# Richard Nixon Presidential Library Contested Materials Collection Folder List

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	8/17/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: White House Support List. 1 pg.
21	11		✓	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note dated 10/8. 1 pg.
21	11		✓	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bruce. RE: Message that reads: "I doubt that H. needs to see this. It just confirms that a project he initiated has been completed." 1 pg.
21	11	9/14/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Rose Woods, Peter Flanigan, and George Bell. RE: A list of major Texas Contributors. 3 pgs.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 1 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	9/15/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Funds for Special Election in Maryland. 1 pg.
21	11	9/11/1971		White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: The \$1,500 extra that went to Jay Wilkinson due to bookkeeping errors. 1 pg.
21	11	9/9/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: RNC Fund Raising. 1 pg.
21	11	9/9/1971		White House Staff	Letter	From Hugh W. Sloan, Jr. to Gordon Strachan. RE: The attachment of the fund raising letter, and the five key points that it illustrates. 4 pgs.
21	11	9/2/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: 1968 Campaign Debts. 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 2 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11		•	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to Haldeman. RE: Message that reads: "So what are we going to do?" 1 pg.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: Message that reads: "Should I get into this, or is it better to let it slide?" 1 pg.
21	11		•	Campaign	Other Document	A brief draft concerning: Campaign Spending, Democrats, and McCarthy. 1 pg.
21	11	8/19/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Lee Nunn to Gordon Strachan. RE: Miss Caldwell, a contributor interested in getting her money and support to President Nixon. 1 pg.
21	11	9/1/1971		White House Staff	Letter	From Hugh W. Sloan, Jr. to Gordon Strachan. RE: A an attached copy of Lee Nunn's proposal. 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 3 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	8/18/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Lee Nunn to John Mitchell. RE: The need to take advantage of fund-raising opportunities, and several recommendations on how to do so. 6 pgs.
21	11	8/24/1971		Campaign	Letter	From Richard A. Viguerie to Lee Nunn. RE: A description of why Mr. Viguerie's company would be of service to the President's run for re-election. 2 pgs.
21	11	8/24/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Dwight L. Chapin to David N. Parker. RE: The scheduling of the New York-New Jersey dinners beginning in October. 1 pg.
21	11			White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry. RE: Message that reads: "FYI + return for Kalmbach file." 1 pg.
21	11	8/12/1971		White House Staff	Letter	From Herbert W. Kalmbach to Gordon Strachan. RE: The confirmation of the price of acreage in Indiana at \$42,000. 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 4 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	8/17/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The White House support list, along with the pledge amount. 2 pgs.
21	11	8/17/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: National Citizens Committee/Revenue Sharing-\$25,000. 1 pg.
21	11		<b>✓</b>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
21	11	8/15/1971		White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Message that reads: "Dean forwarded this report on Tom Kuchel's contributions to Democrats in California. A file of this type of material is maintained in my office." 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 5 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	8/13/1971		White House Staff	Memo	From John Dean to Gordon Strachan. RE: Message that reads: "For your information." 1 pg.
21	11		<b>V</b>	Campaign	Report	A report detailing the campaign contributions of Thomas Kuchel, an ex-Republican Senator from California. 1 pg.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry. RE: Message that reads: "This is interesting but am I supposed to be pressing Kalmbach on the foundation?" 1 pg.
21	11	7/29/1971		Campaign	Memo	From John Dean to Ron Ziegler. RE: AP Inquiry Re San Clemente Property, RN Foundation and the 1966 Campaign Tour. 1 pg.
21	11	8/9/1971		Personal	Memo	From L. Higby to Haldeman. RE: Message that reads: "FYIthe phone call to Dick Richards and the Golfing Friends of the President in San Clemente was made on Saturday evening from Maine." 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 6 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	8/7/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan, Chuck Colson, and Herb Kalmbach to Dick Richards. RE: The recommended telephone call made by the 130 Golfing Friends who will be at the White House for dinner. *3 copies of this document. 3 pgs.
21	11	7/3/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dave Parker. RE: Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Request. 2 pgs.
21	11	8/2/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From David Parker to Haldeman. RE: Telephone Call to Dick Richards, August 7th 10:30 P.M. 1 pg.
21	11	7/15/1971		Domestic Policy	Report	A report on the scheduled telephone call to Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends. 1 pg.
21	11	8/2/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From David N. Parker to Haldeman. RE: Telephone Call to Dick Richards, August 7th 10:30 P.M. 3 copies of this document. 3 pgs.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 7 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	7/15/1971		Domestic Policy	Report	A report from David N. Parker that details the scheduled telephone call to Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends. 2 pgs.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	A piece of paper directed to Dwight Chapin. RE: Message that states: "Please route through Chuck Colson." 1 pg.
21	11	7/15/1971		Domestic Policy	Report	A report from David N. Parker that details the telephone call to Dick Richards. Document repeated 3 times. 6 pgs.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
21	11	7/8/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From David Parker to Steve Bull. RE: Kalmbach telephone and schedule requests. Document is repeated 3 times. 3 pgs.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 8 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	7/8/1971		Domestic Policy	Report	A detailed report from David N. Parker concerning the telephone call to Dick Richards. The document is repeated 3 times. 6 pgs.
21	11	7/3/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dave Parker. RE: Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Request. 2 pgs.
21	11	7/8/1971		Personal	Other Document	Handwritten note that states: "Return to: Rm. 146 Nancy Gremnell." 1 pg.
21	11	7/8/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From David Parker to Steve Bull. RE: Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Requests, with message that states: "Re the attached memo, item A has been handled, but you should handle item B." 1 pg.
21	11	7/6/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dave Parker. RE: Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Request. 2 pgs.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 9 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	7/8/1971		Domestic Policy	Report	From David N. Parker via Dwight Chapin. RE: The telephone call to Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends. *Document repeated twice. 4 pgs.
21	11	7/3/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dave Parker. RE: Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Request. 2 pgs.
21	11	8/3/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Haldeman. RE: California Contributors. 3 pgs.
21	11	8/2/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Finances, and a commitment from Stone for \$51,000 to cover television broadcasts. 1 pg.
21	11	7/30/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Joan Hall to Charles Colson. RE: An attached list of committee names from Gordon Strachan that could be used in D.C. 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 10 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	11/24/1970		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Mr. Colson. RE: 17 D.C. Committees. 2 pgs.
21	11	2/15/1971		Personal	Letter	From Joan Hall to George D. Webster. RE: Message that reads, "The last three checks will be deposited tomorrow morning." 1 pg.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
21	11	7/20/1971		Domestic Policy	Letter	From Lee Nunn to Gordon Strachan. RE: The group names that contributed to the Democratic National Dinner Committee. 2 pgs.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bruce. Message that reads: "I advised Herb Kalmbach about this today. Please return the memo for FU." 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 11 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	7/13/1971		White House Staff	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to Haldeman. RE: Message that reads: "Copy sent to Colson for follow-up." 1 pg.
21	11	7/12/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Donald Rumsfeld to Haldeman. RE: Morgan Maxfield, the President of the Great Midwest Corporation. 1 pg.
21	11	7/6/1971		White House Staff	Memo	Unknown author to Gordon. RE: Message that reads: "Bruce called to find out the status on the boat situation." 1 pg.
21	11		✓	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	Typed/handwritten note that reads: "If Flanigan has talked with Roach and relay the information to Kalmbach." 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 12 of 15

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
21	11		•	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten document dated 6/28. RE: Message that reads: "Firestone saw AG+some hassle esp. with Reagan; K will cover w/H." 1 pg.
21	11		<b>✓</b>	White House Staff	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to G.S. RE: Message that reads: "Who should handle this?" 1 pg.
21	11	6/18/1971		White House Staff	Memo	From Lyn Nofziger to Haldeman. RE: Leland M. Kaiser, and his message of "You're off the team." 1 pg.
21	11	1/20/1971		Campaign	Letter	From L.M. Kaiser to Roger Johnson. RE: The Wall Street Journal column which outlines the general attitudes toward President Nixon. 3 pgs.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 13 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	1/15/1971		Campaign	Newspaper	Article from The Wall Street Journal entitled: "Politics and People: There's Still Time." 1 pg.
21	11	6/23/1971		Campaign	Memo	From Joanne Lee Gordon to Rose Mary Woods. RE: Large Contributors. 1 pg.
21	11	6/28/1971		Domestic Policy	Financial Records	A report detailing the financial expenditures, receipts, and overall balance sheet. 1 pg.
21	11	6/25/1971		Domestic Policy	Financial Records	A report detailing the financial receipts and expenditures of the administration. 2 pgs.
21	11	5/28/1971		Domestic Policy	Financial Records	A report detailing the financial expenditures of the current administration. 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 14 of 15

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
21	11	8/17/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The White House Support List. 1 pg.
21	11	7/1/1971		Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: The discussion with Alex Butterfield, and the expenses incurred for the Irish Dinner. 1 pg.

