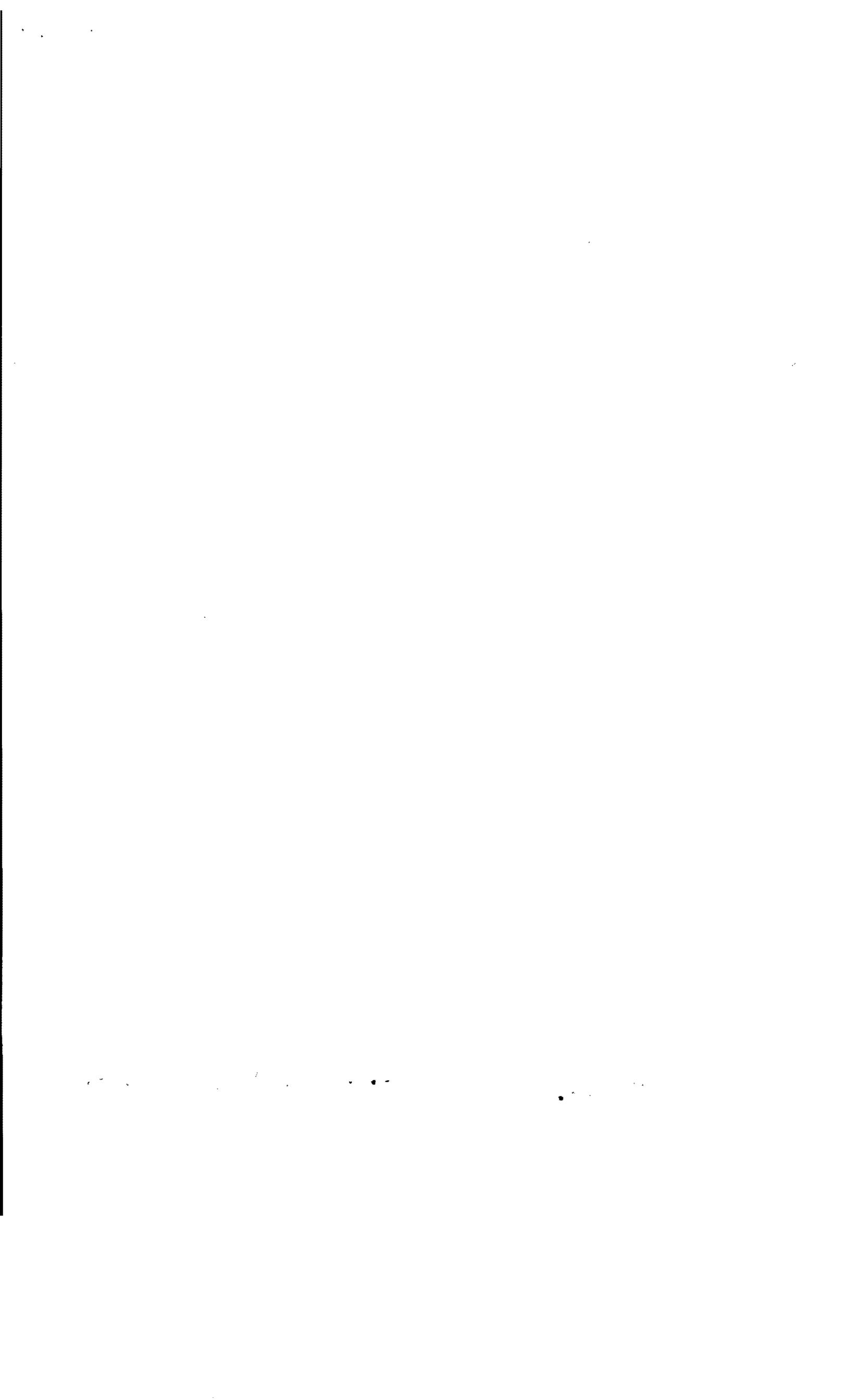


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STRENGTHENING WHITE HOUSE LIAISON
WITH IMPORTANT CALIFORNIANS

In developing a master list of major California Presidential supporters, meetings were held with several knowledgeable individuals, including Holmes Tuttle, Justin Dart, Leonard Firestone, Taft Schreiber, Asa Call, and Jaquelin Hume. In addition, Leland Kaiser was contacted by telephone. While discussing the list, these men mentioned incidents of White House oversight and unresponsiveness in dealings with important California Presidential supporters.

Such incidents can severely limit the President's ability to fully tap the potential support in California for his re-election. For example, Dart and Tuttle indicated they would not work for the President in 1972. Kaiser said he would support the President's opponent. This paper, therefore, reviews the incidents cited, discusses the causes of the problem, and recommends a solution.

INCIDENTS OF OVERSIGHTS AND UNRESPONSIVENESS

While incidents were mentioned by each of the above named individuals, Dart, Tuttle, and Kaiser were the most vocal, and their examples are cited most often. The criticisms fall into two areas: (1) White House recognitions and responsiveness and (2) policy questions.

Recognitions and Responsiveness

The main criticism is that major California Presidential supporters are sometimes treated rudely and are not receiving appropriate recognition. The Astronaut Dinner was the primary example cited by Dart and Tuttle. They were led to believe certain individuals whom they proposed would be invited, and they so informed the prospective invitees. When the invitations did not come, Dart and Tuttle were very embarrassed, and the affected individuals felt slighted. (Interestingly, Firestone and Schreiber also erroneously thought certain individuals they suggested were assured invitations. However, they were prudent enough not to inform those individuals.) Another criticism by Tuttle and Dart was that the Astronaut Dinner guest list included many marginal and non-Presidential supporters and that many who substantially supported the President were ignored. The problem with Dart was compounded when one of the President's close personal staff hung up on him during a discussion of the matter.

