

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>
25	2	5/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Strachan To: Haldeman Re: Mr.s Mitchell's Scheduling. Magruder reports the decision was reached to have Mrs. Mitchell's scheduling handled by Magruder and Porter. 1 pg.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Meeting Notes. Eight original members of Citizens for the Re-Election of the President, the need for approval on Joe Frazier. 1 pg.
25	2	4/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To: Higby. If Haldeman is going to see Magruder this week regarding campaign, might be helpful if either you or I sat in on the meeting. 1 pg.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten meeting notes. Names for RNC and status. 3 pgs.

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25	2	1/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Odle To: Dean. Revised list of various task forces that resulted from Magruder's meeting with AG. 13 pgs.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten meeting notes. JSM on polling information. 2 pgs.
25	2	4/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman Re: Citizens for the Reelection of the President. Magruder met with AG yesterday. 1 pg.
25	2	5/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby. "Magruder is very anxious to get Haldeman's reaction to Frazier." 1 pg.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Handwritten memo. Mitchell, JSM were helping Gifford. 1 pg.

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25	2	5/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman Re: Citizens for the Re-Election of the President. "Joe Frazier, the heavyweight champion, could be approached about being one of the eight original members of the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President." 2 pgs.
25	2	5/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From C to G. "Alert of the info they are collecting here, will be worthless-" Handwritten. 1 pg.
25	2	5/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Attorney General Re: Tracking the Presidential Contenders. "Completed an appraisal of current activity prior to developing recommendations for improvements in the future." 5 pgs.
25	2	5/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Magruder Re: Research-meeting with Peter Flanigan. Topics discussed: Polling Vendors, Polling Expert, Past Polling Activities, Overall Research Plan, Neighbors for Nixon, Next Meeting. 1 pg.
25	2	5/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Magruder Re: RNC Delaware Project. "Delaware project can be a very useful exercise to test our thinking on research planning. We must, however, be careful of several things." 1 pg.

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25	2	5/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Magruder Re: Research. "I had an excellent meeting with Marty Anderson on Friday, and I thought you might find these notes of interest." 3 pgs.
25	2	5/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby Re: Chapin raised interest point in Monday discussion. "It concerns to what extent we should build Dent, Finch, and other high visibility political operatives in the public's mind." 2 pgs.
25	2	5/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Meeting Agenda. Magruder: meeting of Citicenz Committee. Sloan: Names for use on various finance committees; status of financial mailing. Dean and Odle: Convention plans. Flemming: Report on field organization. Magruder: Report on
25	2	5/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Magruder Re: Memo written by Jon Rose to Dwight Chapin dealing with Don Schollander. "It is Bob's feeling that we ought to try if possible, to get Schollander much more actively involved with us. 5 pgs.
25	2	5/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"Into Deep Water," by Arthur Daley, NY Times. Don Schollander's Olympic successes. 2 pgs.

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25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Meeting Minutes. Attendees: Magruder, Fleming, Sloan, Higby, Chapin, Strachan. "Subjects covered included those in the agenda and Jeb stated that he Citicenz Committee with the final names would be announced on Tuesday." 6 pgs.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Meeting Notes. "Unhappy on Polling." Circulate agenda. 8 pgs.
25	2	5/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan Re: Meeting/Minutes with Magruder. "I would like to see, by the end of today, a copy of your minutes from the last meeting we had with Magruder." 1 pg.
25	2	5/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby. Magruder called and asked that breakfast meeting tomorrow be re-scheduled for Friday so Flemming can attend. 2 pgs.
25	2	5/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Magruder to Stephen O'Leary. "Mr. Haldeman has asked me to thank you for your letter of April 20 offering to be of assistance in the campaign to re-elect the President, and respond in his behalf." 1 pg.

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25	2	4/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From O'Leary to Haldeman. O'Leary writing to Haldeman because he would like to work on President Nixon's campaign staff for 1972. 1 pg.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman Re: Ted Kennedy. "One of my best political sources in Boston tells me that Ted Kennedy has made unmistakably clear to his closest associates his plan to run next year if the President appears beatable." 1 pg. CC From
25	2	5/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Strachan. "Pursuant to your request, attached are listings of the various 'planning studies' and the members of each." CC Magruder. 15 pgs.
25	2	5/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman Re: Citizens for the Re-Election of the President. Magruder met with the AG and received clearance for the last two names on the Committee - Eric Jonsson and Frank Borman. 1 pg.
25	2	4/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman Re: Citizens for the Reelection of the President. Magruder met with AG yesterday. Matters discussed: announcement of formation of Citizens for the Reelection of President, Magruder will meet regularly with AG. 15 pgs

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25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Mission of the Planning Study on Primaries and Field Organization. Objective is to develop recommended, detailed proposals for approval regarding 1972 Nixon political field organization and suggested posture with respect to primaries. 35 pgs.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Re: Citizens fo the Re-election of the President. Magruder saw AG this afternoon, received clearance for these names: Dale, Fisher, Pappas, Hauser, Schollander, Volk, Jonsson, Borman. 1 pg. Handwritten
25	2	5/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Attorney General Re: Utilization of Government Resources by General Eisenhower, President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey. 2 pgs.
25	2	5/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Chapin to Greig Smith. "At the present time, you will have to rely on press reports for information as to where the Presdient will travel or be speaking. 1 pg.
25	2	5/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Strachan to Dwight. "Attached is the file on Greig Smith. I have a copy in my campaign file." 2 pgs.

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25	2	3/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Greig Smith to Chapin. New youth organization named "The New Generation for Nixon," would like to attend as many of President's public appearances as possible. 6 pgs
25	2	3/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	For Attorney General Re: Campaign Task Forces. Attached is a listing of proposed Task Forces giiving an idea of thoughts as to how these should be set up. 7 pgs.
25	2	3/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Attorney General from Magruder Re: Announcement of the Committee for Nixon. Discussed the need to program the announcement of the campaign committee. 3 pgs.
25	2	3/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Attorney General from Magruder Re: The Role of the Republican National Committee in the 1972 Campaign. Evans and Magruder agreed to parameters of the RNC as they relate to campaign. 3 pgs.
25	2	3/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Magruder from Evans Re: Role of RNC in 1972 Campaign. Will be important to coordinate the efforts of three major components: White House, campaign team, RNC. 6 pgs.

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25	2	4/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Magruder from Strachan cc Higby. This is a memo advising Magruder that Arlin Spector has offered to help in the campaign. 1 pg.
25	2	4/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Higby from Strachan Re: Magruder. Magruder expressed very real concern that his effectiveness in campaign will be undermined without confidence of Attorney General and Haldeman. 1 pg.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Meeting Notes between L, JSM, G. JSM problem - outside activity sooner than expected. Problem prevention measures. Polling. 2 pgs.
25	2	4/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	To John D. Ehrlichman from Smith. President's public relations strategy warrants continued analysis and constant effort toward improvement. 3 pgs.
25	2	4/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Chapin from Magruder. Magruder advising Chapin to answer letter from Greig Smith. 1 pg.

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25	2	4/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Higby from Strachan. Reviewing notes from the M, H, S meeting, the only outstanding item is the polling recommendation. 1 pg.
25	2	2/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To Attorney General from Chotiner. Summer field just phoned in suggestion to take on Democratic candidates and blast them for devoting time and attention to attacking President at a time when he is working to disengage from war. 1 pg.
25	2	2/12/971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rose Mary Woods to Haldeman. "Lloyd Waring called last month to suggest that he felt it would be smart to bring Cliff White into the picture again." 1 pg.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Meeting Notes. Porter- RNC payroll. Hauser, Pappas, Dale, Fisher, Schollander. 2 pgs.
25	2	4/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan. "Bob called the Attorney General and did not discuss the Magruder matter with him. This whole matter does, however, continue to be a problem." Should do something so Magruder doesn't feel he has gotten away lightly. 2 pgs.

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25	2	4/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman Re: Bart Porter. Salary part of Porter problem developed not from intention to give him raise, but to bring him back to level which had been indicated to him. Discussing Porter with AG would be mistake. 2 pgs.
25	2	4/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman Re: Citizens for the Reelection of the President. Magruder, Moore discussed announcement of committee yesterday with AG. Dale will be chairman. 2pgs.
25	2	4/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman Re: AG's Meeting with Magruder, March 27. Formation of Citizens for the Reelection of the President will probably be announced from Cincinatti the week of April 12. 3 pgs.
25	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes. "AG concerned that G role too large - JSM thinks H people too large in camp." 10 task forces - AG - yes, go; JSM controls proj. 7 pgs.
25	2	3/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Meeting Notes. JSM - Dean - what can RNC do effectively+legally. Fundraising. K - in Fri, elec reform legis. Polling. 4 pgs.

