

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>
12	2	9/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Chuck Colson. RE: Plans for the Campaign to use radio actualities. 1 pg.
12	2	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: Radio Actualities--Wall Street Journal, September 23, 1971. 1 pg.
12	2	9/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dwight Chapin. RE: The postponement of the Goldwater scheduling project. 1 pg.
12	2	9/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dick Cheney. RE: Attachment regarding the Gallup trend on voting for a negro President. 2 pgs.

<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>
12	2	9/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dwight Chapin. RE: Suggestions for Julie Eisenhower's schedule. 1 pg.
12	2	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Harry Dent to Gordon Strachan. RE: The possible approval of using Julie Eisenhower at the Regional Republican Conferences. 1 pg.
12	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Letter	From Gordon Strachan to Glen Carrington. RE: Appreciation for Mr. Carrington's work on framing the campaign posters. 1 pg.
12	2	9/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dwight Chapin. RE: Dent's suggestion that the President meeting with the members of the RNC from each state. 1 pg.
12	2	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: The suggested White House meeting between three members of the Republican National Committee and the President. 1 pg.

<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>
12	2	10/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Harry Dent. RE: Wallace's distribution of a million surveys throughout the nation to gage his popularity, and possible candidacy. 1 pg.
12	2	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Tom Evans. RE: Marion Fuller Brown's Letter to Mr. Haldeman. 1 pg.
12	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to G.S. RE: Message of "Please Handle." 1 pg.
12	2	8/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From Marion Fuller Brown to Haldeman. RE: Problems that occurred with President Nixon's recent visit to Maine, along with some follow-up suggestions. 2 pgs.
12	2	9/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to unknown receiver. RE: The question of whether a Muskie black Vice Presidential statement has been asked on the poll. 1 pg.

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12	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to unknown receiver. RE: The results of the Stans meeting on Wednesday night. 1 pg.
12	2	9/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Gordon Strachan to James P. Flowers. RE: Appreciation of Mr. Flowers' offer to contribute to the upcoming Presidential campaign. 1 pg.
12	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to unknown receiver. RE: The Rietz' youth project, and the need for final approval from the Attorney General. 1 pg.
12	2	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to unknown receiver. RE: The arrival of the Gallup Monthly Opinion Index tomorrow. 1 pg.
12	2	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to unknown receiver. RE: The review of a memorandum on the Rockefeller youth meeting. 1 pg.

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12	2	9/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Roy Goodearle. RE: The refusal of three Executive Committee Republicans to back the President in 1972, as indicated through an article in the Houston Chronicle. 3 pgs.
12	2	9/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: The busing statements of Muskie, and his position against it in an attempt to achieve "integration." 3 pgs.
12	2	9/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jon Huntsman. RE: A request for the forwarding of the most recent RNC budget materials. 1 pg.
12	2	9/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: The proposal of the black candidate-Buchanan/Tom Evans of New York project with Haldeman on the plane to Alaska. 1 pg.
12	2	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jon M. Huntsman to Haldeman. RE: Black Political Leaders, and their meeting in Chicago to set a plan for the 1972 elections. 2 pgs.

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12	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dick Howard. RE: The option of a Presidential meeting with Frank Sinatra. 1 pg.
12	2	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: Magruder's possibilities regarding the choosing of his administrative assistant. The prime candidate being Bob Herrema, whose resume is included. 4 pgs.
12	2	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: The written analysis of the "ticket-splitter" theory. 1 pg.
12	2	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dick Howard. RE: The development of a friendly relationship with Miss America, Laurie Schaefer, whose support for President Nixon is unwavering. 1 pg.
12	2	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Dick Howard. RE: Miss America's Phyllis George, and her possible contributions to the Presidential campaign. 1 pg.

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12	2	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: 1968 Campaign Debts, including attachments that describe some of the "useless bills" from the campaign. 2 pgs.
12	2	9/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bruce Kehrl. RE: The up-to-date memos on the youth vote, and the upcoming meeting to ensure all bases are covered. 1 pg.
12	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Gordon Strachan to Vincent A. Lindner. RE: Appreciation for Mr. Lindner's views on the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
12	2	9/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: Any changes in attitude towards Arlan Spector after having viewed a recent press clipping. 1 pg.
12	2	9/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: The need for labor a labor representative both at the Committee and at the RNC, as suggested by George Bell.

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12	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	Unknown author to Charles W. Colson. RE: The recommendation that a man be appointed at the RNC and the Citizens Operation to be liaison with labor, as a means to encourage support of local labor leaders. 2 pgs.
12	2	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: Radio Actualities--Wall Street Journal, September 23, 1971. 1 pg.
12	2	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. RE: The recommendation of Georg Babbe as the plausible Campaign Manager for California. 1 pg.
12	2	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Unknown author to the Attorney General. RE: The attached resume of Georg Babbe, the possible Campaign Manager for the state of California. 3 pgs.
12	2	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: Bud Wilkinson's decision to not run for the Senate seat in Oklahoma. 1 pg.

<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>
12	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to Bob Haldeman. RE: Bud Wilkinson's decision to not run for the Senate in Oklahoma, mainly due to the fact that he feels no Republican can win with Ed Edmundson's entry into the race. 1 pg.
12	2	9/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: Get Out the Vote Operations, and the establishment of a national model. 1 pg.
12	2	9/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to the Attorney General. RE: Secretary Volpe's request for direction to the Cabinet concerning the 1972 Campaign.
12	2	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: The interview of Richard Allen, and his possible role in the Campaign as a representative to the Black community. Attached is Mr. Allen's proposal entitled, "Reason." 12 pgs.
12	2	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: The establishment of a registration drive in nursing homes in order to attract the elderly vote. 1 pg.

<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>
12	2	9/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Safire to the Attorney General. RE: The elderly vote, and the one million eligible voters in nursing homes who have yet to be catered to in the election process. 1 pg.
12	2	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bob Marik. RE: Consideration to the usage of DMI. 1 pg.
12	2	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Gordon Strachan to William D. McKinney. RE: The forwarding of Mr. McKinney's letter to the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President, in response to his offer of support in the campaign. 1 pg.
12	2	9/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Talking Paper for the Attorney General. RE: Recommendations and Convention Appointments. 3 pgs.
12	2	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Talking Paper for Senator Dole. RE: McGovern's Shopping Spree in Saigon. 1 pg.

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12	2	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bill Timmons. RE: Governor Mandel's angst about next year's chaos at the Democratic Convention over the Democratic reform proposals. 1 pg.
12	2	9/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Talking Paper for the Attorney General. RE: Press Policy at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 233

Folder: Strachan-Chron, September 1971

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
96	Return Private/Personal LTR Strachan to Brian 9/7/71
97	Retain Open
98	Retain Open
99	Retain Open
100	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Colson 9/29/71
101	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Chapin 9/28/71
102	Retain Open
103	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Cheney 9/28/71
104	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Chapin 9/24/71
105	Return Private/Personal LTR Strachan to Carrington 9/27/71
106	Retain Open
107	Retain Open
108	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Chapin 9/10/71
109	Retain Open
110	Retain Open
111	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Dent 10/1/71
112	Retain Open
113	Retain Open
114	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Evans 9/15/71
115	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Follow Up 9/29/71
116	Retain Open
117	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Follow Up 9/20/71
118	Return Private/Political LTR Strachan to Flowers 9/21/71
119	Return Private/Political Memo Strachan to Follow Up 9/20/71

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 233

120	Retain	Open	
121	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Follow Up 9/9/71
122	Retain	Open	
123	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Follow Up 9/2/71
124	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Goodenough 9/28/71
125	Retain	Open	
126	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Higby 9/10/71
127	Retain	Open	
128	Retain	Open	
129	Retain	Open	
130	Retain	Open	
131	Retain	Open	
132	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Huntsman 4/25/71
133	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Higby 9/24/71
134	Retain	Open	
135	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Howard 9/20/71
136	Retain	Open	
137	Retain	Open	
138	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Higby 9/15/71
139	Return	Private/Political Memo	Strachan to Higby 9/13/71
140	Retain	Close	Invasion of Privacy Memo Strachan to Higby 9/11/71
141	Retain	Close	Invasion of Privacy Memo Strachan to Higby 9/10/71
142	Retain	Open	
143	Retain	Open	
144	Retain	Open	
145	Retain	Open	

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 233

146	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Howard 9/13/71
147	Retain	Open
148	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Howard 9/13/71
149	Retain	Open
150	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Higby 9/2/71
151	Retain	Open
152	Retain	Open
153	Retain	Open
154	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Kehring 9/10/71
155	Retain	Open
156	Retain	Open
157	Return	Private/Political LTR Strachan to Lindner 9/22/71
158	Retain	Open
159	Retain	Open
160	Retain	Open
161	Retain	Open
162	Retain	Open
163	Retain	Open
164	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/27/71
165	Retain	Open
166	Retain	Open
167	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/24/71
168	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/23/71
169	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Malek 9/23/71
170	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/22/71
171	Retain	Open

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 233

172	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/21/71
173	Retain	Open
174	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to The Attorney General 9/14/71
175	Retain	Open
176	Retain	Open
177	Retain	Open
178	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/15/71
179	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Magruder 9/15/71
180	Retain	Open
181	Retain	Open
182	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Marik 9/13/71
183	Retain	Open
184	Retain	Open
185	Return	Private/Political LTR Strachan to McKinney 9/2/71
186	Retain	Open
187	Retain	Open
188	Retain	Open
189	Retain	Open
190	Retain	Open
191	Retain	Open
192	Retain	Open
193	Retain	Open
194	Retain	Open
195	Retain	Open
196	Retain	Open
197	Retain	Open

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 233

198	Return	Private/Political Talking Paper for the Attorney General 9/24/71
199	Return	Private/Political Talking Paper for Senator Dale 9/20/71
200	Return	Private/Political Memo Strachan to Timmons 9/13/71
201	Return	Private/Political Talking Paper for the Attorney General 9/18/71
202	Retain	Open
203	Retain	Open
204	Retain	Open

**RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD**

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
1	Letter	Strachan to W.L. Brian re: Cancelled membership. 1 pg.	09/07/1971	G

COLLECTION TITLE Contested Documents	BOX NUMBER 12
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FOLDER TITLE
WHSF:SMOF: H.R. Haldeman: Strachan – Chron, September 1971 Box 233

PRMPA RESTRICTION CODES:

<p>A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy. B. National security classified information. C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights. D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.</p>	<p>E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information. F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes. G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material. H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.</p>
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DEED OF GIFT RESTRICTION CODES:
 D-DOG Personal privacy under deed of gift

**RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
DOCUMENT CONTROL SHEET**

ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FOLDER

A RESTRICTED DOCUMENT OR CASE FILE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE ITEM REMOVED AND THE REASON FOR ITS REMOVAL, CONSULT DOCUMENT ENTRY NUMBER 1 ON THE DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD IN THE FRONT OF THIS FILE FOLDER.

