidates. Prepare briefs outlining the advantages, disadvantages, political implications, etc.
5. Develop cross-index clipping files on issues; legislative activities; press releases; opposition and special interest group statements and activities; political personalities.
6. Conduct continuing programs for obtaining or making statistical analyses of population trends, employment and unemployment, cost and efficiency of state and local government operations.
7. Conduct polls, based on scientific sampling techniques, to obtain and evaluate voter attitudes on issues, party images, officeholders and candidates.

Republican National Committee
January, 1962.

HOW TO PLAN AND BUY TELEVISION TIME
FOR POLITICAL CANDIDATES

(Adapted from a presentation given to the Republican National Committee by Carroll Newton, Vice President of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, at Oklahoma City, Okla., on January 12, 1962)

It is estimated that 9 out of 10 homes in the United States will have television this Fall, and that the average one of these homes will have that set tuned in with someone looking at it more than 5 hours every average day.

During the evening hours 6 out of 10 families are watching, with about 1.7 adults at the TV set at any given moment.

Assume there are three television stations in the city in which you reside, and assume that your candidate is on television at a particular minute between 8 and 9 in the evening on each of those stations. In that one television appearance, your candidate has shown himself -- practically in the flesh -- to more than half of the potential voters in his constituency.

And people seen on television are living, breathing, alive individuals to the viewers, even though the candidates themselves find that hard to believe as they look at the unwinking eye of the TV camera.

Television represents the sole opportunity of presenting a flesh-and-blood candidate to all the voters who will or will not elect him.

While it is not true that TV is the deciding factor in all elections, it is true that TV can make the difference in a close election.

In the first week of October, 1956, a national sample of 2400 eligible voters was asked where they learned most about the campaign. The survey showed that TV was the most important source of information by a rather wide margin -- 49 per cent, vs. 38 per cent for newspapers.

On the farm - it was TV by a substantial margin. 56 per cent of the farmers said they learned most about the campaign from TV.

A significant breakdown was made by income groups. This indicated that as incomes decrease people rely more heavily on TV -- and it is in the lower income areas where the Republican party has traditionally had greater difficulty in attracting voters. Television was the major source of campaign information to 58 per cent of the people with below average income.

The survey also broke down the answers by the degree of attention the respondents were paying to the campaign.

For those who were not sufficiently interested to go out of their way to inform themselves about the campaign, TV was the principal source of information for 56 per cent.

At the time this study was made 37.7 million US families had TV sets. It is estimated that more than 49 million families will have TV sets in October 1962 and the importance of TV will be

about 25% greater than these figures show.

These surveys strongly suggest that you cannot afford to allow your candidate to be seen at his best less often than his opponent.

Here are some suggestions which will help you make sure that the dollars you spend on television return full value.

Buy TV time when people habitually look at their sets. The percentage of TV homes which are using their sets hour by hour through the daytime hours generally mounts as the day proceeds. By and large, rates are the same from early morning to 6 in the evening, so it is clear that the man who pays \$100 for an announcement between 9 and 10 in the morning gets about 60% of the value received by the man who buys an announcement for \$100 between 12 Noon and 1 PM.

The variations in evening viewing are not quite so great and the rates usually reflect the differences in sets-in-use after 11 PM.

This kind of information is available in one form or another for nearly every city in the country. Insist on seeing the appropriate figures in every city in which you buy time.

While national audiences are divided quite evenly among the three major networks, local variations can be great. So, do not fall for the line . . . "this is one of the most popular network

shows"...unless the local ratings prove it.

By and large, any TV station will first try to sell you time periods which are not regularly sold to commercial sponsors. They will say "this is all we have available."

The fact that these times are not sold is a pretty good indication of their lack of value. Stations will clear for you times which are sold to commercial advertisers, if you ask well in advance and are insistent on getting the best times.

One of the questions which arises most frequently has to do with the length of time periods.

The table below shows the number of homes reached per dollar spent for a one-minute announcement in New York City and assigns an efficiency rating of 100 to this time unit. It then shows the number of homes reached per dollar and efficiency rating of each of the other time units. These comparisons assume the same number of viewers for each time unit.

<u>TIME</u>	<u>VIEWERS FOR DOLLAR SPENT</u>	<u>EFFICIENCY</u>
1 minute	841	100
5 minutes	673	80
15 minutes	505	60
30 minutes	337	40

Rates based on costs of a major network
New York station (Prime Time)

There is, however, one other very important factor to be considered. Experience has demonstrated that the ability of a political

program to hold its audience varies in inverse proportion to the length of the program.

For all practical purposes, announcements of one-minute or less do not lose any audience, they just catch the people who are already tuned into that particular station.

Losses ranging up to 10% can be expected for 5-minute programs, depending on their position in the schedule.

There were 14 one-half-hour evening programs telecast by both parties during the 1960 campaign. The average loss in audience of these programs as compared to the normal audiences of the entertainment programs they replaced was approximately 35%.

