<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box Number</th>
<th>Folder Number</th>
<th>Document Date</th>
<th>No Date</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Document Type</th>
<th>Document Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12/30/1971</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Muskie Announcement-Possible Telephone Poll. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12/6/1971</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The question of whether or not the California Conservative Luncheon should be rescheduled. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Indecipherable handwritten notes. 4 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12/21/1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: A message of &quot;Administratively Confidential.&quot; 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12/21/1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The polling guidelines and procedures for handeling upcoming polls. 3 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12/20/1971</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The disapproval of two of Colson's expenditures, because prior approval was not sought. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12/13/1971</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The points made against Harry Flemming's influence. For instance: His lack of tact in dealing with Governors and Senators, and his adverse impact with Republican Party circles. 2 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Handwritten notes discussing Flemming, and his impact on the Republican Party. 2 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11/16/1971</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to Harry Dent. RE: The issue of whether or not a review has been completed to determine who is to be Nixon's State Chairman. Included are a list of names of potential choices for the position of State Chairman. 5 pgs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Presidential Materials Review Board
### Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** H. R. Haldeman  
**Box Number:** 235  
**Folder:** Strachan Chron-HRH only December 1971 Book III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Disposition</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;MUSKIE ANNOUNCEMENT - POSSIBLE TELEPHONE CALL&quot; 12/16/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Close Invasion of Privacy STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;McCloskey Abs/OMB Staff&quot; 12/19/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;CALIFORNIA CONSERVATIVE LUNCHEON&quot; 12/16/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Handwritten Notes &quot;K. WHEN R.R. - P, ABM W/...&quot; 12/24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO Higby, RELEASED BY DC, LD# 985 ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;CALIFORNIA CONSERVATIVE LUNCHEON&quot; 12/14/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;POLLING GUIDELINES&quot; 12/11/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;COLSON EXPENDITURES&quot; 12/16/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Close Invasion of Privacy STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;McCloskey Abs/ OMB Staff&quot; 12/15/71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: &quot;HARRY FLEMING&quot; 12/13/71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Administratively Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Muskie Announcement - Possible Telephone Poll

Muskie has purchased ten minutes on CBS on January 4th at 8:20 to 8:30 to declare his candidacy.

A 500 interview nationwide telephone poll could be conducted by ORC for $5,000 to $5,500 to assess the nation's reaction to Muskie's announcement. However, Bill Safire, Chuck Colson, Jeb Magruder, and Bob Teeter recommend against such a poll. Safire says "let him get his own publicity." Colson says "everyone else will be conducting such a poll" and that he plans to see Lou Harris on January 5. Magruder doesn't know how much you could get out of it; it would be a nice exercise but not necessarily beneficial. Teeter believes it would be a waste of money at this time.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a telephone poll not be conducted following the Muskie announcement.

APPROVE ____________ DISapprove ____________

OTHER ________________________________

GS: dg
Annex

December 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California Conservative Luncheon

On the memorandum attached at Tab A, you indicated that the Henry Kissinger briefing for 50 California conservatives could be delayed until the first week in January 1972. The luncheon has been re-scheduled with Henry Kissinger's office (Coleman Hicks) for January 5 at Perino's. Henry Salvatori has again agreed to host the luncheon. Herb Kalmbach is currently extending invitations to the list cleared in November with the Attorney General, Governor Reagan, and Holmes Tuttle (copy attached at Tab B). In addition, Kalmbach wants to add Willard Keith, Ed Miles, and Ernest J. Loebbecke. These names will be cleared with Governor Reagan before invitations are extended.

Herb Kalmbach will advise the Attorney General of the newly scheduled date and attendees.
December 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California Conservative Luncheon

Henry Kissinger had been scheduled to brief 50 California Conservatives on November 30 at Perino's. The event was cancelled when the President returned to Washington on November 28.