Monday, May 16, 2011 Page 15 of 15

# Presidential Materials Review Board

# Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman Box Number: 300

Folder: [Finances #2 [2 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	Disposit	<u>tion</u>
226	Retain	Open
227	Retain	Open
228	Retain	Close National Security Ltr., de Roulet to Kalmbach, 9-15-71
229	Retain	Open
230	Retain	Open
231	Retain	Open
232	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH. 8/17/71.
233	Retain	Open
234	Return	Private/Political Note, "Oct 8 - CD, " N.d.
235	Retain	Open
236	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to Bruce, 9/15.
237	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to 4RH, 9/15/71.
238	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachen to Higby, 9/11/71.
239	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 9/9/71.
240	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachav to Higby, 9/2/71.
241	Return	Private/Political Welvo, NUNN to Strachan, 8/19/71.
242	Return	Private/Political Letter, Sloan to Strachan, 9/1/71.
243	Retain	Open
244	Return	Private/Political Memo, Chapin to Parker, 8/24/71.
245	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to Larry, 8/16.
246	Return	Private/Political Memo. Strachan to HRH, 8/17/71.
247	Return	Private/Political List of pledges, 9/17/71.
248	Retain	Open
249	Retain	Open

# Presidential Materials Review Board

# Review on Contested Documents

Collection: Box Number:	H. R. Halden	man
250	Retain	Open
251	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachau to HRH, 8/17/71.
252	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 8/15/71.
253	Retain	Open
254	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to Larry, 8/9.
255	Retain	Open
256	Return	Private/Political Note, Higby to HRH, 8/9/71.
257	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Parker, 7/3/71.
258	Return	Private/Political Note, "Return To Gemuel," w.d.
259	Return	Private/Political Schedule Proposal from Parker, 7/8/71.
260	Retain	Open
261	Return	Private/Political Memo, Malek to HRH, 8/3/71.
262	Retain	Open
263	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachall to URH, 8/2/71.
264	Retain	Open
265	Return	Private/Political Note, " K re Molea," N.d.
266	Return	Private/Political Letter, NUNN to Strachan, 7/20/21.
267	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to Bruce, 7/20.
268	Return	Private/Political Memo, Stra chan to Higby, 7/21/21.
269	Retain	Open
270	Return	Private/Political Note, to Gordon. 7/6/71.
271	Retain	Open
272	Retain	Open
273	Retain	Open
274	Return	Private/Political Note, "Lee NUNN," Nd.
275	Retain	Open

# Presidential Materials Review Board

# Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman Box Number: 300

2011 27 3111111111111111111111111111111111		
276	Return	Private/Political Memo, "K-" 6/28.
277	Return	Private/Political Note, Kehrli to G.S., 6/23.
278	Retain	Open
279	Return	Private/Political Memio, Gordon to Woods, 6/23/71.
280	Return	Private/Political Report, "Financial Report," 6/28/71.
281	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8/17/71.
284	Retain	Open

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

# Administratively Confidential

August 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

White House Support List

Five-hundred thousand people have written to the President in support of his various programs over the last two and onehalf years. Possible use of this list for financial solicitation has been raised before. No decision other than "postpone for now" has been made.

Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan are particularly anxious to try a second financial mailing aimed at the 500,000 on this White House support list. Their interest has increased since the modest return (\$72,000) from the 32,500 recipient initial mailings by Citizens.

Jeremiah Milbank and State Republican Party people would be quite upset if this White House support mailing occurred before the November 9 dinner. However, in light of the 20% per year attrition rate of mailing lists, a test mailing should be made before the truly effective mailing in February 1972, when arguably the President may have to declare his candidacy. Therefore, the best timing for the preliminary test mailing should be in the middle of November 1971 in order to shake down the list during the two months during which the money flows.

Lee Nunn has approached the Attorney General about the project and timing and has tentative approval. The Attorney General is really deferring to you in terms of control of use of this Presidential support list.

Kalmbach is anxious for the financial benefits but not particularly interested in mail solicitation of funds.

Maurice Stans has no comment on use of the list.

Recommendation:

That the 500,000 White House list be reviewed and a specific mailing fund solicitation program be prepared by Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan.

Approve Hour No Maily latil we Comment Leview Content.

Oct 8 - CD - K < tentative
Fully evening

NYT article on elecis.

mc Collum called - aderse K

alox - Vating

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: 915

TO: GORDON STRACHAN

I doubt that
H needs to see
this. It just a
confirm that a
project he initiated
has been completed.
This copy should
be kept in my Finances
hile, however.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DETRIBLE IN SC AN
ADMINISTRATION OF SC 4-102
By Ext. 1..., 100 5-16 82

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROSE WOODS

PETER FLANIGAN

GEORGE BELL

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Major Texas Contributors

At Bob Haldeman's request, my staff has assembled a comprehensive list of major Texas contributors to the President's 1968 campaign. It includes contributions collected locally as well as donations to the National Finance Committee. This comprehensive list was developed because the records previously utilized by the White House Personnel Operation did not properly account for local contributions.

The list has now been completed and reviewed by Secretary Stans. The number of Texans identified as giving \$10,000 or more has been tripled as a result of this effort. Consequently, Bob Haldeman requested I forward you the information to use in developing invitation lists to social occasions and briefings and for inclusion on George Bell's list of major contributors. The attached lists indicate those Texans contributing between \$10,000 and \$25,000 and those contributing \$25,000 or over.

Attachments

cc: H. R. Haldeman

# TEXAS CONTRIBUTORS GIVING \$10,000 - \$25,000 IN 1968\*

City

Cullen, Harry III	Houston
Green, C. H.	Dallas
McDermott, Eugene	Dallas
Pew, J. Jr.	Dallas
Smith, Lloyd H.	Houston
Farrish, W. S. III	Houston
Fuller, William	Fort Worth
Kampman, Ike	San Antonio
Internance Unading	Dollas

Lawrence, Harding

Ling, James J.

Murchison, Clinton W.

Dallas

Dallas

Name

Singer, Edwin Corpus Christi

Skeen, Clyde Dallas Wynne, Toddie L. Jr. Dallas Wyly, C. J. Sr. Dallas O'Connor Family Victoria Bass, H. W. Jr. Dallas Gillin, John A. Dallas Wilson, Ralph Sr. Temple Arnold, Isaac Jr. Houston

McCord, D. R.

Parker Family

Long, Mcredith J.

Jones, T. E.

Brown, B.

Gillespie, R. B.

Gray, J. M.

Dallas

Dallas

Dallas

Dallas

September 14, 1971

<sup>\*</sup> Listed by amount contributed in descending order

# TEXAS CONTRIBUTORS GIVING \$25,000 OR OVER IN 1968\*

# Name

Voth, Ben

Weiner, Theodore

City

Wyly, Sam	Dallas
Franzheim, Honorable Kenneth II	New Zealand
Davis, W. R.	Midland
Clements, W. P.	Dallas
Wyly, C. J. Jr.	Dallas
Moore, C. M. Jr.	Dallas
Brown, E. W.	Orange
O'Donnell, Peter Jr.	Dallas
Acton, Robin	Dallas
Armstrong, Major Thomas	Armstrong
Kleberg, Robert Jr.	Kingsville
Maher, John	Houston
Smith, A. B.	Dallas
Liedtke, Hugh J.	Houston
Liedtke, William C. Jr.	Houston
Fay, Albert B.	Houston
Sharp, Dudley	Houston
Jonsson, J. E.	Dallas
Haden, Cecil	Houston
Arnold, Isaac	Houston
Turnbull, Paul	Corpus Christi
Matthews, J.	Abilene

September 14, 1971

Tulsa, Oklahoma

Fort Worth

<sup>\*</sup> Listed by amount contributed in descending order

# 6.5.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1971

# ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Funds for Special Election in Maryland

In May \$25,000 was made available to Rogers Morton for the Bill Mills campaign. Morton gave you and the Attorney General a personal commitment to repay the loan. The money has not been received in spite of Lee Nunn's persistent prodding of Bob Hitt. The Attorney General raised the subject twice with Secretary Morton, once in July and once last week. Morton assured repayment but set no time frame. Follow-up with Lee Nunn will continue weekly until the money is received.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

# Administratively Confidential

September 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN (

I returned Bob Athey's call to you and it concerned the \$1,500 for Jay Wilkinson. Wilkinson had called Athey and reported that he received \$1,500 too much due to bookkeeping errors. Athey's recommendation was that we permit Wilkinson to keep the \$1,500 because Wilkinson will be making some speeches in Illinois and attending meetings at Mr. Athey's request and it is felt that this \$1,500 could be easily consumed in expenses that Athey would reimburse Wilkinson for anyhow. I agree with Athey's suggestion that the \$1,500 need not be returned by Wilkinson. If you have any objections to that decision, please advise.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

# Administratively Confidential

September 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Fund Raising

Symtomatic of the constant concern and occasional anger of our fund raisers (Kalmbach, Nunn, and Sloan) is the attached letter from Sloan enclosing an RNFC fund raising letter that Milbank plans to send shortly. The RNFC letter indicates that President Nixon is an active candidate at this time, that the funds are being solicited for 1972 media expenses, which in light of the two million projected RNC deficit is inaccurate; and that the RNFC is to have the financial responsibility for the President's campaign.

The RNFC letter will be brought to Secretary Stans' attention this afternoon by Hugh Sloan. Lee Nunn is trying to reach the Attorney General.

The larger problem of control and direction of the financial aspect of the 1972 Campaign remains. You discussed this subject with the Attorney General on July 2. In the two months since that meeting the concern of our fund raisers has increased about the decisions regarding the RNC budget, the lack of response to the RNC November 9 dinner, and the increased attempts by RNC fund raisers to get to the contributors first.

You mentioned that you did not want a regular follow up system on projects assigned to the Attorney General so a talking paper on these subjects is not attached.

