

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
20	6	01/16/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Senator Robert W. Packwood RE: Recommendation of Robert G. Efteland being passed along to Peter Flanigan for review. 1 pg.
20	6	01/14/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John D. Ehrlichman to C. Stanley Blair RE: Harry T. Solomon's resume being forwarded to Peter Flanigan for review. 1 pg.
20	6	01/14/1969	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Peter Flanigan RE: John Wendell Anderson II recommendation by Nick Ruwe. 1 pg.
20	6	12/24/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Cammann Newberry RE: Recommendation of T. J. McTiernan. 1 pg.
20	6	12/20/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Edward R. Perry RE: Acknowledgment of December 5 letter. 1 pg.
20	6	12/23/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to James A Cook RE: Letter of December 18 and suggestion that Cook contact Peter Flanigan. 1 pg.

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20	6	12/18/1968	Letter	Letter from James A. Cook to John Ehrlichman RE: Interest in an administration position. 1 pg.
20	6	12/23/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Peter Flanigan RE: Suggestion of Robert Meyers for the position of director of the Internal Revenue Service. 1 pg.
20	6	12/23/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Senator George A. Smathers RE: Bebe Rebozo forwarded letter of December 6 recommending Norma Canova. 1 pg.
20	6	01/07/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Senator Robert P. Griffin RE: Letter of December 30 advising of Lieutenant Governor Crutcher's interest in being appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. 1 pg.
20	6	12/30/1968	Letter	Letter from Senator Robert P. Griffin to John Ehrlichman RE: Kansas Lieutenant Governor John Crutcher's interest in being appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. 1 pg.
20	6	01/07/1969	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Bryce Harlow RE: Resume for Orren Beaty and question regarding re-appointment. 1 pg.
20	6	01/07/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Joseph A. Shepard RE: Shepard's letter of December 17, his projects on black capitalism and his military status. 2 pgs.

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20	6	12/18/1968	Letter	Letter from John K. Andrews to John Ehrlichman RE: Introduction on behalf of Joe Shepard. 1 pg.
20	6	01/07/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Clarke Reed RE: Reed's letter of December 30 concerning Joe Moss and Stan Rademaker. 1 pg.
20	6	12/30/1968	Letter	Letter from Clark Reed to John Ehrlichman RE: Recommendation for the reappointments of Joe Moss and Stan Rademaker. 1 pg.
20	6	01/04/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to James M. Reynolds RE: Resume of Charles H. Sword. 1 pg.
20	6	01/02/1968	Letter	Letter from James M. Reynolds to John Ehrlichman RE: Resume and endorsement of Charles Sword. 1 pg.
20	6	01/08/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Kentucky Governor Louis B. Nunn RE: Recommendation of James Rash, Jr. 1 pg.
20	6	01/06/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Angel F. Rivera RE: Resume of Luis Diaz Carlo. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
20	6	01/06/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to John Goode RE: Resume of Arthur Troilo. 1 pg.
20	6	01/02/1969	Memo	Copy of memo from Charles E. Stuart to Kissinger RE: Resume of Thomas Muerer. 1 pg.
20	6	12/16/1968	Memo	Memo from John Ehrlichman to Chuck Stuart RE: Request for resume of Thomas Muerer. Handwritten note by Ehrlichman. 1 pg.
20	6	12/16/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Chuck Stuart RE: Request for resume of Thomas Muir. 1 pg.
20	6	01/02/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Edward W. Brooke RE: Brooke's recommendation of Ruth E. Bacon as Ambassador to New Zealand. 1 pg.
20	6	01/02/1969	Memo	Copy of memo from Charles E. Stuart to C. Knudsen RE: Recommendations for Al Landesco and Charles Kerfow. 1 pg.
20	6	12/04/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from Ken Cole to Harry Fleming RE: Memo from Tom Evans recommending Jamie Humes. 1 pg.

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20	6	12/16/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to John Mitchell RE: Recommendation of Peter Fay for Solicitor. 1 pg.
20	6	12/16/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to John Mitchell RE: Bob Semple of the New York Times recommending Raymond C. Cleavanger for a position in Justice. 1 pg.
20	6	12/14/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Harry Flemming RE: Recommendation of Louis J. Wright. 1 pg.
20	6	12/11/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to W. Walter Williams RE: Contact information for Harry Flemming, John Dean, Dwight Chapin, Glen Olds and Murry Chatner. Also, referrals from Charlie Willis. 1 pg.
20	6	11/26/1968	Letter	Letter from W. Walter Williams to John Ehrlichman RE: Note from Charlie Willis and Williams' knowledge of Ilene Slater. Also, request for contact information for Harry Flemming, John Dean, Dwight Chapin, Glen Olds and Murray Chatner. 1 pg.
20	6	11/20/1968	Letter	Letter from Charles F. Willis, Jr. to Walter Williams RE: Recommendations for Sheila Tunney, Ilene Slater, Anne Devereux, Lucille Tutt and Lois Lippman. 1 pg.
20	6	01/06/1969	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Secretary Romney RE: Recommendation by John Goode of Arthur C. Troilo, Jr. 1 pg.

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20	6	12/12/1968	Memo	Memo from John Ehrlichman to Harry Flemming RE: Recommendation by Walter Mears of Arthur Gatenby. 1 pg.
20	6	N.D.	Other Document	Handwritten information about Arthur Gatenby. 1 pg.
20	6	12/04/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Harry Flemming RE: Recommendation by Craig Truax of Jack Crawford. 1 pg.
20	6	11/25/1968	Other Document	Telephone message form for John Ehrlichman RE: Message from Mr. Truax regarding the address of Jack Crawford. 2 pgs.
20	6	12/05/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to John Mitchell RE: Recommendation by Frank Shakespeare of Elmer W. Lower. 1 pg.
20	6	N.D.	Other Document	Biographical data for Elmer W. Lower. 5 pgs.
20	6	12/16/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Peter Flanagan RE: Suggestion by Harley Markham of Idaho Governor Robert Smiley for the Intergovernmental Commission. 1 pg.

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20	6	12/17/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Gerald P. Nye RE: Referring Nye's letter of November 26 to Robert H. Finch. 1 pg.
20	6	12/18/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Richard D. Mohn RE: Recommendation by Mohn of William H. Penrose for Maritime Administrator. 1 pg.
20	6	12/18/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Nancy Porter, Personal Secretary to Senator Edward W. Brooke RE: Receipt of resume of Herbert E. Tucker, Jr.
20	6	11/20/1968	Memo	Memo from John Ehrlichman to Peter Flanagan RE: Suggestion by Ray Price of Larry McQuade. Handwritten note by Flanagan to Ehrlichman. 1 pg.
20	6	11/20/1968	Memo	Copy of memo from John Ehrlichman to Peter Flanagan RE: Suggestion by Ray Price of Larry McQuade. 1 pg.
20	6	11/29/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from James D. Hughes to Dudley Swim RE: Swim's recommendation of George W. Anderson, III. 1 pg.
20	6	11/23/1968	Letter	Letter from Dudley Swim to RN RE: Recommendation of George W. Anderson, III. 1 pg.

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20	6	12/20/1966	Other Document	Resume of George W. Anderson. 2 pgs.
20	6	12/13/1968	Letter	Letter from Richard H. Slavin to John Ehrlichman RE: Recommendations for Lud Kramer, Albert G. Giles, Raymond T. Olsen and David K. Hartley. 2 pgs.
20	6	12/27/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Congressman John R. Rarick RE: Recommendation of Wallace U. Rouse. 1 pg.
20	6	12/20/1968	Letter	Letter from Congressman John R. Rarick to John Ehrlichman RE: Recommendation of Wallace U. Rouse. 1 pg.
20	6	12/30/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Senator Edward W. Brooke RE: Recommendation of William Dockser. 1 pg.
20	6	12/30/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Senator Edward W. Brooke RE: Recommendation of Graham Champey. 1 pg.
20	6	12/30/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Senator Edward W. Brooke RE: Recommendation and resume of Gustaf Coontz. 1 pg.

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20	6	12/31/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Charles E. Stuart to Senator Edward W. Brooke RE: Recommendation of George W. Snowden. 1 pg.
20	6	N.D.	Other Document	Handwritten note by unknown author specifying copy of letter to Harry Flemming. 2 pgs.
20	6	11/25/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from Bryce N. Harlow to John C. Holmes RE: Holmes' generous comments. Handwritten note to Ehrlichman's attention. 1 pg.
20	6	11/13/1968	Letter	Letter from John C. Holmes to Bryce N. Harlow RE: Congratulations and comments. 1 pg.
20	6	01/14/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Louis B. Nichols RE: Resume of Lt. General William J. Quinn. 1 pg.
20	6	01/14/1969	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to John Wendell Anderson II RE: Letter and resume. 1 pg.
20	6	11/19/1968	Memo	Memo from Bryce Harlow to John Ehrlichman RE: Telephone conversation with Congressman John Byrnes concerning Hamer Budge and Bob Meyer. 1 pg.

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20	6	11/25/1968	Letter	Letter from Pierson Keating to Peter M. Flanigan RE: Enclosed interview assessment form. 1 pg.
20	6	N.D.	Form	Blank "Preliminary Assesement" forms. Four total, one scanned. 2 pgs.
20	6	11/22/1968	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Reorganization of the National Committee and the Relationship Between the White House and National Committee. 22 pgs.
20	6	N.D.	Memo	Memo from Kevin Phillips to H. R. Haldeman RE: Analysis of the changing political trends during the final three weeks of the presidential campaign. 4 pgs.
20	6	N.D.	Memo	Memo from R. G. Kleindienst RE: Republican National Committee. 5 pgs.
20	6	01/03/1969	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Reorganization of the National Committee. 7 pgs.
20	6	01/03/1969	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Paul Laxalt needing encouragement from RN to run for the Senate against Senator Cannon. Also, Senator Williams of Delaware should be encouraged by Bryce Harlow and RN to stay on for one more term. 1 pg.

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20	6	01/03/1969	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Ambassadorship for Webster Todd and placement of Nelson Gross in New Jersey. 1 pg.
20	6	01/03/1969	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Bill Brock and Dan Kuykendall and their interest in Albert Gore's Tennessee Senate seat. 1 pg.

January 16, 1969

The Honorable Robert W. Packwood
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Packwood:

Your recommendation for Mr. Robert G. Efteland has been received by this office.

I am passing your letter along to Peter Flanigan who is concerning himself with top-level appointees.

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES:sw

January 14, 1969

Mr. C. Stanley Blair
Secretary of State
Executive Department
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Dear Stan:

Thank you for Harry T. Solomon's resume.

I have noted that the Governor is interested in Mr. Solomon's appointment as Commissioner of Territories in the Virgin Islands, and I have forwarded it to Peter Flanigan's review committee for attention.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw
bcc: Peter Flanigan

To: Peter Flanigan

Date: January 14, 1969

From: John D. Ehrlichman

Subject: John Wendell Anderson II

This is a fellow, in fact the only one of which I am aware, strongly recommended by Nick Ruwe.

He has had extensive foreign commercial experience and is ready, willing, and able to help.

You might contact Nick Ruwe if you need additional information. He was in Spain.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw
Attachments

December 24, 1968

Mr. Cammann Newberry
Administrative Assistant to
Senator E. W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Newberry:

Your letter to Mr. Ehrlichman recommending Mr. T. J. McTiernan for federal employment has been received.

Mr. Ehrlichman has asked me to thank you for your interest and for your suggestion and to assure you that Mr. McTiernan will get our very best consideration.

With best wishes to you and to Senator Brooke, for whom I have very great admiration, I am

Very truly yours,



Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES:sw

Receipt —

December 20, 1968

Mr. Edward R. Perry
256 South Street
Medfield, Massachusetts 02052

Dear Mr. Perry:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 5.

We have forwarded your letter to Washington, D. C. for review by the proper committee.

Thank you for your interest and for writing.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

December 23, 1968

Mr. James A. Cook
549 Midvale Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter of December 18.

Sub-Cabinet officers are being screened by the committee chaired by Peter M. Flanigan of this office.

Rather than to contact Cabinet members direct, which would be a chancy project at best, I would suggest that you call Peter Flanigan and indicate to him any special areas of interest which you have.

By a copy of this letter I will notify Peter that he will be hearing from you and will attach your most recent resume.

Best personal regards, and best wishes for the holiday season.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

bcc: Peter Flanigan
JDE:sw

C

James A. Cook
549 Midvale Avenue
Los Angeles, California
90024

December 18, 1968

Mr. John Ehrlichman
Office of the President-Elect
Richard M. Nixon
Hotel Pierre
Fifth Avenue at 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear John:

Now that the ranking Cabinet officers have been announced, I wonder if it is feasible and advisable for me to make myself known to them, directly, for potential consideration at levels approximating that of Assistant, Deputy, Deputy Assistant, etc?

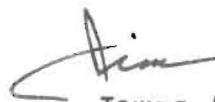
Since this is a question as much of propriety as of competence and qualifications, I shall phone you for an opinion first. In the interim, I understand my general availability is known to Harry Fleming.

As I mentioned previously, my initial interest centers around the liaison, coordination, and decision-assisting services of the Executive Office. However, at the Departmental level my most obvious qualifications should be of immediate applicability to State, Defense, or Commerce and allied Agency offices, including USIA.

The enclosures duplicate those of my previous letter.

That ominous problem of the Middle East is a topic in which I've had long-term exposure, with appreciation for all its nuances and innuendoes, and this may further endorse my immediate usefulness.

