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MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Dwight L. Chapin
SUBJECT: The Presidential Schedule

The following memorandum is on schedule philosophy for the next twenty months. It is not a plan. Rather, it is a schedule concept including some techniques which are tied in for illustration.

Basic Philosophy Regarding Presidential Activity

The focal point for the President's scheduling is August of 1972. Primarily we are concerned with the manner in which the President should be perceived by the public by that date. The events in which the President participates are one means of achieving the goals which are reached by that date.

There is an interim stop along this 20-month path -- January 20 of 1972, almost exactly one year away from now. January of 1972 is significant for three reasons:

1. It will represent the third year of President Nixon's Administration. The wrap-up stories for 1971 will set the '72 stage.

2. January of 1972 will signal the kickoff of "campaign '72".

3. It will represent the passage of four years since the campaign of '68 began. Therefore, it will be viewed as Richard Nixon's four years. The emphasis will very likely be on what Richard Nixon proposed, advocated and criticized in 1968 versus what he has accomplished four years later as President.
The significance, then, of January 1972 is that the date will provide the opportunity for the media to capsule the President's three years in the Administration, and four years as a Presidential figure (one full year being taken up being either Presidential candidate or President-elect). To sum, as of January 1st 1972, the last Presidential year of the first term will have ended since the fourth year of the Administration will be interpreted as, and expected to be, purely a political year.

In order to prepare for this period, there should be heavy activity in late 1971 (October, November and December), hopefully with a good deal of substantive results accompanying the activity. The foundation for the late fall wrap-up activity should be lain in August and September, perhaps with an international trip during that time and extensive follow-up upon the return. Possible follow-up activities from the foreign trip would include the combination of a Press Conference, NSC meeting, Cabinet meeting, etc.

The principal events in which the President participates should always be tailored to fulfill not only the substantive goals for which the events were ostensibly scheduled, but contribute to the development of the public perception of the President at the end of the next 12 and 18 months. Following is a discussion of the principal Presidential events. This summary is intended to set forth the basic approach to each type of event, indicate what the event can and should achieve, and, where appropriate, discuss techniques for achievement of these goals and strengthening the results. The events are not listed in any order of priority.

1. **Cabinet Contacts**

   The main purpose of Cabinet contact is negative insofar as the contacts are maintained in order to eliminate any potential problems. The assumption is that not a great deal is accomplished with individual Cabinet members, but if there is a contact program throughout the year, the Cabinet members will feel they are important and being used by the President.

2. **Press Conferences**

   Our philosophy towards Press events is to do a variety of things with the Press, but do them in such a way as to make them qualify as Press Conferences. For example, if the President should attend a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, rather than merely
giving a speech he would hold a question and answer session for a certain period of time and permit this to be covered on live TV. On trips, we will develop opportunities for the President to meet with regional Press in various areas of the country. It is not necessary to have a full dress Press Conference just for the sake of having one. The President's previous pronouncements on this subject, and his philosophy that he will explore a number of means of communication with the public through the Press, will be encouraged and carried forth. Such forums as meetings with regional Press on a trip, occasionally inviting White House Press into his office on a Saturday morning, holding a limited briefing on a certain subject in the White House Press Center, and permitting questions -- all should be considered and billed as Press Conferences.

3. **Open Door Hours**

The Open Door Hour is not merely a potpourri of events that fit nowhere else. Rather, these hours serve to:

(a) Provide communication and liaison with a variety of special interest groups.

(b) Provide the setting for the President to show the human, sentimental, or color aspects of himself, and of him as President.

(c) It provides the opportunity for the President to reach across the entire spectrum of American life and activities. For example, it allows the President to identify with figures or events involving the world of sports, business, labor, the aged, veterans, etc.

