

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>
17	12		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A report regarding the comments on the Ray Price memo. Specifically, issues concerning: Patronage, campaign materials, messages, statements, and preparation for the '72 campaign. 2 pgs.
17	12	11/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ray Price to Haldeman. RE: The preparation for 1972, and a discussion of campaign materials, messages, statements, staffing, etc. 4 pgs.
17	12		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A report concerning the comments made on Chuck Colson's memo and how they relate to the 1972 election. 4 pgs.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N-1 [DOCS 34 + 35]	Report	Comments on Ray Price memo <u>attachment</u> : Memo, Price to HRT, re: Preparing for 1972, 11/5/71	n.d.	C
N-2 [DOC 36]	Report	Comments on Chuck Colson's memo	n.d.	C
N-3 [DOCS 37 + 38]	Report	Comments on Fred Malek's Paper on the Impact of Campaign on the White House Staff <u>attachment</u> : Memo, Malek to HRT, re: Re- direction of Staff Office, 11/5/71	n.d.	C
N-4 [DOC 39]	memo	Stigler to HRT, re: addendum to Alex Butterfield Talking Paper	11/29/71	C
N-5 [DOC 40]	Report	Comments on Alex Butterfield Staff organization Paper	n.d.	C
N-6 [DOC 41]	Report	Comments on John Dean's memo on Proposed activities through November 1972	n.d.	C

FILE GROUP TITLE

HRT

BOX NUMBER

278

FOLDER TITLE

[Comments on preparing for 1972 election campaign]

RESTRICTION CODES

- 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.

- 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- G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
- H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 278

Folder: [Comments on preparing for 1972 election campaign]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>		
34	Return	Private/Political	
35	Return	Private/Political	
36	Return	Private/Political	
37	Retain	Open	
38	Retain	Open	
39	Retain	Close	Invasion of Privacy
40	Retain	Close	Invasion of Privacy
41	Retain	Open	

COMMENTS ON RAY PRICE MEMO

General:

Since Ray is constantly facing the problem of deadlines, it may be his office is understaffed or may not have the right people. In either case he should move ahead quickly to bring aboard those people you have already authorized. Ray is trying to fill both the role of chief speech writer and editor in chief. This cannot be done. Somehow he must train his people to write more in the Nixon style and work out his own priorities to get the important work done before it becomes a crash project. You have already covered the point with him of remarks and whether or not they are helpful.

Specific Comments:

-- Patronage:

There obviously will be some additional staff needs for #72 and Ray should begin working with Malek right now to get these solved. One need will be for a writer to supply materials to all our key speakers and the truth squad. This maybe something for a writer at the Citizen's Committee but either way this consideration should be taken care of, so when Ray's staff is asked to supply material for a Dole or someone else it can be done.

You have mentioned to Ray the need for a gag writer and this is another area he should work with Malek in. The same would be true for a woman writer. The woman could spend a substantial part of her time writing for Julie, Tricia, and Mrs. Nixon. We should move ahead with this idea now.

In addition, there are times when Safire and Buchanan have time on their hands. They are not properly being utilized, partly because of Ray's reluctance to assign anything to Buchanan or Safire. This is something that should be overcome on Ray's part, either by him suggesting to you that things be assigned to them or by Ray stepping up and moving in this direction himself.

Campaign Materials:

We need someone to quality control the campaign materials and make sure our line is being hit hard. This probably will require someone to be plugged into the Price question. We should use

the writer over at 1701 in this area also.

--Messages:

I agree that we don't want to do too many of them. On the other hand, we should be able to do all of those that are appropriate and you should make sure that the staff is sufficient in this area.

Besides the messages, there is the mail situation. The President wants to use mail more. Hopefully you will continue to pull good letters he can use in his remarks, etc.; something we have done a mediocre job on in the past. You should start encouraging your writers to spend some time with the mail and find materials in the mail that could be worked in to the remarks, etc.

--Statements:

This proposal raises a good point. This is something that Buchanan should be able to work on also and we should perhaps program him more in this direction; particularly for the reaction material. With regard to initiating our own statements this is something we should probably be getting some guidance on from the Domestic Council. There is a need for better coordination here.

--Preparation for the '72 Campaign:

There is the question of what we are doing in the construction of an issue book for '72. Has this been figured out yet? It is my understanding that the Domestic Council is working to some extent in this area but I am not sure where we stand. Your thought to having materials ready that can be put together quickly is extremely good. It is something that should be done now while there is a lull, rather than waiting until June of next year. Will you please get together with Cole and Ehrlichman and see what we are going to do here.