Sincerely,



James A. Cook
213-657-6460
213-GRanite 9-2822

Enclosures

To: Peter Flanigan

Date: December 23, 1968

From: John D. Ehrlichman

Subject: Director, Internal Revenue Service

Robert Meyers, a tax attorney in Los Angeles, has been suggested to me as an ideal selection for director of the Internal Revenue Service.

I have not seen Bob in many years, but I think Finch undoubtedly knows him from recent contact.

As I recall, he presents an excellent image and would be a logical selection.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

cc: Bob Finch
John Mitchell

December 23, 1968

Senator George A. Smathers
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Smathers:

Bebe Rebozo has forwarded to me your letter of
December 6 recommending Norma Canova.

I have forwarded the information which you furnished
Bebe to our review committee in Washington, D. C., where, I
am sure, it will receive immediate attention.

Thank you for your interest in referring Miss Canova
to us.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

bcc: C. G. Rebozo

January 7, 1969

Senator Robert P. Griffin
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Griffin:

Thank you for your letter of December 30 advising of Lieutenant Governor Crutcher's interest in being appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

I have referred your letter to Congressman Laird, our Secretary of Defense-designate for attention.

Thank you for your continuing interest in our recruiting efforts.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw
bcc: Bryce Harlow
Congressman M. Laird
Peter Flanigan

Xc - Bro Herlee - Congressman Laird - Peter Flanigan
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
MICHIGAN

Answer

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 30, 1968

Mr. John Ehrlichman
Office of the President-Elect
Hotel Pierre
5th Avenue and 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ehrlichman:

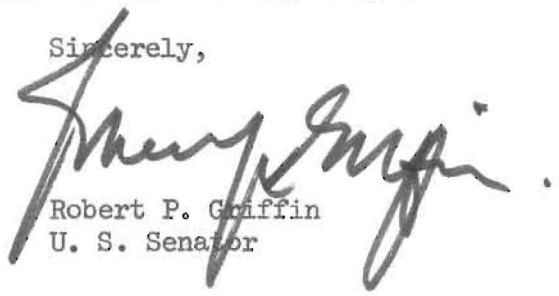
It has come to my attention that Lieutenant Governor John Crutcher of Kansas is interested in being appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

X

Although I am not personally acquainted with John Crutcher, I know that he is doing a fine job in Kansas and is a most enthusiastic member of the Naval Reserve.

With best wishes and my kind regards, I am

Sincerely,



Robert P. Griffin
U. S. Senator

RPG:hm

To: Bryce Harlow
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Orren Beaty

Date: January 7, 1969

Here is a resume of Orren Beaty. Is this recommendation for re-appointment yours?

It occurs to me that this is the area in which we have all of the unrest by Mexican-Americans seeking land reform.

Would we be better advised to appoint a qualified Mexican-American to this position under the circumstances? It would tend to receive maximum notoriety in areas where we have high density of Mexican-American population.

I would be interested in your feelings on this.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

January 7, 1969

Mr. Joseph A. Shepard
Black Enterprises Today, Inc.
5707 McPherson
St. Louis, Missouri 63112

Dear Mr. Shepard:

I have read your letter of December 17 with great interest.

On the subject of your Navy service, I am not at all sure what might be done after the new administration goes into office on January twentieth, but I am sure that until that time, there is absolutely nothing we can do to be of assistance to you. I will not say anything to encourage your hope that we might delay your induction, since I simply do not know what we might or might not do.

Your black capitalism projects are founded on interesting premises which I would like our people to know about. I am handing your letter to Mr. Bob Brown, special assistant to the President-elect, who has wide familiarity with this subject. I am asking him to give particular attention to your request for assistance in meeting your administrative costs.

Prior to the twentieth you can address Mr. Brown here. After that date, he can be reached at the White House. I encourage you to establish further contact with him on this subject.

In the matter of your military status, I can only suggest that you write to the Secretary of Defense-designate, Congressman Melvin Laird, at his Congressional offices, and explain the situation to him. I have no idea whether he can or will be of assistance to you, but it would seem to be the logical place to start.

Congratulations on the efforts that you have been making. There is no question but that they are constructive and, apparently, fruitful.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

cc: John K. Andrews
30 Reclare Lane
St. Louis, Missouri 63112

Bob Brown

JOHN K. ANDREWS

#30 Roofare Lane
St. Louis, Missouri 63131

December 18, 1968

Dear John:

This is simply a note from me by way of introduction of Joe Shepard in whose behalf I am forwarding the enclosed letter. Just what labyrinth of mail this will have to go through to reach you, I don't know, but the best address I have for you is still the old one in Bellevue. The U.S. Mail will triumph, I'm sure.

Joe graduated from Principia College last June with our Jim, so I know Joe reasonably well. He played first string varsity football, so he is a very manly kind of a fellow. Following graduation, he and another classmate and one other gentleman here in St. Louis undertook a noble and ambitious project to help Negroes here in St. Louis. As admirable as the project seemed, no one looked for Joe to stick at it very long. Joe's college friend has gone into the six month Army Reserve program, but Joe and the other man have stuck hard at their project. Joe has been accepted into a February Naval OCS class, and until just recently he was genuinely looking forward to the service experience. However, as his BET project has gained a bit of momentum, Joe has come to feel that he would almost be deserting the Negro cause if he were to leave for the service. At this point, he feels quite a sense of desparation in seeking the right answer. That, however, is not at all his reason for wanting to get his message to you. He very sincerely feels that he has something worthwhile for the Nixon Administration to consider. While I cannot vouch at all for Joe's program, I can give a hearty endorsement to his motive, his sincerity, and his commitment to a very timely issue.

I know the demands on your time are multitudinous, but perhaps you can at least channel Joe's letter in the right direction.

Best regards,



January 7, 1969

Mr. Clarke Reed
State Chairman
Mississippi Republican Party
Post Office Box 1178
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Clarke:

Thank you for your letter of December 30 concerning
Joe Moss and Stan Rademaker.

I have referred your recommendation to Secretary-designate
Hardin and Peter Flanigan for their particular consideration.

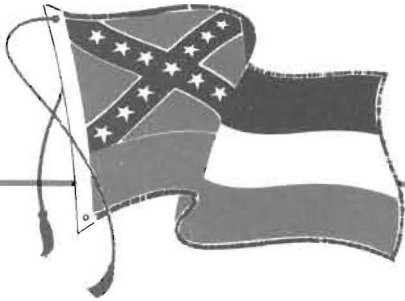
Best personal regards.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

bcc: Secretary-designate Hardin
Peter Flanigan



MISSISSIPPI REPUBLICAN PARTY

P. O. BOX 1178

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

948-5191

xc: Secretary (Gardin)
Peter Flanigan

December 30, 1968

Mr. John Ehrlichman
Office of the President Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

With this letter we strongly recommend the reappointment of Joe Moss as Director of the Cotton Policy Staff, ASCA, USDA and the reappointment of Stan Rademaker as Director of the Cotton Division, Agricultural Marketing Service. It is our understanding that these are technical positions requiring a specialist and they relate specifically and solely to cotton.

We make these recommendations at the request of a number of leading Mississippi Republicans who are cotton farmers and directly involved with these offices at the USDA. The supporters of this recommendation include Richard Shaw of Sidon, Mississippi who was the State Nixon for President campaign chairman and J. T. Thomas of Cruger, Mississippi who was the State Farmers for Nixon chairman as well as a number of RN Associates from the cotton farming area of Mississippi. In addition these appointments are supported by the Delta Council, a regional Chamber of Commerce and development association in cotton farming area of the state.

In summary, our leading Republican cotton farmers in the state are pleased with the performance of Moss and Rademaker in their present positions and urge their reappointment. Therefore we strongly support and recommend these men.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Clarke Reed".

Clarke Reed,
State Chairman

CR/sa

cc: Harry Flemming
Richard Shaw
Tol Thomas
B. F. Smith

Fighting for Mississippi and America!

January 4, 1969

Mr. James M. Reynolds, President
Reynolds Printasign Company
9830 San Fernando Road
Pacoima, California 91331

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter and the resume of Charles H. Sword,
which we are glad to have.

I notice that he was at Stanford Law School when I was, but he
was a couple of years ahead of me and I'm afraid I don't remem-
ber him.

In any event, a fellow who is your ^fwife's cousin, a graduate of
Whittier High School, and a Standord lawyer could be said to
have quite a bit going for him at this point. I'll see to it
that his resume gets in the right hands.

I look forward to seeing you at the inauguration. Happy New
Year.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE/hg

bcc: Peter Flanigan

P FLAN
w/ccc of reply

REYNOLDS PRINTASIGN CO.

9830 SAN FERNANDO ROAD PACOIMA CALIFORNIA 91331 PHONE 899-5281

January 2, 1968

Mr. John Ehrlichman
Office of the President-Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

I am enclosing a copy of a resume, the original of which was sent to Washington, D. C. in response to a questionnaire for recommendations sent to Mr. John B. Lawson, Vice President of Philco-Ford, Newport Beach, California.

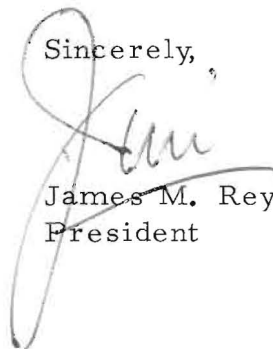
I want to send along this copy with highest personal endorsement of Charles. The fact that he is a cousin of my wife, Zelta, only adds to my unconditional enthusiasm for as the saying goes, "You can pick your friends, but you can't pick your relatives!"

Charles is bright, conscientious, and dedicated. I envy his calm and well reasoned drive, his honesty and quiet directness.

If any of the positions for which Charles is applying, or any related areas should be available, the Nixon Administration will have at its disposal a man who will make an outstanding public servant who will be a credit to his country and the Nixon Administration.

Wishing you and your family a healthy and exciting New Year. I shall look for you at the Inaugural.

Sincerely,



James M. Reynolds,
President

:esn
Enclosure

January 8, 1969

The Honorable Louis B. Nunn
Governor of Kentucky
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601

Dear Governor Nunn:

Thank you for your letter recommending Mr. James Rash, Jr., for appointment as Deputy Assistant Postmaster General in the Post Office Department in Washington.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding Mr. Rash's resume to Red Blount, our Postmaster General-designate for his review and consideration.

It is obvious that Mr. Rash has an excellent background, and he will certainly be given every consideration, particularly in light of your fine recommendation.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:EM:sw

bcc: Secretary-designate Blount

January 6, 1969

Mr. Angel F. Rivera
Special Assistant to the Governor
22 West 55th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Rivera:

Thank you very much for sending us the resume of Mr. Luis Diaz Carlo.

His resume is certainly most impressive, and I have placed it in the hands of the individuals responsible for recruitment here in the New York office, in order that it receive early attention.

Many thanks for your continuing interest.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

January 6, 1969

John Goode, Esquire
Sawtelle, Goode, Troilo, Davidson & Leighton
1002 San Antonio Savings Building
San Antonio, Texas 78205

Dear John:

It is certainly great to hear from you. I was in San Antonio a while back and hoped to have some time off to look you up, but somehow or another, it did not quite work out.

I am well aware of your Congressional efforts and followed them with interest. From all reports you ran an excellent race.

I especially want to thank you for the resume of your partner, Arthur Troilo. As you may know, we have a special interest in furthering the involvement of people from your part of the country and particularly those of Mexican-American descent. Mr. Troilo seems to fill the bill in excellent fashion, and I am going to place his resume in the hands of Secretary Romney and Peter Flanigan immediately.

If you ever find yourself in Washington, I hope you will take the time to give me a call; I would like to renew old acquaintances. Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

To: Dr. H. Kissinger
From: Charles E. Stuart

Date: January 2, 1969

Attached is the resume of Thomas Muerer. Tom is the advance man John Ehrlichman discussed with you on Sunday, December 15.

Charles E. Stuart

CES/hg
Att.

To: Chuck Stuart

Date: December 16, 1968

From: John D. Ehrlichman

Subject: Thomas Muir

MUERER

214-358-3171

MUERER

Will you please get a complete resume of Thomas Muir?
We may have one on file from the advance man days. If we do, send it to Dr. Kissinger's office immediately to his personal attention with a note saying this is the young man that he and I discussed on the telephone on Sunday, the fifteenth. If we do not have a resume for him, then please call Tom and get one airtailed so that Dr. Kissinger can see it, because he has to begin making some personnel selections within the week.

JDE:sw


John D. Ehrlichman

To: Chuck Stuart
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Thomas Muir

Date: December 16, 1968

Will you please get a complete resume of Thomas Muir. We may have one on file from the advance man ~~days~~. If we do, send it to Dr. Kissinger's office immediately to his personal attention with a note saying this is the young man that he and I discussed on the telephone on Sunday, the fifteenth. If we do not have a resume for him, then please call Tom and get one airmailed so that Dr. Kissinger can see it, because he has to begin making some personnel selections within the week.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

January 2, 1969

The Honorable Edward W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Brooke:

Your recommendation for Miss Ruth E. Bacon as Ambassador to
New Zealand has been received and passed along to Peter Flanigan.
You are a veritable employment service!

With thanks for your continued interest in our staffing problems,
I am

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES/hg

To: C. Knudsen

Date: January 2, 1969

From: Charles E. Stuart

Re: Attached Recommendations

My father has passed the attached along to me with his endorsement as indicated.

Al Landesco's name is familiar to me. I believe we may have a recommendation on him from another source. I think Dad is very high on him.

Father called me yesterday to say that he had heard a rumor that Charles Kerfow would be appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Installation and Logistics. Kerfow is presently Chief Clerk of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator Russell.