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25	2	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin Re: "Youth for Nixon." "One of the task forces that Magruder is establishing deals with you in general and the 18-20 year old voter in particular." Appropriate follow-up should enabel to grasp opportunity.
25	2	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Magruder Re: "Youth for Nixon." "A copy of Ron Walker's memorandum to Dwight Chapin describes two opportunities that should not be missed." 4 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 26, 1971

Dick Moore

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Mrs. Mitchell's Scheduling

Magruder reports that after extensive discussion with Dick Moore and the Attorney General, the decision was reached to have Mrs. Mitchell's scheduling handled by Jeb Magruder and Bart Porter at an office in the Citizens for the Re-election of the President suite.

Telephone requests come through a separate line, but the risk of discovery remains high because Magruder will be dealing with the TV networks and other newsmen. Also, Mrs. Mitchell stopped by the Citizens office last Friday to discuss several scheduling matters.

I think this

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

45

April 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

G

If Bob Haldeman is going to see Jeb Magruder this week regarding the campaign, it might be helpful if either you or I sat in on the meeting.

Do you agree?

Pat will call when my set

Good pt.

2

JSM 4/8

Names

Frank Dale, Chmn
Max Fisher
Tom Pappas

Filon →

? Dick Cooley - to confirm today
TR of Wells Fargo
in S. F.

? Rita Hauser - liberal, few
A G app → R

Potential Tex Dems:

not
oil
or
textiles

? Eric Jonsson - Mayor
of Dallas
? Alner McCall - TR of
Baylor Univ,
Tex.
Allan Shivers - former
Gov of Tex

Busa will get info
- to JSM

Names not to AG

JSM

JSM
John Lowell - Salt
Charles Bartlett - Sun

① Corn Call - 4/8

② Cuts Corn / Sol

G-③ Surveys → Marek, proj man
L. on polling TF

④ Porter as another proj man

→ ⑤ Marek to receive all Dem Contenders
today 5

- to go to RNC ^{Pol Perry ST} ^{here - sheetak} ^{Dem Con}

⑥ JSM → David + Buchanan
today re Ann of TFs

⑦ next Wed - Annou

⑧ JSM lv 2 wks 4/4/5

⑨ JSM start each mtg

⑩ Kleindienst field oper. - different
but Fleming in this
tho unhappy

⑪ JSM "confident" new w/ job

→ ⑫ Same list Bob Kunzig
on primaries

Flanigan - Dead citizens

Porter - replaces Henry

Berry hecke + Al Koepken - mid

Farm Vote - Whitaker - ^{am} chmn

Porter; Galbreath, DoA

Bob Spitzer - 1968, Hyde Munnay
counsel to Ag Com in House

"Gordon
street"

4/5-

Dick Moore + JSM → AG → 11¹⁰
Dent to 50 Pub World → Fla
w/ Dale + Evans
- JSM → Friends Comm
announce?

Wash Post - Ken Clausen
p. 1 - J Edgar + ~~Roland~~ Evans + Lou

Bartlett knows of Kalmbach,
A Gagges that K

Dale - only?

JSM → Bartlett + Carol, not
Chumway ← see/WH source

Jack Mulcahy - not to be mentioned

JSM will get 2 more names:
? Cooley or Jack Brown | Cal
Earl Adams or Justin Part | Cal
So Dem - Tex

Dent - 11 of Bond in Ga

Cin announce - middle of next wk

No comment re Dale, Z,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By EP Date 3-23-82

April 1, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DEAN
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is a revised list of the various task forces which came about as a result of Jeb's meeting with the Attorney General.

First, we are planning to use Bob Merik, a consultant at OE, and Bob Henry, an assistant to the Postmaster General, as project managers on a number of these Task Forces. What is needed now is to clear the use of these persons for these positions on an almost full-time basis. They would stay in government, but work for us. In some cases, perhaps Henry's, it may be necessary to place them on other payrolls, while making them available to us at the same time. We need your guidance as to how this ought to be done.

Second, Jeb has asked that you approve the use of the other members of each Task Force, clearing the names with Bob Hampton if you think it necessary. As we discussed, the Attorney General wants a memorandum on these points making it clear we can do this. He has asked that the memo be from you to Jeb -- Jeb can give it to him when he sees him next week.

Thanks.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Magruder

CONFIDENTIAL

I. Primaries and Field Organization.

Studies all state primaries: when, where, the laws governing in each, potential Republican opposition in each, Democratic contenders in each and our posture toward them.

Also, examines existing GOP state organizations, finds Nixon chairman in each state, organizes field operations, looks at delegates being selected to nominating convention.

Dick Kleindienst, Chairman
Rob Odle, Project Manager
Harry Dent - White House
Harry Flemming - Campaign Committee
Bob Finch - White House
Fred LaRue - White House
Jerris Leonard - Justice
Dick Richards - RNC

II. Citizens Committee.

Examine approaches to 1972 citizens activities. Examines specific issues as they relate to the campaign and where certain issues are most important. Realistically examines and appraises the 1968 citizens' effort, and the needs for 1972.

Dolanigan
~~Dick Wiley~~, Chairman
Butler
~~Bob Henry~~, Project Manager

Lamar Alexander - Outside
Harry Dent - White House
Dick Herman - Outside
Thomas W. Evans - Outside
Dick Richards - RNC
Charles Shearer - Export-Import Bank
George Bell - White House
Raymond Brown - 1968 Citizens
Ambassador Abbot Washburn - State Dept.
Ambassador Henry Catto - State Dept.

III. Convention Logistics.

Bill Timmons, Chairman
Rob Odle, Project Manager

Harry Flemming - Campaign Committee
Ed Morgan - White House
John Niedecker - White House
Ron Walker - White House
Jo Good - RNC

IV. Convention Strategy.

Studies location, format, dates, procedures, possible reforms, strategies and tactics.

Don Rumsfeld - Chairman
Rob Odle - Project Manager

Roger Ailes - Outside
Len Garment - White House
Dick Moore - Justice
Bill Safire - White House
Frank Shakespeare - USIA
Dwight Chapin - White House

V. Advertising, Direct Mail, and Campaign Committee Media Organization.

Decides what type of advertising organization and approach to use in 1972 (in-house or outside agency, etc.) after studying all options.

Decides on what press office and media operations are necessary for campaign committee headquarters. Examines how Lyndon Johnson conducted this aspect of his 1964 campaign.

Jeb Magruder - Chairman
Bill Rhatigan - Project Manager

Dwight Chapin - White House
Al Cole - RNC
Steve Frankfurt - Outside
Len Garment - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Cliff Miller - Outside
Dick Moore - White House
Lyn Nofziger - RNC
Frank Shakespeare - USIA
Ron Ziegler - White House

VI. Polling, Computers, and Research.

Decides on what polling is appropriate, what research and retrieval facilities will be needed, acquires knowledge of how to use computers, catalogs all polling resources.

Ed David - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Martin Anderson - White House
David Derge - Outside
Peter Flanigan - White House
George Grassmuck - White House
Ed Harper - White House
Tom Huston - White House
Bill Low - RNC
Dick Howard - White House
Ray Price - White House
Lance Terrance - Commerce

VII. Democratic and Republican Contenders.

Collects information and clips on all Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential contenders as well as develops a feel for the strategy of each. Perhaps each member of the task force studies one particular contender. Analyzes Democratic party strategy as well.

Also, collects similar information on potential Republican challengers to the President's nomination.

Pat Buchanan - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Ed De Bolt - RNC
Bob Finch - White House
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Dick Moore - Justice
Lyn Nofziger - RNC
Ray Price - White House
Don Santarelli - Justice
Bill Timmons - White House

VIII. Spokesmen Resources.

Analyzes best uses of spokesmen, "surrogate candidates," the Vice President, Cabinet, Senate and House Republicans, White House and Administration officials, entertainers, and sports celebrities.

