

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>
20	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Notes relating to various White House personnel. 1 pg.
20	9	11/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Sheet of notes involving the Attorney General, Buchanan, and Sloan. Possibly authored by or sent to Colson. 1 pg.
20	9	11/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the Attorney General's decision to work for a private law firm and simultaneously run RN's 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
20	9	11/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Garment to Haldeman RE: the political problems of Mitchell's decision to move to the private sector during the 1972 campaign. 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>
20	9	11/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Talking paper on an Illinois poll and Kissinger's California trip. Authored by Haldeman. 1 pg.
20	9	12/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Dent to Dole and Evans RE: Jack Buttram as Nofziger's successor. 1 pg.
20	9	12/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Koch to Colson RE: Dole and RNC communications. Handwritten notes added by Colson. 4 pgs.
20	9	12/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman RE: the organization of RN's 1972 re-election campaign. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs.
20	9	12/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Horton to Haldeman RE: Reagan and California in the 1972 presidential election. 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>
20	9	11/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Garment to Haldeman RE: the political problems of Mitchell's decision to move to the private sector during the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
20	9	11/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Economy	Other Document	Talking paper on an Illinois poll and Kissinger's California trip. Authored by Haldeman. 1 pg.
20	9	12/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: a meeting with Teeter on campaign polling. 1 pg.
20	9	11/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: Chotiner's 1972 campaign role. 1 pg.
20	9	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: Robert Gray's offer to assist RN in 1972. 1 pg.

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20	9	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: fundraising dinners. 1 pg.
20	9	10/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Talking paper generated by Haldeman for the Attorney General RE: a new sub-committee of the House Campaign Committee. 1 pg.
20	9	9/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: forwarding an idea to Mitchell. 1 pg.
20	9	9/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: a theme for the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
20	9	10/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Parker to Haldeman RE: organizational pro-RN dinners. 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>
20	9	6/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: using Governor Holton as a campaign figure. 1 pg.
20	9	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to "Bruce" RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
20	9	6/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: Ohio's role in the 1972 election. 1 pg.
20	9	9/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Mitchell RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
20	9	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman RE: potential Northern and Southern California Campaign Chairmen. Resumes of potential chairmen attached. 10 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>
20	9	8/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Finch to Haldeman RE: Mitchell's request for information on a meeting with Reagan. 1 pg.
20	9	8/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Notes on Governor Reagan's role in the 1972 presidential campaign. 4 pgs.
20	9	7/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Mitchell RE: potential Northern California Campaign Chairmen. 1 pg.
20	9	7/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: information to be sent to Mitchell. 1 pg.
20	9	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman RE: candidates for the position of Northern California Campaign Chairman. Resumes of potential chairmen attached. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 13 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>
20	9	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Malek RE: co-chairman of the campaign in Northern California. 1 pg.
20	9	9/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the Cabinet's role in the 1972 campaign. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
20	9	9/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: the Cabinet's role in the 1972 campaign. Handwritten note on original added by unknown. 1 pg.
20	9	9/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Mitchell RE: Secretary Volpe's request for information on the Cabinet in the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
20	9	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: a memo from John Volpe. 1 pg.

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20	9	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Letter	From Volpe to Colson RE: an attached note for RN. 1 pg.
20	9	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Volpe to RN RE: the activities of Cabinet members during the 1972 presidential campaign. 1 pg.

LAG

Revel NH line

Staus move

be sure understand no deniers.

P. no personal campaign to Gov.

MEMORANDUM

Colson 11/30 THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

AG- NO/  
celebrities -  
ethnics -

AG -  
Dole + RNC

Buch -  
Dem cand monitoring + response

Sloan 500/mo cash to Scali  
+ light on his expense review up to 300/mo

Ask Poe to let me see invite lists  
before they go to social office

A - put Colson Conf DR.

G.S.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

November 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

The Attorney General and  
Mudge Rose Guthrie & Alexander

Jeb Magruder informed the middle level strategy group (Harry Dent, Harry Flemming, Len Garment, Bob Marik, Cliff Miller, Dick Moore, and myself) that the Attorney General planned to rejoin the law firm, Mudge Rose Guthrie & Alexander and run the Campaign from the firm's space at 1701. The entire group believes this would be a very bad idea. Len Garment and Dick Moore were asked to discuss this subject with you privately as well as the Attorney General. Len Garment talked with the Attorney General on Friday about the move to Mudge Rose but received no indication of his true feelings. Garment prepared the attached memorandum summarizing his arguments. Dick Moore agrees with Garment's memorandum.

Dick Moore will cover the subject orally with the Attorney General at the next opportune, tactful time.

Since the possibility of the Attorney General's move to Mudge Rose is considered "a political mistake of the first magnitude" by those who know of the decision, you should probably raise it directly with the Attorney General and the President. The subject is covered in the talking paper for your meeting with the Attorney General that is tentatively scheduled for November 4.

OK

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: LEN GARMENT

The problem of John Mitchell associating himself with the law firm while managing the campaign is that it dramatizes a stock cliché -- the Republicans as the party of big business -- in a particularly simple and dramatic way. Here is the President's close advisor and friend, his hard-line Attorney General, spending full time on the campaign (and other Presidential business) while drawing his compensation from a 150-man Wall Street law firm which is making money hand over fist from SEC-regulated companies, banks, utilities and other U.S. (and non-U.S.) industrial giants. It's a script made in heaven for Larry O'Brien, The Washington Post, New York Times, et al. And what's more, the legitimacy of the criticism would be hard to rebut. Precedents are irrelevant; there is no historical parallel to the relationship, and there never was a time when middle and lower-income (blue collar white) distrust of the workings and equity of the economic system was as central to an election as it will be in 1972. Given these considerations (which only scratch the surface) the question is -- why do it? There must be other ways of setting up John so that he is fairly compensated and totally separated from government and law firm ties. To do otherwise would be to deliberately create a major vulnerability which would run from announcement time to election day. I've discussed John's plans with Harry Dent, Dick Moore and Ray Price and they agree it would be a political mistake of the first magnitude.

I discussed the matter briefly with John on Friday. He was cordial and non-committal.



TALKING PAPER - ATTORNEY GENERAL

Maybe we need to face up to the Ogilvie problem, that is, run an Illinois poll on Anderson vs. Simon and Ramsfeld vs. Simon as well as Ogilvie vs. Simon, to determine whether some action should not be taken there.

Also, we need to follow up on setting up the Conservative group in California for Kissinger to meet with on the Thanksgiving trip. This would not be for the President. As I understand it, this would include Walter Knott, Branch Seaver, Lee Kaiser, and others that the Governor mentioned.

HRH :pm

11/17/71

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H +  
AG  
Talp op

December 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB DOLE  
TOM EVANS

FROM: HARRY S. DENT 

Jack Buttram would make a good successor to Lyn Nofziger.

I have known him for some time. He knows all the key players and is with us 100%. Also, he has the ability and experience.