Administratively Confidential

September 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CHUCK COLSON

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Radio Actualities

I sent the attached memorandum to Jeb Magruder regarding the plans for the Campaign to use radio actualities.

He reports that it is far too early for the Campaign to have a formal radio actualities program.

Lyn Nofziger, as you probably know, has had some experience in this area.

In light of your program to schedule speakers through Pat O'Donnell and increase the public appearances of Counsellors Rumsfeld and Finch, it has been requested that you describe your plans for using actualities prior to the Campaign Committee's involvement.

GS:lm

September 23, 1971

*What about
Cohen and
Wright
now.*

Administratively Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JED MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Radio Actualities --
Wall Street Journal,
September 23, 1971

You probably noticed the article in this mornings Wall Street Journal concerning the effective use of radio actualities by politicians. Senator Bayh is prominently mentioned, but so is the DNC. To my knowledge, there is no plan yet for the Campaign to use this very effective tool.

Will you get together with Lyn Nofziger, who has had some success with actualities and develop a Committee plan that complements the RNC's actions in this area. Presumably spokesmen such as Senator Dole and Counsellors Rumsfeld and Finch could have materials ready to go in the very near future.

Thank you.

GS:lm

cc: Lyn Nofziger

September 28, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Goldwater Scheduling

Jeb Magruder reports that the Goldwater scheduling project which was assigned to Magruder pursuant to the Steve Bull memorandum of last week has been put on hold by your office.

Is this because of some problem that has developed with the Senator's Administrative Assistant, or is it simply the result of your lack of faith in Magruder's ability to handle the project?

GS:kb

Administratively Confidential

September 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Per our conversation, here is the trend for the Gallup question on voting for a negro President.

Please advise me as soon as Counsellor Rumsfeld has talked with Gallup.

GS:lm

VOTE FOR A NEGRO? *for President*

Question: ".....If he happened to be a Negro?"

	MID-MARCH, 1969			1967			
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Yes	No	No Opinion	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
NATIONAL	67	23	10	54	40	6	
SEX							
Men	66	25	9				
Women	68	22	10				
RACE							
White	65	25	10				
Non-white	X	X	X				
EDUCATION							
College	79	14	7				
High School	71	21	8				
Grade School	49	36	15				
OCCUPATION							
Prof. & Bus.	76	16	8	1958	38	53	9
White Collar	74	21	5	1963	47	45	8
Farmers	56	32	12	1965	59	34	7
Manual	70	22	8	1967	54	40	6
				1969	67	23	10
AGE							
21 - 29 years	77	14	9				
30 - 49 years	72	20	8				
50 & over	58	31	11				
RELIGION							
Protestant	61	29	10				
Catholic	78	11	11				
Jewish	X	X	X				
POLITICS							
Republican	62	27	11				
Democrat	72	19	9				
Independent	64	26	10				
REGION							
East	74	14	12				
Midwest	71	20	9				
South	52	39	9				
West	74	20	6				
INCOME							
\$10,000 & over	75	19	6				
\$ 7,000 & over	73	20	7				
\$ 5,000 - \$6,999	67	23	10				
\$ 3,000 - \$4,999	66	23	11				
Under \$3,000	52	34	14				
COMMUNITY SIZE							
1,000,000 & over	73	15	12				
500,000 & over	76	13	11				
50,000 - 499,999	76	18	6				
2,500 - 49,999	59	32	9				
Under 2,500, Rural	55	34	11				

September 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Harry Dent continues to send me his suggestions for Julie Eisenhower's schedule. As I understand it, you now have the responsibility for clearing suggestions for her schedule. Therefore, you might be interested in Dent's suggestions regarding the Regional Republican Conferences.

GS:lm

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: HARRY DENT *HSD*

See if the President and Bob would approve using Julie Eisenhower at the Regional Republican Conferences. She could go and just appear as a luncheon guest or conduct a reception during lunch or in the evening. The conferences are scheduled for these places on these dates:

October 7-9

Midwest Regional Republican Conference
Indianapolis, Indiana

October 14-16

Western States Republican Conference
Las Vegas, Nevada

November 11-13

Northeast Regional Republican Conference
Washington, D. C.

December 2-4

Southern States Republican Conference
Memphis, Tennessee

September 22, 1971

Dear Glen:

I wanted to thank you for the excellent job you did framing the campaign posters for me.

As a token of my appreciation for a job well done, enclosed is a set of Presidential cuff links and a tie bar.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan
Staff Assistant
to H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Glen Carrington
c/o Carpenter's Shop
Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Enclosure: Presidential cuff links & tie bar

GS:elr

Administratively Confidential

September 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Dent Request for RNC Meeting

As you can see from the attached, Harry Dent is suggesting that the President meet briefly with members of the RNC from each State, including the State Chairman.

Presumably your staff will review the proposal and prepare a recommendation for Mr. Haldeman's review.

GS:lm

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: Harry S. Dent *ASD*

The members of the Republican National Committee (three from each state, including the State Chairmen) should be invited to the White House early this fall to meet with the President briefly and then be given a briefing on the Administration's progress and positive accomplishments. This could be done at the next RNC meeting in D.C. (the date at this time is indefinite).

In the meantime, there will be four regional meetings of GOP leaders, some attracting several hundred people. Special briefing teams should be set up for these also. They are:

Midwest Regional Conference -- October 7-9
Western States Conference -- October 14-17
Northeast Regional Conference -- November 11-13
Southern States Conference -- December 2-4

Administratively Confidential

October 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HARRY DENT

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Wallace Poll

You probably noticed in the September 29 news summary that Wallace is "distributing a million surveys throughout the nation, asking opinions on his possible candidacy and on 25 issues".

A check with Mort Allin indicates that the back up story discloses no more information about who might be conducting the survey or when the results would be available.

Would it be possible for you to obtain some of this information?

FU Oct 5

GS:lm

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

TOM EVANS

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Marion Fuller Brown's Letter
to Mr. Haldeman

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, would you respond on Mr. Haldeman's behalf to the Republican National Committeewoman from Maine and emphasize that in your opinion the system that you have worked out with Dwight Chapin, Harry Dent and Ron Walker should move toward alleviating the problem she refers to in her letter.

Thank you very much.

GS:elr

Evans-Chapin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: G.S.

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

Placer Howell

G → Evans

Dent

Waller

Chapin

diff. from
story

seek
advice

real
story

August 21, 1971

The Honorable H. R. Haldeman
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

I am writing to you to call to your attention some problems in regard to President Nixon's recent visit to Maine. I hope you will accept my remarks in the spirit that I send them, as constructive suggestions from a loyal supporter of President Nixon's who wants to see him re-elected in 1972, and a Republican Party worker for the past twenty years.

None of us were unhappy about the large and friendly crowd that turned out with only a couple of days notice. Senator McCloud and Representative Curtis did yeoman service in helping to make this possible.

I do feel that this undoubtedly may be the only time the President will come to Maine and that a golden opportunity was missed to reward and boost the morale of hard-working Republicans. Specifically:

1. The newly elected Republican State Chairman was completely by-passed in the very beginning by the White House initially contacting Senator McCloud. The National Committee man and woman first learned of the President coming to Maine through the news media.
2. For what was billed as a non-political trip, it was surely ironical that the only people greeting the President and his party were Democrats; Governor Curtis, Representative Hathaway, and Mayor Cox and their wives. Surely in the absence of Senator Margaret Chase Smith, our Republican President of the Maine Senate should have been in the receiving line with his wife.
3. Just why special permits were issued to anyone was hard to understand as they only ended up in the crush of over 5,000 - there was nothing special about it. With all the elaborate planning it wouldn't appear to have been very difficult to have roped off a special area for

continued on 2

party workers and elected officials.

4. Chairman Moreshead and I did appreciate the efforts that were made in the end to mollify a situation that with proper planning could have been avoided in the first place.
5. As near as I can recall this is the only visit of either Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon, including visits by the then Vice President Nixon in which at least a few minutes have not been set aside for a brief handshake or greeting to party workers or large contributors and some of these occasions were also "non-partisan", (so-called).
6. The upshot of it all was that instead of our being able to concentrate on helping Republicanism we had to spend time soothing unnecessarily upset party workers. I realize we can't satisfy everyone, but at the same time there's no need to deliberately go out of the way to create problems.