Don Rumsfeld - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Ellen Annan - Outside
Ken Cole - White House
Roy Goodearle - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Ernie Minor - RNC
Mike Saperstein - SEC
Ron Walker - White House
John Whitaker - White House

IX. 18-21 year old vote.

Bob Finch - Chairman
Bob Henry - Project Manager

Michael Dively - Michigan legislator
George Grassmuck - White House
Stan Thomas - HEW
Anne Armstrong - RNC
Joe Blatchford - Peace Corps
Mort Allin - White House
Gordon Strachan - White House
Ken Cole - White House

X. The Black Vote.

Len Garment - Chairman

Bob Henry - Project Manager

Art Fletcher - Labor

Bob Brown - White House

Charles Thomas - POD

Stan Pottinger - HEW

Ed Sexton - RNC

Sam Pierce - Treasury

XI. The Women's Vote.

Pat Hitt - Chairman

Porter ~~Bob Henry~~ - Project Manager

Virginia Allen - Presidential Commission on the Rights of Women

Anne Armstrong - RNC

Catherine May Bedell - Former Congresswoman; Railpax

Helen Bentley - Federal Maritime Administration

Carol Khosrovi - VISTA

Virginia Knauer - Consumer Affairs

Cynthia Newmann - Secretary of State of Virginia

XII. The Middle American and Ethnic Vote.

Chuck Colson, Chairman
Bob Henry, Project Manager

Porter

Harry Dent - White House
Jim Keogh - Outside
Bill Gavin - USIA
Jerome Rosow - Labor
Gordon Strachan - White House

4/12

JSM

K → to see Sloan's fund
 expends - to d reporting +
 - non reporting \$
 - Hugh → JSM w/ all expends
 according to

Polling

- JSM wants issue info
 pulled out by region
 esp the non-IT stuff
- image
fall
issue* // - Magruder does not understand
 - doesn't care about teleph
 polls, IT + Uesp stuff.
 - is stuff on trend basis
 Hild do own polling on primary +
 battleground sts
- not
#* JSM - may use Plesser ← Bush likes
 - Use Mail w/ Berge + Howe
 as a separate camp need
 people hired by Cit's Comm
- AG wants to decide who he wants
 for camp polling so no WH
 comm to Berge
- ~~the~~
 - Get Strategy Memo fr/ L.
 - Berge's attitude to Plesser

JSM wants memo to WHS
saying any ideas re campaign
(eg. CUC - NE Regional
Coordination) should come
to H (GS) or JSM.
- ex - Flemming pitch to AG
re McCl - mty
- AG should get all info

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Bob Finch - White House
Fred LaRue - White House
Jerris Leonard - Justice
Dick Richards - RNC
Bob Kunzig - GSA

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Dick Herman - Outside
Dick Richards - RNC
Charles Shearer - Export-Import Bank
George Bell - White House
Raymond Brown - 1968 Citizens
Ambassador Abbot Washburn - State Dept.
Ambassador Henry Catto - State Dept.
Dick Wiley - FCC General Counsel

(Tom Evans requested this assignment.)

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Rob Odle, Project Manager

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Ed Morgan - White House
John Niedecker - White House
Ron Walker - White House
Jo Good - RNC
John Davies - White House

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Lance Terrance - Commerce

VII. Democratic and Republican Contenders.

Collects information and clips on all Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential contenders as well as develops a feel for the strategy of each. Perhaps each member of the task force studies one particular contender. Analyzes Democratic party strategy as well.

Also, collects similar information on potential Republican challengers to the President's nomination.

Pat Buchanan - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Ed DeBolt - RNC
Bob Finch - White House
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Dick Moore - Justice
Lyn Nofziger - RNC
Ray Price - White House
Bill Timmons - White House

VIII. Spokesmen Resources

Analyzes best uses of spokesmen, "surrogate candidates", the Vice President, Cabinet, Senate and House Republicans, White House and Administration officials, entertainers, and sports celebrities.

Don Rumsfeld - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Ellen Annan - Outside
Ken Cole - White House
Roy Goodearle - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Ernie Minor - RNC
Mike Saperstein - SEC
Ron Walker - White House
John Whitaker - White House

IX. 18-21 Year Old Vote.

Bob Finch - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Michael Dively - Michigan legislator
George Grassmuck - White House
Anne Armstrong - RNC
Joe Blatchford - Peace Corps
Mort Allin - White House
Gordon Strachan - White House
Ken Cole - White House
Lee Heubner - White House

X. The Black Vote.

Len Garment - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Art Fletcher - Labor
Bob Brown - White House
Stan Pottinger - HEW
Ed Sexton - RNC
Sam Pierce - Treasury

XI. The Women's Vote.

Pat Hitt - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Virginia Allen - Presidential Commission on the
Rights of Women

Anne Armstrong - RNC

Catherine May Bedell - Former Congresswoman; Railpax

Helen Bentley - Federal Maritime Administration

Carol Khosrovi - VISTA

Virginia Knauer - Consumer Affairs

Cynthia Newmann - Secretary of State of Virginia

XII. The Middle American and Ethnic Vote.

Chuck Colson, Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Harry Dent - White House
Jim Keogh - Outside
Bill Gavin - USIA
Jerome Rosow - Labor
Gordon Strachan - White House
Lazlo Pastore - RNC
Al Kaupinen - White House
Barry Locke - Transportation

XIII. The Elderly Vote.

Len Garment - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Bernard van Rensselaer - RNC
John Guy Miller - Minority Counsel to Senate Subcommittee
on Aging

Brad Patterson - White House
George Bell - White House

XIV. The Farm Vote

John Whitaker - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Bill Galbraith - Outside
Bill Taggart - Legislative Assistant to Bob Dole
Bob Spitzer - Outside
Hyde Murray - Minority Counsel House Agriculture
Ken Khachigian - White House

XV. Utilization of Resources

Harry Flemming - Chairman
Peter Milspaugh - Project Manager

David Lissy - State Dept.
Dick Mastrangelo - H.E.W.
William Gifford - O.M.B.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By LP NARS, Date 5-23-82

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 28, 1971

G
Is Schollander
with us?
B.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT: Citizens for the Reelection
of the President

Magruder met with the Attorney General yesterday. Subject matters discussed included:

1. The formal announcement of the formation of the Citizens for the Reelection of the President should occur next week. ✓
2. Besides Frank Dale, Max Fisher, Tom Pappas, the Committee will include Rita Hauser, Don Schollander (Olympic swimmer), and Bob Volk (President of Union Bank, Los Angeles). ✓
- Hal Greenwood, a Democratic supporter of Humphrey in 1968 and 1970, and Nathaniel Rogers, (a Democrat and the President of the First City National Bank of Houston), may also be included if they are cleared by the Attorney General. ✓
3. Magruder and Odle will leave the White House payroll Saturday, May 1. Effective Monday, May 3, they will be paid by the Citizens Committee and will be located at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue. ✓
4. Magruder has been talking with the top staff about his role in the campaign. He will see the Vice President, Dole, and Cabinet members individually at their convenience. You have an appointment pending with him. ✓
5. Magruder will meet regularly with the Attorney General for one half hour, twice a week to discuss the campaign. ✓

JSM -
5/6 - Hold

held
never

- 2 P Tues
- JSM w/
Dale

FROM:
TO:

Mrs Mitchell - were helping

- Polling
- Gifford
JSM - misspelled
next week

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: May 6, 1971

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Magruder is very anxious to get Haldeman's reaction to Frazier so that the approach can be made before the Tuesday announcement.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1971

*Never
sent*

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Citizens for the Re-Election
of the President

Joe Frazier, the heavyweight champion, could be approached about being one of the eight original members of the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President. Colson is enthusiastic about Frazier. The Attorney General says "OK" but wants your reaction to naming Frazier.

Frazier could be approached at a later date for a less prestigious position - e.g. Athletes for Nixon, etc.

Magruder has talked with Bob Brown, who reports that Frazier is not too bright and might cause a problem in this initial period when hard questions are asked.

Recommendation:

Frazier is the biggest name in sports at the moment. He is also a perfect contrast to Mohammed Ali in the minds of whites and blacks. Frazier recently saw the President and the announcement would appear as a natural result.

Approach Frazier now for Citizens for the Re-Election of the President _____

Approach Frazier later for a different post _____

Forget Frazier _____

Magruder hopes to see the Attorney General on Friday to discuss the formal announcement of the Committee. The announcement is scheduled for Tuesday, May 11.

Magruder reports that Nathaniel Rogers, the Democrat from Houston, will not be on the Committee. He supports the President but doesn't have the time to serve on the Committee.

Similarly, Hal Greenwood, a Democratic supporter of Humphrey in 1968 and 1970 is "waffleing" on his decision to serve on the Committee.

The Attorney General is now approaching Eric Johnson, former Mayor of Dallas. He is an independent but with Republican leanings.

Francis Dale

Rita Hawser

Thomas Pappas

May Fisher

Bob Volk

Don Schollander

Hal Greenwood - waffle

Nat Rogers → Boss turned us down

Need approval on Joerazier - fast.

Colson enthusiastic

Mitchell says OK but wants A OK too.