--By-liners:

The idea of thoughtful by-liners by Cabinet Members and your office is great but they should be done as second priority to those things that we need to get solved now. Let's make sure we're properly staffed to strike a balance.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: RAY PRICE *Ray P*

SUBJECT: Preparing for 1972

A few rough thoughts on gearing up for 1972:

Remarks. An enormous amount of the writers' time and energy goes into the "suggested remarks" for Presidential appearances, and most of it would appear to be wasted -- judging by the proportion of what we give him that actually gets used. I'd like to sit down with him sometime and get an updated reading on how useful this stuff is: whether it's still true, as we used to be told, that even though he doesn't use much of it it's helpful in stimulating his own thoughts, or whether some different approaches to it would be more useful. We've tried a few minor variations on the format lately; I'm reluctant to go too heavily into major variations if in fact what he's getting serves him well, but it would seem that we could either a) cut back substantially on it, thus freeing up a lot of writers' time; or b) invest the same time in providing stuff that would be more useful.

Staffing. I don't have a solid feel for what additional staff needs will be, in part because this will depend to a great extent on the nature of the campaign -- and also, of course, on the extent to which we're going to be called on to provide materials to others than the President. I do feel a need for one more senior writer, who would be primarily and specifically a speech writer -- well trained in that particular branch of the art -- and I'd hope he would also be someone who could fill in for me so that I could cut loose for several days at a time to do writing myself, and who could be a stand-by replacement for me if necessary. I also think I'll probably be needing another junior

*Senior writer
they write.
Need to fill
the whole office
vacuum time*

writer; and, depending on how heavy the demands of the campaign become (and on what roles Safire and Buchanan end up playing) perhaps more.

*should be good idea
1701
writer*

Campaign materials. I think we should provide "packages" of speech materials that could be used by Administration spokesmen -- not complete speeches-to-order, but the sort of thing we used to distribute to the Cabinet: ideas, themes, lines, speech sections, etc., that highlight some of the themes we're trying to get across, and from which they can draw in putting together their own speeches.

should do these appropriate

Messages, etc. The volume of special messages to groups and individuals has increased substantially, and we'll probably want to increase it somewhat more. But there's going to be heavy pressure to increase it much more than I think would be wise -- and in particular to send a lot that could get us in trouble. As it is, we frequently get high-pressure requests, and sometimes demands, for messages to groups or for occasions that on investigation turn out to be badly tainted. There's also the perennial problem that if we accede to one request for a message to an event that falls outside the rules, and there are (as there usually are) a hundred or so others that are similar in all respects except for their advocacy at the White House, we lose more than the 99 we don't send them to than we gain with the one that we do. It's easy to give the flip answer that we should send them to the other 99; but not only is this not manageable, but we quickly reach a point at which it not only dilutes the impact of all messages but, more to the point, makes the President look almost obscenely over-eager. As we get into the election year we'll need a hard look at the basic rules to see how they should be modified -- but I don't think we should yield too readily to the easy temptation to scrap them altogether. They serve the President well -- and their existence gives us an understandable excuse for the many turn-downs that have to be made.

Statements. We're probably going to want to do more of these, and in a more programmed way -- finding opportunities for our own initiatives, rather than simply reacting to the Congressional votes, etc.

*Work up
to be
done for
'68*

Preparation. Somewhere along the way we should probably (though I have some doubts about its utility) begin building a bank of campaign speech-type materials for our own use, that could then be quickly patched together when the appropriate occasion arose. The negative side of this is that a) it risks a certain stale quality in the final product, as it comes out; and b) it probably represents a substantial amount of wasted time, since most of it would probably not in fact be used. But I'm inclined to think at this point that the pluses of having it on hand, and of the exercise it represents (as well as possible use by surrogates) outweigh the minuses. However, I don't think it should be done too far in advance -- if it is, the staleness factor is greatly increased.

Thoughtful by-liners by staff and Cabinet: if the President continues to feel he shouldn't deliver speeches with substantial or sophisticated thought content, it's doubly important that the rest of us do more of this -- to demonstrate that thought does occur in the Administration, and also to legitimize his own reductions of these more sophisticated arguments to simpler terms comprehensible to the TV audience. As long as there's a basic consistency, they'll complement each other rather than compete with each other.

As it is, we're taking it in the neck because of the constant repetition of the old cheer-lines and the old themes, without breaking substantial new ground or advancing substantial new thoughts -- or arguing the case in sophisticated terms. But if his aides and advisers are doing this, it makes much more readily acceptable the argument that as the one who has to talk to all the people he's constrained from showing in public the sophistication he displays in private.

This is something my staff should probably help out on from time to time -- not only doing occasional pieces themselves, but also writing them for others' signature -- for two reasons: a) since it's important to the President's interests that it be done, and he feels he can't do it himself, it becomes an important part of the Presidential mix; and 2) it would be good for the writers -- giving them a chance to flex their intellectual muscles a bit from time to time, and thus to keep the juices of thought -- and of thoughtful analysis -- running.