✓ cc: H. R. Haldeman

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON  
FROM: NOEL KOCH *NK*  
SUBJECT: RNC Communications

*involve  
Mallek?  
Bring H up to date*  
*AS*  
*any progress  
here*

1. We have made some substantial progress towards improving the public posture and exposure of Bob Dole qua RNC Chairman.

a. Dole has agreed that he is not effectively exposed and that changes must be made that will enable him to more effectively defend and advance the President's interests. He says he is willing to have these changes made.

*Could  
Mallek help?*

b. Lyn Nofziger has indicated a willingness to have us come up to the Committee and look at the operation with an eye to making necessary changes (it is presumed these are procedural, and not personnel, I think).

c. Dole has agreed to have me issue statements in his name in prescribed circumstances.

2. None of this has produced hard results thus far, and is not going to until we follow through. At the same time, if we do not follow through shortly, we will lose whatever momentum we have generated toward cleaning this thing up.

On each of the above points, there are remaining problems that must be resolved:

a. Dole agrees that changes need to be made, but is not prepared to make them without Mitchell's approval. This may be prudent, but it sure as hell delays things -- or else it is a way of delaying things. As you recall, I suggested some personnel adjustments in Nofziger's shop, and Dole agreed they were necessary both in the short-run, to im-

press Nofziger, and in the long-run, to improve the operation. But he won't make these changes until he talks to Mitchell -- although he professes absolute confidence that Mitchell will agree. I don't know if he has seen him or not, but while we play with this thing, we have gone through the campaign check-off, a veto, a war, and the adjournment of a do-nothing Congress. I think that's pretty damned wasteful.

Still apropos the need for changes -- Dole complains about Nofziger taking three-hour lunches, complains about Evans being afraid Dole is getting too much publicity(!), one of Dole's people tells me the communications people in his office and the communications people at the Committee don't like each other, and don't get along -- and in spite of all this, Dole says Nofziger is a good guy who means well, and is doing his best. That's pretty damned silly.

- b. Nofziger seemed amenable to Scali and I going up there, and I retained the authorization to issue statements, over his objection -- but my strong impression was that this acquiescence was the result of uncertainty and insecurity on his part. If we don't move at that point shortly, we'll be back where we started -- with incompetence led by intransigence. I don't know if Scali has been consulted in this at all. In fact, I don't even know Scali yet.
- c. The authorization to issue statements for Dole is virtually useless without the apparatus to get them out. I can't issue anything for him as a Senator -- and I can't have his Senate staff issuing the stuff because it puts them even more at odds with the RNC people and the whole situation is potentially dangerous to us and Dole both. So I have to be able to issue through the RNC -- which puts us back where we started. We need a communications group up there that is on our side, that will do, and can do, what they are asked without pointing out how they can do it better and ending up not doing anything at all.

3. It would be useful if we could sit down shortly both to settle the above, and to develop a tentative schedule to get Dole into when

Congress readjourns so that we can get some general pattern about what we want him to accomplish and how.

4. Per the Nofziger operation, the whole thing is ludicrous. Nofziger is either away on business for Mitchell (which suggests perhaps he ought to be in some position where he can work for Mitchell full-time) or he is away having lunch. The guy that is supposed to run the whole thing (Evans) is, apparently, resentful of Dole's exposure, and we are sitting here wondering why Dole is not getting any coverage. Maybe that's over-simplified, but there does seem to be some cause and effect relationship. I don't think the problem will iron out until there is an operation at the RNC sympathetic to Dole's interests. Until then it doesn't seem awfully reasonable to expect to see Dole out front where you want him.

5. I think, and I think you agree, that Dole wants to do a job for the President and he can do one, but he is thwarted by the lack of unity intrinsic in the co-chairman scheme, and by his own unwillingness or uncertainty about how to straighten out the communications problem.

6. Since you once suggested in passing the possibility of me going to the Committee, I want to suggest another person who would be ideal for that job. His name is Bill Dunlap and he is now the Assistant Postmaster <sup>General</sup> for Marketing. He was formerly with P & G and Bryce Harlow knows him and I think would recommend him highly. He is responsible for a great deal of what went right at the Post Office Department in the last three years. He did more than any other single person at the POD, except Blount, to get the reform bill through -- including a good deal of what their Congressional people were allegedly responsible for. He was the Republican end of the Citizens Committee, knows a lot of people on the other side and how to get along with them without compromising himself.

After the bill passed, he was going back to P & G, but Red asked him to stay and take over philately, which he did. In that position he worked under Jim Holland and, in that position, again was responsible for whatever went right in the PLO -- for example, the signing ceremony for which Holland received a Presidential letter was the work of Dunlap as was the last Christmas stamp ceremony, etc. Holland kept him around and picked his brains as long as he could.

Dunlap is entirely loyal, responsible, competent, and cooperative. I would strongly urge you look at him. He is rather unprepossessing, not flashy or anything -- just very sound.

7. I know how busy you are, but if we could once get this thing settled, I think it would stay settled once and for all. I'm in this in a sort of ad hoc way, and the peculiarities of the situation prevent me from doing much without any authority or direction. Could we discuss some of these matters soon?

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12066, Section 6-102

By EP ----- NARS, Date 3-11-82

**CONFIDENTIAL**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 2, 1971

*Per L.  
replaced  
w/12/13  
memo h/g*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FM*

SUBJECT:

Organizing for the Re-election  
of the President

This memorandum comments on several problems that seem to be developing in the campaign organization. If the Attorney General agrees to my reviewing the campaign organization, I will, of course, focus on these questions. If the AG declines, I felt you might wish to have these thoughts and possibly raise them with him yourself if they appear valid.

The comments are not based on any detailed study, but rather on routine contacts which Gordon Strachan, Bill Horton and I have had with campaign personnel, primarily Magruder and Flemming. As such they may not be completely on target and may have some misconceptions. Generally, however, we feel they are valid. Even though I am unable to suggest solutions to the problems, I feel they are sufficiently important to raise with you.

AUTHORITY OF STATE CHAIRMEN

The most important organizational issue within the campaign concerns the responsibility and authority of the State Chairmen. Magruder views the State organizations as principally oriented to organizing and getting out the Republican vote. The non-Republican vote will be the responsibility of the voting blocs' organizations (youth, agriculture, elderly, etc.) and the telephone and direct mail activities. These voting bloc operations would be "coordinated" with the State Chairmen but directed by the national level officials (e.g., Ken Rietz for youth). In practice, this will mean that the State Chairman will have no control over the voting bloc appointments or campaign activities in his State. Moreover, under this approach the State Chairman will not be informed about telephone and direct mail activities in his State.

In contrast, Flemming assumes that the State Chairmen will control all campaign activities within the State. He feels that there will be few conflicts between the State Chairmen and the national voting blocs' officials, and plans on resolving personally those that do arise.

There are advantages and disadvantages to each approach. One should be selected and made clear, or else there will be considerable confusion and acrimony between the State Chairmen and voting bloc officials during the campaign.