Tues

Gooden -

5/19/71

Most of the info they are collecting here will be written -

To say things to get an answer and position, and notes that they are made that they will later be sorry for.

- Some say they've got to understand this -

L.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

May 13, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12063, Section 6-102
By EL, Date 3-23-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Tracking the Presidential Contenders

SUMMARY

As you know, one of the greatest concerns in this early phase of the campaign is that we have a good system for tracking the Presidential contenders. Accordingly, we have completed an appraisal of current activity prior to developing recommendations for improvements in the future.

The various news media outlets are being covered and files are being maintained, to different degrees, in several locations, including RNC (Ed DeBolt, Bob Chase), Pat Buchanan's office (Mort Allin), Chuck Colson's office (Joanne Gordon, Ken Khachigian), and Herb Klein's office (Susie Low). The activities of each are described in greater detail in Attachment 1. It is our judgment that the quantity of material being collected and the number of media outlets being monitored are adequate.

The information is being used by several people in developing strategy against the contenders, notably by Chuck Colson in the White House and Lyn Nofziger and the RNC. A brief description of their activities is also given in Attachment 1.

At present, the RNC produces a monthly summary on each contender (weekly for Muskie). That is a good first step, which serves to point out the highlights. The data should then be passed through some type of evaluation process in order to produce a meaningful analysis for political action.

CONFIDENTIAL

We expect to have a firm recommendation by June 30 on early steps that should be taken to give us an appropriate total system for opposition research.



JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT ACTIVITIES

RNC SYSTEM

The system is being operated by Bob Chase under the overall direction of Ed DeBolt.

Information is currently being compiled on the following contenders:

Democrat - Muskie, Humphrey, Kennedy, McGovern, Hughes, Bayh, Jackson, and Harris

Republican - McCloskey

Other - Wallace

In addition: files are maintained on Democratic Governors, Senators and other leading party spokesmen, including Lawrence O'Brien and Ramsey Clark. Persons such as John Gardner and John Lindsay are also in the system.

Material is being extracted from 108 newspapers (including 24 from the Black press), 21 periodicals and the Congressional Record, as well as each contender's speeches and voting record. The files are complete at least as far back as late 1968 or early 1969.

In each case, an effort is in progress, using a capable volunteer in the field, to gather pertinent local material from previous campaigns, such as speeches, press releases, voting summaries, as well as material from newspaper files on the contender's early political life. This data are expected to be in the RNC headquarters by September, 1971, and on microfilm by the end of the year. A significant amount has already been located and is being classified in the field.

The clippings are indexed according to every applicable category, such as names, major issues, geographic location, dates, etc., and placed in the RNC's microfilm retrieval system. The data bank can be scanned rapidly by machine to locate articles that fall under combinations of 1, 2 or 3 codes. For example, one could locate statements by Muskie on Revenue Sharing made in California.

The pertinent articles are displayed on a screen, and, if desired, prints can be made.

At present, there are three people, besides Bob Chase, involved in the operation: Bob monitors Muskie, one person monitors Humphrey, Kennedy (and O'Brien), another monitors McGovern, Bayh and Hughes, and the third follows Jackson, Harris and Wallace. In addition, Susan Borches follows McCloskey. Two more people with backgrounds in political science, one with a Master's degree, will be added by June 15. After their orientation period, new assignments will be made to allow sharper focusing on those contenders who appear to be most important at the time.

A monthly digest on each contender has been issued since September, 1970. It includes a summary sheet, with backup data, on travel schedules, quotes, editorial comment, public opinion polls and roll call votes. These serve to highlight the most important information in the RNC file, so that the entire data bank will not have to be reviewed at a later date.

As press coverage increases, it may be appropriate to issue reports more frequently. Muskie reports are now being issued weekly. Manpower limitations will enter into this decision.

The RNC also anticipates compiling a Quote Book on each contender, which will further distill and organize the most useful information on each.

PAT BUCHANAN (MORT ALLIN)

This office reviews about 50 newspapers, the wire services and television to produce a daily summary of the news for Administration use. A weekly summary is compiled from a large number of magazines and periodicals. The staff is made up of three full-time people and one part-time student.

All pertinent articles are clipped and filed by subject. The files are generally oriented by issue rather than by personality, and there is not extensive cross-indexing. The office has a good compilation of statements favorable to the Administration from various sources.

Three weeks ago a file was started for each of the contenders, in which all references from the daily and weekly news summaries are placed. This complements the RNC file by including material derived from regular monitoring of the electronics media. The file could be extended back as far as necessary using the services of volunteers.

CHUCK COLSON (JOANNE GORDON)

This office is primarily interested in evoking views and statements from key political people before or during the airing of controversial issues. They do retain some files, but their mission is to use the information at the time, rather than to compile a later summary.

CHUCK COLSON (KEN KHACHIGIAN)

Ken occasionally develops speech material on opposition contenders, for use by members of the Administration or Congress. He maintains a file of articles of major importance, but also uses the resources of the RNC and Mort Allin's files when more detail is required.

HERB KLEIN (SUSIE LOW)

These files deal primarily with reactions to the Administration rather than tracking opposition contenders. Much of the material is referred from the issue files at the RNC, under the direction of Sue Borches. Miss Low's office was very helpful in providing useful information during the 1970 campaign, and has the capability to be a valuable resource in 1972.

LYN NOFZIGER

Lyn prepares material for a variety of purposes, including press releases and RNC publications such as MONDAY. His information comes from many of his own sources, as well as the RNC Research Division activities described earlier.

CONFIDENTIAL

May 17, 1971

TO: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK
SUBJECT: RESEARCH-MEETING WITH PETER FLANIGAN

✓
To
MS

At our meeting today, the following points were discussed:

1. Polling Vendors. I gave Peter a copy of Dave Derge's memo on the first vendor survey. Peter leans strongly to the concept of one field polling vendor and one telephone survey vendor (recommendation C in the memo). This eliminates the necessity to manage several vendors in parallel operations and assures better consistency in trend data. He feels that we should further evaluate the potential vendors by letting them perform in battleground states (Derge's recommendation D). We did not have a chance to discuss the recommendations that Tully Plesser is preparing.
2. Polling Expert. Peter feels that we should definitely have an expert in the field, such as Dave Derge, working between the campaign organization and the survey vendors. He wants to look at other possibilities besides Derge before a firm commitment is made. Lance Tarrance has given me two names which I will research further.
3. Past Polling Activities. Peter is going to set up a meeting with Derge, to review the polling activity in 1968, as well as to discuss plans for 1972. He has asked for a summary from Larry Higby of Haldeman's private polling activity (not content), and I will gather the public polling summaries.
4. Overall Research Plan. We briefly discussed the overall system which I had drafted, as well as the RNC plans to do a pilot study in Delaware. Peter has copies of both the research plan and Dick Richards' write-up of the Delaware project. He thought that the idea of testing some techniques in Kentucky may have merit.
5. Neighbors for Nixon. I told Peter that we had talked to Dick Richards and that you had contacted Alan Peterson for a summary of 1968 activities.
6. Next Meeting. If possible, the Derge meeting will take place next week. If not, Peter and I will meet to discuss the overall project further, after he has had a chance to digest the written material I left with him.

CONFIDENTIAL

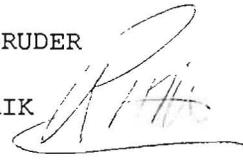
CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By EL NAR., Date 3-23-82

May 14, 1971

TO: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK 
SUBJECT: RNC DELAWARE PROJECT

Yorab
what is this?
2-

Based on our conversations with Dick Richards, I think the Delaware project can be a very useful exercise to test our thinking on research planning. We must, however, be careful of several things.

(1) The project must be done well, or else it will fail and the credibility of that approach will be destroyed before the campaign begins. If certain ideas are not workable, they should not be applied during the campaign, but we do not want good ideas rejected because of faulty application in the planning phase.

(2) We must be involved in the planning for use of demographic (census) and voting data to identify the key voters, and in the design of the surveys that will be used to measure their attitudes. This test should be closely tied in with our overall research planning, not an independent activity. I will keep Peter Flanigan informed as the program design progresses.

(3) One aspect of the program is to determine whether the opinions of swing voters can be substantially influenced by certain campaign techniques. Direct mail, direct personal contact a la Neighbors-for-Nixon, or other approaches may be tried on a very limited, well-defined group of voters. We must be sure that appropriate people are aware that such activity will be occurring, and that they are satisfied that no embarrassment will result for the Administration. I would assume that the detailed plans will be reviewed prior to approval for action.