Father became aware of this rumor when several members of industry called to say they had heard the rumor and were alarmed. Kerfow, industry feels, is not at all the man for this job. He is not in any way qualified for this highly technical position.

All defense suppliers are vitally concerned with the appointees in the area of procurement. They view these positions as ones which require particularly high degrees of competence and a great deal of specialized knowledge.

We should give these procurement jobs our best thinking.

Charles E. Stuart

CES/hg

MEMORANDUM

December 4, 1968

TO: Harry Fleming

FROM: Ken Cole

Attached is a memo from Tom Evans and related correspondence recommending Mr. Jamie Humes for a position in the administration.

Based on our current projections of needs for the White House staff, it does not appear that we will be able to utilize Mr. Humes. However, he should receive strong consideration for a sub-cabinet position in the government.

KC:eo
Atts.

cc: John Ehrlichman ✓
Pat Buchanan
Tom Evans

To: John Mitchell
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Peter Fay

Date: December 16, 1968

I have a radical suggestion for Solicitor.

You may remember Peter Fay, who is Bill Frates' partner in Miami. He is the young Democratic Nixon-Agnew Chairman in Miami who did such a good job for us.

His image is unbeatable. Aside from being a Nixon Democrat, he is young, handsome, has a beautiful blond wife, and three young children. He is a pre-eminent trial lawyer with a great depth of experience. He and Bill are the seniors in a firm of about twenty lawyers.

I do not know if you could get him, but if you could, I think it might be a real stroke.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

To: John Mitchell

Date: December 16, 1968

From: John D. Ehrlichman

Subject: Raymond C. Cleavanger

Bob Semple of THE NEW YORK TIMES highly recommends a young attorney named Raymond C. Cleavanger for a position in Justice.

His resume either has been sent to us or is being sent to us under separate cover.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

To: Harry Flemming
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Louis J. Wright

Date: December 14, 1968

A friend of mine has recommended Louis J. Wright, 631 East Sixth Street, Hinsdale, Illinois (312-323-6586), who is general manager of the Chicago office of New York Life Insurance Company.

Apparently he has a resume on file which he sent to Bob Haldeman.

The recommendation which I have received is of the strongest and highest character. Mr. Wright is interested in urban redevelopment and is undoubtedly a prospect for a responsible position in H. U. D.

Would you please correlate this recommendation with the material you already have on file and give it careful consideration?

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

December 11, 1968

Mr. W. Walter Williams
701 Second Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98104

Dear Walter:

You can reach Harry Flemming at the following address:

G. S. A. Building #7
Office of the President-elect
Washington, D. C.

So far as I know, John Dean, Dwight Chapin, and Glen Olds
can be addressed at:

450 Park Avenue
New York, New York.

I think Murry Chatner has gone back to his office in Newport Beach, California, but I am not certain.

Thank you for the referrals from Charlie Willis.

I am sending you some additional questionnaire forms. When you have a communication from someone like this, it would help us a great deal if you would have them fill out these questionnaire forms in order that we have the address and other particulars on the people whom they are recommending. It is good to hear from you, Walter.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

W. WALTER WILLIAMS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

November 26, 1968

PERSONAL

Mr. John Ehrlichman
Nixon Headquarters
Pierre Hotel
New York, New York

Dear John:

Charlie Willis sent this little note to me recently.

I did not have sufficient contact with four of these five to have any solid information as to their capacity. The fifth one, however, Ilene Slater, served as my secretary when I was Chairman of the Citizens for Eisenhower organization. She was a whiz. She subsequently became Sherman Adams' secretary in the White House. More recently, she has passed the New York Bar exam, which gives you an idea of her qualifications.

Ilene became some kind of a secretary for Governor Rockefeller. In a word, as to ability, Ilene is tops; as to her Rockefeller political affiliation, I would not know whether this would be a factor one way or the other.

I shall try to give you objective information on any names which come to my attention.

Sincerely yours,



W. Walter Williams

WWW/gc

Enclosure

P. S. John, could you send me Murray Chotiner's mailing address. Thanks.



*Also how do I address
John ~~Slater~~, ^{WWW} Harry Flemming, Dwight Chapin
and Glenn ~~Slater~~?*



Golden Nugget
Jet service

SEATTLE-TACOMA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98158

ALASKA AIRLINES

Charles F. Willis Jr.
President
and General Manager

November 20, 1968

Mr. Walter Williams
Chairman of the Board
Continental, Inc.
701 Second Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98104

Dear Walter:

On the chance that the President-elect would be interested in having some experienced staff people at the White House with him, you might care to recommend the following people who, I believe, would be very interested in going back into the executive secretary spot at the White House.

Sheila Tunney
Ilene Slater
Anne Devereux
Lucille Tutt
Lois Lippman

Sincerely,

To: Secretary Romney

Date: January 6, 1969

From: John D. Ehrlichman

Re: Arthur C. Troilo, Jr.

Enclosed is a letter from John Goode, former Republican Chairman in San Antonio, Texas, recommending consideration of Arthur C. Troilo, Jr., who is one of his law partners, of Mexican-American descent, age 37, and extremely well-experienced in problems of urban renewal, municipal codes and ordinances, city planning and zoning, and allied fields. He apparently has had considerable active experience in low-income housing development.

He would seem to be an excellent prospect.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

cc: Peter Flanigan

To: Harry Flemming
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Arthur Gatenby

Date: December 12, 1968

Walter Mears of the A. P. recommends consideration for:
Arthur Gatenby, Chichester Lane, Fairfax, Virginia.

He is age 33, in the Washington office of Booz, Allen, Hamilton, Management Consultants, married with 2 children, a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, and the holder of a Masters degree in Business Administration.

He is interested in coming into this Administration and, as a courtesy to Walter Mears if nothing else, we should take a look at this gentleman.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw

Gatenby, Arthur

Chichester, Lane
Fairfax Va

33

B. Allen Hamilton - Wash Office

Wants Gov Exp.

M. 2C

RP Inst.

MBA

per
Walker
means

To: Harry Flemming
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Call from Craig Truax

Date: December 4, 1968

Craig Truax called to recommend Jack Crawford, who works for Lockheed Aviation in Burbank, California.

He is a Negro in his early 30's, 6'2", and 260 pounds who is a graduate attorney. He works in labor relations in Lockheed's Personnel Department, and Craig feels that he is an individual of the highest quality. He has some personal past contact with the Nixon family. He worked in the campaign for Craig Truax, meeting with key Negro independents in urban areas.

Truax feels that he could be extremely effective if he could be persuaded to come with us. His address is:

904 Manzanita Avenue
Pasadena, California.

His telephone number is: (213) 681-8139.

John D. Ehrlichman

JDE:sw
cc: Leonard Garment

To Mr. Eshlichman

Date 11/25 Time 12¹⁵ A.M.
P.M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M 7 Trux

of _____

Area Code & Exchange _____

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
	RETURNED YOUR CALL		

Message is following up conversa-
tion of last week with address
of Mr. Jack Crawford: 904
Manzanita Avenue - Pasadena,
California.
 Operator sw
 Tel: (213) 681-8139

Howard Allen

Op 74 (7/14) 621-
Pamora Calif 1766
WRITE FOR MORE

Horkan

\$ 2.00

5/11/66
Pamora, Calif

To: John Mitchell
From: John D. Ehrlichman
Subject: Elmer W. Lower

Date: December 5, 1968

Frank Shakespeare strongly recommends Elmer Lower for director of USIA or, at the least, of VOA.

Enclosed is his resume.

As you will see, Mr. Lower is President of ABC news.

JDE:sw
cc: Peter Flanigan
Enclosure

John D. Ehrlichman



BIOGRAPHICAL DATA -- ELMER W. LOWER

Personal History

Born March 7, 1913, in Kansas City, Missouri. Educated in public schools there. Awarded Bachelor of Journalism degree by School of Journalism, University of Missouri, in June, 1933. Spent one summer session (1940) doing graduate work in economics at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Attended Columbia University full-time during 1958-59 academic year (Graduate Faculties of Public Law and Government); attended Georgetown University Graduate School at night, three semesters, 1959-60-61, completing course requirements for M.A. Languages: French (fluent); German (rudimentary).

Married June 9, 1938, to Gilberta Stengel. Two children: Louis Gordon Lower, born July 3, 1945, presently in his second year at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and John Wilson Lower, born June 22, 1948, presently a junior in the School of Speech at Northwestern University. Religion: Protestant. Politics: Independent.

Professional Experience

(A 36-year career in newspaper, press association, magazine, propaganda, and radio and television work has carried me from a middlewestern county courthouse around the world and back again, with heavy experience in county, state, national and international politics, and in reporting major news events of more than three decades of violent world history. This experience is listed chronologically for better perspective.)

Depression-Era Reporter (1933)

College boys were working for dimes when I finished Missouri's famed "J School" in 1933. I was lucky enough to catch a job as courthouse reporter for the Louisville, Kentucky, Herald-Post, (now defunct) at \$10 per week. I covered the local change of power from Republicans to Democrats in Jefferson County, with all its graft exposure. Learned the practical rudiments of journalism under tough competition from the Bingham papers, the Louisville Times and Courier-Journal. Moved on to the Flint, Michigan, Journal.

Legislative Correspondent (1935)

As United Press Bureau Manager in Jefferson City, Missouri, I covered the 1935 session of the State Legislature, reporting how the lobbyists wrote the new liquor and insurance bills, how Boss Tom Pendergast dipped into an insurance slush fund which finally sent him to Leavenworth.

Young Executive (1936)

UP named me, at 23, Manager of its Cleveland, Ohio, bureau, handling relations with its biggest paying client, the Cleveland Press. This was a record news year in Cleveland -- Republican, Townsend, Socialist, Coughlin and American Legion conventions, first sit-down strikes in the world at Akron rubber plants, Ohio Valley floods, capture of public enemy number one in Toledo.

Washington Correspondent (1937)

I arrived in Washington just as the Roosevelt program was meeting its first Supreme Court tests -- the NRA "sick chicken" case, social security, gold devaluation. I stood in a cold January rain to report FDR's second Inauguration; followed his long fight to pack the Court. My job here was Overnight News Editor, preparing the early day news report which is the basis of a press association's daily Washington coverage.

Picture Journalism (1938)

With LIFE's sensational debut, picture journalism was the beckoning field of opportunity in 1937 as other publishers moved in to tap the vein. NEA Service (Acme Newspictures) signed me up to write its new rotogravure service. This included a wide variety of picture and feature chores, sent me to Europe in the fall of 1938 during the Munich "peace in our time" crisis.

Wirephoto Editor (1939)

As Associated Press extended its "world's fastest" Wirephoto network, I joined its Chicago bureau as Assignment Editor, worked on the Democratic Convention that nominated FDR for a third term and Henry Wallace as his Veep. Organized picture coverage of the hot campaign that followed (notable photo -- the "rotten-egging" of Republican candidate Willkie in Milwaukee). While working nights during 1940 summer, studied economics at Northwestern University during day. AP moved me to New York Desk as Photo Assignment Editor as Nazis over-ran Europe and as their submarines harassed U.S. East Coast.

Wartime Propaganda (1942-45)

I signed up as one of the early birds (March, 1942) of Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan's propaganda organization (COI), stayed with it when Elmer Davis took it over as OWI. Worked in Cairo to convince the Arabs not to "rock the ship" as Rommel drove through to El Alamein; followed the Mediterranean war to North Africa with Allied Forces Headquarters, on to Naples as the slow campaign started up the Italian peninsula. Moved to London as Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, organized a Psychological Warfare Division.

My job in all these hot spots was assuring maximum use of photographs in the psychological warfare campaign. This included setting up a radiophoto network transmitting photos to 12 European and African capitals outside the Nazi orbit. We had Normandy invasion photos in all of these places within 12 hours after H-hour.

Foreign Correspondent for LIFE Magazine (1945-51)

LIFE recruited me in October, 1944, to set up its first bureau on the continent after the liberation of Paris. I operated this bureau for three and a half years, engineering such notable exclusives as the only picture story ever done on the French Communist Party. After 18 months as LIFE's West Coast Editor in Los Angeles, I returned to the foreign field, this time as a roving man in the Orient. Notable stories: Cremation of the young King of Siam, marriage and coronation of his brother; British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' conference in Ceylon; jungle warfare in Burma and Malaya; a light story on Malaya's "Beach of Passionate Love"; LIFE cover story on "Peg Leg" Admiral Hoskins in Korea; TIME cover story on Tenth Corps' General Almond in Korea. During the first four months of the Korean War, I was the TIME-LIFE anchor man in Tokyo with over-all coverage responsibility for Japan and Korea.

Biggest U.S. Propaganda Machine (1951-53)

In September, 1951, I turned to fighting the cold war from the front in Germany. Once again back in Propaganda, I was Chief of the Information Division in the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. This division, operating on an annual budget of more than 42,000,000 German marks (equivalent of \$10,000,000), included a 300-kw radio station which penetrated the Iron Curtain from Berlin 24 hours a day; daily newspapers (Die Neue Zeitung) published in Western Germany and Berlin (combined circulation, 200,000 daily); a monthly magazine (Der Monat) of political and cultural high level opinion; a film production and exhibition program which reached 5,000,000 Germans a month; 50 special pamphlets a year; a news-feature-photo service that reached 700 German newspapers and magazines. Division personnel totalled 50 Americans and 1,650 Germans. It was the biggest propaganda effort the U.S. -- or any nation except Russia -- had ever made in any single country. My job there was one of editorial management.