The surface results were great but problems created by arbitrary plans were absolutely unnecessary. I hope this letter may help to minimize such in the future here and in all the other fifty states.

Sincerely,



MARION FULLER BROWN
Republican National Committeewoman

bjw

cc: A. Armstrong, Co-Chairman RNC
R. Dole, Chairman RNC
T. Evans, Co-Chairman RNC
R. Marden, Maine RNC Man
C. Moreshead, Maine Republican Chairman
K. McCloud, Pres. Maine Senate
M. Smith, U.S. Senator from Maine

Administratively Confidential

September 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR FOLLOW-UP FOR SEPTEMBER 29, 1971

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Check with Dick Howard as to whether or not he raised with Colson the possibility of Harris asking a Muskie black Vice President statement question on the poll, also ask if he knows when the next approval/disapproval question will be asked.

GS:1 m

September 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW-UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Check with Hugh Sloan regarding the results of the Stans meeting on Wednesday night and whether the 14 points have been agreed to.

GS:elr

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1971

Dear Jim:

Mr. Haldeman asked me to thank you for your letter of September 11 outlining your desires to contribute your services to the campaign.

I'm forwarding a copy of your letter to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President which, as the title states, is a group of citizens like yourself who have begun thinking about and planning for the campaign.

You should be hearing from them in the near future. Thanks again for your offer of support.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan
Staff Assistant
to H. R. Haldeman

Mr. James P. Flowers
5 Tudor City Place
New York, New York 10017

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR FOLLOW UP

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Check with Jeb Magruder for the final draft of Rietz' youth project on Friday. He covered the draft youth project with the Attorney General on September 18 and the Attorney General specifically requested that the final youth project go to Mr. Haldeman with a note that the Attorney General had not made a final decision. It was the Attorney General's view that it might be helpful for the President to see Rietz' memorandum also.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR FOLLOW UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

The Gallup Monthly Opinion Index should arrive tomorrow. At that time, prepare a demographic comparison of Presidential popularity for Mr. Haldeman and review the demographic results for Farmer's assessment of the President's popularity for Whitaker.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR FOLLOW UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Check with Ken Rietz on Friday for a memorandum to Magruder or the Attorney General regarding the Rockefeller youth meeting and make reference in the cover memo to Bob that Ed Harper's speech was excellent.

GS:

Ed Harper's office is sending a copy of speech today.

LM

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 28, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROY GOODEARLE

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You may have seen the attached article from the Houston Chronicle indicating that three Texas Republicans from their Executive Committee refuse to back the President for 1972. Could you give me some type of reading on how serious this should be considered -- for example, who are these people in Texas politics, and is it worth our effort to try and counter their activity?

GS:lm

From Harris County

3 GOP Exec Panel Members Refuse To Back Nixon for '72

BY BO BYERS

Chief, Chronicle Austin Bureau

Austin — The Texas Republican Executive Committee has pledged support of President Nixon for reelection, but three members from Harris County refused to go along — largely because of Nixon's stand on busing and Red China.

The three dissenters Sunday from a vote-heavy county which Nixon carried by 20,000 votes in 1968 were Mrs. Elmer Lindstrom and Don Witt, both of Channelview, and Mrs. J. D. Boggs of Pasadena.

Witt said he would not commit himself "to any politician this far in advance, no matter who he is. He (Nixon) might not even be running next year."

Mrs. Lindstrom and Mrs. Boggs were less restrained in stating why they asked to be recorded against the pro-Nixon resolution.

"I feel it's morally wrong to support a man like Richard Nixon because of his stand on Red China — even visiting Red China," said Mrs. Lindstrom. "It's morally wrong, repulsive, any other dirty word you want to call it."

Mrs. Lindstrom, who backed California Gov. Ronald Reagan for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968, said she voted for Nixon in November but would never do so again. "I don't have any respect for him," she said.

Mrs. Boggs said she is against Nixon because she disagrees with him on busing, Red China, and "some of his ideas on welfare."

"He has said he's against busing but he hasn't done anything concrete about seeing that we don't have it," she said.

Dr. George Willeford of Austin, state GOP chairman, stood by listening as Mrs. Boggs expressed her views.

Though Nixon carried Harris County in 1968, he lost the

(See ALL, Page 4)



JULIAN BOND

man. He tried to help people. He helped literally thousands of people one way or another. He was kind of the

juana, in which the matadors fought bulls for half pay.

force... tors can that me er party.

ost-Freeze Contr
nive May Submi

uld Wrest Initiative From Nixon

h 17 force in a double ambush 35
id. miles north of Saigon.
five In Phnom Penh, about 30
nese sappers with rocket launchers
heavy blew up 13 large oil storage
tacks tanks, striking a heavy blow
Viet to Cambodia's struggling
economy.
killed The tanks, containing mil-
ee si- lions of gallons of gasoline,
the U diesel and fuel oil, went up in
leaving a rear of flames. Black smoke
In the billowed more than 100 feet
etern- into the night sky and fire lit
and 25 up the northern quarter of the
70-man Cambodian capital.

ia Fuel
stroy N

CAS 77001 Second Class Postage Paid
at Houston, Texas

RONICLE

L. Highligh

Initial Loss Of 100,000 Is Faced National Guard

All on GOP Panel Opposed To Busing

(AP) — The National Guard faces a loss of about 100,000 men next summer as volunteers finish their service, Pentagon officials say.

The offset only partialments of men in service in the regular by 17 and 18 units.

But now worrying critics is that the fall significantly authorized strength men for the first years, even if the need.

They are certain to be with young men are sign up with the avoid conscription.

Officials say a of the Guard has implications for parity. The Guard, has been given a tant role in the national than ever before regular Army is ed to its smallest e than 10 years.

National Guard is starty-recruiting cam-officials said they imistic, despite Department plans to ask or money to pay end reenlistment bo-to provide a num-

ber of incentives to join the Guard.

The wave of losses this fiscal year will come from the dropoff of most of the young men who enlisted in the Guard in 1965, at a time when the United States was building with increased draft calls.

These men were exempted from the draft when they chose to enlist for six months of active duty training and an additional 5½ years obligation to drill regularly with a Guard or Reserve unit.

Only about 10 percent of these young men are staying in the Guard after their six-year obligation expires, Guard officials report.

This Reserve Englishment Program was such a popular refuge from the draft during the Vietnam War that the Guard was filled up. The waiting list at one point contained more than 100,000 names.

But the waiting list has been shrinking since the United States began withdrawing from the war in 1969.

According to a recent report to the Pentagon's National Guard Bureau, the waiting list was reduced in April, May and June to a low of 33,000 names.

But even this number may not be meaningful. Some states report many men whose names still were on the list declined to enlist when called to fill vacancies.

state to Democratic nominee Hubert H. Humphrey by 39,000 votes.

Other committee action Sunday indicated that the busing issue weighs heavily on the minds of the Texas Republican leadership and could prove disastrous to Nixon in his bid for Texas' 26 electoral votes next year, particularly if Alabama Gov. George Wallace is again a third party candidate.

The committee adopted a resolution decrying the "weird and bizarre schemes of federal bureaucrats for busing children to distant schools" and calling on President Nixon to "endorse and support Sen. (John) Tower's resolution" for a constitutional amendment a gainst massive crosstown busing.

The committee also urged Nixon to nominate a strict constructionist "who is also opposed to the busing of school children for the purpose of achieving racial balance" when the President names a successor to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black.

Black announced his retirement Friday because of ill health.

Tower commended President Nixon on his 90-day wage-price freeze, and called for at least initial support for whatever program the President proposes after the freeze expires.

"Whatever follows, the freeze is something we should initially support whether we agree with it or not because it must be given a chance to work," said Tower.

Although he is not keen about government controls on

be more important to the Republican Party than the state of the economy in 1972.

"I think our chance of success next year rests almost wholly on the economic situation," said Tower.

Mrs. Tobin Armstrong of Armstrong, national committeewoman for Texas and co-chairman of the National GOP Committee, said she concedes that the outlook is "very grim" for Republicans on registration of 18 to 21-year-old voters.

She said those registrations are running 2-to-1 in favor of Democrats, but she predicted a reversal once the Democratic presidential nominee is chosen next July.

In Texas, young people like Tower's candor, said Mrs. Armstrong, predicting his reelection.

"They like honesty. It is the Republican Party that is untarnished," she said, predicting not only the reelection of Tower but that "a whole horde of Republican legislators can go in and clean up that mess caused by that other party."

Life Magazine Reports Wilson Has Second Thoughts on Loan

(UPI) — Assistant Gen. Will R. Wilson if he had it to do would not have accepted \$30,000 unsecured

little guy's capitalist. He was generous to churches.

"There's a Greek tragedy in this thing. As long as they (people) stick to what they

Administratively Confidential

September 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Muskie -- Busing

You asked me for information concerning the busing statements of Muskie. As you know, in this weeks Monday the statement appeared that Muskie has taken a "new rhetorical posture against busing to achieve integration". Nofziger reports that this material as well as the greater part of the longer political articles in Monday are prepared by Buchanan's office. The question about this stance has been relayed to Colson and Buchanan.

Of much more interest are the comments that appeared in the News Summary this morning. In particular, Muskie's statement that busing is a "legitimate tool, but not the ultimate one". This fact was pointed out to Lyn Nofziger and follow up articles will appear in Monday. Marik has also been advised to make sure that all are retained (including this last one by Muskie on busing) and retrievable.

In addition, Nofziger and Marik will be sure that the Jesse Jackson, referred to on page 17 of the News Summary, are also retained and used in follow up articles.