# HUGH W. SLOAN, JR.

SUITE 272 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. N. W WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 (202) 333-4550

September 9, 1971

# Personal & Confidential

Mr. Gordon Strachan The White House Office Washington, D.C.

Dear Gordon:

Per our conversation of yesterday, I am enclosing for Mr. Haldeman's information a draft of a fund raising letter that is scheduled to go out tomorrow over Jerry Milbank's signature to those RN associates who have already given this year. This draft was made available to me by a concerned individual at the Republican National Committee.

To my mind, the letter raises five questionable points:

- 1. It implies that the President is an active candidate at this time.
- 2. It states that the money is being collected for 1972 TV and campaign expenses which, to my knowledge, is not the case in view of the RNC's current cash flow situation.
- 3. It implies that the Republican National Finance Committee is charged with the responsibility of running the President's finance campaign.
- 4. It doesn't ask for enough money and the timing for such an appeal is suspect.
- 5. An installment plan from now until November 1972 would seem to tie the hands of the Nixon Finance Chairman and restrict his flexibility in fund raising program selection.

į

Mr. Gordon Strachan September 9, 1971 Page 2.

I do not know whether anything can or should be done but thought Bob should be aware of this. I have also brought a copy of the letter to Secretary Stans's attention.

Sincerely,

Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.

enclosure

Dear	;	

As you know, 1972 is the big election year, and we must re-elect President Nixon for another important four years of office.

As in 1968, a sizable amount of money will be needed for TV and other election campaign expenses.

You have already been most generous in contributing to the Party in 1971, as you also have done in prior years, and we are not asking for additional funds now. But we do have a new idea which we hope you will consider favorably and which will enable us to have a real head start on 1972.

We hope you will be willing to plan now to contribute at least the same amount that you contributed to elect the President in 1968, and to pay this amount on a quarterly installment basis between now and Election Day 1972. This would enable those who have the campaign responsibility to conduct a more efficient and effective campaign.

The Democrats know in advance that they can count on large contributions from the big labor unions. They will fight hard to defeat President Nixon.

We can re-elect the President in 1972 if we have the funds to carry on an effective campaign, and an indication of possible help from you will mean a great deal at this time.

ž

Please return the enclosed card indicating the amount you may be willing to contribute with the thought that you would make payments on this amount in five installments between now and November 1972. We would be glad to send you reminders of the dates for these payments. We will appreciate it very much if you will return the card herewith in the enclosed stamped envelope.

Thanks in advance for your help which will mean so much to the President and to all who are working for his re-election.

Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

# <u>Administratively Confidential</u>

September 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: 1968 Campaign Debts

Some useless information on alleged bills from the 1968 Campaign has been received from Ray Underwood. Pushing him, as the follow up notes indicate, has not produced much.

In light of Secretary Stans' interest in the 1968 debts subject (referred to in the August 2"Political Matters" memo for Mr. Haldeman), I would recommend that we drop this project because further pushing will disturb the RNC financial times and possibly undermine Secretary Stans' dealings with Jeremiah Milbank.

THE WHITE LOUSE
WASHINGTO FUSC

DATE:

TO: -H. R. HALDENAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

WASHINGTO

W

THE WHITE HOUSE

To: Larry Highy
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Should I get in to this or is it better to let it slide?

Findout het slide quetty , Ray underwood

# Unelewood

FU 8/3

# CAMPAIGN SPENDING

Hugh Scott proposed forbidding political candidates from putting telephone, telegram, travel and similar campaign expenses on the cuff. Scott conceded his move was aimed at Dem Presidential contenders. "Isn't that the name of the game?" he asked newsmen with a grin.

\* \*

Airlines are stuck with over \$2.1 million in unpaid debts run up by political candidates and their campaign organizations. And telephone companies have nearly \$400,000 in similar unpaid bills. In addition to the Dem and GOP National Committees, debtors listed include RN, RFK, HHH and Eugene McCarthy. Hugh Scott put the figures in the Congressional Record in urging adoption of an election reform bill amendment to curb political deadbeats.

\* \*

The documents showed that even RN has whopping unpaid bills from his 1968 campaign.

\* \* \* \*

DEMOCRATS

lines-320,000

Ray Underwood 7/29 (

Hitting what it considers the exposed flank of the Admin, the Dems open in Detroit next week a task-force attack on GOP efforts in unemployment, public works and law enforcement. The occasion is described in advance news releases as hearings by the Dem Policy Council. Asked if the hearings could be called an attempt to embarrass the Admin, spokesman Stewart said: "We're certainly going to try and do that."

\* \* \* \*

McCARTHY

Eugene J. McCarthy has all but decided to make his second race for the Democratic nomination for President. If he does, he will concentrate on challenging the present overcrowded field of candidates in

# DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMICE. GROSS ARISE RV. E. GROS

t real

# PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

August 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Gordon Strachan

FROM:

Lee Nunn

The attached copies of correspondence relate to an individual interested in getting her money and support to President Nixon.

We, of course, will follow through -- if the Republican National Committee doesn't get there ahead of us. You will note that a copy of the reply to Miss Caldwell, along with her original letter was sent to the Republican National Committee. I happen to be selfish in behalf of Richard Nixon. It would seem to me that those individuals wishing to help him should be referred to the 1701 operation. When both we and the National Committee become involved, it creates confusion in the mind of the contributor as to where his money should go. We are 100% Richard Nixon here -- Republican National Committee has other duties -- then too, I believe the money can be used to better advantage by the 1701 operation.

## HUGH W. SLOAN, JR.

SUITE 272 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 (202) 333-4550

September 1, 1971

Mr. Gordon Strachan The White House Office Washington, D.C.

Dear Gordon:

In response to your request, please find attached a copy of Lee Nunn's proposal which was sent down to the Attorney General during my absence.

Sincerely,

Hugh W. Sloan, Jr

enclosures

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

DETETTED TO BE AN MERING

ADMIN ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLOR OF THE COL

August 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Honorable John Mitchell

From:

Lee Nunn

As a result of the President's actions concerning the economy, an extremely favorable fund-raising atmosphere exists at this time.

I believe we should immediately develop and organize fund-raising operations to take advantage of current conditions. Timing in fund-raising is everything and certainly the time is right. It could change further down the road.

I believe an organized effort can be carried on without detracting from the November 9th dinners. 22 dinners are being held in 17 states. We could concentrate in those states that do not have dinners, and in the dinner states on those individuals that normally contribute \$15,000 and up toward Presidential campaigns. If any differences develop with the dinner committees over a contribution which we might pick up, we might have to resolve the argument in favor of the dinner, but this is better than staying out altogether. (See location map attached.)

If our projection of \$40 million from the time we open this operation through the first Tuesday in November '72 is necessary, that figures out to \$666,666 per week.

Our program may slightly reduce the Republican National Committee's receipts but this is true at whatever time we start our activities. They have had three years with the President in the White House in which to pay off the indebtedness and get themselves in shape for the coming campaign. If a surplus could not be laid away during that period of time, I have serious doubts as to their ability to give substantial financial aid to the Presidential campaign.

I recommend the following program for your consideration:

- We should immediately set up a finance committee for the Citizens' operation. I suggest the name "Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President." By using this name, a prominent chairman and treasurer would not be so important since the name of the committee would be our chief drawing card for solicitation. On the other hand, if we could persuade someone like Tom Patton, who is retiring from Republic Steel on September 15, to take the chairmanship, it would be great. Once the President is an announced candidate, we should consider changing the name to "Nixon Campaign Finance Committee."
- 2. We should have one additional staff member (Evelyn Hyde) to supervise the volunteer operation, effective September 6th, to begin immediately to expedite our program of setting up records for campaign finance operation.
- 3. November 10th a test mailing to go out on several lists, using an outside mailing operation under close supervision. If test is profitable, full mailing not later than first week of January. We might wish to give consideration to a late November mailing rather than wait until January. A second mailing of full coverage of all lists as soon as the President is an announced candidate and a couple of other mailings probably in the middle of summer and following the Convention. I recommend that this mailing operation be conducted on a contract basis with an outside firm, probably the Richard A. Viguerie Company. Viguerie has the best operation in the country -- excellent security -- convenient location -- and his political mailing effort is only in behalf of Republican candidates. Following the Convention, we might also consider using mailings by the Republican National Finance Committee operation for the benefit of the Presidential campaign.
- 4. Begin immediately to recruit substantial individuals who wish to assist in raising funds for the Presidential operation. They should be thoroughly instructed before proceeding -- should work without title -- for the finance committee publicized as the finance arm of the Citizens for the Re-election of the President until such time as we are able to set up a Nixon Campaign Finance Committee. (List of probable recruits attached, many of whom are immediately available.)

Telephone follow-up operation to fund-raising letters and personal contacts to begin immediately in those states not having dinners, and, following November 9th, telephone solicitation appropriately timed to continue on until the November election or until such time as adequate funds have been acquired. Telephone follow-up can be handled on a modest scale in our present facilities but we should begin to plan space for a larger operation after the first of the year.

We should be free to move immediately in those states without a dinner operation. We should also feel free to contact those individuals who are in such financial condition that their continued support of the National committees would not be affected by a contribution to us. We would endeavor not to create any public relations problem with any dinner committee. If we ran into any controversies concerning the dinner, the decision should be made in their favor.