(4) The polling vendor is Market Opinion Research (Bob Teetor), one of those we have under consideration. If the RNC decides to use them, it would provide valuable performance data for our evaluation.

(5) I have told Dick Richards that I would like to be involved in the planning and the nuts-and-bolts execution of the project, if only to learn where the rough spots are in the real-world application of a research plan. He will be getting back in about one week with a more detailed plan for us to transform into a proposal.

(6) I suggest you call Tom Evans at the RNC and indicate that we think the project is potentially worthwhile and that we are extremely interested in being closely involved to pursue the concerns discussed above.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

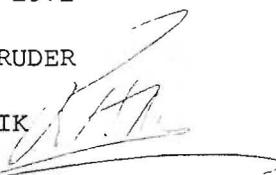
DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By EP NARS, Date 3-23-82

May 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

BOB MARIK 

SUBJECT:

RESEARCH

I had an excellent meeting with Marty Anderson on Friday, and I thought you might find these notes of interest.

Research Activity in 1968 - Contenders and Issues

In 1968, the research function under Marty included opposition candidates and issue positions. Peter Flanigan and Dave Derge did the polling separately. In opposition research, each candidate's position on the issues was determined and compared to the President. Where stands were similar, the issue was usually down-played. The differences were emphasized, particularly where it was clear that the opponent came down on the wrong side.

In issue research, a policy position was developed and presented to the President for approval. When adopted, it became the basis for statements, speeches, etc. Speechwriting was very close to issue research. Marty Anderson, Alan Greenspan (domestic policy) and Dick Allen (foreign policy) probably spent 80% of their time on research and 20% on speechwriting. Pat Buchanan and Ray Price spent about 10% on research and 90% on writing. However, those writing the speeches had been involved in the development of the issue. Marty feels that the present separation of issue/policy development and speech writing has led to some rather sterile, boiler-plate speeches, and that we should guard against that in the campaign.

Issue Research in 1972

Although many issues and programs have been established through the Administration record of the first term, there should be an effort to develop new issues and policies for the campaign. We should not be solely limited to defending existing programs.

Polls

A weak point in 1968 was that the results of the polls were tightly held. There was almost no interaction--either in terms of question input or opinion results--between the polling people and those developing the issues. Our current efforts in this regard are obviously in the right direction, and it is very important that they succeed.

Network of Experts

In 1968, Marty set up a network of outside experts who could be reached at any time for a reaction or input on a given subject. In 1970, the network was mainly of people inside the government. We need to set up a similar network for '72, but not too early because people might have been shifted to different responsibilities by the time the campaign is in full gear.

The quality of the people in the network of experts and the research staff is all-important, because success depends on being able to react quickly and effectively to unexpected events. There will, for example, most likely be instances where people in the bureaucracy tip the opposition candidate or the press on some subtle flaw in Administration legislation.

The Director of Research must have a small group of people who know exactly whom to call in the network in case of any fast-breaking issue. To call the wrong person is sometimes worse than not reacting at all. The research staff must also be able to understand very quickly what constitutes a hot issue, so that reaction and response are properly triggered.

Thru We must avoid the appearance that the White House staff is running the campaign, as well as any other indication that it is being supported in part at government expense.

Communications to the Field

In communicating with the campaign party in the field, one often does not realize how hectic things are on the plane. Marty solved the research liaison problem when he traveled with the campaign party by setting a high priority on keeping in contact with his cohorts back at the headquarters. If someone on the plane does not make time for it, it is almost impossible to keep the research information flowing to and from the field.

The 1970 Campaign

In 1970 on the campaign with Agnew, the major problem was knowing the personalities, issues, and other conditions in each state so that the speech content would be appropriate. The advance information could have been better. This time, it would be advisable to compile data from the states: polls, issues, personalities, etc.

They had a very good communications system to the plane which enabled them to get important information several hours ahead of the accompanying press corps, who generally had to wait until landing.

Documenting Past Experience

The experience of past campaigns will be invaluable in '72. Some straightforward logistical items will almost certainly be done incorrectly at first if the new people are given no guidance. Apparently the Advance Men, under Ehrlichman, is the only area for which past experience has been written up in detail. It would require, in most cases, a major effort on the part of the key people in '68 to record their successful procedures and organizations. Adequate motivation would only come if Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Mitchell were to contact each one and

ask him to prepare a notebook as a part of a compilation of the total '68 campaign, for planning in '72. One or two isolated notebooks would be of little value in the absence of the others.

Computers

Computers have not been used effectively in past campaigns. In terms of issues and contenders, the important thing is the content of current speeches and statements, rather than instant retrieval of past records. The time lag in finding a past reference is rarely a decisive factor, whereas bad judgment during the campaign often is.

Computers may have been used to process data from polls, but apparently not for processing demographic data. It is usually too hectic during the campaign to make a sophisticated computer program work effectively. However, if a couple of knowledgeable people could be left alone to do it, and if the decision makers in the campaign were disposed to use the output material, it might be worthwhile to do. Kevin Phillips did some good things in '68.

Organization Structure

Marty sees a great danger in isolating various aspects of the campaign in individual organizational "cells". In '68 they were all together in one building in New York. When they expanded beyond that, they went across the street. He is apprehensive of the apparent trend in '72 to keep the nucleus small and have the functioning units spread around town. The enthusiasm of the campaign workers is not as great and they do not work so hard.

It is very important to achieve maximum integration of all the functions. In '68 there were about 40-50 people in the "main body" of the campaign. He anticipates more in '72, if only because of the complexity of having a President travel around the country.

General

When the '72 campaign plans have been drafted, they should be reviewed by the appropriate people from the '68 and '70 campaigns so that past errors are not designed in again. General plans are very important, but most critical is to get the right people to staff the organization.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1971

JS
FU
5/21

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

In the rambling discussion Monday with Chapin, he raised an interesting point that you might want to consider. It concerns to what extent we should build Dent, Finch, and other high visibility political operatives in the public's mind. The theory is that by building these independent agents in the press we increase the protection afforded to Mr. Haldeman, so that he does not appear to be the "Czar".

?

On another matter, you may be interested to know that Ehrlichman went over to the Citizens Committee at 1701 to say hello to Magruder on Monday.

let H know this plan

the Mitchell M. G.

done

Suggest to H that W. may want to go over at noon today -

G - include this in memo reporting on the 5pm mtg Friday 5/21

C.

~~FU
Thursday
May 13~~

follow-up with Magruder on PERT chart

5/17 - JSM - will
send on Thur

~~5/17~~
FU 5/20

Agenda

Friday Meeting

Friday, May 21, 1971

12:00 Noon
20

- I. Meeting of Citizens Committee next Wednesday. -- Mr. Magruder
5 - Hale chair, all but Johnson, Pappas; Schol? Parman?
- II. Names for use on various finance committees. -- Mr. Sloan
JSM → 20 → Sloan; verify thru address books.
- III. Status of Financial Mailing. -- Mr. Sloan
out Mon; K outside - 12,000
- IV. Convention plans. -- Messrs. Dean and Odle
- V. Report on field organization. -- Mr. Flemming
Devel contacts - type of structure - where regional or not.
- VI. Report on polling. -- Mr. Magruder

*Rob
Hugh - public
Matic
Hend -
Way - ad*

12:32 - Dean arrives.

No security at 1701 - Mrs. M + Dean.

Dean - do not file; do not yet
cleared by AG or DeMarco
- until law changes or nomination

Conven - w/ excep of Chi no city wants as
Miami - 4000. in 8/ + services
Houston - out - hotel or 8
Asking 800

Dean - Don't know Dem dates

4 hr mtg - rest wk - AG?

Flem + Leonard. Wise locked? pretty close.

Gleason - served by Comm Cause but
not dismissed.

May 19, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: The Attached Memorandum

Attached is a memorandum written by Jon Rose to Dwight Chapin dealing with Don Schollander -- a member of your Committee.

It is Bob's feeling that we ought to try if possible, to get Schollander much more actively involved with us.

I'm not sure what your plans for Schollander are, but there probably is a good way we can work Schollander into the overall scheme of things.

Perhaps the best thing to do would be to bring him into the White House first and then let him move out from there into handling Youth for Nixon or some segment of the campaign.