(d) In a fairly short time span, and with a minimum of Presidential effort, it can show a high degree of Presidential activity because of the large and varied number of individuals and groups meeting with the President in his office.
4. Congressional Half-Hours

The Congressional Half-Hour, which frequently is consolidated into the Open Door Hour discussed above, provides the President with the opportunity for additional Congressional contacts. Congressional Half-Hours, and these types of events, should be decreased during periods of intense Congressional activity such as the beginning of a new session of Congress, the submission of many Messages to Congress, etc. By the same token, during low periods of Presidential Congressional activity of a substantive nature, the Congressional Half-Hour events can be increased. In short, the Congressional Half-Hour is used as a balancing device to maintain a continuing program throughout the year of Congressional contact.

5. Minority Events

The President was elected with but a small percentage of the black vote and is currently the object of anti-black feeling. The President will never be known as "a friend of the black" regardless of what he does.

Those referred to as "ethnics" are a more realistic target for political support of the President, and an effort to win them to our side would be profitable. Many of the ethnics are of the lower to middle class, are proud of their heritage, and have close ties to their first and second generation Americans. They are appalled by the violent demonstrations and applaud the uprightness of President Nixon. The President should continue to cultivate the support of these ethnic groups such as the Polish Americans, Italian Americans, etc. He can meet with groups such as the Sons of Italy, or on Pulaski Day meet with the Sons of Warsaw. These meetings needn't take very long, but they would have a wide benefit to the President.

On the other hand, the President should not meet with blacks merely for the sake of meeting with blacks. The philosophy regarding blacks would be to include them in regular meetings such as meetings on revenue-sharing, welfare, and anything else which might be of interest to them or in which we could logically include one or more blacks. The emphasis is that the President views blacks, and deals with them, as people, rather than giving them special treatment and concessions de-meaning to their dignity merely because they are hyphenated Americans.
The approach to the President's dealings with blacks must keep in mind the reality that the very most we can do is to approach the neutralization of the anti-Nixon feeling on the part of blacks and the feeling that President Nixon is anti-black. Our goal should be to achieve that neutralization so that we are not hurt by these "anti" labels. We must be careful, however, not to swing so far in our efforts for neutralization that we antagonize ethnic and southern blocks, and in doing so sacrifice one hundred times as many ethnic and southern votes in the quest for a single black vote.

6. **Labor Groups**

As a result of recent events, including the Cambodian demonstrations last May and the counter demonstrations by the hard hats in New York, the President has been increasingly identified with the rank-and-file groups. Rank-and-file labor people generally tend to be ethnic who most vociferously and vigorously embrace the values of America.

The President's approach to labor is to reach out to the rank-and-file members, not because they are members of labor organizations or a specific craft, but rather individuals. It is a foregone conclusion that, for economic reasons, the leadership of most labor unions will not support the President, at least in his policies. However, the majority of labor leaders have come up through the ranks and are sometimes at odds in their domestic issue public utterances.

The approach to labor is dichotomous.

**Labor Leaders** - Do enough for them so that we do not antagonize them. Include them in selected activities such as a social event or an Open Door Hour, but don't make a big effort to cultivate their support - only their respect and admiration.
7. **Business Leaders**

The approach to business leaders is almost diametrically opposed to that of labor leaders. Business leaders tend to support the President because they have no other place to go. Meetings with business leaders are essentially issue-oriented and serve one of two basic purposes:

1. Give business leaders the benefit of the President's thinking or stimulate them.
2. Result in a public story related to the economy and the President's efforts in improving it.

8. **Social Events**

The approach to social events is that they be done with dignity and that they serve to entertain. The entertainer must be of "acceptable" character and should exhibit a characteristic or quality that is an extension of some aspect of the President. For example, Johnny Cash represented the hard-working, verilce image. Pearl Bailey is a warm, human individual. The Fifth Dimensions were an exciting and versatile group.
White House social events should radiate excitement and a festive air. They should suggest a sense of well-being in the world and subtly say that the President is in command and that there is reason for entertainment and enjoyment.

The President's social events have a particular Richard Nixon imprimatur - they have a certain dignity and tenor to them that contrast dramatically to the raucous LBJ barbeque and the snobbish JFK Pablo Casals concert.