Statement

GS:lm

upholds it, it could have profound effects on US living patterns as whites will not be able to move to the suburbs to hide.

Charles Kurault, on the road in Point Roberts, Washington, where students can really tell you about busing. Pt. Washington is below the 49th parallel but attached to the US -- it is too small to support a school so students are bused thru Canada, to a school 30 miles away but in the US. They go thru 4 customs points every day, but no one seems to mind.

The Jackson (Miss.) public school system has filed suit to stop state officials from withholding funds used to bus students to achieve a racial balance.

* * * *

GOVERNORS

Wally Mears reports that GOP Govs easily blocked a Dem attempt to criticize RN's economic program as inequitable. ... This noted as well by both NBC and CBS as was defeat of 2 anti-busing resolutions.

The NBC report emphasized that being Gov. particularly of a big state, "used to be a big deal, now it's a big headache." As their problems have increased, their influence has declined. Now they are the faceless men; only 3 are recognized nationally and only Wallace entertains serious ambitions for the presidency.

Muskie on both nets: NBC closed its show with over 2:00 of the Senator's keynote address in which he spoke about Attica. "We can't pass final judgment (on the incident) but we can ponder how and why some men would rather die than spend another day in the US." It will all happen again, said the Senator because we didn't correct the situation yesterday or today.

* → On CBS, the Senator was asked about busing. He said he regards busing as "a legitimate tool, but not the ultimate one." "I don't like it because it's an inconvenience; it consumes time and resources," said the Senator. But we still have segregated and unequal educational facilities and it is a tool for dealing with the problem.

Mudd said Muskie rushed off to talk to other Govs "not to twist arms" Muskie had said but to inform them of his views. Muskie aides stated that the Senator is not seeking commitments but 4 Govs have volunteered "to go anywhere and do anything" for Muskie. That's part of the plan, said Roger, deny the Senator is running but be sure to keep the momentum rolling.

MORE MUSKIE

Jesse Jackson received a standing ovation from 1,500 blacks at a Chicago Breadbasket meeting when he accused Muskie of being a "racist" and said blacks will try to thwart Muskie's efforts in light of his black-VP comment. Jackson said Muskie's comments were "honestly crazy, insane" and disqualify him from running. "Muskie has no domestic plans, no economic programs, nor has he outlined programs for bringing people together." Jackson then led the crowd in a new slogan: "Muskie smells musty."

In a story headed "Muskie may have lost the black vote," Steif of the Washington News quotes Conyers and others. Conyers called Muskie's statement "illogical" and "frankly idiotic." Gus Hawkins said it "could have [been] handled a lot better." Dellums was "surprised but not shocked." A staffer for the leadership conference on civil rights called it "a boo-boo -- I really lost something for him." Black California assemblyman Willie Brown said it "came close to a man telling you you have cancer and there is no cure."

* * * *



Administratively Confidential

September 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JON HUNTSMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Please forward the most recent RNC budget materials that Dave Hoopes has been reviewing monthly and that I should review quarterly.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You were going to raise the black candidate - Buchanan/
Tom Evans of New York project with Mr. Haldeman on the
plane to Alaska.

GS:lm

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN THE WHITE HOUSE

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

WASHINGTON

By Empoise NARS, Date 1-16-80

CONFIDENTIAL

September 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

JON M. HUNTSMAN *JMH*

SUBJECT:

Black Political Leaders

It was reported in the September 23, 1971 News Summary that black political leaders -- including the Caucus -- are meeting in Chicago to set their strategy for the '72 elections.

It was requested that you note that this matter is of the highest priority and report what is happening in their funding.

Please submit your report to the Office of the Staff Secretary.

Thank you.

cc: Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: September 23, 1971

Time: 6:30 pm

FOR ACTION: H. R. Haldeman

cc (for information):

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: September 29, 1971

Time: 2:00 pm

SUBJECT:

Black Political Leaders

ACTION REQUESTED:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> For Necessary Action | <input type="checkbox"/> For Your Recommendations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Agenda and Brief | <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Reply |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For Your Comments | <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Remarks |

REMARKS:

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

JON M. HUNTSMAN
For the President

Administratively Confidential

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK HOWARD
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Frank Sinatra

After the discussion of whether or not Sinatra had authorized use of his plane to Edmund Muskie, some checks were made regarding our plans to bring Sinatra into the fold.

There is no opposition to bringing Sinatra in to meet the President. The best suggestion is to have him invited to an entertainment night type event. The thought is that it would be better for him to meet with the President in a semi-public event. This event could be followed up with a commission such as the Fine Arts Commission.

Another suggestion is that Len Garment be used as the go-between for the "close".

Other aspects of this project should be discussed orally, but basically you should assume responsibility for bringing Frank Sinatra in.

GS:lm

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Magruder's Administrative Assistant

Jeb Magruder has been authorized by the Attorney General to hire an Administrative Assistant to work directly with Jeb at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The prime candidate is Bob Herrema, whose resume is attached.

Herrema is a close friend of John Clark in Fred Malek's office. I talked with Herrema yesterday, and he is a personable, outgoing, aggressive type. My only reservation is one which I relayed to John Clark and Magruder to the effect that someone with political connections on the Hill might be inappropriate for a sensitive role in the campaign.

The alternative prospect is Curt Herge from the law firm in New York. Magruder is leaning towards Herrema and my inclination is Herge. Do you have a suggestion?

GS:elr

RESUME

ROBERT L. HERREMA

Address: 10318 Democracy Lane, Potomac, Maryland 20854
Phone: (301) 299-8395

Personal Data

Born: July 18, 1939 Dependents: Married (2 daughters)
 Rochester, New York Military: Classified 3-A
Height: 6'1" Weight: 185 lbs.

Employment History

U. S. Senate

Administrative Assistant to Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (R-Conn.)
January 1971 to present.

Job Responsibilities: Serve as principal assistant and alter-ego to the Senator.

U. S. House of Representatives

Administrative Assistant to Congressman Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (R-Conn)
May 1969 to January 1971.

Job Responsibilities: Manage Congressional offices in Washington and Connecticut; represent the Congressman at various official, civic and social functions; coordinate projects of significance to organizations and individuals in Congressional District; consult with Congressman on legislation; maintain liaison with Congressional Committees, state and Federal agencies.

The George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Director of Personnel Services, December 1965 to May 1969.

Job Responsibilities: Recruitment - establish and maintain recruitment resources; develop recruitment programs and materials.
Employment - supervise four personnel interviewers; review and improve forms, policies and procedures regarding applicant intake and correspondence, interviewing, reference-checking, selection and placement.
Benefits - supervise four employees in the administration of employee benefits for 3500 academic and non-academic staff. Personnel Records - develop forms, systems and procedures for an automated personnel information system.

Collateral Duties: Serve on two advisory committees in formulating personnel policies for the university and hospital; assist in union contract negotiation; advise and assist department heads and supervisors in staffing, organizational structure, and other personnel matters; assist in developing orientation and training programs for staff members; assist in developing and maintaining a job classification - salary administration plan for 3000 non-academic personnel in the hospital and university.

The George Washington University

Personnel Assistant, September 1964 to December 1965.

Job Responsibilities: Supervise two Benefit Assistants; administer employee benefits for non-academic staff; coordinate related projects as assigned by the Director.

Sigma Phi Epsilon Fraternity, National Headquarters, Richmond, Virginia

Assistant Director of Chapter Services, January 1964 to September 1964.

Job Responsibilities: Recruit and train new staff representatives; initiate reports and communications in the areas of chapter housing and finance; assist in the administration of a loan fund for chapter housing; develop and revise manuals for teaching the techniques of chapter operation; assist in organizing and setting up leadership training schools for 350 alumni and undergraduate fraternity members.

Staff Representative, July 1963 to January 1964.

Job Responsibilities: Conduct management audits in 32 fraternity chapters throughout New England; develop and supervise the implementation of programs to improve each chapter's operation; write reports and other communications necessary to follow up on chapter improvement programs; visit with deans and other college officials to monitor the chapter's relationship with the college; assist alumni groups in controlling the financial operation of each chapter.

The Kordite Corporation, Macedon, New York

Research and Development Technician, July 1, 1959 to August 1960.

Job Responsibilities: Conduct experiments on clear plastic film in a physical testing laboratory; fabricate mechanical devices for use in pilot plant plastics extrusion studies; develop and report on methods of increasing production of tubular and lay-flat plastic film; employ drafting skills in designing apparatus used for pilot plant studies.

Reason for Leaving: Re-enter college to obtain Bachelor's Degree.

Eastman Kodak Co., Naval Ordnance Division, Rochester, New York

Draftsman (Co-op Program), Fall Quarter 1957 and Spring Quarter 1958.

(Awarded secret clearance for involvement with Satellite Program)

Education

M. A. in Government (due upon completion of thesis)

The George Washington University

B. A. in Psychology with minor in Philosophy

Marshall University, 1963

A. A. S. in Mechanical Engineering

Rochester Institute of Technology, 1959

College Related Recognition

Selected for "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities" and Omicron Delta Kappa (National Men's Leadership Fraternity). President of college fraternity and president of Inter-fraternity Council. Awarded medals for achievement in intercollegiate and amateur wrestling tournaments.

Political Activities

Young Republican National Leadership Training School
Program Chairman 1970
Assistant Program Chairman 1969

Administratively Confidential

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You asked about a written analysis of the "ticket-splitter" theory that underlies much of the work being done by Flanigan, Magruder and Marik. Attached is a concise statement from a more detailed book authored by Walter DeVries and Lance Tarrence. Lance expects to have the galley proofs for the book this week. If the galleys have not been received by Wednesday, Lance will forward to us a copy of his corrected manuscript for review.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK HOWARD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Miss America

You probably noticed in this morning's news summary that the newly selected Miss America is an overt supporter of the President.