The higher costs for one-half hour over one-minute, plus the audience loss factor in the longer time period, makes it clear how difficult it is to get your money's worth with the longer program.

There are exceptions to these rules. A few events have produced audiences larger than the number normally watching at that time.

The press build-up for the program now referred to as Nixon's Fund Telecast in 1952 was one such instance.

The build-up that occurred before and during the Nixon Telethon on Monday afternoon prior to election day in 1960 finally produced an audience level nearly double the normal audience tuned to ABC during the afternoon hours.

Therefore, when and if you use time units longer than 5 minutes,

leave no stone unturned to create all the press excitement possible over the candidate's TV appearance. Make an event of each appearance. You can perhaps double the value of your investment by so doing.

Most research indicates that a relatively large group of voters in a close election does not decide until the last week or two.

Therefore, place a priority on dominating the air at the end of the campaign. That means a heavy schedule of announcements and 5-minute programs in the last two weeks. If you are going to follow that course, you must set aside the necessary money in the beginning of the campaign and purchase those spots a month or more ahead of time.

In general, half-hour or longer programs for local or state races are not recommended, except perhaps for a dramatic campaign kickoff or a dramatic finale on election eve to capitalize on the increasing interest in the election and help in your efforts to get your vote out.

In any case, expenditures for such programs should be made only after you and your advertising agency are satisfied that you have done an adequate job of reaching the voters in spots and 5-minute programs.

What should you say in your TV announcements and broadcasts?

Experience indicates there are never more than two or three issues of major significance in any campaign.

Here are the results of a study made in August 1960.

PUBLIC RANKING OF ISSUES
August, 1960

Foreign affairs (peace & disarmament, defense, foreign aid, general) -----	61.1
Civil rights-integration -----	24.5
Religion -----	2.2
Taxes -----	1.6
Old Age -----	0.3
Farm problems -----	1.1
Prosperity -----	4.2
Labor Problems -----	0.4

At that time it was clear that only two issues occupied the attention of most of the electorate.

So find the two or three issues of real significance in your state or district and make them your issues.

Make what you say as simple as you can. If you can remember any one phrase that got over and entered peoples minds in the 1960 presidential campaign I think it will be ... "I am not satisfied." This simple phrase promised the voters they would have something better and enough of them believed it.

In the 1960 presidential campaign, the national television debates were the TV highlight. It is estimated that more than 101 million people saw one or more of the debates. The average home of those which tuned in at all watched 2.8 of the four hours of debates.

Many factors will enter into your decision on whether or not your candidate should appear in debates when they are offered by

stations reaching your constituencies. Generally, debates are much more dangerous for an incumbent simply because attacks on a record are by nature likely to be more dramatic than defenses. On the other hand, a candidate who is running against an incumbent, and who has the odds against him, probably has much more to gain than he has to lose.

Generally, it is true that you take a risk every time your candidate appears under circumstances which he and his managers do not completely control. To know when to take risks is a part of the essence of good political management.

The value you get out of your TV programs and announcements will be in direct proportion to the amount of time and effort you spend preparing them.

Take time out of your candidate's schedule to prepare and rehearse what he is going to do and say.

How much time would you spend preparing for a rally which was going to be attended by 90% of the voters in your district or state? Your TV spots will probably be seen by 90% of the voters if you buy a good schedule.

If your candidate is tired -- it will show on the TV screen. If he's worried or harassed -- it will show on the TV screen. TV is a visual medium -- how he looks is just as important as what he says.

There are many ways of adding visual interest to political TV programs. Questions from bona fide voters answered by the candidate can be very effective.

If, for example, your candidate's district contains a plant threatened by administration plans to reduce tariffs, dramatize the issue with pictures or films of the plant's workers -- the people who may lose their jobs -- rather than a generalized discussion about the threat posed to jobs by the tariff reduction program.

If you are going to attack increasing government expenditures, and you come from a state such as Connecticut, it is more effective to show on the screen the \$3.45 you must pay in taxes to get back \$1.00 of Federal expenditures.

Your own advertising agencies, who are experienced in TV, understand these techniques. Listen to them. They know how to communicate ideas and that is what you are trying to do on TV.

You will also find in your campaign that there are moments of excitement and inspiration during rallies which are difficult to re-capture. It is well worthwhile to cover such events and to try to capture these moments on film or tapes. They often make most effective spots later on.

To sum up:

1. Buy the best stations and times in every city. And, make the stations show you the audience ratings so that you know what you are getting.
2. Find the vital issues and stick to them. Make them your issues.
3. Dominate the air at the close of the campaign.
4. Beware of long programs. It is hard to get your money's worth out of them. Do strive for a press build-up if you have any.
5. Beware of appearances under circumstances which you cannot control.
6. Always show your candidate at his very best and with as much visual interest as possible.

#####