- 5. National closed-circuit television dinners about the middle of September '72 in approximately 40 major cities.
- 6. Decision should be definitely pinned down as to who will produce and receive the funds from a Gala the night preceding the opening of the Convention in San Diego.
- 7. Begin to prepare immediately for the setting up of a solicitation program by industrial and other categories. Activation of this program should be effective immediately upon the President's becoming a candidate for re-election.

The business and industrial community, at this time, offers an unparalleled opportunity for successful solicitation of funds for the President. We should begin immediately to recruit volunteer fund-raisers in numerous categories selecting the top men in as many areas as possible. I would recommend that we not be tied down by a single chairman in any state or category. Using co-chairmen, whenever it becomes necessary to give titles, will give us a much broader coverage and an opportunity to work around the non-productive. Despite our best judgements, we will find many that will give us conversation and little money. In my opinion, we should begin to organize as soon as possible and continue the buildup until we have a sufficient volunteer organization to get the job done.

In the meantime, we will continue our modest efforts until we receive approval to begin a fully organized effort.

P.S. After this memorandum was written, I received the attached proposal from Mr. Richard A. Viguerie.

Thomas Pappas

Massachusetts

Max Fisher

Michigan

Kenneth Dahlberg

Minnesota

Al Fay/Peter Monsen

Texas

William Liedtke/Roy Winchester Texas

Delaware

John Rollins

Texas

Spencer Olin/Rolla Mottaz

Robert Mosbacher

Missouri

Don Wolfsberger

Missouri

Jack Gleason

District of Columbia

Lang Washburn

D.C.

Maury Stans

D.C.

Dan Hofgren

New York

Sam Wyly

Texas

Dan Parker

Wisconsin

Peter O'Donnell

Texas

David K. Wilson

Tennessee

Mrs. Phipps

New York

Justin Dart

California

Holmes Tuttle

California

Mr. Corette

Montana (HK to see)

Lawrence Lewis

Virginia

Tom Patton

Ohio

Roscoe Pickett

Georgia

Carolyn Lynch

New York

Harold Helm

New York

George Champion

New York

Margaret Brock

California

Peavey Heffelfinger Minnesota

Lloyd Waring

Massachusetts

Thruston Morton

Kentucky

Walter Beardsley

Indiana

Iggie Sargeant

D.C.

Anna Chenault

D.C.

Charlie Thomas

California

J. William Tiernan Florida

Jack Krause

Ohio

Bebe Rebozzo

Florida

Harold McClure

Michigan

General/Jim Olmsted D.C.

Robert Carter

D.C.

Jack Mills

D.C.

Don Reuben

Illinois

Clement Stone

Illinois

Roger Milliken

South Carolina

Tim Babcock

D.C.

Tom McCabe

Pennsylvania

Willard Robertson Louisiana

Laurence Lee Loren Berry

Florida Ohio

George Bewley

New York

Jean Ferst

Georgia

Mrs. McCormick

Illinois

Pat Brock

Tennessee

Governor Sargent

Massachusetts

New York, Palm Beach

Don Carnevale Ne (He has already sent in \$10,500)

Thad Brown

Ohio, D.C.

216 UNIVERSAL BUILDING • 1825 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009 (202) 667-6434

August 24, 1971

Mr. Lee Nunn Citizens for the Re-Election of the President Suite 272 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006

#### Dear Lee:

As you requested in our recent phone conversation, I am putting in writing some of my thoughts regarding the services my company could perform in the direct mail area for the re-election of the President. I would also like to give you some additional background information on our company.

Last year, our company mailed approximately eighteen million letters. This year, we will mail over twenty-seven million. We are the largest direct mail company (65 employees) in the country specializing in political direct mail (fundraising and voter solicitation). However, all of our political clients are Republican and all of our Account Executives are Republican. We do not work for any Democrat candidates.

Over the years our company has enjoyed the reputation of being very security conscious. Because we have our own in-house computer facility, an IBM 360/40 with 6 tape drives and 2 printers, we can supply complete security for all names and addresses of contributors or other lists that are placed in our care.

Specifically, I would like to propose that our company handle all production and creative work associated with your fundraising mailings. We have eighteen executives involved in either production or creative work and I am confident that we will be able to handle the volume of letters that you will be mailing in the next fourteen months.

As compensation for the production and creative work, we will charge one cent for each letter that we mail plus the cost of the mailing. In other words, we will send the actual invoices with no markup for all printing, envelopes, mailing house fees, list rentals, computer work, etc. There will be no commission or advertising agency markup.

Other elements in this proposal include: payment of invoices would be due on no more than a thirty day basis; we need to receive a check in advance for all postage; no copy will be mailed without the approval of yourself or whoever is designated to approve copy.

I would like to recommend that a mailing to the RAV Co. best 500,000 names and addresses be made within the next few weeks.

We could take out of the mailing the names of any persons who are being solicited for the November 9 dinner.

If the mailing were mailed bulk rate with an offset printed letter, I estimate the entire cost including our one cent per letter fee would be about \$72,000. Each package should cost about fourteen and one-half cents. I feel confident that this mailing would return between \$200,000 and \$300,000 net.

Direct mail is a powerful medium for raising tremendous amounts of money for political candidates. I believe through a sophisticated use of direct mail we can raise substantially more than \$14,000,000 net profit to the Committee. But this is contingent upon getting the direct mail fundraising campaign off to a start in the near future.

Sincerely,

Richard A. Viguerie

Buch mik.

President

RAV:jb

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. DAVID N. PARKER

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPINA

On our forward schedule, let's program in the New York - New Jersey dinners which the President has agreed to start in October. You should get in touch with Sue Morrison in the Attorney General's office and ask for a recommended list for these dinners.

cc:

Mr. Butterfield

Mr. Magruder Mr. Strachan Mrs. Winchester THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: 8/16

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

FY I + return
for Kalmbach file
What are our
More here en

More pag

More pag

3

### LAW OFFICES KALMBACH, DEMARCO, KNAPP & CHILLINGWORTH

SUITE 900 • NEWPORT FINANCIAL PLAZA / 550 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660 TELEPHONE (714) 644-4111

LOS ANGELES OFFICE 611 WEST SIXTH STREET - SUITE 1900 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017 TELEPHONE (213) 625-2191

OF COUNSEL JAMES R. KNAPP

JAMES H. O'CONNOR

August 12, 1971

## PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Gordon Strachan Staff Assistant The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

HERBERT W. KALMBACH
FRANK DEMARCO.JR.
SHERWOOD C.CHILLINGWORTH
HAROLD BERAL
ALEXANDER BOWIE
ROBERT M. OLSON.JR.
ROBERT H. MORRISON
RICHARD C. GREENBERG
THOMAS D. PECKENPAUGH
TERRY L. RHODES
OAKLEY C. FROST
ALAN R. WOLEN
LARRY B. THRALL
ERIC W. MARTENS
RALPH J. MORGAN
DAVID PATTERSON SMITH
WESTON L. JOHNSON
BRUCE E. HARRINGTON

Harold Crawford, the Indiana landowner, has just confirmed that the price of the acreage is still approximately three and one-half times the purchase price (i.e., \$42,000 against \$12,100).

Let's talk about this next week.

Regards,

Herbert W. Kalmbach

HWK/ah

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

## Administratively Confidential

August 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

White House Support Life

Five-hundred thousand people have written to the President in support of his various programs over the last two and one-half years. Possible use of this list for financial solicitation has been raised before. No decision other than "postpone for now" has been made.

Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan are particularly anxious to try a second financial mailing aimed at the 500,000 on this White Hould support list. Their interest has increased since the modest return (\$72,000) from the 32,500 recipient initial mailings by Citizens.

Jeremiah Milbank and State Republican Party people would be quite upset if this White House support mailing occurred before the November 9 dinner. However, in light of the 20% per year attrition rate of mailing lists, a test mailing should be made before the truly effective mailing in February 1972, when arguably the President may have to declare his candidacy. Therefore, the best timing for the preliminary test mailing should be in the middle of November 1971 in order to shake down the list during the two months during which the money flows.

Lee Nunn has approached the Attorney General about the project and timing and has tentative approval. The Attorney General is really deferring to you in terms of control of use of this Presidential support list.

Kalmbach is anxious for the financial benefits but not particularly interested in mail solicitation of funds.

Maurice Stans has no comment on use of the list.

#### Recommendation:

That the 500,000 White House list be reviewed and a specific mailing fund solicitation program be prepared by Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan.

Approve	Disapprove	Comment	
---------	------------	---------	--

## Pledges as of September 17, 1971:

Anderson, Robert O. Annenberg, Walter Bobst, Elmer deRoulet, Vincent Farkas, Dr. Ruth		\$	100.0 250.0 100.0 50.0 250.0
Firestone, Leonard K. Ford, Henry II Getty, J. Paul Gould, Kingdon Guest, Raymond			100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 200.0
Hirsch, Clement Humes, John P. Lewis, Lawrence, Jr. Mitchell, Charles McClure, Harold M.			25.0 100.0 5.0 100.0 50.0
Mulcahy, John A. Rockwell, W. F., Jr. Rollins, John W. Salvatori, Henry Scaife, Richard			,000.0 100.0 250.0 100.0 ,000.0
Shaheen, John Smith, Kent Stein, Jules Schreiber, Taft B. Stone, W. Clement		3	100.0 250.0 150.0 100.0
Swim, Dudley Symington, J. Fife Townsend, Lynn A. Walker, Elisha Wallace, DeWitt			100.0 50.0 100.0 100.0
Watson, Richard	Total Pledges:	\$10	200.0 ,330.0

Administratively Confidential

August 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

PROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

National Citizens Committee/ Revenue Sharing - \$25,000

Cliff Miller was in Washington last Friday, August 13. I asked him about the \$25,000 that you authorized through Bob Finch for the National Citizens Committee for Revenue Sharing. You may recall that there was some discussion about possible repayment. In fact, Finch said he "would make a personal commitment to repay". You sooffed at the suggestion, expressed your disagreement with the decision, and discounted any possibility of repayment.