The Television Age (1953-1965)

CBS - Washington (1953)

When the "golden spike" made Television a Coast-to-Coast operation, CBS News recruited me to head its Washington bureau. This period saw the first film cameras admitted to a President's news conference (Eisenhower, 1953). The televised McCarthy hearings unhorsed another American demagogue. Television was a virtual eyewitness as a trio of Puerto Rican nationalists shot up the U.S. House of Representatives.

CBS - New York (1954-59)

Elections and Conventions beckoned. CBS promoted me to New York as Director of Special Projects. In November, 1954, UNIVAC, a household word, told Americans how they had voted far ahead of the actual count. In 1956 the ubiquitous eye penetrated the far reaches of smoke-filled halls as Adlai Stevenson was nominated for a second time in Chicago. It recorded the feeble efforts of Harold Stassen to dump Richard Nixon from the sure-fire Eisenhower ticket. In 1958 we recorded the Democratic resurgence that left Ike with a weak Republican House and Senate. My part in all of this was one of organizing a task force of 500 persons to stage mammoth, tour-de-force operations at a cost of \$7,500,000 for a typical Presidential Election year.

Time-Out for Graduate Study (1958-59)

My concentration on government in these activities inspired me to apply for a grant from the Fund for Adult Education (Ford Foundation). I won a Fellowship and spent the 1958-59 academic year in the Columbia University Graduate Faculties of Public Law and Government. I devoted my studies to American history and government. During this year I was invited to be a "Distinguished Lecturer" for a week as the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri observed its Golden Anniversary. Later that year the University awarded me its medal for "Distinguished Service to Journalism."

The Kennedy Era (1960-63)

In 1959 NBC enticed me away from CBS to head its Washington bureau. It was a busy year. I accompanied President Eisenhower to Europe, and spearheaded the coverage of Chairman Khrushchev's visit to the United States. Then came the Presidential campaign. I was the whip-cracker for NBC's prize-winning coverage of the Los Angeles and Chicago Conventions, the "Great Debates," and the unprecedented speed and analysis of the Election Night tabulations. I supervised the Inauguration coverage and five days later the first Presidential news conference ever televised live.

Back to New York (1961)

As NBC expanded, the News Department needed an executive who had a head for both administration and news coverage. I returned to New York as Director of News and Public Affairs. One big story piled on top of another. We introduced numerous innovations in Election coverage. As man was catapulted into space in the Mercury-Atlas series, we covered four and a half hours of flight, later around the clock. The budget exceeded \$30,000,000 for the News Department. The roster increased from 300 to 600. NBC News stole the No. 1 position in broadcast news from CBS, which had held it since 1938. I was promoted to the job of "Vice President and General Manager" of NBC News.

Joining the Underdog (1963 to present)

In the summer of 1963, ABC decided to make its move. With the Presidential Elections a year away, the "third network" sought a News executive who could launch a competitive operation to front-running NBC and CBS. The top management recruited me to become President of ABC News.

Twenty-four hours after my arrival we were covering a Pennsylvania mine rescue operation live, and two days later we presented continuous Radio and Television coverage of the civil rights "March on Washington." While I was engaged in doubling the staff, tragedy struck. An Assassin's bullet eliminated a great American President. I directed the uninterrupted four-day coverage that followed.

With Lyndon B. Johnson in the White House, an Election campaign was just around the corner. For the first time ABC was a competitive force, from the New Hampshire Primary on March 10, 1964, to the final Election on November 3, 1964.

Five years with ABC News have seen vast changes -- in the world as well as in our own news organization. Television has been an eyewitness to assassinations, street riots, space shots and wars, one cataclysmic event tumbling on top of the other. The ABC News staff has grown from 250 to 560 full-time employees plus an additional 250 part-timers around the world. Our annual budget has increased from \$13,000,000 to \$33,000,000.

During this period ABC News presented the most outstanding television program of the past ten years -- "AFRICA." Filling an entire evening of the schedule, four hours, "Africa" took 15 months and \$2,000,000 to produce. It was a box-office smash. One out of every two television viewers saw it.

Another innovation was the recent 90-minute coverage of the 1968 Republican and Democratic nominating conventions. Breaking away from the boring gavel-to-gavel coverage in effect since 1952, ABC News presented an hour and a half each night, summarizing events for busy viewers who lacked the time or interest to watch 6 to 12 hours each day. The results of this were: (1) ABC doubled its audience in comparison with 1964; and (2) the entire audience of the three networks was increased 20 per cent over 1964.

As President of ABC News, I speak, write and travel widely. The travel -- more than 100,000 miles each year -- has included two world tours, both with visits to our 28-man news task force in Vietnam.

In recognition of the growth of ABC News and of my contribution to broadcast journalism during the past 16 years, the International Radio and Television Society recently (March, 1968) awarded me its 1968 Gold Medal.

To: Peter Flanagan
From: John D. Ehrlichman

Date: December 16, 1968

Harley Markham suggests that Governor Robert Smiley, of Idaho, is interested in being chairman of the Intergovernmental Commission of which he is now a member.

JDE/hg

John D. Ehrlichman

December 17, 1968

The Honorable Gerald P. Nye
Hurley, Clark & Associates, Inc.
1108 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Senator Nye:

I have referred your interesting letter of November 26 to Robert H. Finch who will be Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the new Cabinet. Secretary Finch will undoubtedly be in touch with you concerning its contents.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE/hg

December 18, 1968

Mr. Richard D. Mohn
Assistant General Manager
Port of Seattle
Post Office Box 1209
Seattle, Washington

Dear Dick:

Thank you for your letter and the resume of William H. Penrose whom you suggest for Maritime Administrator, U. S. Maritime Administration.

I am happy to have this suggestion and the endorsements of your associates.

I have passed along your letter and the resume to the proper review committee for attention.

We have also heard from several other parties about Mr. Penrose and are happy to have this specific information.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

December 18, 1968

Miss Nancy Porter
Personal Secretary to
Senator Edward W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Miss Porter:

I have for acknowledgment the resume of Herbert E. Tucker, Jr., which is quite impressive.

I have forwarded it to the review committee for immediate attention.

Thank you for your courtesy in letting us have it.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanagan
FROM: John Ehrlichman
DATE: November 20, 1968

John -
Suggests him
for what?
Peter

Ray Price suggests Larry McQuade now Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International business. He was assistant to Paul Nitchze in DOD.

He has mentioned leaving government but may be induced to stay.

JE/sg

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanagan
FROM: John Ehrlichman
DATE: November 20, 1968

Ray Price suggests Larry McQuade now Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International business. He was assistant to Paul Nitchze in DOD.

He has mentioned leaving government but may be induced to stay.

JE/sg

S-X
Swim spl

bcc:
John Ehrlichman

file

November 29, 1968

Mr. Dudley Swim
Box 1590
Monterey, California 93940

Dear Mr. Swim:

On behalf of the President-Elect, I want to thank you for your letter of November 23, 1968 recommending Mr. George W. Anderson, III for selection as a Presidential Aide.

Mr. Anderson's background and professional qualifications certainly appear to equip him admirably for these duties. However, the White House Aides are drawn from the active ranks of the military services and, therefore, Mr. Anderson is not eligible for consideration. I have given your letter and the resume to the appropriate staff agency in the event his experience is needed elsewhere in the Government.

It was most thoughtful of you to make this recommendation and you may be sure that your interest is deeply appreciated.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

James D. Hughes
Colonel USAF
Armed Forces Aide to the
President-Elect

23 November 1968

Dear Dick:

George W. Anderson, III

You may want to restore a little color and splendor to the White House through some outstanding personalities as military aides.

For a naval aide, or other key appointment calling for a younger man with outstanding talent, character, and personality, you might want to consider George W. Anderson, III. He stands 6'2", weight 192 lbs.

The young Anderson is an Annapolis graduate, holds a commission in the Navy (has just been on active duty in the Vietnam area), and in addition, is a graduate of the Harvard School of Business.

He can be reached through his father, the former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral George W. Anderson, 1629 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., telephone (202) - 296-4558.

Attached is a copy of his biography. I should mention that I am very closely acquainted with the father, Admiral George Anderson, Jr., who is a star of stars, but I only know the son by reputation. Neither the father nor the son has requested, nor does either know, that I make this suggestion.

Best always,



President-Elect Richard M. Nixon
810 - 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Attention: Miss Rose Mary Woods

DS:ar

Enclosure

r e s u m e

George W. Anderson

124 Pilgrim Road
Wellesley, Mass. 02181
Phone: (617) 235-8525

Married, three children
6 ft. 2 in. 192 lbs.
Excellent Health

job objective Program Manager or comparable position which affords the opportunity to utilize personal initiative, organizational capability and technical adaptability.

education Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration

1965-1967 Candidate for MBA degree in June 1967. Primary academic emphasis in Control and courses related to program management. Additional courses included "Transportation Management". Twice elected to Executive Board of student governing body. Member of Finance and New Enterprise Clubs. Research report is on the economics of centralized or decentralized maintenance for Boeing 747 airplanes. Educational expenses completely financed through concurrent employment in professional position.

business experience Raytheon Company (Missile Systems Division) Bedford, Mass.

1965 to present Project Engineer reporting to Engineering Manager of Air to Air Missile Systems. Full time during interim period between resignation from the Navy and commencement of graduate studies plus half time during academic year. Position required planning, budgeting and coordination of diverse engineering efforts directed toward successful completion of defense contracts. Conducted and assisted in military operations research studies for determining systems requirements and evaluation of alternative systems. Aided in market analysis and development of marketing strategy for air to air missile systems. Represented the company in discussions with government officials and in negotiations with aerospace contractors. Familiar with program management techniques such as CPM and PERT.

military service Entered active duty in the Navy as an Ensign after graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1957. Immediately entered flight training. Served four years in the Pacific area as an attack pilot in jet squadron aboard aircraft carriers. Selected for U.S. Navy Test Pilot School in 1962 and served as experimental test pilot until voluntary transfer to Inactive Reserve as a lieutenant in 1965. All obligated service completed.

1962-1965 Three years experience as project manager. Responsible for evaluating airplanes and airborne equipment to determine the extent of compliance with contractual obligations and to determine suitability for operational use in the Navy. For example, organized and controlled the test and evaluation of the RA-5C, the newest and most complex attack/reconnaissance airplane in the Navy. Successfully completed this project in approximately twenty percent of the time and at substantially less cost than any other comparable evaluation. Duties included test planning and flying, coordination of specialized engineering groups, supervision of airplane maintenance, scheduling of tests to achieve maximum efficiency, report writing, oral presentations and conferences with top management of aerospace contractors.

1962-1965
(continued) Selected to participate on five man ad hoc committee instructed to make recommendations for reorganization to improve efficiency of 800 man military unit consisting of civilian and military personnel. All of committee recommendations subsequently implemented.

1958-1962 Personnel Officer and Assistant Administrative officer of a Navy unit consisting of 150 officers and enlisted personnel. Commended for creating and implementing personnel policies which were responsible for a significant increase in the re-enlistment rate during periods of adverse conditions while serving in Southeast Asia area.

Assistant Maintenance Officer for an aircraft squadron consisting of twelve jet airplanes. Responsibilities included scheduling aircraft maintenance, implementing maintenance procedures, supervision of quality control, supervision of spare parts purchase and overall supervision of 100 enlisted men. Commended for creating effective quality control program for aircraft maintenance when entire naval aviation maintenance procedures were revamped.

other education United States Naval Academy Annapolis, Maryland

1953-1957 Bachelor of Science degree in June 1957. Competed in varsity baseball, intramural boxing and football. participated in After Dinner Speaking and Foreign Language Club.

Georgetown University Washington, D. C.

1952-1953 Attended for one year majoring in mathematics in preparation for U. S. Naval Academy. Earned varsity monogram in swimming and active on campus radio station.

early background Raised in Washington, D. C., the oldest of three children. Father a naval officer ultimately becoming Chief of Naval Operations and recently served as U. S. Ambassador to Portugal. Attended private high school, played football, basketball and baseball and graduated in June 1952. Summer jobs included greenskeeper on golf course, working on a farm and life guard.

outside activities and interests Member of Toastmasters Club and Parent-Teachers Association. Coached "Pony League" baseball team. Low handicap golfer.

History, flying, government and most sports.

20 December 1966

DANIEL J. EVANS
GOVERNOR



DR. RICHARD H. SLAVIN
DIRECTOR

STATE OF WASHINGTON
Office of the Governor
PLANNING AND COMMUNITY AFFAIRS AGENCY
OLYMPIA, WASHINGTON 98501

December 13, 1968

cc: Secys:
Romney & Finch
Volpe

Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect
Office of the President-elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear John:

I was quite surprised to receive such a prompt answer from what I am sure is such a busy schedule. I am curious as to which of my letters you finally received.

Most of my contacts were developed while I was Administrative Assistant to Governor Smith, a member of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, and as an official of the National Governor's Conference, Council of State Planning Agencies' Executive Board. However, I have been very much impressed with Lud Kramer and the work he has accomplished in the last year as the Chairman of Governor Evans' Urban Affairs Council; and, therefore, was quite pleased to learn from him that he was interested in working for the Nixon Administration in HUD.

As I mentioned in our earlier correspondence, I am particularly interested in seeing people join the Administration who have had experience at the state level, in order that the problems that we encounter at least have a sympathetic ear, particularly in the determination of policy and of guidelines. As you know, we have now entered the era of "government by guidelines", and if states and communities are to survive we are going to have to be active participants in the formulation of these guidelines before they become "embedded in concrete".