The question is whether this luncheon should be rescheduled before the President and presumably Kissinger travel to California around January 4. Kalmrabch believes the luncheon can be delayed until January.

Recommendation:

In light of the tight schedule for Kissinger between now and January 4 and the holiday schedules of those who would be invited, the luncheon should be rescheduled in January.

[Signature]

[Stamp: Approve ___ Disapprove ___ Comment ___]
Mr. H. R. Haldeman  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Sorry that the Henry Kissinger luncheon scheduled to be held at Perino's in Los Angeles on Tuesday, November 30th, had to be canceled. However, when Henry Salvatori and I called the fourteen who had accepted prior to time of cancellation on Sunday morning they were all very understanding and I'm confident that we didn't lose ground with these people because of the change in plans.

I'd like to recommend that the meeting be rescheduled when Henry will again be out here. For your reference and file, I've attached the approved list of those invitees.

Regards,

Herbert W. Kalmbach

HWK/k
Enclosure

cc: The Honorable John N. Mitchell

P.S. Suggested additional invitees if meeting rescheduled:
 Willard Keith  
    Ed Miles  
    Ernest J. Loebbecke
Mrs. Blanche Seaver
Mrs. Margaret Brock
George Hearst
Jack Wrather
Fritz Burns
William F. Smith
Fred Hartley
Paul Talbert
Pat Frawley
Bill Doheny
Charles Cook
Harry Volk
Jack Horton
Robert McClure
Roy Disney
William Simpson, Jr.
Justin Dart
Roy Crocker
John Lusk
Kenneth T. Norris

Charles Thornton
Earl Jorgensen
Robert Bauer
Robert McClain
Ross Barnett

Fred Mendenhall
D.K. Ludwig
Edward L. Johnson
Asa Call
Phillip Walsh

Barton Jones
James Ward
William Sesnon
Henry Salvatori
John McCone

Carl Hartneck
Arnold O. Beckman
John Wayne
Clement Hirsch
George Pfleger

Walter Knott
Sam Bowby
Joe Crosby
Jenny Braun
Jac Hume

Ed Gauer
Leland Kaiser
Dudley Swim
Willard Voit
Charles Thomas

P.S. Suggested additional invitees if meeting is rescheduled:

Willard Keith
Ed Miles
Ernest J. Loebbecke
When RR > P, prob w/ conserv - worried about for Poe

P - RR set up luncheon

K - set up luncheon

Coleman Tues/11/24

Tues/Wed - next week
at Colif Club
- out Schuler, Ewing, etc
- only conserv - must be P

R. list

Tuttle, Salva, Blanche, Feev, Knot, orange county reps

P to approve list

K - AG per list

> word w/ Ed Meek in RR office

Kneeland

G - AG office that K to call

H + AG called

G - HA K office - week no Tues
50 names, 20 probably

The meeting is on Tuesday at 12 noon.
Mid-Wilshire - 4th Block
west of Western
Salinger's name

K cleared names w/ Mitchell and Reagan personally (if Holmes
Salavatree agreed & Reddix is through). AG agreed not need to

Order of Preference

- Mrs. Blanche Seaver
- Margaret Brock
- George Heart
- Jack Weather Burns
- Frits
- William French Smith
- Fred Hartley (P of UnOil)
- Paul Talbert
- Pat Frauley
- Bill Doehany
- Charles Cooke
- Harry Volk
- Jack Horton
- Robert McClure
- Roy Disney
- William Simonds, Jr.
Jestin          Darl
Roy             Crocker
Kahn            Husek
Ken             Norris
Charles         Thornton
Earl            Jorgensen
Robert          Boeller
Robert          McClain
Ross            Barlett
Ferdinand       Mendenhall
D. K.           Ludwig
Edward C.       Johnson
Ada             Cale
Phillip         Walsh
Benton          Jones
James           Ward
William         Seaton
John            Mc Cane
Carl            Hartsock
Arnold O.       Beckman
Jean            Wayne
Clement         Heisch
George          Pfleger
Waltet          Knott

Sam Major

Bowley
Mosely
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joe</th>
<th>Crosby</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geni</td>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Hume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>Gaaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>Kaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudley</td>
<td>Swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard</td>
<td>Voit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M.O. — once clearance by GS K to call & invite on behalf of Salvatori - 12
Probably 30-35 fl/50 invited

Conservatives not moderate or liberals.