The two principal social events, the formal dinners and the Evenings at the White House, should have two different types of entertainment. The Evenings at the White House should always have a broad appeal of enjoyment and entertainment. E.G., Johnny Cash, Brazil '66, Red Skelton. The more classical and cultural material should be reserved for the State Dinners. Occasionally, for variation, and dependent upon the State Visitor, it might be appropriate to have a real "rip snorter" in order to break the pattern and avoid predictability. But, Evenings at the White House should get the excitement and radiate the most color.

9. Church Services

The Church Service is an all-purpose event, almost an Open Door Hour. It can be used for therapy and a catch-all for political and financial supporters, Congressional people, and personal friends who need Presidential contact, but don't fit in anyplace else. Care should be taken not to overuse in a partisan sense. The principal partisan decision that should be made is in the selection of the Minister and the Choir.

Very few specific benefits are derived from any particular Church Service. Occasionally a Vienna Boys Choir or a Billy Graham will end up as a photograph in the newspaper, but the Sunday morning worship services are not treated either as a social or a substantive event. However, there is an impression that is projected when the President conducts a worship service in his home of the President being a moral and God-fearing man. This doesn't come out as the headline, but as Americans hear of the President supporting a Christian approach in a quiet manner, it reinforces their impression of him as an upright and moral man.
10. **State Visits**

The visits of world leaders to the United States focuses attention upon President Nixon as a world leader. It points up the statesmanship of the President and emphasizes that he is held in high regard by other leaders of the world.

The State Visits, with their arrival ceremonies and State Dinners, provide the opportunity for President Nixon to display his social grace and expertise as well as his command of international affairs and his own personal dignity.

State Visits, and their attendant ceremonies, have fallen too much into a pattern and can be better utilized to emphasize the various positive aspects of Richard Nixon, the President and world leader. The visits must be altered in a variety of ways so that they can be better used on TV to emphasize the characteristics.

There are various techniques that can be employed, including changing the basic format of arrival ceremonies on the south lawn. This will give us a variety and therefore better chance for TV coverage. The same State Ceremony won't get coverage. Also, we should hold a number of State Visits in other cities. When President Tito visits the United States, it should be a two-stop visit with President Nixon just as it was a two-stop visit in Belgrade and Zagreb. When President Yahya makes his State Visit, the arrival ceremony can be held in a city other than the Capitol. When President Nixon visited Pakistan, he went to Lahore, not the capitol of Pakistan.

The purpose of holding a State Visit in another city would serve not only to provide a variation and therefore increased coverage, but also to show the President's pride in other parts of the Nation. The President would be implying that Washington may be a nice place but Chicago (or San Francisco, or Denver, etc.), are representative of America and he is just as proud of those cities as he is of the city in which the White House is located.
11. Domestic Trips

The central theme of all Presidential trips is to bring Government to the people, furthering the President's stated philosophy that, rather than having the power flow from localities to Washington, he wants to reverse the flow and bring Washington's "power to the people".

These trips provide exposure for the President and members of the Administration in a background other than that of Washington, D.C. These trips serve to establish direct communication between Washington and local governments, and give the local people the feeling that the President cares about what they think and is going to listen to their words. All trips, but especially trips to the country, Cabinet members and other Administration officials should be sent out perhaps a day in advance. The purpose of this is to build the base for the event that the President will participate in and generate publicity so that the Presidential activity is more meaningful and significant. (The Cabinet members should also participate in a variety of activities while visiting in the country. Their activities can include speeches, participation in forums, appearances on local TV, and interviews with local Press.)

These trips to the country can be performed in at least two very effective ways:

(a) The Blockbuster - This would be a multi-faceted trip that might include a Presidential Press Conference, meeting with State and local officials, meeting with local people, and a major speech. An example of this was the Kansas State trip. After delivering his speech at Kansas State University, the President went to Chicago where he met with a Polish group, delivered a speech and received 45 newly-naturalized citizens, held conferences with the editorial boards of two newspapers and was photographed conversing with construction workers in front of a building under construction.