Several of the persons who have impressed me the most and who I know personally and think would be an asset to this area are:

Albert G. Giles, who is the Director of the Department of Urban Affairs for Governor Rhodes. Al is a person in his late forties, is a lawyer and has spent the last twenty years in public administration at various levels of state and local government, and is a key figure in the Rhodes Administration in the area of urban affairs. His address is 50 West Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio, 43215. In a recent conversation with Al in Chicago, he displayed a great deal of interest in moving to D. C.

Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
Office of the President-elect
December 13, 1968

page two

Another person I think should be considered is Mr. Raymond T. Olsen, Director of the Minnesota State Planning Agency, Room 603, Capitol Square, 550 Cedar Street, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55101. Ray has been extremely active in this area of planning, programming, and budgeting, and has been very active in developing some first-rate programs for the State of Minnesota.

The third person I would like to suggest is Mr. David K. Hartley, who is currently the Director of the Council of State Planning Agencies at 1735 DeSales Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Dave, a lawyer by birth and education, has done a remarkable job as a member of the National AIP staff and as coordinator of our programs to AIP. Dave not only has the involvement of state planning, but has practiced the art at the local level and for the last several years single handedly developed within the AIP an executive state planning concept.

I hope these suggestions will be of benefit to you. I am scheduled to be in D. C. early in January for a speech. Perhaps we can get together.

Best regards and have a Merry Christmas,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Slavin". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Richard H. Slavin
Director
RHS:j

December 27, 1968

The Honorable John R. Rarick
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Rarick:

Your letter recommending Mr. Wallace U. Rouse for federal employment has been received.

Please be assured that your request will be given special consideration by our employment section.

Thanking you for your interest and for your recommendation, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES/hg

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

JOHN R. RARICK
6TH DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

COMMITTEE:
AGRICULTURE

December 20, 1968

Mr. John B. Erilchman
450 Park Ave.
New York, New York

Re: Mr. Wallace U. Rouse
Port Chester, New York

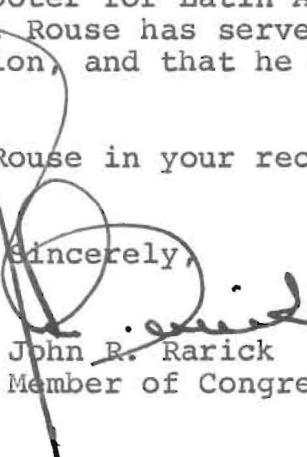
Dear Mr. Erilchman:

I understand that you may be in a position to recommend the above gentleman for an important position in the new administration.

Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to call to your attention Mr. Rouse for consideration for appointment to the position of "trouble shooter for Latin American Affairs." It is my understanding that Mr. Rouse has served well as Vice President of Berlanti Corporation, and that he speaks Spanish fluently.

Any consideration of Mr. Rouse in your recommendation will be appreciated.

Sincerely,


John R. Rarick
Member of Congress

JRR:ps

December 30, 1968

The Honorable Edward W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Brooke:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter recommending William Dockser for federal employment.

I am passing your letter and Mr. Dockser's resume along to Mr. Harry Flemming in Washington who is, as you may know, heading up our employment section. Mr. Flemming will give priority attention to resumes appropriately marked by us. You may be assured that I will so designate this application.

With warm personal regards, and best wishes for the New Year, I am

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES/hg

December 30, 1968

The Honorable Edward W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Brooke:

Your letter of recommendation for Mr. Graham Champey has been received by John Ehrlichman.

Please be assured that this office will give highest consideration to your request.

With all best wishes for the New Year, I am

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES/hg

bc: P. Flanigan

December 30, 1968

The Honorable Edward W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Brooke:

The resume you sent us of Gustaf Coontz is indeed impressive.

By copy of this letter, I am passing Mr. Coontz's resume along to Mr. Peter Flanigan whose domain currently is the seeking of top-level people for federal service. I'm sure Mr. Flanigan will give your request his best attention.

After sending us Harriet Elam, you're rated as batting 1000 in the Recommendation League. Keep it up!

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES/hg

December 31, 1968

The Honorable Edward W. Brooke
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Brooke:

Your letter accompanying the resume of George W. Snowden has been received by this office.

Mr. Snowden's resume indicates that he is as outstanding as implied by your comments.

His recommendation will receive priority action.

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Stuart
Staff Assistant to the Counsel

CES/hg

Copy of letter
to Harry Hemming

the letter has been
sent to you

to your house

top of page

page 112

2

Helen, pls. make
xerox copy of
each for
→ Fleming



November 25, 1968

11/24
Chickman
Name use His
Ann? TSH

Mr. John C. Holmes
National Employment Association
2000 K Street, N.W., Suite 353
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Holmes:

I warmly appreciate your generous comments as I revert to the White House.

Your expertise ought to be tapped, and I have so suggested. After the dust settles, I do hope we can get together to discuss the matters in which we have a common interest.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph



NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT ASSOCIATION

2000 K Street, Northwest • Suite 353 • Washington, D. C. 20006 • Area Code 202 965-5040

November 13, 1968

Mr. Bryce N. Harlow
Proctor & Gamble Manufacturing
Company
7130 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Harlow:

Congratulations on your appointment by President-elect Richard Nixon as Chief Assistant for Congressional Relations. Your well known record of hard work, dedication, integrity, knowledge of the Hill and past experience with the Eisenhower administration make your selection a wise one by Mr. Nixon.

We at the NEA, the one national association representing over 7,500 private employment associations throughout the country concur in Mr. Nixon's off-stated position that involvement of the private sectors in the solution of our social problems, including the unemployed and the hiring of the hard core, is a desirable and necessary end. *

In investigating the problems of employment and unemployment and establishing national programs, we hope you will look toward us for suggestions and consultations, a situation that was seldom afforded us during the past administration. Specific matters that I would like to discuss with you and the new administration are:

- (1) Amendments to the Immigration Law, (particularly the problem and hopeful solution in the area of domestics (live-in-maids) an area in which I had to pleasure of working with you this last year.
- (2) Computer operations for the U. S. Employment Service.
- (3) Involvement of employment agencies in the hard core problem.
- (4) Interchange of government and private business personnel on the managerial level.
- (5) Labor appropriations

I've had particular experience and background as well as with the Labor Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I would be happy to consult with you in your deliberations affecting these agencies.

Again congratulations. I know your new position will be one of great challenge and reward as well as hard work.

Yours very truly,

John C. Holmes
John C. Holmes

January 14, 1969

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Box 419
Route 1
Leesburg, Virginia 22075

Dear Lou:

Thank you for the resume of Lt. General William J. Quinn, U. S. A., retired.

I have forwarded your letter and the resume to Dr. Kissinger for his attention.

Best personal regards, Lou.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw
bcc: Dr. Kissinger

January 14, 1969

Mr. John Wendell Anderson II
8131 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter and resume.

I have handed it to Peter Flanigan for immediate attention and very much appreciate your making yourself available to us.

In due course you will be hearing from those responsible for further contact.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President-elect

JDE:sw
bcc: Peter Flanigan

cc
Flemming
11/12/68

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman DATE: Nov. 19m 1968
FROM: Bryce Harlow

Congressman John Byrnes telephoned November 15 to stress that before making appointments to the various regulatory agencies it would be highly desirable to consult some individual in each one of them who is thoroughly familiar with their internal workings. The idea is, each agency is peculiar unto itself, with very special problems, and it is highly important to know these special problems before appointments are made.

He cites Hamer Budge, Republican member of the SEC, as a kind of fellow who should be consulted before SEC appointments are made.

Byrnes recommends Hamer Budget to be Chairman of SEC (Dirksen disagrees).

Byrnes strongly urges replacement of the Administrator of Social Security. He favors in his place a Bob Meyer, Chief Actuary of Social Security who has served for many years and, says Byrnes, is beloved on Capitol Hill.

PIERSON KEATING & COMPANY
EXECUTIVE SEARCH AND SELECTION

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
MO 1-5590

November 25, 1968

Mr. Peter M. Flanigan
Office of the President Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Peter,

I read in the paper that John Ehrlichman and Harry Fleming are working on the talent search for the new administration.

As a possible help to them I am enclosing a few copies of an interview assessment form which we recently developed and have been using in our executive search work.

Should you want additional copies of this form or should you have any questions please let me know.

Best regards,

PK

PK:pd

Enclosures

cc: Messrs. John Ehrlichman
Harry Fleming

PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT – Page 1

Name _____ Tel No. _____ Assg't No. _____ Date _____

Title _____ Company _____ Age _____ Salary _____

SUMMARY (Complete last)

Rating

1. As an executive he appears: 1 2 3 4
(Rating: 1 - outstdg, 2- above average, 3- average, 4- below average)

2. He best qualifies for:
 Executive Coding No. Job Title Rating

a _____ 1 2 3 4

b _____ 1 2 3 4

c _____ 1 2 3 4

3. I would enjoy working with him yes ? no

4. His qualifications and match to this position are: 1 2 3 4

5. His interest in it is: keen moderate unlikely

6. His three major strengths:

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

7. His two principal limitations:

1 _____

2 _____

8. Special Remarks (Potential, distinctive qualities, etc.) _____

9. Next Step: _____ Duration of Interview Min.

Interviewer _____

(Begin here) Circle pertinent words and add special comments

INTERVIEW IMPRESSION

<i>Appearance:</i>	1	2	3	4
Initial impression?				
Grooming? Erect? Healthy?	Impressive.	Makes	Acceptable	Poor taste.
Tired? Generally attractive?	Commands	favorable	appearance	Untidy. Has
Mannerisms? Worried?	admiration.	impression.	and dress.	bad handicap.

<i>Oral Expression:</i>	1	2	3	4
Clear? Well modulated?				
Harsh? Forceful?	Exceptionally	Speaks rather	Makes self	Indistinct,
Pleasant? Unaccented?	clear, pleasing	clearly and	understood	wordy
Concise?	and convincing.	persuasively.	fairly well.	or trite.

Career Growth:

Size of job now? No. and frequency of advancements? Salary/age ratio? Quality of jobs and companies? Job turnover? Growth relative to his company's growth? Future prospects?

1
High position and salary in top company. Runs big profit center or budget. Fine future.

2
Well above average progress and salary for age. Runs department or profit center.

3
Some job or career setbacks but good progress on the whole. Above average salary for his age.

4
Slow growth or excessive moves. Poor companies or job choices.

Purpose & Accomplishment:

Done for employer? Initiatives and innovations? Goals sought and achieved? Quality of plans and implementations? Cost, volume and profit results? Persistency under pressure? People developed?

1
Set and met high goals. Superb self-starter. Top developer of people.

2
Noticeably good plans and results. Good people development. Evident innovation.

3
Moderate setting and reaching of goals. Some development of others.

4
Low initiative and results. Aimless or erratic drive. Grew no leaders.

Extra-Curricular:

Community or industry leader? Awards or honors? Outside director or trustee? Stable family life? Able to relocate? Prudent scale of living? Early self-starter? Recreation and hobbies?

1
Fine, flexible home situation. Eminent yet prudent industry and civic leader.

2
Balanced home, business, and civil life. Can relocate to most places.

3
No significant extra-curricular activity or difficulty.

4
Family or \$ problems. Overdoes extra-curricular. Wife won't move.

Education:

Quality of college or university? Class rank? Honors? Best subjects? Advanced degrees? Night school? Technical or classical curriculum? Motivation? Continues to educate self?

1
Rank top 5th at top college. Campus leader. Perhaps MBA or PhD etc.

2
Ranked in upper half at good school and secured bachelor's degree.

3
Never began college but keeps educating self. May have 2 or 4 year degree.

4
Scholastic drop out. No continuing initiative to educate self.

Intelligence:

Reasoning and organization? Awareness? Get to and get point quickly? Ask good questions? Intuitive? Analytical? Smart under pressure? Intelligence more "fluid" or "crystallized"? IQ? Breadth?

1
Very keen and well organized. Perceptive under pressure. Grasps subtleties and surprises well.

2
Grasps things quite well. Noticeably alert and organized. Sound objective thinker.

3
Understands most points. May miss subtleties. Fairly well organized.

4
Grasps ideas slowly. Reasons and organizes poorly. Emotional judgments.

People Relations:

Friendly? Flexible? Interested in others? In you or our firm? Shy? Loner? Over-friendly? Extends loyalty up? Down? Inspires trust? Gets support? Integrity?

1
Unusually able to inspire others and gain their confidence and support.

2
Friendly and cooperative. Delegates well. Interested in others. Persuasive.

3
Reserved and skeptical. Some rigidity. A bit self-centered. Slow to get acceptance.

4
Neither gives nor gets much trust. Remote or too friendly. Insincere. Poor delegator.

November 22, 1968

MEMO TO: RN
FROM: Sears
RE: Reorganization of the National Committee
and the Relationship Between The White
House and National Committee

I. General Discussion: As a result of the November 5th election, it is obvious that the future of the Republican Party, together with its political base, lies in an area stretching from Florida to the State of Washington. This area includes all of the Old South, the Middle West, with the exception of Michigan and Minnesota, and all of the Far West. In the Northeast, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania should be considered border states under the new configuration and over the next few years. The election results in these states, as well as Michigan and Minnesota, will vary from year to year depending on issues, events and candidates. New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and, for a while, West Virginia must be considered Democratic strongholds. Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont will remain Republican.