Schollander is obviously an intelligent and highly articulate individual and someone who we cannot deal with in a light manner. Therefore, it would probably be wise if we sat down, perhaps at one of our 8:00 a.m. breakfasts, and talked about this a little bit before anyone takes any action.

cc: Gordon Strahan ✓

Attachment

LH:kb

May 11, 1971

TO: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: JON ROSE

HEH
C-Jagu
Fickler
Job -
I study wife
him - with Jon
Rose as Skafman
Pete

Attached is a schedule proposal for a very brief meeting by Don Schollander with the President. You will no doubt recall that Schollander won four gold medals at the 1964 Olympics and one gold medal and one silver medal at the 1968 Olympics. He obviously has a national, if not a world, reputation in sports as a swimmer. I knew him reasonably well through a Yale organization with which we were both connected. I happened to see yesterday that he is listed as a member of the Citizens Committee to Reelect the President, whenever that is announced. I called him last night and he indicated that he would be in the New York area next week for the entire week to promote a book which he has written.

Don is a handsome, articulate, and relatively famous member of an age group whose support the President has, by most polls I have seen, failed to gain. The reason I have proposed this brief meeting is that I would like to see Don get really turned on about the 1972 effort so that we could use him, if it were thought advisable, for a major effort initially. He told me he had been vigorously approached by the Muskie campaign, which he has obviously managed to sidestep.

If the President's schedule is crowded the week after next, obviously the proposed meeting is not essential. Furthermore, I would think it inadvisable to try to get any short-term press impact out of it. The main thing I would hope to achieve is the kindling of a strong enthusiasm on the part of Schollander so that if we thought it useful, he could play a key role in attracting the 18-to-30 vote in 1972. I think this sort of message is, like early campaign money, far more effective now than a frantic last-minute effort in the spring of 1972. I just personally think that Schollander is the type of person we need far more of rather than less. If there is an open hour scheduled for the week after next, I think that would be an appropriate occasion on which to accomplish the desirable message. I think that meetings such as these now can be merely in the

interest of Presidential interest and friendship, without being explicitly political. If we failed to do this, I do not think anything drastic will happen except Schollander's efforts may be confined to Oregon rather than national in scope. This would seem to me somewhat analogous to hiding a fairly bright light under a bushel.

Of course if the above idea does not fit in with your and Bob's conception of our overall effort at this point, please merely circular file this memorandum.

Attachment

cc: Kehrl
Bull

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

Date: May 11, 1971

FROM: Jonathan C. Rose

VIA: Dwight L. Chapin

MEETING: Donald Schollander

DATE: Tuesday, May 25, 1971

PURPOSE: To reinforce Schollander's support for your reelection. He has already agreed to serve on Francis Dale's Committee to Reelect the President. In the future it might be helpful to call upon Schollander for active assistance in the 1972 campaign, particularly with regard to gaining support of the 18- to 30-year-old voters.

FORMAT: Oval Office
5 to 10 minutes

PRESS COVERAGE: Optional. Probably none.

STAFF: Finch(?) Flanigan(?) Jon Rose(?)

RECOMMEND: Flanigan

BACKGROUND: As you will recall, Donald Schollander won four gold medals in the 1964 swimming Olympics, and one gold medal and one silver medal in the 1968 Olympics. He is three years out of college (Yale, Class of 1968). He worked in San Francisco for a year for the brokerage firm of Eastman Dillon and is now a college administrator at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon.

Obviously any drain on the President's time is negative to a proposal such as this. Otherwise it would seem that such a very short meeting would be quite useful. Schollander is a handsome, articulate, and world-famous member of an age group in which the President's support is quite

weak. He has been approached by the Muskie campaign but instead has agreed to serve on the Committee to Reelect the President. At the moment his support is limited basically to the use of his name on the committee. He is a sufficiently attractive spokesman so that if we begin now to subtly but actively involve him with people here at the White House including the President, I believe he could be perhaps persuaded to play a much more active role in the 1972 effort.

Into Deep Water

By ARTHUR DALEY

At the age of 18 Don Schollander had achieved things: He had won four gold medals in the 1964 Olympic Games; he had set 37 American and 22 world swimming records; he had been voted the world's best athlete, amateur or professional, and he had entered the freshman class at Yale. All items were to have profound effects on him in the last one most of all.

Somewhat to his embarrassment, he was known as Golden Boy, a nickname that reflected the coloration



Don Schollander with his 1964 Olympic gold medals.

the medals he took at Tokyo and the blondness of his hair. But not even the most cynical of the moderns would call him by referring to him as just another jock. He was sane and sound for that, much too intelligent. So before the opening of the 1968 Olympic in Mexico City the deep-thinking Schollander wrote out a speech he planned to deliver, resigning from the United States Olympic Team as a personal protest against the way the Olympic movement had departed from the ideals that originally motivated it. Dissuaded by George Haines, his coach, the man to whom he owed so much, from taking so disruptive a stand on the eve of an Olympics that had already been burdened by an inordinate amount of troubles, he pocketed his speech. Although he competed to win another gold medal and a silver medal, he did not pocket his speech. They come shooting to his face in an absorbing book, "Deep Water," that he wrote with the aid of a roomie, Duke Savage. That Crown Publishers have on the shelves tomorrow. Because of his fame, Schollander has been able to view things from a rare and privileged perspective. To him the deep is clear and unrefracted. He can see everything—from the bottom to the top. The Blue from Yale, now a versatile 25, does not write as an angry young man reckless

blasting the establishment. He writes as a disturbed young man whose personal experiences have led him to feel let down by the inefficiency of the Amateur Athletic Union, the lack of principle in the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the remoteness of the United States Olympic Committee.

Because he speaks with the measured calm of a clinical analyst, Don is extremely effective in what he says. He says it well because he supplies fascinating and informative glimpses behind the scenes. He even fires a caustic dart

MINUTES - MAY 7 MEETING, AGENDA ATTACHED

ATTENDEES: Magruder, Fleming, Sloan, Higby, Chapin, Strachan at 12 noon; Dean at 12:30 p.m.

Subjects covered included those in the agenda and Jeb ~~reviewed~~ *dated* that the Citizens Committee with the final names would be announced on Tuesday.

Sloan raised the question of use of the White House list (500,000), but Chapin advised that Haldeman had put the full 500,000 on hold positively. Magruder and Sloan suggested that the list could be mixed to hide the 500,000 and noted that they would raise the subject again at a later meeting.

Lee Nunn's name was mentioned in terms of his fund raising function and argument that using a "nominating" committee instead of a "campaign" committee would prevent the filing problems. Sloan raised this again when John Dean arrived at the meeting ~~and~~ *but* the distinction was not generally accepted.

Several of the names of the members on the Committee were reviewed, including the fact that the Committee lost Nate Rogers; that the decision was "no" on Frazier; that the Committee lost Russell (black Vice President of Pepsi); and that the AG waffled on Kendall, the President of Pepsi; the AG rejected Ed Pauley as a Right Wing Democrat: the decision was also "no" on J. Paul Austin (President of Coca Cola).

Magruder reported that Bob Marik, Bart Porter, and Rob Odle are working full time on the task forces. Marik and Porter are being paid by the RNC for six months.

The Citizens Committee handling of Mrs. Mitchell's speaking engagements at 1701 was discussed. Magruder reported that Dick Moore was against the activities being handled at Justice as was the Attorney General. It was Chapin's view and Higby's that Mrs. Mitchell's activities should be handled through an office at the Watergate. There was some discussion of having Haldeman discuss the matter with the Attorney General, but the decision to raise this with Haldeman was delayed at Magruder's request.

The group discussed that a National Finance Chairman should not be announced or appointed until after the convention, but that in the meantime Frank Dale should sign "thank you" letters for unsolicited funds.

Key, Nunn, and Stans should continue to make trips around the country in their fund raising capacity.

The group discussed ~~that~~ the first Clerk of the House fund raising report ^{is} due June 10th. Dean reported that Pat Buchanan's brother had reviewed ~~similar~~ ^{several past} reports and would be in charge of preparing the ^{next} ~~next~~ one. Two questionable items were discussed: the first concerns a \$35,000 loan which Fleming argues should be treated as a wash. Dean will review the report as prepared by Buchanan.

Dean reported that Muskie and MacGovern are reporting through a shield. They too have the fat cat types, with no attempt at a grass roots appearance. On the basis of this, Dean doubts that they will attack us. However, he points out that Common Cause could be the largest threat because of its grass roots supports and the fact that big types are paying gift tax (one is alleged to have paid \$500,000 in gift tax alone).

The subject of a mass mailing fund raising drive was discussed. Some concern centered on whether this would ruin the RNC's fund raising drive. Sloan reported that it would take ten days for a mailing to get out. This could be underway by the first reporting period. Dean mentioned that that might be an appropriate way to insure that our first direct mail fund raising, as all the rest of our direct fund raisings, will be the "most successful in history."