Salvatori wants to meet with HA K & < a K suggest not Salvatori invite

12 noon to 2 p.m.

K doubts it will get out to press.
G = L 11/26
12 x 90
G = K 11/26, 90
12'0' - 90
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California Conservative Luncheon

After you talked with the Attorney General about the Henry Kissinger briefing for California Conservatives, Herb Kalmbach received the assignment to get a list of attendees and to make the arrangements. He cleared the list of attendees with the Attorney General, Governor Reagan, Holmes Tuttle, and Henry Salvatori on November 25.

Henry Salvatori will host the luncheon at Perino's on November 30. Salvatori and Kalmbach decided against having the lunch at the California Club because there is a restriction on "political meetings," there is less privacy, and there are some "bad political connotations" associated with the California Club.

Kissinger's office (Colman Hicks) has been advised of the date and location of the event which the Attorney General had discussed with Kissinger.

Kalmbach says the names on the list will be recognized by you and Dick Moore. Therefore there is no biographical information beside each name.

Kalmbach and Salvatori will begin inviting the attendees as soon as you clear the names, hopefully today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Blanche Seaver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Brock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Hearst</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Wrather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fritz Burns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William French Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Hartley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Talbert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat Frawley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Doheny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Cook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Volk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Horton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert McClure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy Disney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Simpson, Jr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Dart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy Crocker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lusk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken Norris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Thornton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl Jorgensen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Bauer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert McClain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross Barrott</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand Mendenhall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. K. Ludwig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward C. Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa Call</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip Walsh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton Jones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Sesnon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McCone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Hartneck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnold O. Beckman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wayne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Hirsch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Pfleger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Knott</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Bowlby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Mosely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Crosby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeni Braun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac Hume</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed Gauer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Kaiser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudley Swim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williard Voit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Kalmbach and Salvatori begin inviting this list of 50 today, they expect 35 will be able to attend.
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: California Conservative Luncheon

After you talked with the Attorney General about the Henry Kissinger briefing for California Conservatives, Herb Kalmbach received the assignment to get a list of attendees and to make the arrangements. He cleared the list of attendees with the Attorney General, Governor Reagan, Holmes Tuttle, and Henry Salvatori on November 25.

Henry Salvatori will host the luncheon at Perino's on November 30. Salvatori and Kalmbach decided against having the lunch at the California Club because there is a restriction on "political meetings," there is less privacy, and there are some "bad political connotations" associated with the California Club.

Kissinger's office (Colman Hicks) has been advised of the date and location of the event which the Attorney General had discussed with Kissinger.

Kalmbach says the names on the list will be recognized by you and Dick Moore. Therefore there is no biographical information beside each name.

Kalmbach and Salvatori will begin inviting the attendees as soon as you clear the names, hopefully today.

NAME
Mrs. Blanche Seaver
Margaret Brock
George Hearst
Jack Wrather
Fritz Burns
William French Smith
Fred Hartley
Paul Talbert
Pat Frawley
Bill Doheny

YES
NO
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Cook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Volk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Horton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert McClure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy Disney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Simpson, Jr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Dart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy Crocker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lusk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken Norris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Thornton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl Jorgensen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Bauer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert McClain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross Barrott</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand Mandenhall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. K. Ludwig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward C. Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa Call</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip Walsh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton Jones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Sesnon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McComb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Hartneck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnold O. Beckman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wayne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Hirsch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Pfleger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Knott</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Bowlby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Mosely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Crosby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeni Braun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Humes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed Gaver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Kaiser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudley Swim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williard Voit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Kalmbach and Salvatori begin inviting this list of 50 today, they expect 35 will be able to attend.
December 21, 1971

Administratively Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Polling Guidelines

To prevent any misunderstanding about the procedures for handling polls, two questions need answers.