The political job over the next two years is to build and establish the Party within the confines of its Florida-Washington base, making it so strong in these areas that it can be counted upon to deliver a Republican majority in statewide elections. Once this is done, and we are sure of our base, we can tackle the larger problem of making Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey more predictably Republican and establishing stronger organization in Michigan, New York and Connecticut. If we do our job in the Florida-Washington areas well enough over the next ~~two~~ years, this second phase (the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, New York, Michigan, Connecticut push) could be commenced after the 1970 elections. The objective of both Phase I, aimed at establishing a sure base of Republican electoral votes in any national election and gaining control of the House and Senate in 1970, and Phase II, the push in the Northern states mentioned above, will result in making the Republican Party the majority party in this country four years hence.

II. General Problems: If the above two-phase plan is to be accomplished in four years, a number of things must be set in motion immediately: (1) the power and authority of the Presidency must be brought to bear on the National Committee to completely remodel it, both in terms of personnel and function; (2) the Congressional Campaign Committee, the Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Republican Governors Association must be abolished, at least insofar as they now attempt to perform some campaign function, and their political functions transferred to a strengthened National Committee; (3) federal patronage, both in terms of jobs and projects, must be funnelled through a central source in the White House to be sure that its distribution is serving the best political purpose possible. For the next two years, patronage must be used almost exclusively to build the party in the Florida-Washington base and not to reward incumbent Republicans. After we have won control of the Congress, we can use an appropriate amount of it to keep our incumbents popular; (4) the patronage which flows from the many governmental agencies must be funnelled through the same central source, and this must all be coordinated with the patronage which our many Republican governors are distributing; (5) the selection of candidates for

the 1970 elections in Virginia and New Jersey must commence immediately, and the White House, while not dabbling in this matter publicly, should use its power and authority to be sure that the best candidates run and without going through damaging primaries.

All of this, as well as many other more particular functions, will have to be undertaken while RN is trying to deal with a Democratic Congress, confronting the grave national problems that face us and beating down the normal amount of sharply aimed criticism from the Democrats. It is not too unlikely that Teddy Kennedy, who already has begun rustling around to gain control of his party, will start running against us next year, and this will be a separate problem to deal with.

III. The Proposed Function of the Remodeled National Committee:

If we are to change the leadership of the National Committee, as well as its personnel, and abolish the Congressional Campaign Committee and the Senatorial Campaign Committee, it must be expected that this will generate a certain amount of internal dissension in the party itself. Ray Bliss, while he certainly can't win any confrontations with RN, has a few cards to play. Quite wrongly, most of the state

chairmen believe that he has done a good job and see no reason to replace him. He has cultivated their loyalty assiduously against the time when someone might try to replace him. Were he a different kind of fellow, we could kick him upstairs somewhere, but I can't think of any place where he could do a decent job.

Therefore, if we are to replace him we must be sure that the person or persons who take over his obligations are acceptable to the National Committee members and such good appointments that we can keep the bitching to a minimum. I am in agreement with the concept of having a two-man Chairmanship, a name Chairman who is a spokesman for the party and the Administration, and a second man with a lesser title who is a purely political mechanic. While RN will have to decide on the top spot himself since this man will have to speak for him, I think that Keith Bulen would be an ideal selection for the second position. Bulen is highly regarded in the National Committee, a strong and thorough organizer; he has proven himself tough enough to move a lot of people around and break some china, yet maintains a strong respect, even among those whom he has offended. He has been through a similar exercise to that we are facing in his own state

of Indiana, and is therefore aware of some of the problems that might not be apparent to others. Most important, he could be counted upon to be totally loyal.

In order to hold down the public clamor in this regard to abolishing the two Campaign Committees, I think that it is necessary to proceed by first abolishing their fund-raising capabilities and lodging those with the National Committee; and then we can proceed to take over their other functions in regard to candidate selection and campaign services. Once they no longer have any fund-raising capability, you will have them on a pretty short string anyway.

As a temporary mechanism to make it easy on everybody, I think that a general campaign committee should be formed at the National Committee comprised of the National Chairman, his political second, a member of the House, a Senator, and a Governor. This committee would in actuality have no campaign function but would serve as a substitute for the present arrangement. Also, the Governor, the Senator, and the Congressman could help the National Chairman in his spokesman duties.

As to the functions which a revamped National Committee should perform, they should be the following:

A. State Organization -- Political organizations are built at the state level by a combination of patronage, discipline and co-ordination with the White House. The National Committee should have responsibility for riding herd on the state chairmen to be sure that state patronage is being distributed as best suits the organizational growth, that registration programs are properly carried out, that special interest is maintained in particular voting groups which are either fundamental to that particular state or with which we are weak and, on the whole, insure that the state organizations are run efficiently and with the required discipline.

B. Campaign Managers -- While the National Committee in the past has made some ineffective stabs at improving the work of our state chairmen, no one has ever made any effort to train any campaign managers. My feeling about the state chairman situation is that if we find that a particular state chairman does not know how to carry out his office, we should replace him with one who does, instead of trying to train him. In the last election, at least four Senate seats were lost because of bad campaign managers,

and even in areas where we won, I would be hard-pressed to point to any good campaign managers. As will be stated in detail later in this memorandum, we have an excellent chance in the off-year elections of 1970, especially in the Senate, but we are likely to fritter away this opportunity unless we can train some campaign managers in the meantime. I would charge the National Committee with this responsibility.

C. Money Raising -- The National Committee should have full responsibility for raising all money necessary for the upcoming off-year elections. This should be commenced immediately, and should occupy a majority of the Committee's time over the next year. Two years from now the Committee will be asked to finance 14 target Senate races and about 45 target Congressional races. This, in addition to the ordinary financing that has been required in the past.

D. Suburban Program -- The opportunity for growth in the party over the next ten years does not lie in the cities. We are woefully out-organized there; most voters have a bad impression of the Republican party and probably won't change until conditions change demonstrably for the better under a Republican Administration, and the historic ties to the Democratic party, especially among

blacks and other non-white racial groups are so strong that they can only be broken over a long period of time.

In point of actual fact, even now the largest single block of voters in each of the fifteen largest states in this country reside in the suburbs, with the exception of New York and Texas. Even in New York and Texas, a combination of the suburban vote and the rural vote far outweighs that in the cities. The complex of the suburbs is in a drastic state of change with considerable numbers of former city dwellers in the process of moving to the suburbs. Once there and owning property, they have a tendency to become more Republican in their thought than they were in the cities as matters of taxes and local government come more forcefully home to them. The real challenge for us then is to improve our organization in these areas.

At present, both parties are very poorly organized, and due to the great change in the population of these areas, a large share of the voters are not even identified as to party affiliation or leaning. In the main the Democrats have tried to perpetuate the "clubhouse" method of organization, but this does not work at all in areas that are spread out geographically and have no central characteristics of race or economic level. Our party which in most cases was their first, operates as though

it were a small town concern rather than suburban. We still elect the town clerks in most of the non-Southern areas but are out of touch with the new voters who moved over the last eight or nine years. I think the National Committee should be responsible for developing and implementing a program specifically aimed at the suburbs. This should be done immediately and should occupy a large share of the Committee's time when it is not raising money during the next year.

E. Young Voters Program -- In combination with the efforts of the Administration in this area, the National Committee should institute a new program aimed to attract to the party as workers and voters those between the ages of 18 and 30. The Young Republicans, while they make a great deal of noise, have been an ineffective vehicle for attracting youth to the party. The Young Republicans are too restrictive philosophically and are mainly concerned with power struggles within their own body instead of making any attempt to generate a broad appeal to youth. They are also too old, the age limit being technically thirty-five, but many members staying on till well past forty. Instead of encouraging membership, the present leadership group often discourages it since they are fearful that if a lot of new members join the organization the so-called "syndicate" will be voted out of power.

Beyond the Young Republicans, there are a number of other conservative youth groups which should be dried up. If this is to be done, a strong hand will have to be exercised from the National Committee. While this does not sound like a high-priority responsibility, it would help to develop our organization fantastically if we could develop a better program for young voters so that we don't wind up trying to convert them from being Democrats when they are 35, as is presently the case.

F. Early Warning System -- One material way that the Democrats have always been much better than we are has been that up and down the ranks of their organization they have usually been better prepared to defend the actions of the Democratic Administrations to the voting public. In the Democratic party, precinct chairmen are usually well enough aware of the "party-line" that they can answer the routine questions of voters within their block about most actions that are taken by the President or the party. We have never had this kind of discipline in our party, and, therefore, when a concerned voter asks his precinct chairman why we did "X" he usually stands and looks at the sky and shakes his head. I think it would be extremely helpful for the National Committee in co-ordination with:

the White House and Congress to be charged with the responsibility of mailing to a large mailing list of party workers a "party-line" on any significant development. A very wise politician once told me that "the most effective way to influence the voters is to have your own clowns charged up and able to give the impression they are on the inside." This is absolutely true, and this program would be aimed at keeping the "clowns" charged up.

G. Direct Mail -- In place of the extraordinary amounts of trash that the National Committee now circulates to a vast mailing list, the National Committee should make available to the state committees specified mailings aimed at selling the party and the Administration. The cost factor on this could be worked out jointly by the National Committee and state committees, and the state committees could do the actual mailings. This would help and encourage the state committees to develop their own mailing lists as well. Even in the days of television, no one has ever found a substitute for direct mail in politics.

H. Liaison with the White House -- The political mechanic at the National Committee should be in close contact with the political man at the White House on matters of patronage, party re-organization, and general strategy.

As stated above, the National Committee will be raising the money, training campaign managers and implementing specific programs in the suburbs and among youth, but since all of the re-organization described above will take time, much of the burden of distributing patronage, working out the knotty problems of candidate selection and choosing the target races for 1970 will have to come from the White House. The mechanic at the National Committee should be made fully aware of these White House functions, and they should be co-ordinated with the activities of the National Committee through his person.

IV. The White House Role: As stated in I, we are examining a two-phase program: (1) establishing and building a base for the party that stretches from Florida to the state of Washington with the goal of carrying the Senate and House in 1970, and (2) thereafter concentrating on specific states outside that base to build the party into a majority party by 1972. Since a great deal of time will be taken up at the National Committee in accomplishing the re-organization set forth in III, and pressing the programs suggested there, it will be necessary, as well as advisable, for the White House to carry out the following political functions:

A. The Co-ordination and Distribution of Patronage -- There should be one man at the White House through whom all patronage is funnelled. He would work in conjunction with the political man at the National Committee and to some extent with our Congressional liaison. He should have flowing through him all direct federal patronage, all patronage of the agencies of the federal government and a knowledge of what patronage the Republican governors have and how they are using it. The above should be true for both job appointments and work projects. For the next two years, the vast majority of patronage should be used to build the party within the Florida-Washington base with the added hope that certain individuals whom we are trying to build up to run for office in 1970 can be benefitted by the use of patronage also. Very little patronage should be used during this period to reward incumbent officeholders. Once we gain a majority in the House and Senate, we can use our patronage to insure the incumbents' popularity, but using it for that purpose now would defeat our goal of carrying Congress. There will be some bitching about this, but that's the way it will have to be for the next couple of years. The person handling the patronage must be very aware politically, so that when we decide to build a dam in Arkansas he can call up the local county chairman and alert him. The local county

chairman in turn should then be able to call up his old buddy, "Joe" and tell him he has got a job, thus obligating "Joe," his family, and friends. This over-simplification is basically how it should work. I might add that under this scheme, the National Committee would be responsible for riding on the local county chairman to be sure that he knows some "Joe's" to call.

B. Candidate Selection -- There are some 32 Senate seats up for election in 1970, only seven of which are Republican (Fannin, Murphy, Scott, Williams, Hruska, Fong, and Goodell). The seven Republican seats look to be quite safe. The 25 Democrats make up the class of '58, which was swept into office in a year when we lost heavily and re-elected in 1964 when it was almost impossible to lose if you were a Democrat. Outside of a few safe Senate seats in the South, a large number of these 25 seats can be won if we start early enough and put up decent candidates.

Many of these target Senate seats are in the Florida-Washington area that we will be concentrating on in the next two years (MaGee, Burdick, Cannon, Hartke, Gore, Moss, Holland, Montoya, Proxmire, Young and Yaroborough). In Michigan, New Jersey and possibly Connecticut (Hart, Williams, and Dodd, respectively), seats are also up for election which we could win with the right candidates.

Far too often in the past we have lost for one of two reasons: bad candidates or bad campaign management. The White House power and authority should be brought to bear on the first of these problems and the National Committee should try to solve the second as indicated above. While the President cannot get directly involved in selecting Senatorial candidates, it is a fairly easy matter to freeze out individuals who should not be running by letting the word get around in party circles that the White House thinks "X" should make the race. Some of our Governors should be encouraged immediately to seek Senatorial nominations and if they work early and swiftly, they can avoid going through any harmful primaries. This does not mean they need to publicly announce their candidacies; just that we privately understand that they will be willing to make the race and can count on that fact. In some areas (North Dakota, for example) a Congressman (Mark Andrews perhaps, or if not, Tom Kleppe) should be tested out early as to whether it is possible for them to run for the Senate. The tender problem of maneuvering the right man into running for the Senate in these particular states without offending the local party should be the responsibility of the White House man since he can speak with the authority of the President and will be able to devote more of his time to working out any problems with getting the right candidate

to run through the use of patronage. He should, of course, consult various sources before deciding on any particular candidate in any particular state.