Knowing of your interest in this type of project, you may want to assume personal responsibility for maintaining carefully laid liaison with Laurie Schaefer.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK HOWARD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Miss America

You probably noticed in this mornings news summary the fact that Miss America, Phyllis George, seems to have the type of political and other assets which we would be interested in probing.

I realize that such an assignment usually is captured by Henry Cashen. However, in this particular case you may want to make sure that Henry's efforts don't fall between the cracks, so to speak.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

1968 Campaign Debts

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

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

GS:lm

FU → 8/3
8CAMPAIGN SPENDING

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

* *

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

* *

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

* * * *

DEMOCRATS

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

* * * *

McCARTHY

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

Ray Underwood 7/29
from "campaign"
Airlines - 320,000
Telephone Co - 200,000
5,000 per mo.

September 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRUCE KEHRLI
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Youth

You have read McLane's memo for the President on youth as well as Bob's comments. Reitz' memorandum should be ready this weekend.

To make sure that the voters don't fall between the two clever memoranda I suggest we meet with Reitz, McLane, Magruder and Howard at 10:00 a.m., Monday in your office to see that all bases are covered.

We should go through both memos before the meeting to list the questions that are not answered and which Bob will ask.

GS:dg

Chron

September 22, 1971

Dear Dr. Lindner:

Mr. Haldeman asked me to thank you for your letter of September 14 outlining your views on the 1972 campaign.

Your views have been noted and your interest in writing is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan
Staff Assistant
to H. R. Haldeman

Dr. Vincent A. Lindner
2117 Westfield Avenue
Scotch Plains, New Jersey 07076

GS:elr

Administratively Confidential

September 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Since Arlen Specter is really within your area of responsibility, I am sure you will enjoy the attached press clipping that Mr. Chotiner forwarded to Mr. Haldeman.

Please advise me if there has been any change in attitude toward Mr. Specter.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

September 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Labor Liaison

George Bell's suggestion to Chuck Colson that the Committee and RNC give serious thought to having a top level labor organizer deserves your consideration.

Bell lists several possibilities. My suggestion would be that you have Malek's operation review them. When Malek comes in with his recommendations, you probably will want to cover this with the Attorney General who may direct that there be a labor representative both at the Committee and at the RNC.

cc: Chuck Colson
FU 1 week
GS:lm

September 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES W. COLSON

SUBJECT: Labor Liaison

I strongly urge that a man be appointed at the Republican National Committee and at the Citizens operation to be liaison with labor, largely at the state level, to identify and stimulate support of local labor leaders, and generate campaign activity among the rank and file. It is incongruous that we have someone for nationalities, senior citizens, youth, blacks, women, etc., but no one in this highly important area.

As you probably know, Bob Gormley did this at the RNC from 1956 through 1964, when it was discontinued because of lack of interest by the Goldwater organization. Bliss did not have the funds to start it again and, apparently, we have not thought of it. It would be timely to resurrect it now to supplement our work with the top leadership, in view of mounting evidence that there is a wellspring of support existing at the local level. This is particularly evident in Pennsylvania and New York, and there seems no reason it does not exist among the other key states. Yet, in my efforts to get names of local labor leaders, I find that we have none in 33 states, of which 5 are key states, and an appreciable number in only 4. This can and must be corrected, but it will require a man knowledgeable in local union affairs who can advise and assist the State Chairmen in naming a State Republican Labor Committee and getting at the local leadership, an assignment which will require time and travel.

Gormley was able to get some labor union members named as delegates to the convention in 1956, and more named as alternates; some were included among the sergeants-at-arms, and a labor leader was one of the seconders of the Eisenhower nomination - waving his union card. Union types helped turn out the crowds, distribute literature and get voters to the polls.

We have resources to draw upon. Pat Juiliano, who was Under Secretary of Labor in Pennsylvania and also helped Bliss and Gormley nationally, is withering away as labor advisor to the Office of Civil Defense. Victor Borella, Rockefeller's labor advisor, would be helpful. Bob Gormley is over at HUD, has a drinking problem, but still has know-how and contacts. Peter Turzik, who retired a few weeks ago as International Treasurer of the Carpenters union, is a Republican and is looking for something to do. I understand also that Dave Livingston, the General Secretary of the Carpenters union is a Republican and would help. Mike Banko is chaffing at the bit. There are many others.

There seems to be fear on the part of some about getting involved with labor or the President being exposed to labor. Actually, as you know, he relates to them tremendously and is incredibly effective. He has support among the Building Trades and I am convinced that local leadership and the members will respond if they are properly addressed. You will remember how much support we found for the President when we spent our evenings at the Hilton last spring, even at that inopportune time shortly after his Davis-Bacon action. Suffridge, Victor Borella and Cliff Jones have emphasized that Meany does not speak for all the lower leadership anymore than he does for all the rank and file. I believe there is an opportunity for a real breakthrough.

George T. Bell

September 23, 1971

Administratively Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Radio Actualities --
Wall Street Journal,
September 23, 1971

You probably noticed the article in this mornings Wall Street Journal concerning the effective use of radio actualities by politicians. Senator Bayh is prominently mentioned, but so is the DNC. To my knowledge, there is no plan yet for the Campaign to use this very effective tool.

Will you get together with Lyn Nofziger, who has had some success with actualities and develop a Committee plan that complements the RNC's actions in this area. Presumably spokesmen such as Senator Dole and Counsellors Rumsfeld and Finch could have materials ready to go in the very near future.

Thank you.

GS:lm

cc: Lyn Nofziger

Administratively Confidential

September 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Jeb Magruder and Cliff Miller have recommended Georg Babbe to the Attorney General as a possible Campaign Manager for California. Since you prepared some recommendations that were sent "eyes only" to the Attorney General you should advise him and Mr. Haldeman of your opinion of Babbe. His resume is attached.

GS:lm

September 8, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Georg Babbe

Attached for your information is a resume for Georg Babbe whose name was given to me by Cliff Miller as a possible candidate for Campaign Manager in California.

I worked with Mr. Babbe in the 1968 campaign when he was Regional Chairman of Los Angeles County. He was one of the most outstanding men in the campaign and was well accepted by everyone he dealt with. He is senior enough (47 years old) to handle high level types and would be known as a Nixon man. He has lots of energy and is a hard working individual.

I think, under the right circumstances, he could be made available and he would be an outstanding choice for Campaign Manager.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

RESUME

GEORG BABBE

Date of Birth: February 20, 1924 - Butte, Montana

Marital Status: Married. Four children

Residence: Palos Verdes Estate, California

Education: Attended elementary, junior and high schools in Great Falls, Montana.

1941-1944 - Attended Northwestern University
1946 - returned to Northwestern University and received degree in Business Administration with distinction in 1947.

Member of Beta Gamma Sigma, honorary Business Fraternity

Taken a number of American Management Association courses.

1958 - completed Economics of National Security course from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

1960 - Attended Senior Reserve Officers National Strategy course at National Board College

Military: 1944 - Commissioned in the Navy; served in submarine detail in the Pacific in World War II; currently a Captain in the Naval Reserve.

Business: October 1970 to Present - Manager of Pacific Lighting Properties

February 1969-October 1970 - Vice President of Kierulff Electronics, Inc.

December 1967-February 1969 - Director of Corporate Services for Ducommun Inc.

Prior employment was with Southern California Gas Company for 17 years. Senior positions: Division Manager and Manager of Real Estate and Industrial Engineering.

Georg Babbe

Community and Civic:

Formerly Vice President of Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Chairman, Southwest area of Los Angeles County Nixon for President Committee

1962-1969 - Trustee of Centinella Valley Hospital

1958-1959 - President, United Cerebral Palsy Association of Los Angeles County

1959 - Winner of Durward Howes Service Award

September 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

Harry Dent prepared the memorandum indicating that Bud Wilkinson would not be running for the Senate in Oklahoma this year. Dent may raise this with the Attorney General tomorrow.

In any event, you and I should figure out how Bud Wilkinson should be used in the campaign, for as Mr. Dent indicates "Wilkinson is interested in helping in the campaign in a manner that would be 'appropriate'."

Maybe we should do this on Friday after the meeting with the Attorney General.

GS:elr

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: HARRY DENT
SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

I have checked on Bud Wilkinson and have talked directly with him. He says it is unlikely that he will make the race for the Senate, primarily because he believes no Republican can win in view of Congressman Ed Edmundson's entry into the race. Former Governor Bartlett will definitely run and is working harder now than he did for re-election as governor. Wilkinson thinks he could beat Bartlett in a GOP primary. He thinks astronaut Tom Stafford cannot get the necessary money together and that former state chairman Bud Stewart, now running one of our regional economic development commissions, is only talking about running for publicity purposes.

Bud feels very keenly that he has not been used as a special consultant to the President in the past four months. He wants to resign the position unless he is to be used in some way. He said he will talk with the Attorney General about this on his next trip to Washington.

Wilkinson is interested in helping in the campaign in a manner that would be "appropriate." Harlow and I agree he would do best in rounding up the sports stars and in keeping the President executing the right sports PR moves. He is good on TV and for public appearances. Also, he is a Member of the Republican National Committee.

