

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
17	14	11/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Fred Malek to Haldeman. RE: The reorganization of the RNC, and what questions should be asked to George Bush as Chairman of the RNC. 4 pgs.
17	14	11/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Fred Malek to Haldeman. RE: The drastic "shake up" of the RNC, as an essential component in ensuring members of the new majority remain loyal to the GOP. 4 pgs.
17	14	11/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Letter	From R.M. Woods to The President. RE: The cancellation of Nixon's trip to Florida, and the suggestion that he spend his time at the Eisenhower Theatre seeing "Jockey Club Stakes" instead. 1 pg.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N1 [DOC # 31] [DOC # 32]	MEMO	Mallett to Haldeman (4 pp.) Re: Reorganizing the RNC [copy appears dated]	11/24/72	C
N2 [DOC # 33]	NOTE	Rose Mary Woods to the President Re: Kennedy Center (1 p.)	11/30/72	C
N3 [DOC # 34] [DOC # 35]	ACTION MEMO	Fr: Haldeman Re: Personnel (2 pp.) [4 copies follow]	12/10/72	C

FILE GROUP TITLE CRR Demos	d. High - Misc. Apple - Phone Log	BOX NUMBER 281
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FOLDER TITLE
[Misc. Correspondence, 1972-73]

RESTRICTION CODES

- | | |
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| A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy. | E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information. |
| B. National security classified information. | F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes. |
| C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights. | G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material. |
| D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person. | H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material. |

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman

Box Number: 281

Folder: [Misc. Correspondence, 1972-73]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
31	Return Private/Political
32	Return Private/Political
33	Return Private/Personal
34	Retain Open
35	Retain Open

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: FRED MALEK 

SUBJECT: Reorganizing the RNC

This memo outlines my thoughts as to what we should ask George Bush to accomplish as Chairman of the RNC when you discuss this with him today.

We all agree that a drastic shake up of the RNC is needed if we are to capitalize on the opportunity to add members of the new majority permanently to the GOP. To do this requires that the RNC change its mission from being one of servicing the state parties and merchandizing Republicanism and instead concentrate on two things:

✓ 1. Finding, financing and managing attractive candidates to run on the Republican ticket for the Senate and House seats. This effort would include supplying each candidate with polling information on issues, campaign media assistance a campaign manager, financial support, and campaign program assistance (canvassing, direct mail, etc.)

2. Making a strong effort to rebuild the state GOP organizations so that they can do this same thing for state and local offices. We discovered at 1701 that most state parties simply cannot carry the mail. The leadership is old, crusty, and more interested in maintaining their positions than winning. In addition many of the key state GOP organizations are deeply in debt and do not have the resources to organize their states properly. (Pennsylvania is \$600,000 in the hole; California \$300,000, etc.) Thus, the RNC must rescue the party in several key states by changing leadership and pulling them out of debt. We should use administration resources to do this. For example, in Pennsylvania we could offer to help them get out of debt and to place Cliff Jones in a federal position if they would appoint an effective state chairman to work with the RNC.

To accomplish this two fold mission requires that the RNC's field operations be given much greater emphasis. The field staff must be expanded considerably, upgraded and well supported by the leadership if the RNC is to accomplish this Party building assignment.

This change of direction will require that the RNC's organization structure be realigned. I would create two deputy slots - one for field operations and one for program development, field support, administration. *Staff*

THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR FIELD OPERATIONS

This deputy would be responsible for candidate selection and management and the task of rebuilding the state party organizations. He must be tough, attractive, a diplomat and have an excellent understanding of party organization and campaign management. He also must be able to attract and motivate a crack staff of field operatives.

Five candidates come to mind for this position:

①. Tom Crouch - Former Dallas County Chairman and my most effective Regional Director at 1701. Tom has all the credentials and meets the criteria. (Resume at Tab A)

2. Marvin Collins - Former executive director of the Texas GOP and campaign manager for Bush and Holton. Marvin was also a regional director. He is an excellent political thinker and salesman but he lacks the toughness and fire-in-the-belly drive that Crouch has.