Based upon my limited knowledge, I believe that the preferable approach is to keep most State operating decisions away from the national level by delegating more authority to the State Chairmen (with Magruder's staff providing advice and support services). Since it is more important to carry States than win voting blocs, we should focus attention and resources on the States. Otherwise, I fear the National organization would be inundated by disputes between the State Chairmen and the voting bloc officials. This would cause important decisions to be delayed and a lot of manpower to be wasted on staff work, since these decisions would have to be made by Mitchell, who would clearly be overloaded. Also, I question whether decision makers on Mitchell's immediate staff would have sufficient knowledge about the requirements for carrying the State.

However, to delegate this authority requires a highly capable field organization.

#### EFFECTIVENESS OF FIELD ORGANIZATION

As you know, the State organizations are settled for 19 States, roughly in line with the plan developed last July. Although Dent was not consulted in developing these, he is generally in agreement with the decisions. Also, Flemming indicates that he has strong candidates for 11 more States. Some individuals who deal with Flemming on a day-to-day basis (Dent, Chapin, and Strachan) are concerned that this key activity is not progressing as well as it should. Since Flemming is keeping his actions to himself, there is no way to evaluate the quality of his work. Consequently, the concerns revolve around Harry's personal effectiveness.

There have been several complaints from GOP officials about him. These criticisms generally are that: (1) he is not senior enough to negotiate effectively with Senators and Governors, (2) he still is resented because of his handling of patronage, and (3) he is "talking down" to Party officials. The recent Evans and Novak article is a manifestation of this resentment.

More importantly, Flemming does not seem to be in full control. Those States which have been organized are considered the relatively easy ones, and many of the State Chairmen are merely reappointments of the 1968 Chairmen. His staff work on the New Hampshire primary has been poor (e. g. , on the filing date, whether Yorty could run as a Republican and a Democrat, and his information on McCloskey's activities). What direction he has given to the State Chairmen about the nature of the job and their responsibilities has been done in a general 1 to 2 hour meeting at the time the person is designated. Apparently he has not given them specific charges or generated any action, and there appear to be no procedures for following through to monitor progress. For example, Flemming has delegated New Hampshire to Kaupinen, who talks with the State Chairman and Executive Director once or twice a week.

The evidence cited above is admittedly weak because Flemming has put very little on paper and has been quite general in his response to specific questions. Nevertheless, I feel it warrants review.

UTILIZING THE RNC EFFECTIVELY

The third issue is whether the Republican National Committee is being utilized to its potential. As you know, a recent Gallup poll indicated that 24% of the potential Republicans were not registered. The Republican National Committee, working through its State organizations, should make a concerted effort to identify these individuals, get them registered and out to vote. There are undoubtedly other tasks that this large organization and its huge field structure could take on.

Flemming has a low opinion of the Party apparatus and feels the State Party organizations will not respond to good ideas generated by the RNC because the State Parties are too independent. He differs on this point from Dent, who thinks these "campaign foot soldiers" have been allowed to become "soft and ineffective" but could be more useful.

It may be that the Committee hasn't tried to use the RNC effectively because of the RNC's current internal feuds. Nevertheless, rather than simply writing off this potentially valuable asset, we should take a hard look at what we can do to overcome the problems.

\* \* \*

The above comments are quite sketchy, mainly because our knowledge is so limited. In the event the Attorney General does not wish us to review the campaign organization, we will discreetly flesh out these thoughts further if you desire.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By ef Date 3-11-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

BILL HORTON

SUBJECT:

California Campaign  
Organization

Asa Call called me today ostensibly to discuss the Domestic Council listening post to be conducted in Los Angeles. He then changed the subject to what was obviously uppermost in his mind.

He informed me that he had been invited by Governor Reagan to participate in a luncheon meeting next Tuesday to "kick off" the President's California campaign. Ace then reiterated his very strong feeling that if "Ron grabs the campaign," the President will lose California. Although Ace agrees that the Governor should be prominent in the campaign organization, he indicated he would refuse to support a campaign organization totally controlled by the Governor.

Naturally, I am not in a position to evaluate the significance of this information. Nevertheless, I thought you might wish to be informed to ensure that the Governor's meeting fits into the President's and the Attorney General's plan for organizing California.

*Bee*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: LEN GARMENT

The problem of John Mitchell associating himself with the law firm while managing the campaign is that it dramatizes a stock cliché -- the Republicans as the party of big business -- in a particularly simple and dramatic way. Here is the President's close advisor and friend, his hard-line Attorney General, spending full time on the campaign (and other Presidential business) while drawing his compensation from a 150-man Wall Street law firm which is making money hand over fist from SEC-regulated companies, banks, utilities and other U.S. (and non-U.S.) industrial giants. It's a script made famous for Larry O'Brien, et al. The Washington Post, New York Times, et al. And what's more, the legitimacy of the criticism would be hard to rebut. Precedents are irrelevant; there is no historical parallel to the relationship, and there never was a time when middle and lower-income (blue collar white) distrust of the workings and equity of the economic system was as central to an election as it will be in 1972. Given these considerations (which only scratch the surface) the question is -- why do it? There must be other ways of setting up John so that he is fairly compensated and totally separated from government and law firm ties. To do otherwise would be to deliberately create a major vulnerability which would run from announcement time to election day. I've discussed John's plans with Harry Dent, Dick Moore and Ray Price and they agree it would be a political mistake of the first magnitude.

I discussed the matter briefly with John on Friday. He was cordial and non-committal.



✓

TALKING PAPER - ATTORNEY GENERAL

Maybe we need to face up to the Ogilvie problem, that is, run an Illinois poll on Anderson vs. Simon and Rumsfeld vs. Simon as well as Ogilvie vs. Simon, to determine whether some action should not be taken there.

Also, we need to follow up on setting up the Conservative group in California for Kissinger to meet with on the Thanksgiving trip. This would not be for the President. As I understand it, this would include Walter Knett, Eliaoh Seaver, Lee Kaiser, and others that the Governor mentioned.

HRH :pm

11/17/71

MEMORANDUM FOR : HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THE FORMER GENERAL

FROM : HON. WALTER

SUBJECT : Campaign

I had the opportunity to meet with Bob Teeter yesterday and feel he will do an excellent job during the Campaign. We reviewed the questionnaire for New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Florida, and discussed the procedure for the use and distribution of polling information during the Campaign.

As you know, the President is concerned about the use of polling information. Consequently, I would hope that the information we receive in the future, as well as the information that has already been received, will be made available to you, Mr. and me. Bob felt this would be a desirable situation and plan to institute the system he described with you, namely, the preparation of summaries for Magruder, Bailey and anyone else who should need them.

As I understand it, he will submit the summaries to you and me for approval prior to distribution to any members of the Campaign and White House Staff.