September 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Get Out the Vote Operations

After my memorandum of August 20, Bob Marik responded on September 1 concurring with some of the suggestions and emphasizing the value of successful models which exist within certain states or election districts. As I understood it from his memorandum you would be preparing a proposal to assure that a national model would be developed so that effective get out the vote operations would be under the control of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

Would you advise me when you expect to have this plan ready for review by the Attorney General?

GS:elr

Administratively Confidential

September 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Mr. Haldeman asked me to send you Secretary Volpe's request for direction to the Cabinet concerning the 1972 Campaign. The President has not seen Secretary Volpe's memorandum.

GS:lm

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Richard Allen: Reason

Presumably at your request I interviewed Richard Allen concerning his possible role in the Campaign as a representative to the Black community. The attached proposal which he submitted is, I think, excellent. I would keep follow-up with this individual out of the regular channels to assure his availability to work directly under you.

What was your reaction?

GS:elr

REASON

A CONCEPT PAPER FOR STRUCTURING A NATIONAL
ORGANIZATION DESIGNED TO SIGNIFICANTLY
INCREASE BLACK INVOLVEMENT IN REPUBLICAN
PARTY POLITICS.

Submitted by
RICHARD ALLEN

OVERVIEW

Today approximately 90% of all Black votes cast in presidential elections are Democratic. A predictable bloc vote committed to one party of a two party system has precipitated in that vote being taken for granted. An assumed vote results in a non-obligatory relationship, perpetuating a system of lip service to Black America. To continue such a voting pattern jeopardizes Black citizens, further obstructing full and equal participation in a system of government as guaranteed by the basic tenets of that system.

This paper proposes to structure an organization to be called REASON. Its purpose will be to alter the 90-10 voting pattern of Black Americans, affording a more balanced political representation by opening avenues for involvement in the Republican party through realignment of party identity, candidacy and voting.

Adequate funding is essential to enable the strategies proposed here to be implemented. A competent and professional staff, intelligent planning and sophisticated methods of re-education are indispensable elements of an organization setting out to elicit an attitudinal change in the political orientations of a significant number of people.

THE ORGANIZATION

REASON will be comprised of a National Chairman, a Vice Chairman, an Administrator, a National Director of Communications, a National Director of Community Affairs, twelve Field Representatives and appropriate staffing necessary to facilitate functioning of each component of the organization. (See Chart)

National Chairman

The National Chairman will provide leadership in determining the direction and actions of the organization. Editorial control of the Communications Division, as well as final decisions of the entire organization, will be vested in him. He will work in close conjunction with the Republican National Committee toward reaching their mutual goal of re-electing the present Republican Administration. The role of REASON is to affect a 12% to 17% vote switch from Democratic to Republican among the Black voters.

Vice Chairman

The Vice Chairman is to assist the National Chairman in all functions and act as a liason between the National Chairman and all other divisions of REASON.

Administrator

The Administrator will be responsible for coordinating all administrative details of the day-to-day operation as well as the procurement allocation of funds.

National Director of Communications

The National Director of Communications will be responsible for media and the dissemination of information on activities of the Republican Party that are in the best interest of the Black community. The specific media are as follows:

Radio: Under the name "Causes for Concern" the Communications Division of REASON will utilize the 116 Black-orientated stations. Minute-and-a-half, well-programmed messages will be spotted twice a day during peak auto travel times, six days a week. Five-minute messages will be programmed on Sundays. Programs will run for a ten to twelve month period. (See Sample) The possibility of classifying these messages as public services will be explored to reduce costs.

News Media: A weekly syndicated column entitled "REASONING" will be placed in the 134 Black newspapers throughout the country and will deal with pressing and pertinent issues of interest to Blacks.

Publications: A monthly publication entitled Black Issues will be mailed to Black residents, community organizations, churches, and Black businesses. This publication will contain salient issues affecting the Black community, as well as articles on leading Black personalities sympathetic to the goals of the organization. Content will be designed to reach and influence militant and moderate, young and old, men and women. (See Sample)

All communications media will deal with current domestic issues important to Blacks such as housing, education, bussing, health, law, economics, government programs, self-help programs, civil rights, etc.

Black celebrities will be used whenever possible to further Black identification with REASON and, ultimately, the Republican Party. Heavy emphasis will be placed on factual and statistical information, such as number of Blacks in the Republican Administration vs. the Democratic Administration, funds spent on projects beneficial to the Black community, etc.

National Director of Community Affairs

The National Director of Community Affairs will be the eyes and ears of the organization. His first concern will be in the interest of the Black community. It is the contention of REASON that programs and policies serving the interest of the Black community will be consistent with the program and policies of the Republican Party. The National Director will be responsible for the organization and activities of twelve Field Representatives to be located in the inner city area of major U. S. cities.

Field Representatives

The Field Representatives will interface with the community, educating inner city residents on current issues and programs. Representatives will select and recruit intelligent and dedicated persons to work actively at the community level and volunteer for service during the 1972 presidential elections in support of the Republican Administration. A concentrated effort will be made to identify outstanding leaders who will make effective candidates for local, state and federal offices on the Republican ticket.

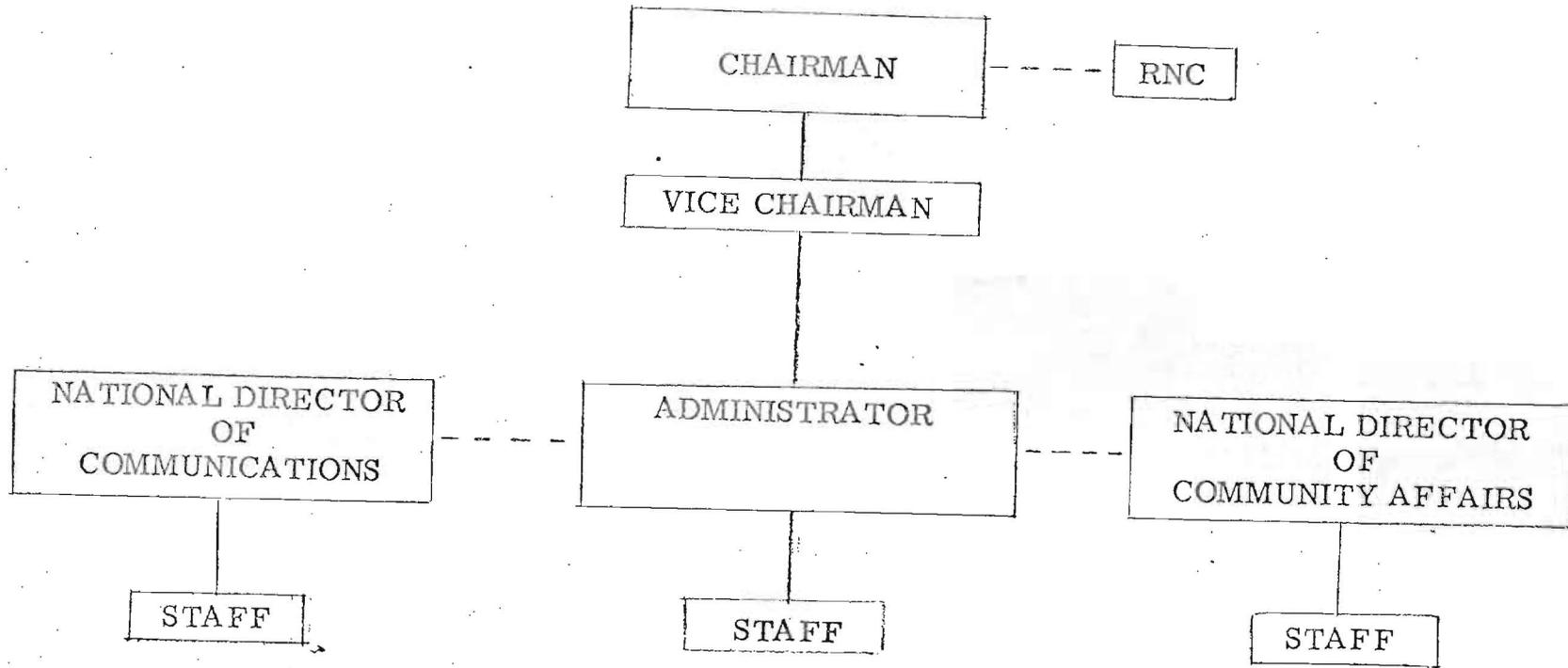
These Field Representatives will know the pulse of the community and respond to community needs, acting as a liason between the government and the people. They would function in a vital public relations role, seeing that government projects, loans and grants will be presented under the auspices of the present administration.

Field Representatives will meet with existing community groups and form new community groups to constructively influence existing attitudes toward the Republican Party. Programs dealing with the discussion of vital issues will be held. Key Black Republican speakers will be brought in to educate the people in the area of Republican politics.

CONCLUSION

Utilizing the aforementioned organization structure, REASON purports to implement an aggressive plan of action which will involve a substantial number of Blacks firmly committed to the re-election in 1972 of the present Republican Administration.

REASON
ORGANIZATION CHART



September
1971

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50th year: Over 29 million copies bought monthly in 13 languages

'feeling tone' of Black America with the sensitivity and vividness of the Selbys. Theirs is a remarkable journey through revolutionary terrain, geographically and psychically. A rare and important work."

—Studs Terkel, author of "Division Street: America" and "Hard Times"

"This may well be the finest of the white attempts to get inside the black community."—Walter Cronkite, CBS

JOURNEY THROUGH BLACK AMERICA

by EARL and MIRIAM SELBY

For the last two years, Roving Editor Earl Selby and his wife, Miriam, have traveled the length and breadth of Black America, listening to the voices of our largest minority. During their 46,500-mile odyssey, they visited every major ghetto, talked with every class of black-citizen. (See "Behind the Lines," page 11.) In the pages that follow, you will hear the voices of Black America speaking out—spilling forth with eloquent intensity what few white Americans have ever heard before.