The first concerns the conducting of telephone polls for the President. In the past only the President, you, Higby, Tom Benham at ORC, and I have been aware that such polls are being conducted. Two reasons for this procedure are sensitivity of the subject matter (e.g. Calley) and the necessity for quick answers (2 1/2 days at maximum).

You have mentioned the possibility of clearing with the Attorney General an 800 special account of which 300 was to be for polling. Since this 300 was to be separate from the campaign polling budget, it may be that you didn't want Bob Teeter as Campaign polling consultant involved. However, you have granted Bob Teeter access to the most sensitive polling information, including the Image Study.

If the decision is to not use Bob Teeter, a method of informing the Attorney General should be established. When the "secret Administration poll" showing McCloskey at 22% appeared in the press last week, I asked Magruder if he knew anything about it. He said no and reported that the Attorney General had asked the same question on December 18. Magruder told the Attorney General that he did not but that the poll "might be one of those telephone polls conducted by Haldeman's office". This type of comment, whether intentionally designed to have the Attorney General suspect White House staff political activities or not, cannot add to the impression and reality of full disclosure to the Attorney General, through Teeter, of all polling matters.

Three solutions to the problem of telephone polls are:

1. Conduct all polls through Bob Teeter. Questions, negotiations with the vendors and results would all flow through Teeter. This would be similar to the old relationship with Dr. Berge.
2. Continue the current system of working directly with Tom Benham of ORC. Teeter could be simultaneously advised of the general subject matter of any polls conducted here. Because of your December 9 memo, the Attorney General knows that Teeter has full access to past polling information. It would seem logical to keep Teeter informed of future polls. Informing Teeter, who is to have direct access to the Attorney General, would also lessen the subtle pressure by Magruder to be privy of all poll information.

3. Haldeman discuss directly with the Attorney General general clearance to conduct polls without question. This clearance could be obtained simultaneously with your discussion of the 300 polling budget.

4. Haldeman advise the Attorney General directly when a telephone poll is being conducted.

RECOMMENDATION:

That all telephone polls continue to be conducted directly with Tom Benham of ORC, but that Bob Teeter be advised concurrently.

AGREE _______ DISAGREE _______

COMMENT __________________________________________

If you approve any system involving a separate 300 budget, a new payment system should be established because Dr. Derge has terminated Behavioral Research Associates.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Herb Kalmbach set up another legal shell, probably a Delaware corporation, to process payment to ORC.

AGREE _______ DISAGREE _______

COMMENT __________________________________________

Second, the question of who is to request or assign projects to Bob Teeter needs to be resolved. Highy mentioned that you wanted Teeter to examine the Catholic vote and ecology conclusions reached by members of Ehrlichman's staff. Presumably Teeter's analysis would go to you and the Attorney General. However,
Magruder is working to have all projects for Teeter go through him. Teeter had been scheduled to be in Washington on December 20. Magruder told Teeter that it would not be necessary for him to be here this week. I had talked to Teeter over the weekend about some projects we wanted him to do. Teeter naturally thought Magruder had the last word.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Teeter be informed that he is to accept projects from you and the Attorney General, but that his analyses go only to you and the Attorney General directly, not through Magruder.

AGREE ___________ DISAGREE ___________

COMMENT ____________________________

You may want to cover this decision with the Attorney General. It will be added to your talking paper of pending matters.
You disapproved two expenditures involving Colson's activities because no system for prior approval was in operation. Such a system has now been formalized with Chuck Colson. Before any expenditure, Dick Howard will call me to have the project cleared with you.