Bob mentioned the need for access to the polling information from 1960 and several of the subsequent studies we've done here at the White House. As a result of this, we have made some arrangements for Bob to receive that information. In addition, I gave you a copy of the Domestic Issues Poll we had Harris do. It is the best and most complete survey we have had done here at the White House in the last seven or eight months. I have attached a copy of it to this memorandum for your information.

Attachment

HRH:GS:lm:HRH:LH:kb:HRH:LH:GS:kb:HRH:LH:kb:HRH:pm

November 16, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN  
SUBJECT: Murray Chotiner

Murray Chotiner sent me the attached note offering his services for the Campaign. In preparation for the Campaign he is expanding his areas of advice -- one memorandum covers Wallace, another Indiana, and a third -- for the President -- recommends a White House Farmer. Chotiner is also expanding his political information base. He asks RNC (primarily Ed De Bolt, Research Director) for analyses of states, media reaction, and issues. De Bolt estimates the cost to the RNC of providing this information to Chotiner is \$200-400 per month.

You raised the possibility of using Chotiner in our November 4 meeting. Maybe it is time to make a decision on whether to use Murray Chotiner in the Campaign.

gs copy

November 12, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN  
SUBJECT: Honorable Robert Keith Gray

Bob Gray, currently a Vice President of Hill and Knowlton in Washington and formerly in the Cabinet in the Eisenhower Administration, wrote the President asking how he might be most helpful in the coming campaign. The President is aware of Gray's offer.

If you have already talked to Gray or will in the near future, could you let me know so that I can keep the President advised? Thank you.

HRH:GS:elr

g

November 10, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

As arrangements are made with Maury Stans for the proposed move, the President has asked that it be done with the clear understanding with Stans that there will be no fund raising dinners with the President's participation next year.

He will help in other ways on fund raising, but he wants it clearly understood that he will not participate in any form of public fund raising dinners. Maury should take the job with that clear understanding.

HRH:pm

(12)

TALKING PAPER - THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The President asked Harry Dent to discuss an idea he had of forming a sub-committee of the House Campaign Committee to deal with new candidates.

The problem here is that we've got to get some good new House candidates for next year and Bob Wilson and his operation cannot and will not do it. We could let the regular Campaign Committee handle the re-election campaigns for incumbents and then get this sub-committee set up under someone like Kuykendall to deal with new candidates.

He also feels that Rumsfeld would be an ideal guy to take on the contact and direction of this effort, if you concur.

HRH:pm

10/6/71



Administratively Confidential

September 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: H.R. HALDEMAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Mission 70 Theme

As you probably know, the RNC plans on putting a great deal of party promotional emphasis on their theme "Mission 70's". Since the focus should be on November 7, 1972, maybe you should have Tom Evans consider changing the theme to "Mission 72" before all the orders are placed for materials. Just a thought.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1971  
5:00 P. M.

*J*  
*1/2*  
*OK*

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: ~~DAVID N. PARKER~~  
SUBJECT: White House Dinners for "State"  
Nixon Supporters

We have been instructed on numerous occasions to get the "Nixon" organizational dinners set up and on the calendar. The first such dinner was programmed for the evening of October 21st hosting the New York people. The Attorney General was to provide the basic list of people to be invited.

On October 6, the Attorney General informed us that he is not now prepared to begin having these organizational dinners because the various campaign organizations in the key States have not yet been developed to a point where he could guarantee that the right people would be present at the dinner. His preference is to wait until after the first of the year before we move out with these dinners. Accordingly, we have deleted the October 21st event from the planning calendar and will have to sit back and wait for further input from the Attorney General unless you are able to encourage him that we should do them earlier.

AS  
Jan  
6/24

1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER  
E.O. 12066, 5 U.S.C. § 552  
By ef 8-11-82

The following information was obtained from the records of the  
Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, and  
the Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, and  
the Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General.

The following information was obtained from the records of the  
Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, and  
the Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, and  
the Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General.

The following information was obtained from the records of the  
Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, and  
the Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, and  
the Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General.

1/11/82

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/23

TO: Bruce

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This has not  
been covered with  
the A G to my  
knowledge.

The subject will appear  
in the Talking Paper for  
next week's meeting  
with the Attorney General

6-  
His Files  
Ben Conrad

Fu  
Wick

7

01 10, 1971

TO : [faded]  
FROM : [faded]

[faded text]

HMM:pa

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By CP-----, Date 9-11-82

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

Mr. Haldeman asked I forward this  
to you for assistance in planning.

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FMM*

SUBJECT:

Northern and Southern California  
Campaign Chairmen Positions

This memo responds to your request that we identify candidates for the Northern and Southern California Campaign Chairmen positions. In developing these candidates I have tried to identify the most capable individuals within the specifications you outlined. Yet, it seems to me that a key criterion for selection must be achieving a philosophical and factional balance in the overall organization. Therefore, it is difficult for me to confidently recommend chairman candidates without fully understanding the organization and selections for other positions.

Balanced representation must be achieved, of course, without creating a lot of needless positions encumbering the organization. Unless it is already being done, I suggest you consider asking some knowledgeable individual to work with key Californians to design an organization which will be effective in running the campaign and accommodating the balanced representation. I could work with this person in identifying prospective candidates for specific positions.

Notwithstanding this recommendation, I am submitting candidates in accordance with your request. Due to the sensitive nature of both positions we have not contacted these individuals. As a result some of the background material is somewhat sketchy, but I believe most of these men would be willing to serve and would perform well.

Northern California Campaign Chairman

*Good*  
✓

1. Richard Cooley, President, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco. Age 48. Dick has been a staunch supporter of the President and is a member of Flanigan's Gideon Army. Through his banking relationships he has extensive contacts throughout the State of California, not only in the business and industry fields, but also in community related organizations. He is an astute observer, an effective organizer, and gets things accomplished with minimum of fuss. He is well-known to many of the staff at the White House, and could run the campaign in a most effective manner. (See Tab A)

2. Les Peacock, President, Crocker Citizens National Bank, San Francisco. Peacock is the youngest of the California Bank Presidents - age 40. He received his M. B. A. and Ph. D. from the University of Texas. He is certainly a bright star on the horizon in California and is well respected throughout the California business community. I don't believe he has been active in any political activities, but he is a strong supporter of the President and could do a fine job. (See Tab B)

3. Stephen Bechtel, Jr., President, Bechtel Corp., San Francisco. Steve Bechtel is 46 and became President of the Bechtel Corporation in 1961. He serves on the Board of Directors of Tenneco, Inc., Crocker Citizens National Bank, Industrial Indemnity Company, as well as many others, and is a trustee of the National Industrial Conference and the California Institute of Technology. He is well-known in the business circles throughout the State of California and is an active Republican. (See Tab C)

4. Bill Haynes, President, Standard Oil Co. of California, San Francisco. Bill is 46 and is reputed to be a force in the California business community. He is a bright, capable man with political sensitivity and is widely respected by those who know him. (See Tab D)