Magruder pressed Dean for information on the filing requirements for the general election. Dean reported that Rehnquist at Justice is researching the area on the basis "when is the latest time either Republicans or Democrats can hold a convention and still comply with the filing requirements." Dean mentioned that certain of the primary state reports prepared by Joe Good were inaccurate and Magruder promised to raise these again and report to Dean.

Magruder reported that Humphrey and LBJ used the White House and EOB facilities for campaign purposes, but the consensus of the group was that we should not become similarly involved.

Magruder reported that all the study groups are currently active since he has personally contacted all of the chairmen. The Democratic and Republican contenders memorandum is due today and the polling computer memorandum is due next week. The four areas that Magruder sought for information on contenders included Colson, the RNC, Buchanan, and Suzie Low at HGK. Everyone agreed that the gathering of the information was no real problem but emphasized that the problem is controlling the counter activities.

There was some discussion of the fact that there should not be an overall plan, rather, individuals should do it their own way. So then the question becomes "whether" such activities should be given the go ahead.

Magruder reported that some of the committees were moving slow (Finch, Rumsfeld, the 18-20 year old), but that basically he was confident that he would meet his October 1971 deadline.

Discussion shifted to the volume of mail currently being by the re-election committee. Magruder reported that his understanding with Tom Evans at the RNC would be that the RNC would handle the processing for the next six months until the Citizens Committee was sufficiently geared up to respond.

John Dean raised the importance of preparing a PERT chart for Haldeman and the Attorney General to review directly. This chart should show all the critical deadlines and suggested time frames for decisions. This would be a campaign planning calendar. Magruder said that he would prepare such a chart.

Dean also suggested that an agenda for the next meeting should be prepared and distributed to the attendees ahead of time. Strachan will assume responsibility for doing this.

The subject of a Key States Task Force was raised. Fleming reported that he is reviewing personally the nine states with 17 or more electoral votes. Most of these have serious party organizational problems. Magruder reported that it is the RNC's primary function to work on the problem states and build up the party in those states.

The subject of OMB grants was reviewed. Gifford is the only non-hatched employee of OMB and has been charged with the responsibility to review and control projects between now and 1972.

Fleming believes that Oregon will have the most significant pre-convention problems. This is because the party organization there is so divided. Fleming believes we have only one man out there who is on our side.

Magruder is to get a list of the key Congressmen and key states from Timmons and assign John Nidecker or one other guy to each key man for "stroke". These key Congressmen should receive special treatment from Timmons, Gifford, and the Cabinet officer from each department according to Fleming.

The subject of OMB and Gifford and their responsibility to set up a separate political network was discussed. Shultz is deeply involved with this. Arnie Webber, a Democrat on OMB was characterized by Chapin, Dean and Fleming as tough and good as was Cap Weinberger.

Gifford in OMB works directly for Shultz and is paid by us (reason for being non-hatch). But he needs an aide to follow-up on the details. He previously worked for Goddell but is now with us.

The Parker system of reviewing calendar events for trips which are then relayed to Erlichman and OMB should be expanded to include Cabinet Officer's trips now and eventually in the campaign.

~~Meeting~~
~~Taus.~~ → ~~Unhappy~~
~~polling~~

5/7

Aspin -

- Not big waste of time
- Gifford - there imp
- Name Women Amc?
- Mrs. Mitchell re-raise
- N. H - IT wants to go up
Note to H, raise +
get research
- Push Howard + CWC for
Spkrs Bar.
- Women Amc

at 1701? next week.

Mtg

- Details

- Raise pts to be covered
by someone

- Communications grp not delinquent.

- G → FU JSM re ideas
G FU here at WH.

Circulate agenda

Open w/ who DC attend or not.

A G E N D A

MAY 7, 1971

ASKED TO ATTEND: MAGRUDER, DEAN, FLEMMING, SLOAN, HIGBY, CHAPIN

SUBJECTS:

- ~~1.~~ CITIZENS COMMITTEE - NAMES AND ANNOUNCEMENT, MAGRUDER
2. STRACHAN AND SLOAN - a) PROCEDURE FOR REQUESTING FUNDS
b) USE OF WHITE HOUSE LIST (500,000) FOR DIRECT MAIL
FUND RAISING
- ~~3.~~ WHO KNOWS WHO IS CHARGING OFF ON HIMSELF - ANY FREE AGENTS
COLSON DOING ANYTHING ON CONTENDERS
- ~~4.~~ LEE NUNN'S ROLE - CITIZENS COMMITTEE
strong pol role; fin. role secondary; mechanics; no answer of this role
- ~~5.~~ MAGRUDER MENTION FLEMMING ROLE
50% pol role; story; primaries
6. PEOPLE'S ESTIMATES OF GROWTH OF COMMITTEE -
ESTIMATE CHECKS, ROBOTYPE, OPERATIONAL
- ~~7.~~ DEAN - STATES FILING, GENERAL ELECTION STATES FILING

1. Lost Nate Rogers; no on Frazier,
lost Russell (black VP of Pepsi).
Buch to have asked Eric Jonsson;
ha Rue is FU; Flan → Frank Borman
(Eastern + POW); Kendall ← AG waffle;
Ed Pauley - Rt wing Dem ← AG no; no on
J. Paul Austin. Don Schollander;
Tues - Cin / - some publicity - Nets TV
2. Prob w/ no low content - multiple comms - ¹⁰ ~~held~~ ^{check of} ~~House~~ ^{Report}
- H hold on 500,000 write in positively;
JSM + S → mix lists to hide the 500
- Held announce until Fe 1 - to miss the filing req.
- JSM - ag/hold
3. Nunn - Comm for "nomination" so no report but Camp Fin

JSM -

maul, Porter, Odle - full time
on the 15 TFs.

- maul + Porter - paid by RNC
for 6 mos.

Mrs. Mitchell's activities w/ Secy
at 1701.

Bill Moore ag/activist at Justice

G → H Tal Pap → AG ON
location of Mrs M

- Secret location

G get altern's fr JSM

Expanding role

Moore / AG /

Bill Moore

Natl Fin Comm - not announced
or apptd until Convention

- Frank Hale

signs thank-you letters

K, Nunn + Stans: trips around
country.

ISI Reporting Period - Clerk of House

\$35 loans

\$15 non-repor fin com

Dean Muskie + McG -
Reporting, thru shield
Fat Cat types, - no grass roots
appearance
They won't attack us

Common Cause - biggest threat;
big grass roots + big types
are paying GT

Hank Buchanan - the octant has
reviewed previous reports.

Orig 35 G loan, just put thru Comm.

When go for mass mailing for Ct Comm;
when screw RNC?
- 10 days for mly; could have
underway before 1st reporting period.

Filing Date - Rehnquist checking
for gentle elec filing
- When is latest time R or D
to hold convention + still
comply w/ filing req.
- Premier state report inaccuracies

Timmons - package - dates

Humphrey + LBJ used WH +
ECB facilities for Comp purposes.

G → L - JSM back on staff - Noble

Study Groups

Don

- Chairmen - all active
 - Dem + Rep contenders - today
 - Polling, Computer - next wk
- JSM - 4 places where info
is being sought.

① CUC

② RNC

③ Buchanan

④ Lowe - HGK

JSM knows

Problem is controlling
the countering of activities

No overall plan - need "who"
Individuals do it their own way.

Some commis moving slow (Finch,
Remusfeld, 18-20 yr vote).

Volume of Mail - Reeler / Programs - WH or RNC.
RNC - next 6 mos; then operational later.

JSM → prepare chart of all
of the things ^{2 flow}
- for H + AG to directly review.
- Deadlines
- Dean → one person →
get critical dates.
Camp Planning Calendar.

Oct 31 - Deadline for
agree on all items
- 4 mos for R H; only open is Fla
(Mar 11?)

Wed - circulate before Friday mtg.

Key States T F -

Flemming - 9 sts w/ 17 + elects
Most have serious probs.

JSM - 11 → dun'te 10 elec votes
RNC main function go to
problem states + build up.
FU - Flem / 1 mo on RNC.

Grants

Gifford - only non - Hatch on B
review projects + control bel news 72
One - pre convent publ if anywhere.

list of key congressmen in key states
Tom Timmons + assign
Rally plan + one guy has
key-man stroke!

- Timmons
- Gifford
- Each Dept pol draw list
- Colin Officer - play
game w/us

OM B - Gifford - agree to set
up a separate pol network.
Schultz -

Arnie Weber - Ben - tough + good.
Cap Weisberger -

Gifford - works directly for Schultz +
paid for by us.