(b) Trips for Special Events - These trips generally have a primary, single, purpose, and include such activities as a trip to the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, attendance at a football dinner, sporting events, funerals, and attendance at a specific social event such as a Law Day Dinner.
c) **State Visitors** - It has been suggested that the President host a visiting Head of State in a city other than Washington. The arrival ceremony, substantive meetings, and State Dinner can all be held in another part of the country and would serve to show the President's pride in the entire Nation and reinforce his concept of bringing Washington to the people.

**Trips for Special Events**

Although these events are usually designed to serve a single purpose, they can be adjusted to create a variety of impressions. For example, while the President is driving from the airport to the site for a speech, he might stop off "spontaneously" at a factory and visit informally with the workers.

There are such events such as the inspection of the oil stock at Santa Barbara that do not provide as much flexibility as we would want for obtaining the multiple effects. But generally there is an attempt to expand within the format and achieve this "shot gun effect".

**General**

On any trip, the dignity of the Office of the President is paramount. The political aspects should be kept to a minimum. Of course, when visiting in another city, some opportunity should be made for the President to have some contact, however limited, with the State and local political leaders. The activity can be extremely short and symbolic and perhaps a handshake as the President deplanes will be sufficient.

While downplaying the political aspects, it is desirable whenever the situation permits it, to have crowds of enthusiastic people out to see the President.

The spontaneous and perhaps unusual facets of the trip should be actively pursued. Such "unplanned" activities such as visits to the Ohio State campus, going out shopping for ties, and stopping by a factory along a motorcade route, all show the personal side of the President and create more of the public impressions necessary to reach out to all people. Scheduling in planning for a trip should provide the flexibility, wherever possible, to pursue these spontaneous activities.
Over the next ten months it is desirable that the President visit those primary election States and areas, as well as the swing States, so that equity can be built by about November, well before the political year begins.

* * * * * * *

Facets and Characteristics of the President as Perceived by the Public

The public perception of the President in January and August of 1972 will be affected by the whole spectrum of impressions to which the public has been exposed over the years. This composite picture is like a canvas with each Presidential event being a stroke in the composition of the painting. There are a multitude of characteristics, abilities and areas of expertise that will all contribute to the total impression. The weight that is attached to each element will vary with each individual perceiver. However, it is felt that there are certain areas of the President in his conduct of the Presidency that have particular significance in the minds of the public. These areas are ones that can be further developed through a well-planned and balanced program of Presidential attention and participation.

Following is a listing of these principal elements and the types of Presidential participation that will contribute to the development of these elements. Some of these means are merely unrefined ideas which, in themselves, may not be workable, but which may tend to stimulate a workable idea.

In approximately two months a Derge poll will be received and tabulated that will give a better indication of the manner in which the public perceives a multitude of facets of the President. That poll may very likely dictate a revision of our own priorities for stimulating the development of these elements.
FOR: ROB ODLE
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
RE: Julie and Tricia Book on Their Parents

January 27, 1971

Your memorandum of January 26 indicates that you had called
Comale Stuart to see whether or not she had the report back as to
whether Julie or Tricia would write a book about their parents.
You say, if they agree then we can move on from there.

This is the absolutely wrong way to handle this type of thing. We just
can't seem to learn. Why don't we organize our thoughts. Why don't
we put down exactly what it is we would expect them to do, how the
book would be structured, the reason behind doing the book, etc., etc.
What will happen now is that the whole thing will be blown out of the water.
We may also have problems since it may get to the President and the
First Lady and they will be concerned that the staff is coming up with
nit-witted ideas which aren't properly thought through -- and they won't
be far from wrong.

As you may recall, the conclusion at the end of the meeting was that
someone should sit down and figure out a master plot on all of the books
that we have underway, which audience the various books are aimed at,
and what it is that we are trying to sell on each of them. We can then
see where our void areas are and perhaps that will help give some thrust
to what other books should be generated.

The wrong way to go about it, in my mind, is to go right to Julie or Tricia
and say, will you two write a book about your parents. Undoubtedly they
will say no--or they should say no--until they get it put to them a little
bit better.

cc: Jeb Magruder
January 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROB ODLE
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

I assume someone will follow up with the idea put forth Saturday morning that we try to get Julie or Tricia or both to write a book about their parents. It could be very effective.

DLC: hle