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other route for his contribution to black people. He came up in significantly different historical times than I did. He has been functioning within a structure that was for him the best one through which to operate. I love him, and I hope he lives forever. But I am at the beginning of my life as a man, and I don't have to hook myself up in the same way.

Richard Allen has developed a business in Los Angeles which grosses more than a million dollars a year, and he has all the exterior signs of success: an expensive car, a gracious home and influence in his community.

From my earliest days in Indianapolis I was grooved to go into business. I went to work doing chores out of school hours when I was 12. By 14 I had my own business. My father let me drive one of his trucks, and whenever I used it, I'd put a sign on it offering light delivery, quick service. People seeing the truck would call me on jobs. What I was learning was that it is possible to work within the system. Same as for a Jewish lad who comes up in a family where the father owns a delicatessen and the son works after school.

After coming out of high school in Indianapolis, I went to stay with my sister, who was living in the Watts housing project in Los Angeles. After I had been in college, tape recorders were coming in big; so I took a job in a company's qual-

ity-control section for tapes, then went to school to learn electronic designing, and ended up working for a white conglomerate.

Eventually, Warren Gray, another black working for the same company, and I did some thinking. We realized that if we could make money for The Man, we could make it for ourselves. So we each put up \$500 to start American Tape Duplicators. I wasn't worried about whether white America would accept us, because I knew that if the money is right, white America will deal with you. And I knew at that time we could put out a product cheaper and better than the competition. Besides, we weren't re-inventing the wheel. We were only doing what white America has done for centuries. We worked. Sometimes 25, 30 hours at a stretch. In the beginning, I sold, packed, duplicated. Everything. Within four years we were doing upward of a million dollars a year in sales.

In this country we've got to get more and more young black people exposed to businesses run by black men. The youth going into a big company can't really relate to it, but when he sees an American Tape Duplicators controlled by blacks he can say, "Well, they made it, and so can I."

The plight of black people is that they don't run their own communities. The key is an economic base. The Jews of Beverly Hills have about 99 percent of the business there, which gives them the say in

the economics and politics of their area. But in Watts about 98 percent of the business is run by whites, who siphon the money out, so it doesn't recirculate at all. Result: the blacks have no economic base, therefore, no power.

Business can help the ghetto; in Los Angeles we're proving it. We created the Economic Resources Corporation, and in eight months we did more for the Watts area than had been done since the 1965 riots. We started the Watts Industrial Park. We have plans so that eventually there will be 2400 people working in various plants in the park, which in turn means another 3600 satellite jobs in businesses around us. That's a payroll of \$44 million, and that money stays in the community.

To build our staff, we have raided white America for good white—and black—minds. They are college graduates who don't hate America, don't want to burn it down. We want industries that are oriented to the black male in the ghetto, because we know that for the first time he must assume the role of being the household head, to help his son and daughter grow up respecting a masculine image in the family. I can see the mother spending more time in the home, becoming more active in the PTA to make schools more relevant. I can picture a man's discipline returning to the family. In fact, I see a whole restructuring of life. And the youngster who is now being incited by

the militants to drop out of school will be stimulated to stay, because he can feel the pride of what is happening.

It won't all come by tomorrow, or the day after that. But it is coming. And the lesson from it all, at least for me, is that you don't give up.

I believe this country is worth salvaging. To those who would burn it down, I say—to replace it with what? To those who say we should leave, I say—to go where? I have traveled much of this world, and I know from experience that no other place offers us the potential we have here. Provided, that is, we work to break down the barriers that are destroying the fiber of this nation. And why should a black man do that? I think a man has to look at his sons and say, "I don't want them to walk in the same shadows I did." He must love his family enough to want to make the country a little better for them.

Journey's End

As we, the authors, end our odyssey through Black America, we want to add our voices to those you have been hearing.

We come back from our journey with no easy conclusions. To be black in America today is to be many things. It is enduring the savage beating that Fannie Lou Hamer took in Winona. It is driving a Mercedes sports car with Richard Allen in the hills above Los Angeles and realizing that, no matter how affluent, a black "can only come out of



Richard Allen's industrial park has only one big plant and may have to settle for small ones.

CITIES

A Watts report: no progress

Six years ago this week, a Los Angeles policeman shot and killed a young black during a disturbance in Watts, an area of the city's black ghetto. The result: six days of rioting, burning, and looting that was repeated in other major cities around the country in subsequent years, setting the "urban crisis" on a desperate, not-yet-altered course.

Within six months of the fires and looting, which cost \$40-million in property damage and 34 lives, south central Los Angeles became a workshop in urban problem solving. Researchers carried out 88 major studies of everything from plumbing to probation. In 1968 alone, some \$200-million in government and private funds sloshed over Watts, up from \$5-million in 1965. More than 300 organizations cropped up to wage skirmishes on poverty and racial tension, groups with such names as "Operation Escape String" and "Operation Cereal Bowl."

Eugene Brooks, a young black architect who heads a Watts-based planning group called the Urban Workshop, recalls the aftermath of those riotous days: "Man, every night at 5 p.m. there was a traffic jam on 103rd Street as all the social workers ran home to the suburbs."

Stalled progress. Today the plight of the 500,000 residents of Watts and south central Los Angeles is, if anything, bleaker than ever.

Los Angeles. A city study shows that 40% to 50% of 10th graders in the area drop out of high school before graduation, compared with 25% for the city as a whole. More than 30% of the section's homes are rated substandard, and deterioration continues. One estimate puts joblessness at 15%.

Public shock and guilt has subsided. The promises of a few years ago for better housing and jobs remain only promises. Planning for one redevelopment project, for example, got under way within days of the riots. Watts

The plight of the Los Angeles ghettos is, if anything, bleaker than before the riots

residents today point bitterly to 103 acres of cleared land awaiting the slow machinery of urban renewal. Money for improvement projects dropped to \$50-million in 1969, and last year's economic reverses further eroded concern for the black ghetto.

At least two-thirds of the area's poverty organizations have closed up shop, and of those that remain, most are only shells waiting to regroup around new funding. Operation Bootstrap, for example, a community self-help training group, once relied on private donations of \$40,000 a year and spurned government aid. Now it can barely scrape together \$8,000. Its training center, once handling up to 100 students, is down to

assembly to computer programming," says Louis Smith, the group's blue-jean-clad director. "But there are too many experienced and trained jobless around now." With unemployment in Los Angeles County running more than 7%, out-of-work aerospace engineers are getting more local attention than the problems of poor blacks.

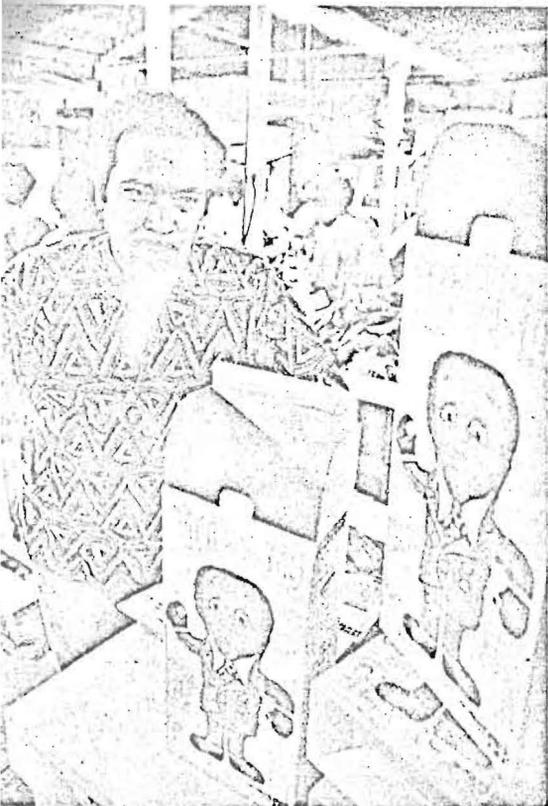
Crux of problem. Underlying the critical problems of the Watts-south central Los Angeles area is the desperate lack of economic activity needed to provide jobs. The section is a case study in business flight from the inner city. One estimate shows that the number of manufacturers in south central Los Angeles dropped from 650 to 550 between 1961 and 1969. Despite federal programs to provide more public transportation in and out of the area, Louis A. Wilson, business development director at the South Central Improvement Action Council, estimates that 54% of the jobs in Los Angeles County are inaccessible to residents of the south central area unless they own a car.

Efforts to lure large-scale industrial facilities into south central Los Angeles have been disappointing. Companies that might find the area's central location, good rail transportation, and easy access to freeways appealing are scared off by insurance rates that are at least twice as high as those for other parts of Southern California, land values double those of suburban industrial real estate, and the shortage of large parcels of industrial real estate.

Flops. Highlighting the difficulties is the experience of Economic Resources Corp. Set up by the Commerce Dept. in 1968 specifically to "build an economic base in south central Los Angeles," the ERC, using \$9-million in federal grants and loans, purchased land and is developing a 60-acre industrial park on the edge of Watts. The original plan called for major, labor-intensive industry as well as a small industrial complex for small black businesses. The objective was to provide 2,400 jobs.

Now, three years later, a \$3-million Lockheed Aircraft Corp. plant making fuselages and floorboards for the embattled L-1011 airbus is the park's only tenant. Job projections for the park are down, and ERC has learned some bitter lessons about economic development in the urban core. "We will still fill the park," says Richard D. Allen, ERC's black president, "but it will probably be mostly with small, young black businesses." Two such companies, Watts Mfg. Corp. and Image, Inc., will open facilities in the park by the end of this year.

