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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE MAURICE STANS

FROM: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

SUBJECT: RNC Press

Since we briefly discussed press relations at the Republican National Committee, perhaps it will be helpful to you to have some of my thoughts about the direction we might take and improvements we should make in order to get maximum assistance from RNC to the President's programs and to assure a continuation of the New American Majority.

I have no particular personal interest in the job as Deputy Chairman for Communications, a position designed to tie all the communications elements together.

I do think this position at that level with the title changed slightly should be continued, since good communications within the Party and with others outside the Party are essential and important functions of the National Committee. I have drafted a prospective organization chart for a sort of ideal start up. (See Tab A.)

The White House and National Committee Communications

The RNC has been responsive to the White House in all matters. The RNC Public Affairs Director should be involved in the decision-making process as it concerns public relations at the White House. He should attend meetings where decisions are made that affect his job. Too often, it seems to me, the RNC Communications Director came in on the last act -- and served only by taking actions without any particular knowledge of why those actions are being taken or what other moves or plans are being made to press a particular program. He has been part of the ball game without knowing the game plan.

Assuming a strong hand at RNC, that is a mistake. With a weak or uncooperative hand, it's probably the correct mode to take.

In any event, the Public Affairs shots will continue to be called primarily at the White House for action by the RNC. However, the ideas should be filtered through some working group before action is demanded of RNC, which often has been getting conflicting orders from a wide variety of persons.
I take the view -- both with RNC and the Departments -- that we are a team, not a bunch of isolated duchys. That means our major objective is to win. And with the National Committee it means to win from the courthouse to the Presidency. That is one of the reasons why I feel a weak and unfunded RNC is a mistake for the future of the Republican Party. We need, it seems to me, a Committee staff that takes an activist role in promoting the President's programs and the GOP itself.

Let me cite one example of weakness right now. You will recall that when I met with you some months back for our Press Department budget meeting, I said the Committee for the Re-election of the President should be authorized to purchase equipment for a good audio voice actuality operation to feed free tapes to radio stations. That was effectuated and, I think, worked quite well in the campaign. The equipment, which cost about $10,000, is now at the RNC and is not being used. Meanwhile, the DNC is carrying daily audio material. This equipment should be put to work immediately. We should fund a salary for Scott Peters, the CRP's former audio man, to take over this task now. (See Tab B for what Governor Reagan is doing in California.)

To conclude my general analysis, let me state that the RNC Communications Division could create one of the best systems in the nation for getting out our message to the potential voter. With proper funding, it could go into every populous state with a public relations program that could be turned into a hard professional team to assist our nominees for U.S. Senate and Congress in 1974 and our Presidential nominee in 1976 at minimal cost.

But we must think ahead, beginning now.

What do we want to accomplish?

It seems to me that our major objective should be as many Republican senators, congressmen and governors as possible elected in 1974, when it is quite possible that the President will need help in getting his program for the final two years through the Congress.

There are also some very important intermediate and collateral objectives:

1. Assisting the President in getting Congressional adoption of his program for the next two years.

2. Helping to keep active the New Majority that elected the President this year in pressing for his programs and in electing Republican office holders.
3. Keeping a sense of unity within the Party despite the possibility of derisive primaries in 1974 for Senator and Governor in many states and the probability that we will have more than one candidate for President at the Convention in 1976.

Obviously, the Republican National Committee, even under the most ideal circumstances and the best leadership, can't do all this alone. But it can assist -- if allowed and encouraged to do so. It can work with the states, with the Hill and with newspapers, showing some initiative and imagination.

I should point out that I have not studied the present RNC press setup in any detail. Therefore, I have the advantage of not being influenced by the status quo. It is my impression that Tom Wilck, the present Public Affairs Director, has done an excellent job.

Some methodology

**National Public Affairs Director** -- As you will see from the organization chart, I feel it is essential to give the Public Affairs Director the rank of Deputy Chairman. With that kind of credential, he can speak for the Party structure with all elements of the press, including broadcast and written. He also can speak outside Washington with some authority, if he is familiar with the current line. (I do not like the title "Director of Communications". It connotes to me someone who deals with telephones or radios.)