In the House we have suffered from the same problem of poor candidates and poor campaign managers. Even though we've had a Congressional Campaign Committee which has spent an inordinate amount of time and money trying to select candidates, we still run into the problem of men running for the House from particular areas in which they just cannot appeal to the voters. As an example, in this past election, our candidate in the 24th District of Pennsylvania (Erie) was a Protestant Minister, this in a district which is heavily Catholic and heavily ethnic. Add this to the fact that his Democratic opponent was an Italian, and it is not hard to see why we lost this district which had been Republican for a substantial period of time up until 1964. In the 2nd District of Iowa (Cedar Rapids) we ran a lawyer who had never been out on a farm and should any manure have attached to his shoe, he probably would have thrown his shoes away. This in a district which can be carried for the Republicans if we can get a strong farm vote in the counties outside of Cedar Rapids. It is presently held by a Congressman who no more fits the District than Adolph Hitler could

represent the Lower East Side. Yet we lost it for the third straight time.

It is suggested that in approximately 45 target Congressional districts that the White House take a very active interest in the candidates selected to run and that the National Committee see to it that they are well-financed and well-managed. Advice as to these candidates can be obtained from reliable sources in the states, and the candidates can be screened by the political man at the National Committee, as well as by the man at the White House.

C. Political Advice to the President, Vice President, and Cabinet -- In making various decision the President may need the benefit of political advice from someone in the White House who is aware enough of what is going on in the country to be able to form judgment as to how various Presidential decisions will be received. In regard to the Vice President, since much of what he does will involve dealing with the Governors, it might be helpful to him to have the advice of a politician so that programs such as block-grants to the states can be implemented in areas where they will both serve the public good and the good of the Republican party. The same is true for the members of the Cabinet dealing with domestic policy.

In addition, at least some of the time of the Vice President and the Cabinet members should be spent in helping to build the party through well-placed speaking engagements and, in regard to the Vice President, a fairly strenuous program of fund raising speeches. These should be coordinated through the White House man.

D. Congressional Operations -- From time to time, while trying to get legislation through a Democratic Congress, it may be necessary to put some extra pressure on some of the Democratic members in order to obtain their votes (for example, generating a lot of mail from their district encouraging them to vote for the bill or being in close enough contact with some of their contributors to generate a few telephone calls to them). This is not a function that the Congressional liaison can adequately take care of, nor is it one that the National Committee should involve itself in. Again, it is a matter of delicacy which must be handled apart from any involvement of the President, but the White House, the only institution with the power and authority to generate such pressures. I think it should, therefore, be the responsibility of the political man in the White House to see that this is done if necessary.

E. Candidate Building -- Sometimes we have been in the situation where we have had good candidates but they were totally unknown to the populace of the area where they were running. The White House should co-operate with the National Committee in seeing to it that we don't run any races in 1970 in the target areas at least where the candidate is not "known" to the voting public. This involves working the prospective candidates into various short-term governmental committees and operations, so that they can obtain a little publicity back home. Basically it should be handled by the White House political man, but there will be areas where co-ordination with the National Committee man will be helpful.

F. Liaison with the National Committee -- Certainly the White House man should keep in close contact with the man at the National Committee and work with him to accomplish the programs described in III. A close working arrangement between these two individuals is imperative if the plan is to work. The two should work well enough together that they can freely exchange thoughts about both their responsibilities.

G. Defining the White House Function -- Since it would be costly for the world at large to know that the White House was going to take such an active interest in the building of the party and selecting candidates, and the political use of patronage, it would be best to describe the political operative at the White House merely as the President's chief political advisor and combine his above-stated duties with a few others which won't take up much of his time, but will give the impression that he is not spending a majority of his time on politics. In line with this it would be appropriate for him to take over the duties of the Cabinet Secretary and also some responsibilities for working with Vice President Agnew. Both of these functions can be helpful in the political vein, since I would hope that the Cabinet could be used for political purpose and certainly Vice President Agnew should devote a healthy portion of his time to the political effort. The Cabinet Secretary function would be helpful to the political man in that he would have some way to keep apprised of what substantive matters were being decided in the Departments which might be of

political benefit, and it would allow him to keep a better rein on the patronage flowing from the Cabinet positions. The political man should not be given the title of Cabinet Secretary; however, he should assume the function. To carry out his job he'll need a title of appropriate weight in the White House staff.

E. Phillips

To: H.R. Haldeman

From: Kevin Phillips

As per your request communicated to me by Larry Higby on my return to New York on November 18, I have prepared an analysis of the changing political trends during the final three weeks of the campaign which suggests what happened -- and why -- to substantially narrow the gap and endanger RN's victory.

Trends of the Last Three Weeks of the Campaign
- Their Causes and Effects

A. As of October 15, the generality of polls put RN ahead in most states except that:

HHH led in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Hawaii, D.C., West Virginia and Minnesota (and even the last two were uncertain)

Wallace led in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida; and

Texas, Michigan and Maine were rated toss-ups

B. Between October 15 and Election Day, RN slipped substantially in the Northeast, markedly along the Pacific Coast, moderately in the Great Lakes, very little if at all in the Farm states and Mountain states. At the same time, he gained slightly in the Border and substantially in the perimeter South. As a result of these trends, the following changes occurred in the above list:

HHH captured Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington and Maryland; and

RN took some Southern states - South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida - away from Wallace

C. Because of these changes, RN's ultimate if narrow victory rested on a combination of West, Midwest, Border and Southern perimeter - the basic alignment corresponding to the changing ideological patterns of national politics and projected in RN's original strategy. This would not have been true of the RN coalition which seemed possible in early October - an RN alliance of the North and West against a Wallaceite South.

In the last three weeks of the campaign, a number of ideological and organizational factors emerged to drive blue-collar Democrats and liberals of both parties to HHH, and this same tightening of the two-party context raised the prospect of HHH victory, inducing many Southern conservatives to switch from Wallace to Nixon.

D. The major trends and their causes are as follows:

1. Wallace losses and HHH gains among normally Democratic union members - In October, labor union leaders mounted a strong campaign to induce their members to abandon racially-motivated Wallace support and return to the HHH column. At the same time, the Democrats attacked RN with blatant but effective misrepresentation on the issues of employment, Social Security and medicare. The GOP went on the defensive rather than attacking and showing blue-collar unionists the link between Great Society failures and attitudes and growing crime and racial turmoil. In the end, almost all of the Democratic blue-collar vote went back to HHH; in states like Ohio and Pennsylvania, most of the Wallace vote came from Republicans (very much contrary to hopes and early expectations).
2. HHH's strong resurgence among long-suspicious liberal Democrats - Beginning with his October 1 bombing halt speech - the Viet bombing halt was a liberal symbol not just a political/military tactic - HHH began to recoup ground with McCarthyites, youth, blacks and liberals in general. This trend accelerated sharply in mid-October as signs grew of potential for a bombing halt and fruitful Vietnamese negotiations. Other major causes of HHH's recovery among liberals, all beginning to mesh together by late October, were:
 - a) intense liberal distaste for VP nominee Agnew, inflamed by the rising hubbub of bloopers (and Democratic advertising relating thereto) and the anti-intellectual tone of Agnew's campaign and the anti-establishment thrust of the Agnew-related attack on the New York Times; Agnew personified what liberals had feared viz RN in the past and this undermined the ticket's appeal and was a godsend (among liberals) to an HHH troubled by lingering memories of Chicago and Mayor Daley;
 - b) RN's security gap speech and the media misrepresentations and Democratic distortions relating thereto; liberals (and many moderates) shrank from the idea of spending billions on a bomb and missile race - and this is what RN's position was presented as being - with the result that they turned to Humphrey.

Of course, the last-minute bombing halt gave the Democratic campaign a major impetus. Pollster Louis Harris has privately said that his last-minute poll results were fashioned by women trending to HHH in support of the bombing halt. Ultimately, HHH ran very strongly in those very liberal areas where he had been extremely unpopular in September (in Wisconsin, his best gains over 1960 level came in McCarthyite and Vietnik Madison; in New York, his best gains over 1960 levels came in rich and liberal Scarsdale and Manhattan's East Side).

3. RN's late-hour pick-up from Wallace in the South and Border - As HHH recovered in the North, making Wallace a hopeless contender and putting himself back in the race, many conservatives in the South and Border left Wallace for RN. This trend was augmented by the same conservative imagery - Agnew, the security gap and so forth - which hurt RN (and helped HHH) among Northern liberals
- E. The chronology of the HHH trend is conjectural, although the polls offer some guide. A large number of undecided voters were breaking to HHH throughout October, however private polling done for RN by Joe Bachelder indicated a late-mid October stabilization at a non-fatal level. Lou Harris suggests that the bombing halt prompted a last minute rush to HHH, and although polls taken for RN indicated no such movement, there is some voting pattern evidence that it did occur. HHH did very well in exactly the McCarthyite areas that would have been receptive to a bombing halt.
- F. George Wallace's impact is not conjectural; he hurt RN far more than he hurt HHH. Most of the persons who voted for Wallace this year voted for Barry Goldwater in 1964. The Labor Union/Democratic campaign to drive blue-collar unionists back to the Democratic presidential ticket was highly successful. In Pennsylvania, for example, Wallace did poorly in labor strongholds around Pittsburgh or in Wilkes-Barre, Scranton or Altoona. And most of the Wallace blue-collar vote came from Republicans (or conservatives who would have voted for RN) while the small-town and white-collar vote was very Republican in its derivation. For example, Wallace carried two townships in the greater Pittsburgh area - Indiana and Kilbuck. Neither are blue-collar strongholds like Braddock or McKeesport (where Wallace did much less well); they are units which backed RN in 1960 and Pennsylvania Republicans Shafer in 1966 and Schweiker in 1968. In the South and Border, Wallace took votes which had gone to Goldwater in 1964 or which were breaking towards the GOP in 1966. Wallace clearly cost RN Texas and Maryland. The size of the Wallace vote of Republican and Goldwater origins, as well as the lack of Wallace success among blue-collar Democrats, partially reflects the GOP failure to articulate the social and urban failure of Great Society liberalism in a way which would have both drawn GOP Wallaceites back to RN and encouraged blue collar Democratic unionists to persist in their (Wallaceite) opposition to Democratic policies.
- G. The impact of the Non-Indictment of LBJ domestic and foreign policy - RN lost an opportunity for considerable political benefit when he declined to attack the chief personage and policies of the most unpopular administration since the Nineteen-Twenties. By not taking issue with the Vietnamese and domestic social policies generally unpopular with the American people for their profound failure, RN lost
- a) a chance to impede HHH's recovery among liberals by saddling him with the Johnson policy failure (instead RN sometimes verged on seeming the Johnson policy perpetuator)

- b) a chance to attract Wallaceites and cement blue-collar Democratic adherence to Wallace by spotlighting the failure of Great Society liberalism; and
- c) a chance to spark the campaign and rebut allegations of blandness and evasion of the key issues

On the other hand, such a campaign would have left a large residue of bad feeling which would have handicapped the success of the upcoming administration in dealing with a Democratic congress. Still, in terms of winning votes, a strong indictment of the LBJ/HHH Administration would probably have been more successful than the policy actually pursued.

- H. The meaning of the election, despite RN's narrow majority, is quite clear. 57% of the electorate chose RN or Wallace in repudiation of the policies of the last four years. Most of the Wallace vote would have gone Republican in a two-party contest --- and it should go for RN in 1972 (assuming that Wallace is no longer viable in light of his relative confinement to the Deep South). By retaining an ideological option throughout the campaign, RN did not carve out a clearcut constituency and won what turned out to be a narrow victory in the face of concerted liberal opposition and conservative fragmentation between Wallace and the GOP. The opportunity of 1972 probably focuses on winning the bulk of the 1968 Wallace vote.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: R.G. Kleindienst

RE: Republican National Committee

I. INTRODUCTION

It will be the purpose of this memorandum to discuss two topics. First, the technical or mechanical problems involved in changing the Office of Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Second, the political ramifications thereof.

II. THE TECHNICAL ASPECT OF CHANGING THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE R.N.C.

A. The Election of the Present Chairman

The Chairman of the Republican National Committee is elected by the members of the Republican National Committee. The members of the R.N.C. in turn are elected by the Republican National Convention, although having been "nominated" by their own states according to the varying procedures and customs of the several states. As a result of the action of the past convention, the Republican State Chairman of each state and the District of Columbia is a member of the R.N.C.

The present Chairman was elected at the last meeting of the R.N.C., which was held on August 9, 1968, at Miami Beach, Florida. At the same time, four Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary and the Treasurer were elected. The Chairman and the other Officers are elected for a term co-terminus with the R.N.C., or four years, and at the 1972 convention.

For several years and at least as far back as 1960, the R.N.C., by Resolution, has authorized the

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Chairman to do several things, inter alia:

- (a) To appoint the Executive Committee at a time that he shall select;
- (b) To appoint such Committees and Assistants as he deems advisable or necessary;
- (c) To appoint the Assistant Chairman (a woman);
- (d) To appoint the General Counsel.

Similar resolutions were adopted by the R.N.C. on August 9th 1968. To this date, the Chairman has made no new appointments to the Executive-Committee nor has he appointed any new Committees or Assistants. The only change has been that of General Counsel. Effective December 1, 1968, Fred Scribner will be re-appointed.

The Chairman, following custom, intends to call a meeting of the R.N.C. on Friday, January 17, 1968, at Washington D.C. This meeting is prompted by the Inauguration. Hotel rooms for all members have been reserved; nearly a full attendance can be anticipated.

B. The Method of Removal of the Chairman

Without the voluntary resignation of the Chairman, his removal could come about as a result of a motion from a member of the R.N.C. Such a motion could take the following form: "I move that the Office of Chairman be declared Vacant". If such a motion was successful, the next motion would be in order: "I move that the Senior member of this Committee in years of age appoint a committee of five persons to wait upon the President-Elect for the purpose of determining his wishes as to the designation of a suitable person to be elected as Chairman of the R.N.C."