③. Ken Reitz - Ken is an excellent operative but I question his management ability and wonder if he could draw together the high quality staff required for the job. Also his ties to Brock will hinder his effectiveness in dealing with the state organizations. (Resume at Tab B)

4. Ed DeBolt - Ed has had this job under Evans and did a credible job under some severe handicaps. He is probably the most able political technician we have in the Party. But he does have enemies and was not able to draw together as effective a staff as I would have hoped. On balance, I think George should start with a new slate rather than stay with DeBolt and his team.

5. Chuck Ross - The CRP Chairman for Ohio should also be considered. However, I do not feel he has the flexibility and diplomatic touch to weave his way through the demands of this position. (Resume at Tab C)

On balance, I would go with (1) Crouch or (2) Collins. The major drawback to each of these men is that they are both from Texas and we could be accused of creating a Texas Mafia. This is outweighed in my mind by their ability and the working relationship they already have with Bush.

THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR PROGRAMS

This deputy would be responsible for developing and managing an organization to support the targeted candidates - polling, media, issue research, campaign management, campaign materials, field programs (door to door and telephone canvassing), and to support the state party organizations. He should also be charged with administration of the committee and publications (First Monday, etc.) This post requires a good manager and a thorough understanding of elective politics. There are several candidates for this position.

Ed DeBolt would probably be the best if he would stay. Certainly he has the background to do the job and in addition provides continuity with the best elements of the work done over the last four years at the RNC.

Marvin Collins and Ken Reitz could also handle the job effectively. Reitz would be better simply because we could not put in two Texas Deputies with Bush. I don't believe the Brock ties would hurt Ken in this post which is programmatic rather than political in orientation. Also, Ken could use this post to continue his youth program.

In addition there would have to be other organizational changes down the line. Posts would have to be created for the various program areas, campaign management and so forth. George should sketch this organization in as soon as possible. The 1701 staff and the best of DeBolt's RNC staff will provide a pool of strong candidates for these positions.

In addition, it would be best if we could merge the senatorial, congressional and gubernatorial campaign committees into the new expanded RNC organization to conserve resources, and eliminate duplicated or contradictory efforts. We should try to do this, but I am dubious about how successful we will be. We must be prepared to go ahead, with or without them.

THE NEED FOR WHITE HOUSE GUIDANCE

We cannot afford to isolate Bush and provide no guidance or access to the White House as was the case with Tom Evans. Ideally either the President or you should approve each major step including:

- The New Organization Structure
- Key Staffing Decisions
- Targeting of each Senate, House, and State House Seat
- Proposed Changes in the Leadership of Each State Party
- Candidates
- Campaign Programs
- The Approach to Campaign Management
- The Specific Campaign Strategy for Each Targeted Seat

No

My guess is that neither of you will have the time to provide this guidance and I recommend that you ask George to work with me in pulling the new organization together. I will come to you on the key questions where your input and approval is needed.

MAJOR ACTION STEPS

Obviously, the proposed reorganization must proceed in stages; this is the sequence of steps that I would recommend that Bush take:

1. Gain a real grasp of the job by discussing it with Jeb, myself, Reitz, Jones and others who have given thought to the problem.
2. Develop a plan to deflect the flak we will surely get from Congress when it re-convenes and from the Party as they begin holding regional meetings. If he can outline his plans for party reform, it would go far to take the sting out of their criticism.
3. *Work w/ Congress and Campaign Committee.* Solidify his recommendations for the RNC re-organization.
4. Begin building a top flight staff.
5. Analyse the state parties and target those that must be reshaped.
6. Target seats in the Senate, House and State Houses which we would win with good efforts.
7. Begin the search for candidates for the targeted seats.
8. Develop plan to build up the candidates.
9. Start the development of the campaign management school and the campaign programs for use in 1974.

This is a brief outline of my current thinking and I am sure George can improve on it as he goes on in time. Certainly I would like very much to discuss the whole subject with him at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile if you have any questions, please let me know.

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November 20, 1972

MR. PRESIDENT: *MD*

It occurs to me that since you have cancelled your trip to Florida that you and the family might want to go to the Eisenhower Theatre (Kennedy Center) to see JOCKEY CLUB STAKES. It is supposed to be a great comedy (British) and is not trying to promote some cause or other.

One review of the play said: "A pleasant evening in which the only complications are too many chuckles and some deep-seated laughs.

RmWoods

A
I don't want to
go to the Center
for anything at
any time unless
it is an event
I have to
participate in