Kaiser is quite irritated about a letter he sent to Roger Johnson who had been identified as the President's liaison with Californians. This letter, along with some pleasantries, outlined his deep concern about the budget deficits. It was not even acknowledged. Recently Asa Call was hospitalized for a serious illness. It was five weeks before the President sent him a get well letter.

Jack Hume indicates Shermer Sibley, the President of Pacific Gas and Electric, is extremely influential within the San Francisco community, and, if handled properly, could be a significant contributor and fund raiser. Sibley is on the White House Business B List, but apparently has never had a White House invitation or been contacted by the White House Staff. Hume also reports H. J. Haynes will soon become the chief executive officer of Standard Oil of California and thereby "one of the most powerful men in California." He has received no invitations and is not even on the White House list. Interestingly, in 1968 there were only seven \$25,000 plus contributors from the Bay Area -- less than one-fifth the total from the Los Angeles area. Oversights such as the above will have to be corrected to improve the President's financial support from the Bay Area.

Moreover, the general criticism that some major Presidential supporters have been slighted appears warranted. Approximately 175 California couples not associated with the Administration or the space program were invited to the Astronaut Dinner. Yet, 44 California \$10,000 plus contributors to the President in 1968 -- one-half the total -- were excluded. Similarly, one-half of the California \$10,000 plus contributors have received two or fewer White House invitations -- for an average of one since the inauguration.

Also, it should be recognized that invitations to the White House in Washington are generally valued much more highly by Californians than White House functions in California, such as the Mexican and Korean state dinners. Yet, it appears that relatively few of the \$10,000 California contributors have been given this most valued recognition. For example, Mrs. Tuttle has never been invited to the White House, and the only time Mr. Tuttle has been invited socially was the dinner he organized on behalf of Murphy.

These statements are indicative of the recognitions effort needed. They should not be construed as being critical of the Social Office since it has previously had inadequate information on the California major contributors. For example, the Tuttles were credited with a \$5,000-\$10,000 contribution

according to the Republican National Finance Committee list. However, they actually gave closer to \$30,000 as shown on the master list just completed.

Policy Questions

In addition to the above incidents, concerns about Administration policy were expressed by Dart and Kaiser. Dart discussed the United States' competitiveness in the international economy. Mentioning Dart Industries has world-wide business dealings, he cited statistics indicating that various foreign countries have considerably lower manpower costs per unit of production. His general concern is that the United States is losing its competitiveness in the foreign marketplace. Although obviously knowledgeable and interested in international economic policy, he seemed to be unaware of Pete Peterson's work in the area.

Somewhat similarly, Lee Kaiser is very concerned about the budget deficits. He feels the President has renigged on his "promise to balance the budget" given during the 1968 campaign. Also, Kaiser was aghast at the President's statement about being a Keynesian. Apparently, Kaiser has not been briefed on the practical difficulties of balancing the budget or the reasons why the President's economic policies are valid. As mentioned earlier, when he wrote a letter expressing his concerns, it was not even acknowledged.

CAUSES OF PROBLEM

As a rough measure of the overall liaison problem, about one-half of the major California Presidential supporters on the master list need cultivation or are overdue for recognition. So close to 1972, this percentage is too high for a State which alone accounted for over ten percent of the President's 1968 campaign contributions and which is critical for his re-election.

The primary cause of the problem has been the lack of intelligence about important Californians. This weakness has been partially overcome by the compilation of the master list. However, it should be expanded to include others important to the President, such as influential businessmen, Party officials, and campaign workers. Also, it should be updated periodically.

A second cause to the problem is that there is a division of responsibilities for handling the various liaison activities. For example, the Social Office handles invitations; George Bell's office handles staff calls and

Presidential letters to important people; Peter Flanigan's office arranges briefings for key people; and the White House Personnel Operation, in coordination with Peter Flanigan and George Bell, handles trips and Commission appointments. Without someone orchestrating these various activities, oversights such as the above could occur, even if the proper information is available.

RECOMMENDATION

Given California's importance to the President's re-election and its large share of total campaign contributions, an individual should be assigned on a part-time basis to gather the needed information and to orchestrate the various White House liaison activities with important Californians. His responsibilities would include the following:

- Expand list of California Presidential supporters to include appropriate businessmen, Party officials, and campaign workers.
- Work through the Social and Personnel Offices to ensure White House recognitions are given to those Californians most important to the President.
- Work through the above offices plus Peter Flanigan and George Bell to ensure selected Californians are appropriately cultivated by policy briefings, calls or letters from the President, staff calls asking their views on issues, etc. (As indicated earlier, special attention should be paid to Northern California.)
- Develop a continuing information flow on promotions, illnesses, honors, deaths, etc., for appropriate acknowledgement by the President or White House Staff. (This information should also help to update the list of major Presidential supporters.)
- Serve as a central contact point for inquiries and viewpoints from major California Presidential supporters and follow up on any criticisms or concerns.

In carrying out these activities, this individual should naturally coordinate closely with the campaign organization. Also, he should be an individual respected by the relevant Californians. Dick Moore would be a logical candidate for this responsibility since he apparently has been designated by the Attorney General as liaison to California for campaign purposes and since he knows many of the Californians affected.

It should be recognized, however, that Californians have been told previously that various individuals would be the central White House contact, but the problems have continued. Consequently, to be a credible and effective liaison, the designated individual must be able to get results from the various White House Offices involved.

William L. Horton
August 10, 1971