Cliff Miller confirmed that there is absolutely no chance of repayment.

GS:lm

G= Cliff re Jamie Mehan

Very strony; very impressed

Requires great respon + wolk

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Good Droker role in Julie

adminis + Detail

- more pools ete

very impressed

Very ambitious.

Head Youth or agent (pol)

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Date: 8-15-71

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Dean forwarded this report on Tom Kuchel's contributions to Democrats in California. A file of this type of material is maintained in my office.

## THE WHITE HOUSE

August 13, 1971

For:

Gordon Strachan

From:

John Dean

For your information.

## Thomas Kuchel

## (Ex-Republican Senator from California)

Mr. Kuchel is the Washington partner of Wyman, Bautzer, Finnel, Rothman, and Kuchel. They represent the Republic of Korea and various sugar interests in Columbia. Lobby reports show they gave campaign contributions to the following partial list.

1/28/70 9/9/70 10/19/70 11/11/70 5/27/70	Committee to elect Tunney (California) Committee to elect Tunney (California) John Tunney for Senate John Tunney Victory Dinner Committee Lawyers for Tunney	\$	25. 25. 1,000. 1,000. 110. 2,160.
8/3/70	Scott for Senate Committee (Pennsylvania)		1,000.
4/23/70	Stevenson for Senate Committee (Illinois)		1,000.
3/25/70	McGee for Senate Committee (Wyoming)		100.
2/27/70 8/21/70	Moss for Senate Committee (Utah) Reelect Moss Committee	-	1,000. 50. 1,050.
3/11/70	Pitchess Campaign Committee ( Republican, Sheriff, Los Angeles County)		1,000.
4/20/70	Brown Campaign COmmittee (California)		
10/12/70	(Secretary of State) Edmund Brown for Secretary of State		500. 500.
10/14/70	Alquist for Lt. Governor (California) (vs. Ed Reinecke)		250.
10/13/70	John Pastore (Rhode Island)		250.
10/22/70	Richard Hanna for Congress Committee (Calif.)		1,000.
3/30/70	Bell for Congress Committee (California)		500.
10/9/70	O'Brien Campaign Dinner		1,500.

He also gave \$1,050 to Riles in his successful bid to unseat Max Rafferty and \$1,000 to Alan Cranston for Senate 1/8/71.

Date: 8/9

TO: harry

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This is interesting
but am I supposed
to be pressing

Kalmbach on the

Foundation?

I would be glad to add

that to my list of

Kalmbach projects
but need your guidance

July 29 1971

## ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON ZIEGLER

THROUGH:

JOHN EHRLICHMAN

FROM:

JOHN DEAN

SUBJECT:

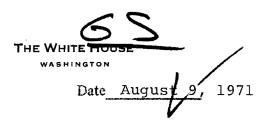
AP Inquiry Re San Clemente Property, RN Foundation and the 1966 Campaign Tour

Attached at Tab A is a document submitted by the Associated Press with questions regarding the San Clemente property, the Richard Nixon Foundation and the 1966 Campaign Tour. Attached at Tab B is a written response to the questions, which can be used if you are unable to otherwise "turn off" the inquiry, particularly with regard to the San Clemente property.

I am waiting for Peter Flanigan to provide information regarding the 1966 campaign tour. He is working on it, but it will take several more days.

Polk, the reporter who submitted the questions, called Len Firestone again today. He asked Firestone if the meeting regarding the site selection had been rescheduled. Firestone responded no and indicated he did not know when it would be scheduled. Polk also asked if Whittier, Irvine and San Clemente were under consideration. Firestone indicated that no decisions had been made, and all were under consideration.

If you feel you should respond to Polk forthwith, I think you can tell him that the information regarding the 1966 campaign tour had to be collected and you will get back to him once it has been received.



TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

FYI -- the phone call to Dick Richards and the Golfing Friends of the President in San Clemente was made on Saturday evening from Maine.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Saturday only August 7, 1971

## RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:

Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends of the President

RECOMMENDED BY:

Gordon Strachan Chuck Colson Herb Kalmbach

PURPOSE:

To have the call relayed by a public address system to the 130 Golfing Friends who will be spending the day at the Western White House for golf and dinner. The call would be placed between 10:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. (EDT) to reach the Golfing Friends as they assemble for their dinner between 7:00p.m. and 8:00 p.m. (PDT), SATUNDAY.

BACKGROUND:

The Golfing Friends of the President contributed \$1,000 each to construct and maintain the course at the Western White House. They do not play on the course regularly because Kalmbach severly limits the access. At the dedication of the Golf Course in January of 1970 the President was invited but sent a message to Dick Richards as President of the Association with his regrets. Herb Kalmbach has been working with this group and will be present at the dinner on August 7. No letter has been sent.

TALKING POINTS:

- 1. The President has thoroughly enjoyed the use of the golfing facility adjacent to the San Clemente home site.
- 2. The President is most appreciative of the participation by all concerned.
- 3. Some golf language like "hit 'em straight".

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

To: Mr. Strachen

Coll made J

August (201): 10:27 pm, Aug 7

## RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

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RECOMMENDED BY:

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## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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## MULAO EMONYANAL CECUMENNADEN

TO:

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- 2. The President is most appreciative of the participation by all concerned.
- 3. Some golf language like "hit 'em straight".

July 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE PARKER

FROM

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Request

Dwight mentioned yesterday that Mr. Kalmbach's specific requests for a telephone call and a Presidential visit should be forwarded to you with the facts.

### Concerning the telephone call:

- 1. On August 7, the Golfing Friends of the President will be spending the day at the Western White House for Golf and dinner.
- 2. The President of the Golfing Friends of the President (totaling 130 people) is Dick Richards.
- 3. Kalmbach requests that the President call Dick Richards on August 7 between 10:00 a.m. and 10:30 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time.
- 4. The call would be received by Dick Richards and relayed by public address system to the 130 Golfing Friends present.
- 5. As for talking points, Kalmbach suggests:
  - a) The President wishes he could be there.
  - b) The President has thoroughly enjoyed the use of the golfing facility adjacent to the San Clements home site.
  - c) The President is most appreciative of the participation by all concerned.
  - d) Some type of golf language like "him 'em straight".

As to Kalmbach's schedule requests, sometime during the July 6 through 17 visit, it is requested that the President go to the Tee Site at the House to meet Dick Richards and five to ten members of his Board of Directors to chat about golf. Kalmbach assures us that Dick Richards will not overstay the invitation nor will there be any women present at the Tee Site.

Kalmbach had one other idea that I know you will be interested in following up on. That is, having a golfing friend of the President, such as Arnold Palmer, present at the August 7 event as the Representative of the President.

It is my understanding that you will prepare both the schedule requests and the telephone request in the proper form and submit them to Mr. Haldeman for approval.

If there is anything else that I should do concerning this matter, please advise.

GS:elr

# 0

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1971 4:27 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM:

AVIAN PARKER

SUBJECT:

Telephone Call to Dick Richards, August 7th

10:30 p.m. (EDT)

Re the attached proposal you suggested that it be put in as a phone call recommendation for Saturday and asked why a schedule proposal -- we (Colson, Butterfield, Chapin/Parker) were of the understanding that any time a telephone call was to be placed at a specific time, it was to come in as schedule request and not as a telephone call recommendation. The significance of the timing would be the overriding factor in determining if it was a schedule request form or a telephone recommendation form.

Kalmbach has since informed Strachan that instead of a morning call on the 7th, they would now like an evening call placed to the Golfing Friends just before they assemble for their dinner at 7:30 p.m. PDT. SAA. ...

APPROVE Schedule Proposal	
DISAPPROVE	
Just put in phone call recomm	endation form and let it ride until

i,

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL Date: July 15, 1971 FROM: Device N. Parker VIA: Dwight L. Chapin

TELEPHONE CALL: To Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends

DATE:

Saturday, August 7, 1971

Saturday, August 7, 1971
10:30 p. m. (Eastern Daylight Time) Changed per Kahubl

PURPOSE:

To have the call relayed by a public address system to the 130 Golfing Friends who will be spending the day at the Western White

House for golf and dinner.

FORMAT:

-Telephone Call from the Oval Office

SPEECH MATERIAL: Kalmbach has suggested the following talking points for the President:

- a) The President wishes he could be there.
- b) The President has thoroughly enjoyed the use of the golfing facility adjacent to the San Clemente home site.
- c) The President is most appreciative of the participation by all concerned.
- d) Some type of golf language like "hit 'em straight".

PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

Gordon Strachan

RECOMMEND:

Kalmbach Strachan

COLSON

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

The President was invited to attend the dedication of this Golf Course in January of 1970, but was unable to attend. However, the President did send a message to Mr. Dick Richards.