#### Southern California Campaign Chairman

1. Merle Banta, Chief Executive Officer, The Leisure Group, Los Angeles. Merle, age 38, graduated first in his class from Harvard Business School in 1961 and joined McKinsey & Company in Los Angeles. In 1964 he bought a \$1 million sales company which he has built into an \$80 million sales company today called The Leisure Group. Merle is well connected in the business community, politically sensitive, and active. He is a dynamic and aggressive individual, and contributed to the Nixon Foundation. I realize that I have listed Merle on my previous memo for the California Campaign Manager position, but I feel that he possesses the skills to handle either one of the assignments equally well. (See Tab E)

2. Robert Volk, President, Unionamerica, Inc., Los Angeles. Age 38. Bob Volk was appointed by Governor Reagan as Commissioner of Corporations and, during his term of office, chaired a commission of legislators and attorneys to rewrite the 50 year old California Corporate Securities Law. He resigned the commission in February '69 to take his present position. Bob has been very active in Republican affairs within the State, and is well-known to members of the Administration. (See Tab F)

3. Kenneth Norris, Jr., President, Norris Industries, Inc., Los Angeles.  
Ken Norris is 41 years old and has the disadvantage of spending most of his career under the shadow of his father. However, since assuming the Chief Executive Officer's responsibilities in 1969 he has successfully revitalized the company and significantly increased its growth. He has also been very active in various organizations throughout the State of California and is quite well regarded. No resume is available at this time.

Please let me know your preferences on these men and which ones you would like further information on. None of these men has yet been contacted, but I feel they would be receptive.

Attachments

RICHARD P. COOLEY

Date of Birth: 1923 - Married

B. S., Yale University, 1944

1949 - Present

Wells Fargo Bank  
464 California Street  
San Francisco, California 94120

Tel. : 415 - 396-3051

PRESIDENT AND  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT  
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

1946 - 1949

McCall Corporation

1943 - 1946

USAAF

OCK, Leslie C.

Born 1930 - Married

Grad. Univ. of Texas MBA, 1954 Ph. D.

1964 - Present Crocker Citizens National Bank  
1 Montgomery Street  
San Francisco, California 94120  
  
Tel. : 415 - 983-0456

PRESIDENT & DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT-ADMINISTRATION

SR. VICE PRESIDENT & ECONOMIST

ECONOMIST

1961 - 1964 American Bankers Association

DEPUTY MANAGER & DIRECTOR  
DPT. ECONOMICS & RESEARCH

DIRECTOR, STAFF EVALUATIONS

1960 - 1961 Republic National Bank of Dallas

ASSOCIATE ECONOMIST

1955 - 1960 Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas

FINANCIAL ECONOMIST

1950 - 1951 Chickering & Gregory, Attys.  
San Francisco, Calif.

STEPHEN D. BECHTEL, JR.

PERSONAL

Residence: Piedmont, California  
Age: 46  
Marital Status: Married - 5 children

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

B. S. , Purdue University (Lafayette, Ind. ), 1946  
M. B. A. , Stanford University (Stanford, Calif. ), 1948

BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

1961 - President

PRESIDENT

Bechtel Corporation  
San Francisco, California 94104

Chairman, Bechtel International Corp.  
Chairman, Canadian Bechtel, Ltd.

Member, Board of Directors: Tenneco, Inc.  
Hanna Mining Co.  
Crocker Citizens National Bank  
Industrial Indemnity Co.  
Southern Pacific Co.

Trustee, National Industrial Conference  
Trustee, California Institute of Technology

Served with U. S. Marine Corps, 1943 - 1946

Member, Beta Theta Pi

HAYNES, Harold J. "Bill"

President & Director  
Standard Oil Company of California, Inc.  
Standard Oil Building  
225 Bush Street  
San Francisco, California 94120

Tel.: 415 - 434-7700

Born 1925

Married

1947 Texas A & M, BCE

1947 - Present - Standard Oil Company of California, Inc.

DIRECTOR

VICE PRESIDENT & DIRECTOR

PRESIDENT, WESTERN OPERATIONS, INC.

VICE PRESIDENT & DIRECTOR, WESTERN OPERATIONS,

Biographical Sketch

of

Merle H. Banta

Merle H. Banta is chairman of the board of The Leisure Group, Inc., a company organized to manufacture and market a broad line of brand-name consumer products on a nationwide basis. He serves as co-chief executive officer with Stephen F. Hinchliffe, Jr., president.

Mr. Banta received a bachelor's degree in civil engineering from Washington University in 1954 and a master's degree in structural engineering from Iowa State University in 1955. He attended the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, where he was a Baker Scholar and earned a master's degree in 1961.

Mr. Banta joined the international management consulting firm, McKinsey and Company, as an associate in 1961. He resigned this position in 1964 to form The Leisure Group, Inc., with Mr. Hinchliffe.

# # #

ROBERT H. VOLK

born - 11/27/30. Orange, New Jersey; Harry J. & Marion Waters Volk

EDUCATION:

Montclair Academy, Montclair, New Jersey and University  
of California School, West Los Angeles, California

Stanford University - B.A., 1954; LL.B., 1958

CAREER:

President and director, Unionamerica, Inc., February 13, 1969-.  
Unionamerica is the holding company for Union Bank of Los  
Angeles, Western Mortgage Corporation, Swett & Crawford,  
Harbor Insurance Company, Buffalo Insurance Company,  
Unionamerica Computer Corporation, and Union Realco.

Commissioner of Corporations, State of California,  
February 1967 to February 1969. Appointed to this office  
by Governor Reagan. During term of office named and  
chaired a commission of legislators and outstanding lawyers  
to rewrite the 50-year old California Corporate Securities  
Law. The re-write was enacted into law in May of 1968.  
The commission continued to write the regulations necessary  
to make the law operative. This new regulatory framework  
permitted the reduction of the staff of the Department of  
Corporations from 430 to approximately 270 by February of 1969.  
While Commissioner of Corporations served as Chairman of  
the Board of Investment, State of California. Resigned as  
Commissioner to accept the presidency of Unionamerica, Inc.

Associate, Adams, Duque and Hazeltine, attorneys at law,  
Los Angeles, California - 1958-1962. Elected to partnership  
in that firm - 1962. Resigned partnership in February of  
1967 to accept position of Commissioner of Corporations.

PROFESSIONAL,  
BUSINESS  
ACTIVITIES:

Director - Union Bank, Harbor Insurance Company,  
Swett and Crawford Insurance.

Member - American, California and Los Angeles Bar Associations;  
Regional Export Expansion Council;  
State of California World Trade Authority

Co-authored "Practice Under the Corporate Securities Law  
1968" - Marsh and Volk; and authored numerous articles on  
securities regulation.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

Board of Trustees, Chadwick School (Palos Verdes, Calif.)  
1968, 1969, 1970.  
Executive Board, Los Angeles Area Council Boy Scouts of  
America, 1969-1970.  
Board of Directors, Los Angeles Metropolitan YMCA,  
1965-1970.  
Board of Directors, Independent Colleges of Southern  
California, 1970.