"What we really wanted," says Allen, who himself built up a \$2-million-



Louis Smith's Operation Bootstrap has a winner in a talking Flip Wilson doll.

industry with the kind of muscle that could produce jobs on the scale the community needs. We may have to settle for less, because companies tell us we're beating a dead horse trying to get labor-intensive industry into the central city."

Other attempts to woo industry have been even more discouraging. Southern Pacific Co., which owns railroad facilities and acreage in Watts, tried from 1965 to 1970 to develop an industrial park. Now, the company says, the effort is nearly dead. "We're still trying to place industry on our Watts real estate," says a Southern Pacific spokesman, "but nine acres don't go far and no company wants to buck the high insurance rates all alone."

Not only have attempts to bring in major industry largely failed, but small business development has been equally disillusioning. "Helping Mom and Pop business does little to improve the economy of the ghetto," says Thaddeus H. Spratlen, a black economist at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Exceptions. Some bright spots do relieve the gloom, of course. One important service, for example, has improved: medical care. Once, the nearest county hospital was more than a half-hour drive away for most residents, and one-third of the ghetto households lacked cars. In 1967, a multipurpose health center funded by the Office of

away, a new 438-bed county hospital will be operating by next December.

And exceptions also exist to the general lag in economic development. Green Power Foundation is one. Last year the organization, which started in 1967 to help find jobs for hardcore workers, established Image, Inc., a manufacturer of printed circuit boards. Ten undisclosed California corporations put up \$50,000 each for noncontrolling shares of Image, which employs 30 people, plans to hire 20 more this fall, and will show a profit on first-year sales of \$500,000.

The best-known success story is Watts Mfg. Corp., established by Aerojet-General Corp. in 1966 and spun off last year. It racked up \$4-million in sales for fiscal 1971. Watts Mfg. relied mostly on government work for the first few years, but last year 35% of its sales were commercial. "We used government business to give us a track record," says Watts executive Leon Woods. Since last December, General Motors Corp. and Ford Motor Co. have awarded Watts about \$2-million in production contracts. The auto business should open up more than 100 new jobs for community residents, in addition to the 250 now working, and boost fiscal 1972 sales to \$5-million. "We've come a long way," says Wood, "but we are still fighting latent racism in the business community. We're out to prove that we're not a source of cheap labor but an enterprise motivated the same as any

other profit-making business."

A third bright spot is three-year-old Shindana Toys that Mattel, Inc., set up to make black dolls. Its current best seller is a talking Flip Wilson doll. Shindana expects to hit \$1-million sales this year.

Unions' boost. Most successful at turning handouts into money-making community ventures is Ted Watkins of Watts Labor Community Action Committee. The WLCAC was formed just before the 1965 riots by the United Auto Workers and nine other trade unions. It now has a staff of 120, and Watkins has used more than \$13-million in union, government, and foundation money to set up and run operations as diverse as produce farms and youth programs. Further, a subsidiary called Greater Watts Development Corp. runs a growing number of businesses.

To black executives in south central Los Angeles, the success of Image, Watts Mfg., Shindana, and the WLCAC only underscores the need for stepped-up industrial development. Their combined work force totals only 650. Watts Mfg. alone has a backlog of over 15,000 job applicants. In the midst of the area's limited success, six years after the riots, most residents feel deep despair. Richard Allen of Economic Resources Corp. sums it up: "For every few jobs we create, another big company leaves the area. Even if we do well, our effort is self-defeating peanuts." ■

The 'barrio' wants a better deal, too

Watts is not the only Los Angeles ghetto that violence put on the map. Three times in the past nine months, melees have erupted in East Los Angeles, the sprawling amorphous area that its residents, some 400,000 Mexican Americans, call the *barrio*. These disturbances cost four lives and more than \$1-million in property damage.

Conditions in the *barrio* are uncomfortably similar to those in Watts. Unemployment runs at least to Watts's 15%, the high school dropout rate hovers around 50%, and housing is dilapidated.

Despite its violence and desperate conditions, only a fraction of the concern and dollars that poured into Watts has come to the *barrio*. "Mexican Americans are still an afterthought with the policymakers," complains Richard S. Amador, executive director of the Community & Human Resources Agency. "To most of the country, minority problems still mean black problems."

Daylaine McCune, a manpower

agrees. "I can count on two hands the number of studies done on the Los Angeles *barrio*," he says. One of the few self-help organizations is the East Los Angeles Community Union, set up in 1968 by the United Auto Workers. With a staff of 40, the group employs about 32 residents at a mattress company and a service station that it owns.

Herman Sillas, a Mexican American lawyer who is chairman of the state advisory committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, deplores the violence. But he argues that it is evidence of a new awareness within the *barrio*, and a protest against high unemployment, lack of political representation, and police brutality. He is threatening to bring legal action unless the California state legislature redistricts for more equitable representation.

Richard Amador explains why the migrants continue to come. "To thousands south of the border," he says, "the problem-riddled Los Angeles

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Elderly vote

You probably received a copy of Bill Saffire's memorandum to the Attorney General concerning the aged vote. His recommendation is that a registration drive in nursing homes be developed. A re-reading of your Task Force recommendations on the old age vote indicates that specific plans for a registration drive have not been developed. This seems like an excellent idea. Would you advise us who and how such a project would be handled.

GS:elr

September 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
RE: AGED VOTE

While everybody is nibbling nails about how the young people will vote, perhaps we are overlooking one great source of strength that has never been tapped before: the one million eligible voters in the Nation's nursing homes.

Charles Sigety, a longtime supporter of ours who runs the biggest new nursing home in the country, tells me that out of 450 people in his home, exactly five voted in 1970 -- nobody tried to register or get them absentee ballots. And they would overwhelmingly vote for Nixon.

I know this is often derided as "geezer power", but I wonder if an effort could not be quietly launched to canvass the nursing homes for registration next year. It could make the difference in some cliff-hanging states.

✓ cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

Chow

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

BOB MARIK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

SUBJECT:

DMI

You requested information concerning the attitude toward DMI.

DMI was not used in the 1970 election because it was understood that DMI was either owned or under the influence of Spencer Roberts, the political consulting firm in Los Angeles. Whether this interest in DMI by Spencer Roberts is still the case is not known, but discrete inquiries should be made before you give any consideration to the use of DMI.

We would naturally be very interested in the results and will await your comments.

Chiron

September 2, 1971

Dear Mr. McKinney:

Bob is spending a few days on the West Coast with the President, therefore I am responding to your letter of August 30 on his behalf.

I am forwarding your letter to the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President, which, as the title states, is a group of citizens like yourself who have begun thinking about and planning for the campaign.

You should be hearing from them in the near future. Thanks again for your offer of support.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan
Staff Assistant
to H.R.aldeman

Mr. William P. McKinney
Sleepy Hollow Farm
Harvard
Illinois 60033

GS:PM:pm

cc: Dwight Chapin w/incoming - "Do you remember this fellow?"

TALKING PAPER FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: Convention Appointments

1) John Ehrlichman, who is responsible for preparing the Party Platform, concurs with Bill Timmons' recommendation that John Rhodes should be appointed the Chairman of the Platform Committee for the 1972 Republican National Convention;

2) Bill Timmons has listed six key posts at the RNC Convention with his recommendations:

- a) Floor Leader -- Hugh Scott
- b) Rules Chairman -- Bill Cramer
- c) Arrangements Vice Chairman -- Dick Herman
- d) Chief Page -- Jay Wilkinson
- e) Parliamentarian -- H. Allen Smith
- f) Secretary -- Anne Armstrong
- g) Permanent Chairman -- Gerald Ford

Timmons recommends that the Keynoter, Nominator, and Seconders be chosen after the Democratic National Convention. He has no recommendation for Temporary Chairman. Decisions have already been reached to have Dick Herman serve as the Arrangements Vice Chairman and Ody Fish to serve as Sergeant-at-Arms.

GS

9/24/71

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GS

9/24/71

TALKING PAPER FOR SENATOR DOLE

Re: McGovern's Shopping spree in Saigon

As the President mentioned in his meeting with you on September 13, it is important for you to move to the more partisan defense of the President against the Democratic Presidential contenders.

A good example that could be used for an attack is the picture of McGovern on a shopping spree with an aide in Saigon, at the taxpayer's expense.

GS
9/20/71

Administratively Confidential

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL TIMMONS

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Democratic Convention

You probably noticed in this morning's news summary that "Governor Mandel fears chaos at next year's nominating convention over the Democratic reform proposals".

It is our understanding that you, with the assistance of an individual on the Hill would be preparing a detailed action plan to assure that Governor Mandel's fears are not unfounded.

Mr. Haldeman is interested in knowing where we stand on this project.

GS:lm

TALKING PAPER FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: Press Policy at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President

- 1) The recent National Journal articles on polling and the Campaign raise the whole question of what the press policy of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President should be.
- 2) Is Jeb Magruder or Francis Dale the current spokesman?
- 3) What are they authorized to say about your involvement?
- 4) Can Magruder talk to reporters on a background or direct quote basis or are all interviews done in writing as the Campaign article indicates?
- 5) Are the other fellows at the Committee instructed to clear any press contacts with Magruder?
- 6) What is our public position regarding the scheduling and arrangements for Martha? Does Bart Porter talk with the press?
- 7) Should one of the new people being added to the Committee Staff be a press oriented individual?
- 8) What is the public explanation for Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan at the Committee?

GS/9-18-71

lm