Approve DISAPPROVE DISAPPROVE

August 2, 1971 4:27 p.m.

MEN	MOR	AND	MIT	FOR:
181 101 11		CALL		E 4.3 E 1

H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM:

DAVID N. PARKER

SUBJECT:

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10:30 p.m. (EDT)

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PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

Gordon Strachan

RECOMMEND:

Kalmbach Strachan

## PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

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BACKGROUND:

NONE

PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

APPROVE	DISAPPROVE

BEFORE DISPATCH TO:

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PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

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RECOMMEND:

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Strachan

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BACKGROUND:

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PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

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PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

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RECOMMEND:

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BACKGROUND: NONE

PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

APPROVE \_\_\_\_ DEAPPROVE\_

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PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

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RECOMMEND:

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BACKGROUND:

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PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

APPROVE \_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

1) prepare a sked projosel in our four forthe Aug? telephone call @ Studit to Dec

& Memo Steere Hellingham that item A has been hendled but he should take one of item s.

4) Dest original + ca of proposal

July 8, 1971 4:10 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

STEVE BULL

FROM:

DAVID PARKER

RE:

Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Requests

Re the attached memorandum, item A has been handled, but you should handle item B.

Note: Attached is a copy of the schedule proposal for item A. A copy has also been dexed to Mr. Chapin.

July 8, 1971 4:10 p.m.

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RE:

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TELEPHONE CALL: To Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends

DATE:

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PURPOSE:

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-at 10:15 a.m. (Eastern Daylight Time)

-to Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends

(Golfing Friends total 130 people)

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STAFF:

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APPROVE \_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_

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STAFF:

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APPROVE \_\_\_\_ DEAPPROVE \_\_\_\_

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STAFF:

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BACKGROUND:

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PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

APPROVE \_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_

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July 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE PARKER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Kalmbach Telephone and Schedule Request

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## Concerning the telephone call:

- On August 7, the Golfing Friends of the President will be spending the day at the Western White House for Golf and dinner.
- The President of the Golfing Friends of the President (totaling 130 people) is Dick Richards.
- 3. Kalmbach requests that the President call Dick Richards on August 7 between 10:00 a.m. and 10:30 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time.
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Kalmbach had one other idea that I know you will be interested in following up on. That is, having a golfing friend of the President, such as Arnold Palmer, present at the August 7 event as the Representative of the President.

It is my understanding that you will prepare both the schedule requests and the telephone request in the proper form and submit them to Mr. Haldeman for approval.

If there is anything also that I should do concerning this matter, please advise.

GS:elr

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Return To: Rm. 146 Nancy Gennell

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11 10F 8 PM 8:34

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



July 8, 1971 4:10 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

STEVE BULL

FROM:

DAVID PARKER

RE:

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 3, 1971 1971 JUL 6 PM 2 04

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#### WASHINGTON

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TELEPHONE CALL: To Dick Richards, President of the Golfing Friends

DATE:

August 7, 1971

10:15 a.m. (Eastern Daylight Time)

PURPOSE:

To speak with Dick Richards and have the call relayed by a public address system to the 130 Golfing Friends who will be spending the day at the Western White House for golf and dinner.

FORMAT:

-Telephone Call from the Oval Office

-at 10:15 a.m. (Eastern Daylight Time)

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(Golfing Friends total 130 people)

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PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

Gordon Strachan

RECOMMEND:

Gordon Strachan

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

The President was invited to attend the dedication of this Golf Course in January of 1970, but was

unable to attend.

However, the President did send a message to Mr. Dick Richards.

BACKGROUND:

NONE

PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

APPROVE	DISAPPROVE

# DEX 10 Dwight Chapin

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

11 11" 8 19 0:57

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PRESS COVERAGE: NONE

STAFF:

Gordon Strachan

RECOMMEND:

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PRESS FOLLOW-UP: NONE

	*
APPROVE	DISAPPROVE

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 3, 1971 1971 JUL 6 PM 2 04

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MEMORAMOOM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.U. 12005, Section 6-102
By ER NARS, Date 3-16-52

THE WAITE MOUSE waskington

August 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FRED MALEK

California Contributors

We are progressing steadily on rationalizing the California contributors' list and should have a final report in to you at the end of the week. We have identified a number of serious problems that will be thoroughly covered at that time. In the meantime, however, I thought you should have several important pieces of information outlined below.

As you know, at Herb Kalmbach's suggestion, Bill Horton met lust week what certain Californians to refine the master list of California Presidential supporters. The individuals interviewed included Holmes Tuttle and Justin Dart (together), Leonard Firestone and Taft Schreiber (together), and Asa Call. In addition, Bill talked to Leland Kaiser by phone.

Although Bill did not initiate it in any way, these men volunteered views on the 1972 campaign. Bill, of course, did not encourage discussion on this, nor was he responsive beyond listening politely. These views have been summarized in three general areas: (1) cooperation between RN and RR supporters, (2) California campaign organization, and (3) support by Dart, Tuttle, and Kalser.

## COOPERATION BETWEEN RN AND RR SUPPORTERS

Dart and Tuttle stressed the need for harmony and cooperation between the President and the Governor's staffs. They think that neither Governor Reagan nor the President could carry California today. (Subsequently, Asa Call also indicated Governor Reagan could not now carry the State.) Therefore, maximum cooperation and harmony are needed within the California Republican Party to win in 1972. Tuttle stated flatly, with the nodding concurrence from Dart, that Governor Reagan would not run against the President; the Governor would be a candidate only if the President withdraws. Tuttle further mentioned that he has already discouraged several offers to establish Reagan for President offices, citing Missouri and Oklahoma as examples, and will continue to do so. Not being intimately familiar with the situation, we have no way of judging their sincerity, but they certainly seemed sincere to Bill.

In spite of this support for the President, Dart and Tuttle think the White Flouse does not trust them. As an example, they cited a conversation between William French Smith and Robert M. Flanigan, whom they considered to be a White House representative because of his relation to Peter Flanigan. Bob Flanigan

allegedly differentiated between Nixon backers and Reagan backers indicating the latter might not be fully supportive of the President. Flanigan was reported to have been visibly aghast at Smith's suggestion of Holmes Tuttle as the 1972 Nixon State Campaign Chairman. Dart and Tuttle feel strongly that this sort of divisiveness has got to stop or else the Republicans have little chance to carry California in 1972.

They indicated that the coordination between the President's and the Governor's staffs will be worked out at a meeting between the President and Governor Reagan tentatively scheduled for the latter part of August. In fact, they indicated Attorney General Mitchell had agreed not to make any commitments on the State organization until that meeting.

As a specific item for coordination, Firestone thinks that there should be close cooperation between the State Campaign Chairman and the Governor's office on the selection of delegates in order to gain maximum contributions from these appointments.

## CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

Dart, Tuttle and Call feel that Firestone's appointment as the State Campaign Chairman would be a mistake. Dart felt Firestone would not be acceptable to all the factions in California. He indicated the State Campaign Chairman should have proven experience in California Republican politics and inferred that Holmes Tuttle would fit this description.

Asa Call cited three reasons for his reservations on Firestone: (1) his identification with Bradley's mayoralty campaign has alienated Yorty and conservative Republicans, (2) Firestone does not know politics sufficiently well and is not a good political organizer, as demonstrated by the fact that he has backed only losers recently (Bradley, Kuechel, Christopher, and Rockefeller), (3) the Firestone Company is a defendant in several suits by the Government. However, Call felt that the appointment of Tuttle or Lieutenant Governor Reinecke as State Campaign Chairman would be even worse since they would alienate the middle-of-the-road independent and Democratic vote which will be needed to win. In fact, Call could not think of an individual who would be better than Firestone.

Given Dart's and Tuttle's influence with Governor Reagan and conservative California Republicans, and considering their current disenchantment (discussed in the next section), it might be appropriate to consult with them on the State Campaign Chairman. If their views are duly considered, the Chairman may be more acceptable to them, and they may in turn be of greater help in the campaign.

## SUPPORT OF DART, TUTTLE, AND KAISER

As you know, Dart and Tuttle were upset about the Astronaut Dinner invitation list. Based on this and subsequent problems in dealing with the White House, Dart and Tuttle both say they will not work for the President's re-election. They will "not sell a product" they "cannot service," i.e., obtain White House recognition for major contributors who give through them.

Lee Kaiser also said he no longer supports the President. He is concerned about the budget deficits. Also, he is highly irritated that a letter he sent to a member of the White House staff discussing the Federal budget was not even acknowledged. In fact, Kaiser said he will back the President's opponent in 1972.

While these men are genuinely irritated, Bill suspects that their statements are designed primarily to induce greater acknowledgement from the White House. It is apparent, however, that the advoitness with which these men are handled over the next 15 months will determine their level of work and contribution to the President in 1972.

< \* \* \*

Other incidents of poor White House liaison with major California Presidential supporters came to light during Bill's meetings. These will be discussed in more detail and recommendations for strengthening the liaison will be submitted with the master list by the end of this week.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

## Administratively Confidential

August 2,/1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. WALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

**F**inances

During the RNC purchase of media time for Campaign 1970, Dent received a commitment from Stone for \$51,000 to cover certain television broadcasts. After considerable delay this money was received by Colson. The money was held by Colson pending the result of the Common Cause law suit involving Gleason.