MILITARY:

Special Investigator, Office of Special Investigations,  
USAF, 1955-1957.

221.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON ✓

MEMO TO H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM ROBERT H. FINCH

August 18, 1971

The Attorney General asked for talking points for his conversation with Governor Reagan.

The attached represents a reference of our earlier discussions and an updating of the previous memoranda on this subject.

August 16, 1971

GIVEN

Governor Reagan has indicated he wants to head the California Delegation to the Republican National Convention, pledged to President Nixon, and his offer has been accepted with pleasure.

THEREFORE

moving to the delegation selection process, and using the criteria that it should be a broad-based, fully representative delegation with the sole purpose of supporting President Nixon most effectively throughout the primary election, the convention, and the general election in order to assure carrying the State for him in 1972,

it is recommended that the delegate selection committee include the following

Delegation Chm. (& org. com.)	Governor Reagan
Working Chairman (designated by the AG, with concurrence by Gov. Reagan)	Robert Volk
Organizing Committee	Leonard Firestone
Organizing Committee	Holmes Tuttle
Organizing Committee	Margaret Brock
Organizing Committee	Taft Schreiber
Host Committee Chairman (& org. com.)	Justin Dart
State Chairman	Putnam Livermore
State Vice Chairman	Gordon Luce
National Committeeman	Tom Reed
National Committeewoman	Eleanor Ring
State Assembly	Bob Monagan
State Senate	Fred Marler
Republican County Chm. Org.	Ralph Rosedale
Counsel (not of record)	Wm. French Smith

for possible further consideration  
representation of volunteer organizations on selection committee; i.e., CRA, UROC, CRL, YR's, CCYR's, Fed. Rep. Women, Republican Associates, Republican Alliance

representation of state constitutional officers, in addition to Governor, on selection committee; i.e., Lt. Governor (Reinecke), Attorney General (Younger), Controller (Flournoy), Treasurer (Priest)

The selection of San Diego as the Convention Site alters the situation as far as the responsibilities and available time of the California State Chairman, Vice Chairman, National Committeeman and National Committeewoman are concerned, and this factor should be taken into consideration in any assignments and appointments between now and the Convention.

Understandably, these California party officials, for the sake of the President, Governor Reagan, and all Californians, will want to do the most outstanding job that is possible as Official Hosts. To enable them to do this, they certainly deserve every cooperation and assistance, and, for that reason, it is recommended that Governor Reagan encourage them to appoint a leading Californian with lots of political and financial muscle as Chairman of the Host Committee. This is an appointment for which Justin Dart would be admirably qualified.

Query: Does Governor Reagan agree, and will he undertake to accomplish this?

By virtue of his proven acceptability, compatability, and competence, Robert Volk is strongly recommended to be designated as working chairman of the selection committee. He is the one who will be responsible for maintaining all files, screening delegation suggestions and requests, compiling a master list, and gaining final, amicable agreement on the composition of the delegation. Prudence and tradition both come down on the side of reserving for the Principle or his direct representative (i.e., the AG) the designation of the working chairman.

Query: Does Governor Reagan concur in this designation of Robert Volk, who served him so capably and loyally during his first term as Corporations Commissioner, as chairman of the selection committee?

For the purpose of filing and meeting other statutory requirements, there should be an organizing committee for the delegation, composed of Governor Reagan, Robert Volk, Leonard Firestone, Holmes Tuttle, Margaret Brock, Taft Schreiber and Justin Dart, plus Wm. French Smith as Counsel, and with this body will also rest all decision-making powers with respect to assessments and expenditures in connection with the delegation and the convention.

It is also recommended that agreement be reached and there be an understanding that representation and proxy may be delegated to another member of either the delegate selection committee or the organizing committee, but never to an outside or staff person.

There should be no announcements of the formation or composition of either the delegate selection or organizing committees, nor should there be any publicity given to their meetings or activities, prior to the announcement of the delegation.

Looking ahead to structuring the campaign organization, no final decisions need to be made at this time, but perhaps Governor Reagan should be encouraged to think along the following lines:

Governor Reagan is an invaluable national political property for the Republican Party, and, even though the Demo legislature is roughing him up and giving him such a bad time, his appeal throughout the country could be of immense help to the President in the 1972 election, and he should consider not tying himself down in California.

Just imagine what a sensation he and Governor Rockefeller could be, criss-crossing the country as national co-chairmen of the re-election campaign!

Governor Reagan may want to have a hedge against putting himself in the position of letting those Demo legislative pipsqueaks take continual potshots at him during the campaign period.

Given the President's stated inclination, on top of the other accumulating input which comes out on the plus side, it appears that the name of Leonard Firestone is going to surface as the best possible choice for the California chairmanship of the 1972 re-election campaign.

As far as the Governor is concerned, there is the assurance that he would hand-pick and designate a personal representative to serve on any and all decision-making bodies of the campaign organization.

Query: What does Governor Reagan think of the idea of having, in addition to the Chairman, two statewide co-chairmen, one from the North, and one from the South?

If he likes that idea, who would be his suggestions?

There are some assignments on the national level, which the AG has the responsibility for getting carried out, that Tom Reed could assist with, particularly among strong conservatives.

Query: Can Governor Reagan see his way clear to letting Tom Reed get started on these assignments at a fairly early date, with the understanding the responsibility would probably increase to the point where Tom Reed would be completely involved on the national level before the year is out, and would continue to be through the 1972 election, reporting directly to the AG?

The competition for campaign and other political funds, including financing for propositions to go on the ballot, is already fierce, and there is every indication that it will escalate rather than decrease as we move into the 1972 election year.

Query: Would Governor REagan, as the titular head of the Republican Party in California, consider getting all of the possible 1974 Republican candidates together for the purpose of reaching an agreement, followed by a joint public announcement, that there will be a self-imposed moratorium on any fund-raising, organization or other activity on behalf of any one of them until after the 1972 election?

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP KAs, Date 3-12-82

July 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Mr. Haldeman asked that this survey of possible Northern California Campaign Chairmen be forwarded to you.

Fred Malek has been instructed not to mention this in any way to Finch.

GS:elr

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 7/3/71

AS

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

- 1) Forward to Mitchell to let him discuss of Firestone. ✓
- 2) Make sure Mabe understand he is ~~to~~ not to mention this in anyway to Finch. ✓

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *Fred Malek*

SUBJECT:

Northern California Campaign  
Position

This memo responds to your request that we develop candidates from the San Francisco Bay area who could co-chair the California Campaign effort. They are summarized below in order of my preference. In accordance with your instructions, no contact has been made with these individuals, so our evaluation is limited in several instances.