It's important that this be seen not as a substitute for the usual hard-sell campaigns for matters of current concern, answers to the critics, etc., but as a supplement to it, addressed to a different audience and meeting a different need -- indeed, filling a vacuum. If we're going to sell the administration to leaders of thought, we've got to demonstrate that we're capable of thought and that we're thinking seriously, in philosophical terms, about the concerns of a latter-20th-century America.

COMMENTS ON CHUCK COLSON'S MEMO

General:

Chuck has tried to broaden the scope of his responsibilities too fast to build the sound organization beneath him that is necessary for '72. He should take the next month or two and step back and concentrate on really tightening his organization for the Campaign. While he has done a good job, there is much work left to be done, particularly in terms of getting some coordination with the Domestic Council on deciding major initiatives and themes and setting up some program to ride them through. This is something we started after the State of the Union, but the whole idea has broken down. Right now the Domestic Council is getting away with murder in terms of lack of follow-up and Colson should move to tap this resource.

Colson has real doubts about his personal relationship with you. While there are obviously problems here, he should feel that he is not running into a stone wall everytime he deals with you, but that you are at least interested in his ideas. Colson does need to be put down and put down hard on a number of occasions, but occasionally he should be told he is doing a good job.

Specific Comments:

-- News Planning Coordination and Execution:

This does seem to be moving along fairly well, except in the area of counter-attack. Here there is obviously a need for the addition of another individual to handle Congressional follow-up and Colson should work with MacGregor and Malek in finding the Congressional man. He probably should be publicly identified as part of the Congressional relations team, but work with Colson similar to the way that Gifford works with Shultz.

-- Domestic Coordination:

Barker is simply not strong enough to handle the execution needed on the Domestic side. We need to get a stronger individual here who can handle this job who can be dealing directly with Cabinet Secretaries, etc. Perhaps Barker can remain as the number two man.

-- Shumway replacement:

With Shumway's departure, there needs to be someone else brought in to handle the type of assignment that he has been handling. Colson should work with Klein and Malek in finding another Shumway.

-- Major Administration Political Issues:

This area needs to be followed up on and coordinated heavily with the Domestic Council. There needs to be five or six key task forces. Perhaps one on drugs, aging, the economy, etc., that are continually meeting and figuring out ways to promote our initiatives in their respective areas. This is an effort Barker could handle and should have had underway by now. We are not drawing heavily enough on the outside people in Departments and Agencies to make sure this is done.

-- Political cultivation of interest groups and individuals:

While we have done a good job here of opening contacts and maintaining lists, we haven't very effectively utilized these groups. It might be good to bring another man in to figure out some political applications for these groups or reorient Bell more in this direction.

The Youth effort is almost non-existent with McLane obviously not producing very much. Perhaps we should look for someone else here and do it quickly. Chuck's concern over the areas of Labor and Aging are probably justified. Malek is currently doing a study to determine areas where we need to bring people in for the Campaign and these special interests would certainly be high on the list. Once again, the task force concept needs to be put in being here.

Ask Chuck to provide Malek with a list of the areas where he thinks we need to consider bringing on additional White House staff during the election year. Have Malek staff these Colson suggestions with the rest of the people here to see if we could use more people.

-- Counter-Attack:

In the counter-attack area, in addition to getting a man on the Congressional side, we need to have a better mechanism set up for Buchanan and Khachigian to reaction material. This is something that is not coming on a smooth or automatic enough fashion. Buchanan and Khachigian need to be brought in more with the new man and get a specific working arrangement established here.

-- Maximizing media coverage for the political promotion for the President:

One of the areas where we have really fallen down here is getting Moore or Safire involved in all of the events and making sure they push our story. This is something Colson should constantly be pushing with the scheduling people. Also, it might be helpful for Chuck to hold a small meeting with the three people who are putting the line out to make sure there is a coordinated effort to pump our line. This would be Moore, Safire and Scall plus Shumway or his replacement. He should constantly keep Ziegler informed of what he is doing here.

-- Maximizing Administration resources:

This needs to be handled probably on a higher level basis. Is Pat O'Donnell really heavy enough to handle this job and have we made all the efforts we should make to position him correctly. These are two questions that need to be answered.

-- Mailings:

Chuck should be getting together with the Citizen's Committee to figure out how we are going to mesh the two mailing operations. Some mailings can obviously be more effective coming from the White House, others from the Citizen's Committee.

-- Allen Hall:

I agree with Colson that he should get rid of Allen Hall. Hall would probably be a very good advance man for Mrs. Nixon and the girls and should be put to work in this area.

LH:kb