The original understanding with Bob Hitt was that the RNC would be reimbursed for some of its media purchases. However, Tom Evans has not raised the reimbursement question to my knowledge.

In light of the RNC's current financial difficulties, it might be advisable for the \$51,000 cash to be held by Sloan in a safe deposit box.

## Recommendation:

That Colson be directed to shift the \$51,000 to Sloan to be held in a safe deposit box.

Approve /	,	Disapprove	
Comment			

8/4

G > Underwood 8/4 w/51,000 to go for 30,000 - Image - ORC > Evans re 51,000

noterial

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CHARLES COLSON

FROM:

Joan Hall 🏋

SUBJECT:

Checks (attached)

Late last year you asked me to get a list of committee names from Gordon Strachan that could be used in D.C. You also asked me to contact George Webster and get some people to serve as treasurers for these various committees. This was done per the attached memos from Gordon Strachan, dated November 24, 1970 and the list of names which George Webster telephoned to me.

You then met with George and explained what you wanted him to do with these names and committees. George was given \$51,000 check signed by Clem Stone and asked to divide this up into 17 committees and a check issued in the amount of \$3,000 from each committee to the Republican National Committee.

You then told me, after this was done on approximately February 15, 1971 (see Webster note) to hold on to the checks until it was decided how to handle them. I do not have a record of the date but shortly after Gordon Strachan was transferred to Mr. Haldeman's staff, you told me that Gordon would be picking up the checks and taking care of the matter. I reminded you once and you told me again to check with Gordon -- which I have done on the average of one a week, or at least bi-weekly. Gordon always says that it is being worked on and for me to continue to hold them.

Mr. Webster's secretary has called a couple of times, because they keep getting the statements from the bank. George also mentioned it to me at a cocktail party recently and I told him that I would again press on the matter to see if we couldn't get it off his back. I spoke to Gordon about the matter on Wednesday of this week, and was given the same response that I have always received.

Jour -

November 24, 1970 ( ) Son Frank

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. COLSON

FROM

Gordon Strachan G

RE

17 D.C. Committees

Original they aren't:

Committee for Better Government

Committee for Responsible Government

Committee for Responsive Government

Good Government Committee

Citizens for Good Government

Responsible Citizens Committee

People United for Good Government

Committee to Make Political Parties Responsive

Committee to Make Government Responsive

Better Government Committee

Committee for Effective Government

Committee for Effective Political Parties

Effective Government Committee

Committee for New Politics

New Politics Committee

Committee for Responsive Politicians

Citizens Committee for Responsive Politicians

Should I call Chicago with these names before you assign Chairmen?

Yes\_\_\_\_No\_\_\_Other\_\_\_

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6

Names phoned in from George Webster to serve as treasurers of D. C. Committees:

George D. Webster 1822 Jefferson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C.

Ellis E. Meredith 2000 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.

James P. Low 2011 Eye Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.

Arthur A. Birney 4846 Van Ness Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.

William Dalton 2011 Eye Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. LAW OFFICES OF

#### MARMET AND WEBSTER

ROBERT A. MARMET GEORGE D. WEBSTER T. NEAL COMBS ARTHUR L. HEROLD GORDON R. MALICK

1822 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 (202) 338-7300

February 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO JOAN HALL:

The last three checks will be deposited tomorrow morning. I secured the proper endorsements in Chicago on Friday. I am sorry that all of our friends travel so much.

Hopefully by the end of this week all the checks given to me will have cleared and we will deliver to you the signed checks.

George D. Webster

GDW:jh

K le Mulea 3mil - CS matides. I Sevon > K + let G Ornow Palagea

#### LEE NUNN

SUITE 272 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON. D. C. 20006 (202) 333-4550

July 20, 1971

#### Personal & Confidential

Mr. Gordon Strachan The White House Office Washington, D.C.

Dear Gordon:

The groups listed on the attached sheet contributed to the Democratic National Dinner Committee.

This is just a note to let you know that they are also our very good friends. (We usually get larger amounts than the Democrats!)

Sincerely,

Lee Nunn

enclosure

5

#### Democratic National Dinner Committee

TRW Good Government Fund	\$5,000
Life Underwriters Political Action Committee	1,000
Hughes Active Citizenship Campaign Committee	2,000
Bankers Political Action Committee	1,000
Committee for Action (Contractors)	1,000
Physicians Committee for Good Government (D.C.)	5,000
American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC	c) 5 <b>,</b> 000
Trust for Agricultural Political Education (TAPE)	5,000
CITIGO	5,000

Info > Dight Howard w/ note that also our contributors

### THE WHITE HOUSE

R Date: 7/20

TO: Buce

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

I advised Herb Kulmbach about this today.

Please return the memo for FU.

THE WHITE HOUSE BAUCE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 13, 1971'

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

BRUCE KEHRLI

Copy sent to Colson for follow-up.

The name shally

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

1/27

July 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

In Kansas City last week, Senator Bob Dole introduced me to a Morgan Maxfield, President of the Great Midwest Corporation (2918 Commerce Tower, Kansas City, Missouri--phone number (816) VI2-9400). He indicates he is a millionaire, friendly to the Administration, 32 years old, and is connected with the Hunt operation in Texas in some way. I don't know what you do with information like this in terms of fundraising or invitations to the White House or whatever, but here it is.

7/30 - nothing

ž

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Pursuant to your request, I discussed with Alex Butterfield your request for information about the handling of expenses incurred for the Irish dinner and the Blount dinner. Butterfield indicated to me that he had approached Colson to go to Mulcahy for the money for the Irish dinner. Alex also indicated that he was trying to think of a contributor to approach for the balance on the Blount dinner. I reminded him that he had received a memorandum from Haldeman indicating that all requests for funds from contributors should be funneled through Sloan. ALex did not recall receiving such a memo and a copy has been forwarded to him with the indication at the bottom that he received a carbon copy.

A check with Henry Cashen and Dick Howard indicates that they are familiar with the policy that all requests for funds are to go through Sloan. If you think it appropriate, I will call Chuck Colson direct and cover this with him.

Strachan call	Colson:	/
Not necessary	to call Colson:	

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 6, 1971

Gordon:

Bruce called to find out the status on the boat situation.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

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June 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: Leland M. Kaiser

I saw Lee Kaiser in California last week. He told me, "I am off the team," meaning the Nixon team. The enclosed letter is only a symptom of why he feels that way. The real reason is that he has been ignored after having given \$60,000 personally and raised other sums besides. I think somebody ought to pat him on the back.

**Enclosure** 

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center: 310 First Street Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 484-6500.

#### LELAND M. KAISER

1204 RUSS BUILDING SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104



January 20, 1971

Mr. Roger Johnson The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

It was good to have the opportunity to talk with you on the telephone when I was in Washington last week but I regret that our respective time schedules rendered it impossible to meet as suggested by our mutual friend, Holmes Tuttle.

On last Friday there appeared in The Wall Street Journal a column by Alan Otten which I enclose just in case it has, so far, escaped your attention. This column outlines more effectively and succinctly than I could, the general attitudes toward President Nixon and I am hoping will indicate to him that he and his Administration are in deep trouble. I have been his friend and supporter for more than twenty years and served in 1968 as an Executive Vice Chairman of the Nixon-Agnew Finance Committee. It might be constructive if you could arrange for the President to read this letter and the accompanying clipping, which I earnestly hope you will do, although if he might take umbrage because a friend is attempting to be helpful, I would be most regretful.

In my talks with several Administration Republicans, and in listening to John Mitchell's presentation at the National Finance Committee luncheon last Thursday, it becomes crystal clear that the Game Plan looking forward to 1972 is predicated on a managed economy which assumedly will get the country moving in the right direction. This, despite the fact that all past attempts at such management have been unsuccessful. When I mentioned to a good Republican Administration supporter in Washington that the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations' efforts to "fine-tune" the economy were failures, he responded, "This is no 'fine-tuning' operation. This is an 'all-stops-out' performance."

I am not one to say without equivocation that I am correct and the Administration is wrong, but I think the President should know that the odds are against success for his Keynesian efforts. Also, President Nixon, in my opinion, should explain to the Nation his conceptual approach to the about-face he has made relative to budget balancing.

I now set forth several quotations from some of the President's remarks of the past three years. It was because of his avowed fiscal soundness

that we were able to round up many millions of dollars for the 1968 campaign from conservative contributors who now feel double-crossed.

Late last year we received our first inkling, through the press, that he and his Administration were about to abandon the principle of balancing income and outgo to achieve a genuine balanced budget. Then, in his recent one-hour TV interview program, he unabashedly espoused the "New Economics" Keynesian fantasy of a Full Employment Budget which, as Otten points out in the enclosed column, is merely "the concept of a huge deficit that would theoretically be eliminated if the economy were operating full blast."

In the book, "Nixon On The Issues," published and distributed by the Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee in October, 1968, the foreword reads: "This is a compilation of positions taken on public questions by Richard M. Nixon during the Presidential Campaign of 1968. The positions set forth here are as enunciated by Mr. Nixon in taking his case to the people in every part of the United States - in speeches, statements, position papers, interviews and in radio and television discussions."

On page 129 et seq. of "Nixon On The Issues," under the heading "The New Economics," we find this:

"I believe that it is reasonable to conclude that however one defines the operating principles of the 'new economics,' the practice in recent years more closely falls under the heading of the shopworn politics of inflation. I know of no respectable set of economic principles, old or new, which would sanction the type of policies which have been pursued in recent years.