1. William H. Draper, President, Sutter Hill Venture Capital Co., Palo Alto. Bill Draper was a Yale undergraduate and received his M. B. A. from Harvard. He ran for Congress against Paul McCloskey and Shirley Temple Black. Draper is a strong supporter of the Administration and has been very active in the Republican Party in Northern California. He is independently wealthy, and has contacts with key people in the Bay area. He is age 42 and is a very attractive, dynamic man. (See Tab A)

2. Richard E. Herndon, Partner, Garrison, Gregory, Herndon and Townsend, San Francisco. Dick Herndon is a prominent attorney in San Francisco, age 38. He is very active in Republican affairs. Cap Weinberger knows him well (former member of his law firm) and rates him as an outstanding individual, a strong Nixon supporter, and would be an excellent choice. (See Tab B)

3. William C. Edwards, Partner, Bryan & Edwards Venture Capital Co., San Francisco. Edwards is a very attractive Stanford graduate. He was a partner with Lionel D. Edie in the San Francisco office, then left to set up his own venture capital firm of Bryan & Edwards in San Francisco, where he and his partner are investing their own money. He is well known in Northern California, and is a strong Republican. (We do not have a resume as he is in Europe at this time.)

4. Edward L. Scarff, President, DLJ Alliance Corp., San Francisco. He is well poised, personable, and a tough-minded business executive at age 40. He was previously President of Transamerica Corp. and is widely connected in the business community. He is a supporter of the Administration

and despite his lack of political experience could do an excellent job in my opinion. However, the chances are less in his case that he would be available. (See Tab C)

5. William Spencer, Free Lance Management Consultant, San Francisco.

NO Bill Spencer is fairly well known in Northern California. As you will recall, he was the Northern California Campaign Manager in 1962 - Nixon for Governor. He is now free lancing as a management consultant in the San Francisco area, after spending 7 years with McKinsey & Company. (See Tab D)

NO 6. Travis Cross, Vice President, University Relations, University of California, Berkeley.

NO Travis Cross has strong Republican credentials, having assisted Herb Klein and Cliff White in Presidential campaigns and worked in key spots for Hatfield, Packwood, and Romney. He is 44 and has a strong public relations background. (See Tab E)

Please let me know whether you would like further information on any of these men. In the meantime we will continue to search for additional candidates. If you would like, we could interview the best of the above list under another pretense in order to better assess suitability and availability.

Attachments



WILLIAM H. DRAPER, III

**Business Address:** 2390 E. Camino Real  
Palo Alto, California 94306

**Residence:** 126 Isabella Avenue  
Atherton, California

**Born:** White Plains, New York  
January 1, 1928

**Education:** B. A., Yale, 1950  
M. B. A., Harvard, 1954

**Professional Experience:** 1965 - Present  
President, Sutter Hill Capital Co.  
Palo Alto, California

1962 - 1965  
President, Draper & Johnson Investment Co.  
Palo Alto, California

1959 - 1962  
Associate, Draper, Gaither & Anderson  
Palo Alto, California

1954 - 1959  
Sales Representative, Inland Steel Company  
Chicago, Illinois

**Member, Board of Directors:**  
Insul-8 Corp.  
Incore Industries  
Electroglas, Inc.  
Spaulding Instruments Pacific Communications  
and Electronics, Inc.

**Political Activities:** 1966 - Present  
Assoc. Chairman, Republican Alliance

1966  
County Chairman, Finch for Lt. Gov.

1964 - Present  
Member, Rep. State Central Committee

**Military:** 1st Lt., U. S. Army, 1950-52

**Miscellaneous:** Very active in population control studies  
and programs  
Presbyterian  
Rotarian

B

BIOGRAPHY  
of  
RICHARD EDWIN HERNDON

**Profession:** Attorney at Law

**Office address:** Suite 2250 Shell Building, 100 Bush Street,  
San Francisco, California 94104

**Home address:** 47 Lagunitas Road, P.O. Box 618, Ross, California  
94957.

**Family background:** Born San Francisco, California, May 19, 1933,  
son of Robert Irving and Zita (Aggeler) Herndon.  
Grandnephew of William H. Herndon, law partner  
(in Springfield, Illinois) of President  
Abraham Lincoln until his death, and the first  
biographer of Lincoln.

**Education:** Graduated Menlo School, Menlo Park, California  
1950 (Valedictorian, Student Body President).  
Graduated Princeton University, 1954 (A.B.; Special  
Program in the Humanities; member of varsity  
track and rugby teams). Graduated University of  
California School of Law (Berkeley) 1960  
(D. Jur.; second prize in Moot Court competition;  
recipient of Bancroft Whitney Award; affiliated  
with Phi Delta Phi fraternity.

**Military:** Served to Captain, United States Marine Corps,  
(active duty 1954-57); platoon leader First  
Marine Division (1955); training officer,  
Marine Corps Recruit Depot at San Diego (1956-7);  
Recipient of numerous awards as pistol marksman.

**Professional:** Admitted to practice in California (1961);  
District of Columbia (1969); United States Supreme  
Court (1969); United States Circuit Court of  
Appeal, Ninth Circuit (1961); United States  
District Court (N.D. Cal. 1961); (Dist. Col. 1969);  
(Cent. Dist. Cal. 1971). Certified as trial  
and defense counsel by Judge Advocate of the  
Navy (1965). Appointed member National Panel of  
Arbitrators of the American Arbitration Association  
(1963).  
Member California, District of Columbia, American  
and San Francisco Bar Associations.  
Served as Director (ex officio) San Francisco  
Bar Association 1967; served as Director, San  
Francisco Barristers' Club, 1966-68; former  
Chairman, Trial Problems Committee and State  
Appellate Panel, of San Francisco Barristers' Club.  
Member, San Francisco Legal Aid Committee (1961-  
1963); Trial Practice, Administration of Justice,  
and Youth Education Committees of San Francisco  
Bar Association. Northern California Chairman,  
American Bar Association Membership Committee (1962-  
1963). Delegate, California Conference of State

Bar delegates (1966-68).  
Associated Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe  
1961-67; partner Williams, Herndon and Van  
Hoesen 1967-70; partner Garrison, Gregory,  
Herndon & Townsend 1970 to present.  
General civil practice specializing in corporate  
and business counseling and litigation.  
General Counsel for: Huntington Hotel, San  
Francisco, Nob Hill Properties Inc., Fritz  
Properties, Pathfinder International Incorporated,  
Mojave Management Corporation, Leisure Time  
Management Corporation, United European American  
Club, American Pacific Equipment Company, CKL  
Corporation, Arnold Palmer Cleaning Centers, Inc.,  
Green-Gard, Inc.  
Representative clients: Crum & Forster Group,  
American Permac Inc., Overseas National Airways,  
Johns-Manville, Firemen Fund Insurance Companies.

**Civic and  
Charitable  
Activities:**

The Guardsmen, San Francisco (Director, 1967-  
70; First Vice President 1969-70); Hunter's Point  
Boys Club (Director 1970 to present); KQED Educat-  
ional Television auctioneer (1966 to present);  
Marin Montessori School (Director 1965-68);  
Princeton Alumni Association of Northern California  
(Director 1963 to present; President 1968-69).