A hold has been placed on the cartoon from England project until you approve it. This project would require $8,000 for duplication and distribution. Details concerning the subject of the cartoon and distribution plan are available orally from Colson or me.

Recommendation:
That you approve this $8,000 expenditure because Colson has sought approval in advance for a project that has generated considerable interest.

Approve ____________ Disapprove ____________

Comment ____________________________________

Prior approval for the newspaper ads did not occur because of the time frame problems. The November 20 memorandum for the President required action on Sunday, November 21 for the newspaper ads to run Monday, November 22. We were obviously in error not to have a system which required you to approve or disapprove, however, short the time frame. Colson, Howard and I now have such a system.

Recommendation:
That you approve the $8,000 for the newspaper ads in spite of our failure to clear the expenditure in advance.

Approve ____________ Disapprove ____________

Comment ____________________________________

GS: lm
December 18, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

The problem with the attached memo entitled "Colson Expenditures" is that we still don't seem to be making any progress in setting up a system here of getting these cleared. I think you would have a better chance of getting them by Bob if you went on to describe a system that we now have set up that will work in the future and then say unfortunately these two matters occurred prior to that time but if we don't get them paid for some way they will be taken out of Campaign funds probably. Just dumping the problem doesn't really help anybody or anything. Offering a solution along with it could make a difference.

Attachment

Isn't this special. What we didn't say to do — what happened?
I may be way out of line commenting on Harry Fleming. Also, I realize that I am not to point out problems without solutions. However, I do feel you should be aware of the intensity of bad feelings against Harry Fleming. The list of people who have expressed their concern to me is formidable. Fred Malek, Bill Horton, Harry Dent, John Sears, Cliff Miller, and Jeb Magruder have all volunteered their concern. It is of course possible to discount Sears and Magruder because they may profit from a decline in Fleming's influence. But Malek, Horton, and Dent have nothing to gain. The points made against Fleming include:

1) He has neither the seniority nor the tact to deal with Governors, Senators, or top party people;

2) He has a substantial adverse impact with Republican Party circles because of his apparently poor performance in the personnel spot for the first two years;

3) He has named State Chairmen in 19 states. All were selected with close supervision by the Attorney General. However, nothing is in writing so there is almost no way to evaluate the quality of his staff work for the Attorney General;

4) He has given only general guidance to the Nixon State Chairmen in a one to two hour meeting. He neither requests nor receives written reports on their progress implementing his directives;

5) He does not seem to be in control of the New Hampshire race. For example, he met on December 7 with the New Hampshire Republican State Chairman, Robert E. Whelan. After the meeting with Whelan, when asked to comment on the possible candidacy of a conservative such as Ashbrook, Whelan said to the press: "... he doubted such a candidate would get 1 percent of the vote in his state." When I called Fleming to ask him about this statement he said
he thought he had covered the point of careful comment about percentages that might be received by challengers to the President. This comment was especially surprising in light of the recent experience with Governor Peterson's comments about New Hampshire.

The net result of all this is that what may prove to be the most important part of the Campaign - nuts and bolts organization - is in the hands of Harry Fleming, who many believe is not up to the job. There are rumors that the Attorney General will bring in someone "heavier" to replace Fleming. Bob Mardian and Jerris Leonard are the two names mentioned most frequently but this is all hopeful speculation by the group expressing concern.
Malek, Horton

1. Flemming Org
2. Flemming - JSM Org
3. WH/ARC - Camp Org

Malek - will H raise it w/AG

Horton - Camp Org Chart & copy flr/ model

Flem - St Operations - very Repul.
oriented

JSM {the end + Dems fall
w/in major vote flors

Kasperin - no St Ann has all dem'
Horton favors top St Ann, so
? is what type of org
is Flemming setting up
- How good is it,
- Who do function voting
blue direction

JSM - St Ann will not know
of polling, mlg, teleph, etc.
we will be retained by JSM
Basic? - who has ultimate responsibility in the St.