The Deputy Chairman for Public Affairs should have responsibility for the Research Division, because it really relates to publications and for the printing plant, for the same reason.

The ideal man would be one who has worked with the White House and knows the players and the plays. I have no nominations, but I am sure Ambassador Bush can find such a man.

**State PR Capability** -- A key element in the system I propose -- and something that is not being done now -- is establishment of fulltime, paid, public affairs directors in each of eight key states, plus volunteer PA officers in the remaining states. I feel that salary means control, so these men should be paid from the national headquarters. I expect they would cost about $12-15,000 each. We should headquartered these men in the key states and make them regional PR men, although they must be limited in their travel expenditures because a natural tendency is to travel often and expensively if possible. Office space could be provided through the states' Republican organizations. (See Tab C for regional plan.)
As you know, I had at least one man (and often more) in each state during the campaign. Most were unpaid. They were of substantial assistance in placing surrogates, monitoring the press and getting out statements for prominent local Republicans. I propose the new men undertake the same responsibility: assist in getting maximum coverage for Party spokesmen and Administration leaders, serving in some cases as advance men; establish a nationwide press monitoring system so we can assure we are getting at least an even break; and be available to issue statements for state Party chairmen and other Republican leaders supporting the President. (I believe this will be more often than now appears to be the case.)

I don't want to get too detailed in this memorandum, but I believe these people should have either biennial or quarterly meetings in Washington to discuss their role -- and keep them pepped up. We can have Administration leaders appear before them for talks and Q and A's.

Audio-Video -- Gradually, we should build a capability for regional audio actualities -- either fed to stations in the region from Washington or, more ideally, fed from Washington and supplemented with regional material and then furnished to the stations on a daily basis. With someone focusing on this, we can use them as newsmaking vehicles, too.

Publications -- I am hard put to see what is accomplished by the publication of Monday which costs the Party literally hundreds of thousands yearly and goes to people who already are on our side. I would suggest cutting it back to once a month and making it informative rather than caustic. The Publications Division could use the money saved to get the message out to the press through mailings of fact sheets, like the present Herb Klein sheets that go out to editorial writers and to candidates for national, state and local office. It could also furnish Party headquarters in each of the states with much, much more information than at present. Help in this area is critical.

Press Relations -- At present, everyone at RNC seems to have his own PR man -- the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, the Co-Chairman. That's no way to present a uniform message. The Chairman certainly should have his own speechwriter working within the Public Affairs Division, but the PR capability should be under one tent. This would 1) save money and 2) utilize manpower in a more meaningful way.

Mailings -- Assuming that the White House mailing program, which now is actually handled physically at RNC, is going to move to the Committee totally, it should also be under the Office of Public Affairs. Kathleen Balsdon should be moved over from the White House to handle it. She did during the campaign and she's quite good at it.
Presidential Initiatives -- I am assuming the RNC will have responsibility to work with the Congressional leadership for press releases and speeches supporting Presidential initiatives. That could easily be done by working with Bill Timmons' office at the White House and with Bob Hetherington (of Senator Scott's office) and Bob Hartmann (of Congressman Ford's office). I would suggest regular planning meetings, either weekly or daily depending on what is happening on the Hill. Although the Special Groups liaison will be handled by the White House, the mailings and press releases to and for these groups should be done through the RNC Public Affairs group. The Press Office also should handle writing speeches for and working with Republican governors, Republican state chairmen and Republican women's groups. (For the latter purpose, I would suggest at least one woman public affairs expert on the staff. Jackie O'Connor, who is there now, is an excellent writer.)

In this memorandum, which is much longer than I expected it to be, I have tried to deal with generalities. But the thrust of it all is simply this: we need a revitalized RNC Public Affairs Office that really digs in and works with the White House and the states to keep moving what the President started in November -- to establish the New American Majority.

If I can be of any assistance to Ambassador Bush in further delineating the organization as I view it, I will be most happy to do so. I have not sent a copy of this memorandum to him because I did not feel it would be appropriate. It touches on some of the problems he will be meeting, however, so you may wish to pass along a copy -- if you think it would be useful.

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
ACTION MEMO

We need to check out burial opportunities at Yorba Linda as well as Rose Hill and then update that whole plan.

HRH

1/19/73