**Republican  
Party  
Activities:**

Bay Area Republican Alliance (Trustee 1962-66;  
Secretary 1965, President Marin Division,  
1964, Secretary, San Francisco Division 1962);  
Member, Marin County Republican Central Committee  
1964; Associate Member, Republican State Central  
Committee 1965-68; Co-Chairman, Marin County  
Murphy for Senate Committee, 1964; Member, Steering  
Committee, George Murphy for United States  
Senate Committee, 1964; Nixon for Governor  
Committee, 1962 (organizer of California C.P.A's  
for Nixon, Northern California Contractors for  
Nixon and Northern California Paint Industry  
for Nixon); Sausalito, California, Precinct  
Chairman, 1964; fundraiser for Congressman  
Don Clauson, 1964; member, San Francisco Republican  
Finance Committee 1962-68; Steering Committe  
Marin County Finch for Lieutenant Governor  
Committee, 1966; San Francisco Attorneys for  
Reagan Committee, 1966; San Francisco attorneys  
for Nixon 1968; Finance Chairman, San Francisco  
Reagan for Governor Committee, 1970.

**Membership:**

Bohemian Club, San Francisco; Ivy Club, Princeton,  
New Jersey; American Judicature Society;  
Northern California Surety Claims Association;  
Associated General Contractors of America  
(Northern and Central Chapter); sustaining member,  
Boy Scouts of America

**Personal:**

Married to Susan (English) Herndon, 1960. Father  
of a son, Mark, age 10, and three daughters,  
Whitney, age 9, Paige, age 7 and Blaise, age 5.  
Religion: Roman Catholic.

**Biographical**

Who's Who in the West (1961)

C

EDWARD L. SCARFF

PERSONAL

Residence: 12780 Dianne Drive  
Los Altos Hills, California 94022

Telephone: Home : 415 - 948-9657  
Business: 415 - 982-2330

Age: 40

Marital Status: Married

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Marquette University (Milwaukee, Wisc.)  
BSCHM, Michigan College of Mining & Technology (Houghton, Mich.), 1954

BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

1970 - Present PRESIDENT  
DLJ Alliance Corporation  
San Francisco, California

1965 - 1970 PRESIDENT  
Transamerica Corporation  
San Francisco, California

1964 - 1965 PRESIDENT  
North American Securities Company  
San Francisco, California

1960 - 1964 DIRECTOR  
INVESTMENT RESEARCH  
Investors Diversified Services  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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(William) TRAVIS CROSS, Vice President-University Relations, University of California

Appointment: 11-22-68, effective 3-1-69, by President Charles J. Hitch (9 campuses)

Responsibilities in Office of the President for relations with media, internal communications, publications, gifts and endowments, alumni relations, public events.

Born Salem, Oregon 3-23-27. Educated Salem public schools, Stanford 1944; U. S. Navy 1945-4; Willamette University 1946-48; A. B. Stanford (political science) 1949; Honorary Doctorate, Willamette University, 1969.

Director of Information and Alumni Affairs, Willamette, 1949-50.

Director, Division of Information, Oregon State System of Higher Education, 1950-53.

Assistant to Chancellor, 1953-57.

Assistant to Secretary of State (Mark Hatfield) for Oregon, 1957-58.

Coordinator, Hatfield for Governor campaign, 1958.

Assistant to Governor (Hatfield) and news secretary, 1958-1966.

(Brief leaves of absence for assistance to Herbert Klein, 1960; F. Clifton White, 1964)

Own public affairs firm, Travis Cross and Associates, Inc., 1966-69.

Coordinator, Hatfield for Senate campaign, 1966; special assistant to Michigan Governor George Romney, 1967-68; adviser, Robert Packwood, US Senate campaign, 1968.

Board of Trustees, American College Public Relations Association, 1969-70.

District Director, national news letter editor, ACPRA, 1954.

President, Portland Public Relations Roundtable, 1966-67.

Member, Sigma Delta Chi, Pi Delta Epsilon, Phi Delta Theta, Sigma Alpha Chi, National Press Club, Public Relations Society of America, Stanford Alumni Association, American Legion, International Club, American College Public Relations Association, Presbyterian Church.

Executive Reservist, Office of Emergency Preparedness (National), 1966-

Consultant CBS News, 1968; U. S. National Bank of Oregon, 1968-69; Pacific International Livestock Exposition, 1969; Oregon State Senate, 1967; Oregon State Department of Commerce 1967; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1953.

Distinguished Service Award, Salem, Oregon, 1968.

Guest lecturer several universities, colleges, professional organizations. Taught course at Willamette University.

Oregon Chancellor and Governor staff service included Civil Service Advisory Committee, Civil Defense Advisory Committee, Coordinating Council on Higher Education, Oregon Representative U. S. State Department Chief of Protocol State Advisory Committee, etc.

TRAVEL: 50 states, Mexico, Canada, Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Hong Kong, France, United Kingdom, Israel, Jordan, W. Germany, Poland, USSR, Indonesia, India, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, plus r. r. stations or airports of Tokyo, Rome, Copenhagen, Beirut, Amsterdam and cross Czechoslovakia.

Wife: Beverly Briggs Cross, m. 1949; s. Craig 5-51; Paul 12-61; d. Jennifer 10-53; Sara 7-58.

1570 Silver Dell Rd; Lafayette Calif. (home) 415/2845552  
131 UNIVERSITY HALL, Berkeley (office) 415/6424025

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

Bob wants you to work on finding the young aggressive man who can be our co-chairman for the state of California. He must, of necessity, be of Northern California.

Will you please get a list of candidates back in to him.

Thank you.

LH:lm





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*  
SUBJECT: Attached Letter

I'm sorry that John Volpe sends these things through me but we are old friends and that, I guess, is understandable.

Notwithstanding his procedure, I think he has raised some very good points which should be answered by someone, obviously not the President. I would assume you would want to route this through the Attorney General.



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

September 13, 1971

Honorable Charles W. Colson  
Special Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Chuck:

Please pass this on to the President since it could furnish some helpful guidance to the Cabinet for their 1972 campaign activities.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "J. Edgar Hoover", is written over the word "Sincerely,". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the left.

Enclosure



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

September 13, 1971

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

I think it would be most helpful to all members of the Cabinet if we could receive some direction on the following matters relevant to the 1972 campaign:

- (1) Should Cabinet Officers retain a voting residence in their home States?
- (2) Should Cabinet Officers, if eligible, become delegates to the National Convention from their home States?
- (3) What role, if any, should members of the Cabinet play in the Presidential primaries in New Hampshire and elsewhere?

There are obviously competing considerations on some of these points. For example, serving as a delegate could result in restricting our floor activities in the Convention, practically dictating that we remain in close contact with our own delegation; on the other hand, depending on the regulations, it may be the only way for us to be on the Convention floor.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized loop followed by a horizontal line that extends to the right and then curves back up and over the loop.