Ideally, an appropriate motion should be made by which all other offices of the R.N.C. be likewise

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declared vacant, followed by election of their successors and by the adoption of resolutions similar to those adopted on August 9, 1968 at Miami Beach authorizing the Chairman to take certain actions and do certain things. (see above.)

III. THE POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS OF
REMOVAL AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

A. The Time or Times of Removal

In my opinion, the best or most suitable time of removal would be at the time of the Inauguration. The reasons are obvious. First, it would coincide with the new administration. Second, if removal became controversial, it would be submerged in the other events and festivities of the Inauguration.

The next best time would be several months - say, six - after January 20th. This would coincide with the end of the so-called "honeymoon period" of the new administration.

B. Direct Approach to and the Voluntary Resignation by the Chairman

The best solution would be the "voluntary" resignation of the Chairman, following a meeting with an emissary from the President-Elect. The Chairman does not want to resign as of January 20, 1969, for reasons solely of personal image and pride. He would be foolish not to do so upon request. Whether he would openly resist is a matter of conjecture. I personally do not think he would incur the fight. The selection, however, of a suitable person to approach him is of vital importance. It should not be a prospective successor. It should be a person close to the President-Elect and also knowledgeable about the Party. The approach should be made as soon as possible - within days.

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C. Plan of action if the Chairman refuses to voluntarily resign.

The reason I recommend an immediate approach to the Chairman is to permit adequate time to plan an action for his removal. While it is my personal opinion that more than a majority of the members of the R.N.C. would, as a practical political matter if for no other reason, support the President-Elect over the Chairman, there is no reason to take this for granted. Being reminded that the members of the R.N.C. will be completely absorbed in patronage matters between now and January 20th, an effective tool of persuasion is handed to the Staff of the President-Elect and friendly members of the R.N.C. in the weeks between now and then. This is the principal reason for an immediate approach to the Chairman - so that the force of this persuasive tool will not be diminished.

D. The Kind of a New Chairman

I believe the new Chairman, in addition to being loyal to and compatible with the President, should project youthfulness and dynamic-articulate vigor. Within the next four years, young people are going to be more and more politically significant and the persons of "the old politics" (such as myself) are going to become less and less significant. Let's put Boss Daley on the one side and a youthful and dynamic image of the Republican Party on the other side. In addition, the President should be entitled to an articulate attractive person explaining, standing-up for and even defending the Administration. President Johnson, for all his alleged political skill, forgot to do this these past four years and the Democratic Party became impotent and irrelevant.

IV. CONCLUSION

I believe action of one kind or another in the immediate future is imperative.

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I believe the plan of action should be communicated on a general basis as soon as possible, because I further believe that the subject matter of this memorandum neither can nor would engage in an open contest but will and could engage in a contest of confusion and indecision.

RGK/tl

January 3, 1969

TO: RN
FROM: John Sears
RE: Reorganization of the National Committee

I. GENERAL OBJECTIVES

The general purpose of reorganizing the National Committee is to (1) deposit a maximum amount of responsibility and authority in the National Committee for reorganizing the Party structure, fund the off-year elections of 1970, and generally care for the Party in all its political and organizational aspects and (2) to coordinate its activities sufficiently with the White House so that the power and authority of the Presidency can be utilized in building the Party. It will not be an easy task to accomplish these two goals since, in regard to the first, the National Committee has never in its history undertaken so large a role in the affairs of the Party, and, in regard to the second, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have ever managed to successfully coordinate the Presidency with the National Committee. It stands to reason, then, that if we are to undertake to do these two things, there will be a tremendous amount of furor, bitching, and criticism since most people will find it easy to say that it is either impossible or just too difficult. Many people will maintain that it is impossible to raise significant sums of money in the off-years, for instance, since its never been successfully done, but if we give into this kind of negative thinking and compromise the reorganization of the National Committee in deference to it, we might just as well leave the Committee the way it is right now. In the final analysis, if we start to accomplish some things that people have thought were impossible, the bitching will stop.

II. PROCEDURE

The replacement of Chairman Bliss has been dealt with in a separate memorandum and this of course, is the first step. As soon as he is departed, the rest of the present staff should be phased out also. With very few exceptions, no one at the National Committee presently is up to performing any of the tasks which will now be demanded.

As was discussed in earlier memoranda, the Congressional Campaign Committee, the Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Republican Governor's Association must be phased into the National Committee operation and ultimately must be abolished, at least insofar as they now attempt to perform some political or campaign function. After the Bliss situation has been altered, I would recommend that Bryce speak to Bob Wilson and George Murphy preparatory to a meeting among RN, Bryce and the other two individuals. Bryce should sound them both out on what they're willing to give up in the way of authority over Congressional races, most specifically, whether they would be agreeable to letting the National Committee handle all fund-raising and whether it would be possible to restrict their activities over the next two years to caring for incumbent office holders and not worrying about picking up new seats. In fact, they both spend the majority of their time taking care of incumbents anyway and proportionately little time on electing newcomers. If we could guarantee them a budget for taking care of the incumbents, I am sure they wouldn't mind ^{not} having to raise money either. The Republican Governor's Association doesn't presently involve itself in raising funds for election of Republican Governors and so it doesn't need to be considered in the same light as the two Congressional Committees.

Once this phase has been completed, I would suggest the formulation of a General Campaign Committee under the auspices of the National Committee which would include a Senator, a Congressman, a Governor, the Chairman of the National Committee, a representative from the White House and the Executive Director of the National Committee. The purpose of this group would be to insure coordination between the National Committee, the White House and the

three present campaign groups and to begin the larger task of phasing out the three campaign groups. The Senator, the Congressman, and the Governor should be looked upon as liaisons to their respective groups and responsible along with the Chairman of the National Committee for the coordination necessary between running the incumbent races and trying to pick up new seats presently held by Democrats. They can also be of assistance to the Chairman in regard to his "spokesman" responsibilities.

If the National Committee can get its hands on the power to raise the money and get the Congressional Committees to divest themselves of the responsibility for picking candidates in non-incumbent races, this will be as much as we can expect to accomplish immediately. Over the next two years, however, it will be up to the National Committee to perform so well that there will be no need for the continuance of any of these branches and if this comes to pass, they will die a slow and natural death.

III. REORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE

We must keep in mind that while the National Committee will carry out, hopefully, a number of new and beneficial programs, it will essentially be a further instrument of the President and at all times will be directed by him and responsible to him. In turn, the growth of the party will depend greatly on the success of the President's Administration and the degree to which the White House cooperates in the political objectives of the National Committee. Therefore, in restructuring the National Committee, the functions performed there, as well as the personnel, must be geared toward this close relationship.

A. The Chairman

The new chairman will have as his most commanding responsibility, the burden of speaking for the President, his administration, and the party in the most partisan fashion possible. Although what he says cannot be unreasoning, he must at all times present our side of it in full and most credible fashion.

He will be the Party's major salesman and the President's major partisan backer. He should not become overly involved in the mechanics of what goes on in the Committee, but must be well enough aware of them to expand upon them. He should be a talker and not a doer. It should be someone like George Bush.

B. The Executive Director

This position should be filled by a man who is essentially a good organizer and probably somebody who's from the National Committee itself. Since the Executive Director will be administering the affairs and programs undertaken by the National Committee, he, too, will have to be sharp enough to answer the questions of the press and perform some public functions but essentially, his job is to ride herd on the activities of the Committee and the Party itself to be sure that all we intend to do is being done. For this position I would recommend Keith Bulen, if he will do it.

1. Finance Chairman

In the next year and a half, the National Committee should raise close to \$5,000,000 in order to properly fund the programs which it will have to undertake and also to supply the additional monies to the target House and Senate races in 1970. For this job I would recommend Jerry Milbank.

2. Public Relations and Publicity

This department should be responsible for the dissemination of all the propaganda coming out of the National Committee. This would include (1) full dissemination of what the Chairman says and does, (2) image-building publicity about the Party, (3) image building publicity about the candidates running in our target areas, (4) preparation of the materials for our special programs, (5) image building material on the Cabinet, the Vice-President, and, in conjunction with those at the White House, cooperation in publicizing RN's record, (6) preparation of materials for mailing both to Party workers and certain voter lists in individual states. The emphasis in this department should be on salesmanship rather than the dissemination of information

but whoever occupies this position should be able to work closely with Herb Klein. For this position I would recommend Bill Safire.

3. Research Director

In the past, the Research Department of the National Committee has been concerned with the niceties of language in various bills that went before Congress. While this is an interesting exercise for those who have the interest necessary in legislative history, it is of little political utility for the National Committee to keep tabs on whether a specific bill calls for all Navajo Indians to get pensions or just the left-handed ones. If there is a meaningful distinction between amendments to proposed legislation, it is up to our leadership in Congress to point out the ramifications of this and for our PR department to publicize the distinction.

What we need is a man who (1) understands how to read a poll and get the most out of it, (2) someone who can keep track of what RN has done and said (an issue book), (3) keep records on the positions taken and votes recorded for the Democratic incumbents who will be running in 1970, (4) be able to supply our candidates in 1970 with adequate information from which they can formulate issues in regard to their campaigns. I would recommend that this department be headed by Professor David Derge, and that the Assistant Director who would work on RN's record and keep tabs on Congress should be Agnes Waldron.

4. Speaker's Bureau

The Speakers Bureau should coordinate with the Finance Director as well as the State Party organizations to obtain good speakers from the Congress and the Administration for any and all occasions. The emphasis here should be on making sure that engagements are filled by persons who'll give strong pro-RN speeches. The Speakers Bureau should also coordinate with the PR Department so that speakers will have adequate materials about the Administration and its record.

The Speakers Bureau should also have the capability of filling requests

which will be generated by some of our specific programs ^{for} suburban voters and youth. These will not require Congressional or highly-placed individuals in the Administration, but rather lower level individuals who can successfully present the case for the Party. I would suggest Nick Ruwe for this position.

5. Director of Party Organization

This person will be responsible for running special programs aimed at improving our registration, and our capability to successfully wage campaigns. The programs which he will run will include (1) the suburban voter program, (2) the young voter program, (3) the minorities division, (4) special campaign seminars for campaign managers and candidates in the target areas. The Executive Director will be responsible for working with the State Party Organizations to improve them and this will not be one of the responsibilities of the Director of Party Organization. Included in the Executive Director's duties will be riding herd on State Party organizations to carry out registration drives and also to coordinate the activities of the special programs with the State Partys. The Director of Party Organization will spend all of his time merely running the above programs. For this job I would recommend Murray Chotiner.

6. Candidate Selection and Recruitment

This department will handle the mechanics of selection and recruitments of all candidates running in the Congressional elections of 1970. Technically, this means the selection of 243 persons to run for House seats in 1970 (assuming all incumbents choose to run for re-election) and 25 candidates to run for the Senate. In fact, the White House will take a very active interest in selecting candidates to run in 45 target Congressional districts and 14 target Senate races. The Director of Candidate Selection and Recruitment will work closely on these target seats with the White House but in regard to the other seats which are up for election he will be allowed to choose who he pleases. For this job, since he would be of great help in convincing people to run, I would suggest Bud Wilkinson.

7. Office Director

This person will be in charge of running the mechanics of the office and setting up the arrangements for National Committee Meetings and other special events. I would suggest Bob Hitt.

JS:si

MEMORANDUM

January 3, 1969

TO: RN
FROM: John Sears
RE: Laxalt and Senator Williams

Paul Laxalt is talking very seriously about retiring at the end of his term as Governor next year. He very badly needs a call from RN to persuade him to run for the Senate against Senator Cannon. Laxalt can win that seat easily if he will run.

Senator Williams of Delaware has indicated to some of his friends that he may well retire at the end of his term. Bryce, when he sees him, should encourage him to stay on for one more term and RN, whenever he happens to see him should do the same.

JS:si

MEMORANDUM

January 3, 1969

TO: RN
FROM: John Sears
RE: New Jersey Situation

I'm anxious to obtain a Federal appointment for Webster Todd in order to get him out of the State Chairmanship so that we can replace him with Nelson Gross. Todd has a number of business interests in Australia and is anxious to obtain an Ambassadorship somewhere in that area. (Somewhere in the Far East but not necessarily in Australia.)

If we can get Nelson Gross into the Chairmanship, I would then like to explore the possibility of having Clifford Case run for Governor this fall. The Democrats are likely to run former Governor Meyner who will be very difficult to beat unless Case runs. The County Chairmen in New Jersey, although they have never liked Case, are willing to run him in the interest of winning, and if we can get Gross into the Chairmanship, we'll have him pretty well blocked off from harming our interests should he win. This would also mean his departure from the Senate, of course, which would be of assistance also.

If this is agreeable, I shall speak to Bryce in regard to achieving it.

JS/si

MEMORANDUM

January 3, 1969

TO: RN
FROM: John Sears
RE: Tennessee

Bill Brock is very anxious to run for Albert Gore's Senate seat. Dan Kuykendall is already starting to campaign for the nomination and needs to be shut off. Brock would be a stronger state-wide candidate and certainly would be better financed. Besides, we owe it to him.

What needs to be done is to have Howard Baker talk to Kuykendall and tell him that he intends to back Brock. He should be willing to do this since the other option available to Brock is to run for Governor. If Brock should win, it would establish him as the dominating power in the Party in Tennessee. Baker is very anxious to maintain his own position as the dominate force there and I'm sure if he realized that by allowing Brock to run for the Senate, he probably wouldn't have to worry about him any longer, he would do it.

If this is agreeable to you I shall speak with Bryce as to how to bring it about.

JS:si