"I do not believe it is fruitful to segregate our economic know-ledge under specific labels such as the old or the new economics; we have much to learn from both. We should rather take full use of our experience in economic affairs in confronting the problems of the future."

The Keynesian "Full Employment Budget" on which the President announced inferentially he was basing his attitude and fiscal position, is a fraud, in my opinion, and I have yet to see an example of its adoption resulting in more good than evil. On the other hand, it may be reasonable in today's circumstances, but in any case President Nixon has not explained to the public his abandonment of the cash income equals cash outgo principle of budget balancing, and thus has damaged his credibility. Particularly is this the case in view of the comments I now quote:

From "Message to The Congress of the United States, March 26, 1969":

"Government has two major instruments for dealing with this problem /inflation." One is monetary policy which should continue its program of restraint. The other is fiscal policy - the management of the Federal budget - which must turn away from the budgets which have propelled the inflation, and turn instead to one with a strong surplus that will help to curb it.

\* \* \*

"Because the problem of inflation was neglected for too long, we cannot risk even a neutral budget policy of narrow balance."

Then again, in the President's January 22, 1970 "State of the Union - Address to a Joint Session of the Congress of the United States," we find this:

"We must balance our Federal budget so that American families will have a better chance to balance their family budgets."

It is obvious that something drastic must have occurred insofar as President Nixon's thinking is concerned. I, of course, don't know what it is and, without such knowledge, I am unable to defend him against the good Republicans who express to me their utter dismay at his volte-face. As a friend it seems fair to wonder whether or not the men who guard the throne place before the President some of the unpleasant facts of today's political attitudes which, it seems to me, he should know in order to maintain the strongest front possible.

I look forward to seeing you the next time I get to Washington, and send my kind personal regards.

Cordially,

L. M. Kaiser

LMK:D

#### HE WALL STREET JOURNAL

## **Politics** and People

### There's Still Time

WASHINGTON - A prudent President learns not only from his own errors but even more, perhaps, from those of his predeces-

Richard Nixon does indeed appear to have benefitted from many of Lyndon Johnson's mistakes. He's headed out of Vietnam instead of deeper in, trying to shift decision-making power out of Washington instead of concentrating more power there, requeing Government-by-frenzy to a calmer, lower-keyed pitch.

He does not, however, seem completely to have learned what should have been the standout lesson of the Johnson era: The prime importance of preserving Presidential credibility. More than anything else, the loss of credibility—in the narrow sense of believability, and in the broader sense of public confidence—brought Mr. Johnson down; as much as anything, it could threaten Mr. Nixon's re-

Admittedly, Mr. Nixon carries built-in handicaps. Many people, particularly "liberals," view him with distrust and dislike accumulated over two decades. The parallel with Lyndon Johnson is striking.

Years of Congressional maneuver had built the image of Johnson the master manipulator and wheeler-dealer. His deft assumption of power when President Kennedy was assassinated, and his smashing election tri-umph in 1964, created a more statesmanlike image for a time, but the old one was still there in the back of many minds, ready to re-emerge at the least excuse. Equivocation, tricks, sudden reversals that might have been ignored from another leader were happily hailed as proof the old wheeler-dealer hadn't changed.

Similarly, a long-held view of Mr. Nixon as a tricky opportunist and gut-fighter was sub-merged by reports of the "new Nixon" and his loftier 1968 campaigning. But the old image wasn't erased, and tends to be readily revived by slips and failings that might be shrugged off in an Eisenhower or other trusted or popular President,

Mr. Nixon's pragmatic political approach -middle-of-the-road or, more precisely, back and forth across the middle-may complicate this. Theoretically, at least, such a course should broaden his constituency, recruiting conservative supporters with some stands, liberal supporters with others. And Mr. Nixon may in fact be achieving this. There is the danger, however, that this approach may actually narrow support-estranging liberals with his conservative moves, conservatives with the liberal ones, and middle-of-the-roaders with a seemingly unprincipled zigzagging.

Thus the President's more conservative actions-such as his Supreme Court appointments and go-slow policy on school and housing integration-merely confirm suspicions of liberals and others that he's the same old Re-publican reactionary, and make it easier for them to refuse to credit him for the liberal proposals he does advance. At the same time, many conservatives become aroused over such liberal schemes as the family assistance plan or deliberately large deficits, and feel far more betrayed than if an avowed liberal had espoused these steps.

Mr. Nixon, declares conservative columnist Kevin Phillips, "has changed policies and directions so often, and sometimes so erratically, that his image is one of opportunism rather than vision." The President's dilemma, writes Newsweek analyst Stewart Alsop, is that national problems have forced him to advocate solutions more liberal than his natural instincts would ordinarily suggest. "The national situation has pushed him to the left of himself," Mr. Alsop argues, and so the

President is not always convincing.

Nixon rhetoric often aggravates the credibility crunch. Domestic political realities dictate continued troop withdrawals from Victnam, whether Saigon is fully ready or not; yet the President finds it almost impossible publicly to admit such a possibility, and so there is hard-line talk of "conditions" that might prevent further withdrawals, talk that rekindles liberal fears of Nixon the cold warrior. To sell conservatives on welfare reform, he plugs it as a way to get at welfare chiselers and free-loaders, an approach that makes it tougher to convince liberals it's really the start of a steadily rising guaranteed family income plan.

For two years, Mr. Nixon fought hard to hold down the Federal budget, even vetoing bills for spending on education, hospitals, housing. Now he terms himself a Keynesian, and embraces the concept of a huge deficit that would theoretically be eliminated if the economy were operating full blast. Keynesians naturally wonder whether the change has been dictated by political needs rather

than economic enlightenment.

The Administration has been caught out from time to time telling somewhat less than the full truth. Resumed bombing of North Victnam was originally justified as retaliation for attacks on U.S. reconnaissance planes; only later was it conceded as aimed in large part at destroying supplies and manpower headed south. After months of frantic warnings about a Soviet SS-9 missile build-up, the Pentagon suddenly discovers that SS-9 construction has slowed-sowing suspicion that the early alarm was based more on military budget needs or ABM battles in Congress than firm intelligence.

The hard-hitting campaign the Administra-tion waged against "radical-liberals" last fall not only failed to defeat very many of them, but also left a residue of public uneasiness that complicates the Administration's future. Mr. Nixon recognizes this, and much of the time since the election has taken a concilia-tory tone and talked of the need for everyone to work together on national problems.

Then, however, he turns around and bcrates the departing Congress as "a legislative body that had seemingly lost the capacity to decide and the will to act." And he chooses as his new National Republican Chairman Kansas Senator Robert Dole, who won national notoricty over the past two years as a slashing, no-holds-barred partisan.

Perhaps many of these examples are comparatively minor. Perhaps most are perfectly justifiable and might, in another man, prove eminently acceptable. But each tends to revive or enlarge the credibility problems of this particular President.

Basically, the nation wants to believe and trust its President, and no single slip can destroy this Presidential asset. But loss of credibility and public confidence tends to snowball, and the downhill roll becomes ever harder to halt or reverse. Lyndon Johnson never learned this; Richard Nixon, fortunately for himself and for the nation, still has time.

#### June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROSE MARY WOODS

FROM:

JOANNE LEE GORDON

SUBJECT:

LARGE CONTRIBUTORS

The New York Times June 20, 1971 article on large contributors listed the following as Republican contributors of \$25,000 or more; yet we have no record of them:

K diesnit

Mark Johnson

lumber and housing heir

Freeport, Bahamas (\$30,723)

Sun O.Q. John Newton Pew K houlling Chairman, Southerst National Bank Chu J House Rue Chester, Pennsylzania (\$41,000) Chairman, Southeast National Bank

Should we put them on our lists and give them attention?

The article also listed Mrs. Margery F. Russell, Portland, Meier and Frank Department Store heiress, as having given to both Republicans and Democrats a total of \$94,613. She is not on any of our lists. Should she be added and given attention, too?

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THE WRITE ACCUSE WASHINGTON

#### Administratively Confidential

August 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. FALDEMAX

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

White House Support List

Five-hundred thousand people have written to the President in support of his various programs over the last two and one-half years. Possible use of this list for financial solicitation has been raised before. No decision other than "postpone for new has been made.

Les Nunn and Hugh Sloan are particularly anxious to try a second than ial mailing aimed at the 500,000 on this White House support list. Their interest has increased since the modest leturn (\$72,000) from the 32,500 recipient initial mailings by Citizens.

Jeremiah Milbank and State Republican Party people would be quite upset if this White House support mailing occurred before the November 9 dinner. However, in light of the 20% per year attrition rate of mailing lists, a test mailing should be made before the truly effective mailing in February 1972, when arguably the President may have to declare his candidacy. Therefore, the best timing for the preliminary test mailing should be in the middle of November 1971 in order to shake down the list during the two months during which the money flow.

Wee Nunn has approached the Autorney General about the project and timing and has tentative approval. The Attorney General is really deferring to you in terms of control of use of this Presidential support list.

Kalmbach is anxious for the financial benefits but not particularly interested in mail solicitation of funds.

Maurice Stans has no comment on use of the list.

#### Recommendation:

That the 500,000 White House list be reviewed and a specific mailing fund solicitation program be prepared by Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan.

Approve	Disapprove	Comment
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