Citizens - what do these guys do vis-a-vis the project managers vs. Cole, ex-Youth, Mehan, little time, deferring to Ritz.

St. Ann - Keeserien - responsible for own fundraising?
 still only "operating expenses" could be real problem?

Advantage to conflict?
 ISNT organizational inconsistency aimed at bickering votes for dif channels.

RNC poorly used
 Has Flem not using? Who AG made conscious decision not to use RNC
 Model not as relevant
MEMORANDUM FOR: HARRY DENT
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Nixon State Chairman

After Harry Flemming at the planning meeting reviewed the state chairmen that had been selected, you and I discussed the advantage of having your independent assessment of the choices. Have you had a chance to complete that review for the Attorney General yet?

Gordon -

Thus far, the Flemming list looks O.K. to me - if I have done some checking. Next time we should provide more specifics & more discussion.

[Signature]
Alaska: First Name & Last Name

Ark.: No Name

Calif.: Roger, can you ask the writing to change
cali: Gov. Love

Conn.: At Grotonville State Newhalls

Delaware:

D.C.: Young, Black

Fla.: 

Ga.: (Barber, Iron AT&T, Gen. Bell) N.Y. - (Rocky)

Hawaii:

Idaho: Bill Campbell

Ill.: Tom Brown

Ind.: (King)

Indians: 

Iowa: 

Kan.

Kgi.

Ky.

La.: 

Maine: Paul Harding

Mass.: 

Mich.: 

Minn.: John H. Long, Bob Forsythe

Miss.: 

Mont.: 

Nebr.: 

Nev.: 

N.Y.: James J. Smith

N.D.: John Power

Ohio: Bliss

Okla.: 

Ore.: Wyatt

Pa.: Hamburger Dickell (Friedel)

R.I.: Diamond & Wright

S.C.: Byrd & Boyd

S.D.: O'Brien, J. Pink, P. amd 

Tenn.: 

Texas: Rondal

Utah: Richards

V.A.: Ken Robinson

Washington: Lake Villas, Etc.

West: John McLean

Wis.: John McLean
campaign, to enunciate even more clearly the achievements which have already been made and the further initiatives we seek to have enacted.

I am aware of recent activities of support by many people in New Hampshire. Since that primary, being the first in the nation, has a great symbolic meaning in a Presidential election year, I will allow my name to be entered there, and in other states where the names of all contenders are placed on the ballot as a matter of law.
O'Neill - L
left pictures - if not end interviews on those 2? did they continue?

J&M - will not do a N.H. poll
only the gent
eventually do N.H. poll

Dent - AG watching it Fren closely

- better to all go's be
- Real proof w/ liaison effort

- no communicate to VP +
- VP's operation terrible
- VP wants total liaison authority + yet be (VP) has no info + his claim plays is terrible

VP says not Sohmer - very weak +
no confidence
in co and

A Gent - Dunn held all
authority + all staff

one screw up after another
Harden - a go not put up
need to put poli savvy

man at head of Inter Info Relo
Flem - Miller

"a disaster on our hands
in over his head
a real heavy hitter
must carefully assess it
must handle himself w/
tact + skill

-cam picks up fl/many
sts

-recog Flem + AG close
but don't recit

-leader ship gap in camp
esp apparent here

Mardian doing much of the
work w/ Flem + remnants
of 68 bec/ cal people
to AG said never let
Mardian in it again

-yet praise Mard & Harfl
each other
Dent

Fleming

- no oneizard
- did terrible job in personnel
- was in P's office when P
  said no object to Byrd,
  yet Flem fill Holton for
  disasters for 2 yrs
- too young appearing &
  obviously light weight
- yet friend of Klaebiesl &
  Madison to into
  Ad
- AG sticks by friends
- AG advised daily by
  Dent that Flem stick
  but hinted that
  would replace in span
- a weak link in chain

Nunn