- aide to FU
 - worked for Goodell, but now w/us
- Parker system of calendar review
for tips → E + OM B
- Use for pol + Campaign

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

HIGH PRIORITY

May 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY L
SUBJECT: Meeting/Minutes with Magruder

I would like to see, by the end of today, a copy of your minutes from the last meeting we had with Magruder.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: May 4, 1971

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Magruder called and asked that our breakfast meeting tomorrow be re-scheduled for Friday at 1200 pm so that Flemming can attend.

Magruder asks that the meeting be held at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue. Do you still want to attend?

YES X NO _____

Here at UH
Roose Rm

Roosevelt Rm -
Higby (G)

Gordon

4-28-71 TAPE

RE: Wednesday morning breakfast -

Be sure that I have Larry attend the first couple - also, make sure that I advise Jeb of the fact that Larry will be attending

call mess for table in back for 4 people at 8 am Wednesday

4:00 pm - call for agenda for am breakfast

Note
→ L 5/4
5/6
agenda

Now on Fri
afternoon at 1701

May 14, 1971

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Mr. Haldeman has asked me to thank you for your letter of April 20 offering to be of assistance in the campaign to re-elect the President, and respond in his behalf.

We are indeed grateful for your kind offer to help, and appreciate your taking the time to write. For the present time, the very small staff which we now have will be sufficient to meet our limited needs, but we do anticipate that in several months our needs may expand.

In the meantime, please keep us in mind, and should you ever be in Washington, please contact me, or Mr. Robert C. Odle, Jr., in my absence. We would certainly want to meet and talk with you while you were in the city regarding your interest in the campaign.

Again, thank you for writing.

With Mr. Haldeman's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jeb S. Magruder

Mr. Stephen E. O'Leary
134-25 Franklin Avenue
Apartment 606
Flushing, New York 11355

JSM:RCO:jcm

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Mr. Stephen E. O'Leary
134-25 Franklin Avenue #606
Flushing, New York 11355
April 20, 1971

Mr. R. H. Haldeman
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

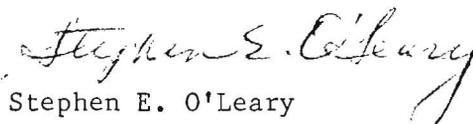
Please let me re-introduce myself by refreshing your memory of when and where we met. It was in Los Angeles in March of 1968, and I was applying for a summer job with JWT. Unfortunately, nothing worked out at that time; but I did end up with JWT in New York, where I have been working since July of 1969.

I am writing to you because I would like to work on President Nixon's campaign staff for 1972. I have a great deal of respect for President Nixon as an individual, and I admire his determination and conviction. For these reasons, I would like to see him re-elected in 1972. However, I sincerely feel that he and his programs are severely misunderstood by most young people today; and I would personally like to work to see this corrected.

Beyond this, I have always had a desire to be involved in politics, but my real feelings go deeper than that. I really want to do something for mankind, to feel that I have personally contributed to helping people. I realize this can't be achieved by wishing hard, but that it takes commitment and lots of it to get anything worthwhile accomplished. I see politics as the best channel for these commitments because government is and will continue to be the focal point of decisions directly affecting all people.

These two statements summarize my reasons for wanting a position on the campaign staff. I would like very much to pursue this with you in person, and I would appreciate an opportunity to speak with you in Washington if at all possible.

Sincerely,


Stephen E. O'Leary

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

TO: LR

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

copy to
Magunder; orig
back to me

DONE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

G ✓

Date: _____

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

FYI - THEN TO

AG THROUGH G, MAGWIDE.

~~H~~
Do we want
Colson info
to the AG?
-G → no, just
essence
to JSM
L

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON 
SUBJECT: Ted Kennedy

One of my best political sources in Boston tells me that Ted Kennedy has made unmistakably clear to his closest associates his plan to run next year if the President appears beatable. There is a four-room office presently being devoted to a compilation of the Kennedy record. Television is being planned very similar to Jack Kennedy's of 1960 -- short 5 minute historical sequences out of Kennedy's career, kind of action documentaries (you may remember the PT-Boat 5 minute film that was used so effectively in the 60 campaign).

A small but very select staff of old Kennedy family loyalists is being assembled. One of those who was hired who had been involved in prior Kennedy campaigns told a friend of mine that he was assured that his efforts would not be wasted, that it was odds on that the Senator would run, but that it wouldn't finally be decided until the end of the year or early next year.

This is just a straw in the wind except it comes from someone who has kept close tabs on the Kennedy operation since 1952.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

May 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. *RCO*

Pursuant to your request, attached are listings of the various "planning studies" and the members of each. These reflect the most recent changes as a result of Jeb's latest meeting with the Attorney General.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

Attachments

CONFIDENTIAL

CONVENTION

Bill Timmons - Chairman
Rob Odle, Project Manager

Part One - Logistics and Site Selection

John Davies - White House
Harry Flemming - Campaign Committee
Dick Moore - White House
Ed Morgan - White House
John Niedecker - White House
Ron Walker - White House
Jo Good - RNC Liaison

Part Two - Strategy

Roger Ailes - Outside
Pat Buchanan - White House
Dwight Chapin - White House
Harry Dent - White House
Len Garment - White House
Dick Kleindienst - Justice
Fred LaRue - White House
Dick Moore - White House
Don Rumsfeld - White House
Bill Safire - White House
Frank Shakespeare - USIA
Jo Good - RNC Liaison

PRIMARIES AND FIELD ORGANIZATION

Harry Flemming - Chairman
Rob Odle - Project Manager

Dean Burch - FCC
Bob Finch - White House
Harry Dent - White House
Dick Kleindienst - Justice
Bob Kunzig - GSA
Fred LaRue - White House
Jerris Leonard - Justice
Howard Russell - SBA

Dick Richards - RNC Liaison

CITIZENS

Jeb Magruder - Chairman
Rob Odle - Project Manager

Al Abrams - OEO
Lamar Alexander - Outside
George Bell - White House
Raymond Brown - 1968 Citizens
Ambassador Henry Catto - State Department
Harry Dent - White House
Tom W. Evans - Outside
W. P. Gullander - Outside
Jim Low - Outside
Charles Shearer - Export-Import Bank
Ambassador Abbot Washburn - State Department
Dick Wiley - FCC General Counsel

Dick Richards - RNC Liaison

ADVERTISING, DIRECT MAIL, AND CAMPAIGN
MEDIA ORGANIZATION

Jeb S. Magruder - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Roger Ailes - Outside
Pat Buchanan - White House
Dwight Chapin - White House
Steve Frankfurt - Outside
Len Garment - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Cliff Miller - Outside
Dick Moore - White House
Ray Price - White House
Frank Shakespeare - USIA
Ron Ziegler - White House

Al Cole - RNC Liaison
Lyn Nofziger - RNC Liaison

MIDDLE AMERICAN, ETHNIC, AND
LABOR VOTE

Chuck Colson - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Pat Buchanan - White House
Harry Dent - White House
Herb DeSimone - DOT
Bill Gavin - USIA
Al Kaupinen - White House
Jim Keogh - Outside
Jerome Rosow - Labor
Gordon Strachan - White House
Jim Suffridge - AFL-CIO

Laszlo Pasztor - RNC Liaison

THE FARM VOTE

John Whitaker - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Roger Fleming - American Farm Bureau
Bill Galbraith - USDA
George Hanson - USDA
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Ken Khachigian - White House
Odin Langon - USDA
Hyde Murray - Minority Counsel, House Agriculture Committee
Bob Spitzer - Outside
Bill Taggart - Legislative Assistant to Senator Dole

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

Don Rumsfeld - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Ellen Annan - Outside
Henry Cashen - White House
Ken Cole - White House
Herb DeSimone - DOT
Roy Goodearle - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Clark MacGregor - White House
Mike Saperstein - SEC
Ron Walker - White House
John Whitaker - White House

Ernie Minor - RNC Liaison

18-21 YEAR OLD VOTE

Bob Finch - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Mort Allin - White House
Senator Bill Brock - U. S. Senate
Ken Cole - White House
Michael Dively - Michigan Legislator
Lee Heubner - White House
David Keene - White House
Dave Parker - White House
Jon Rose - White House
Gordon Strachan - White House

Anne Armstrong - RNC Liaison

The Black Vote

Len Garment - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Bill Brown - EEOC
Bob Brown - White House
Dorothy Duke - Outside
Art Fletcher - Labor
Stan Pottinger - HEW
Sam Pierce - Treasury

Ed Sexton - RNC Liaison

The Women's Vote

Rita Hauser - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Virginia Allen - Presidential Commission on the
Rights of Women

Catherine May Bedell - Former Congresswoman; Railpax

Helen Bentley - Federal Maritime Administration

Jean Ehrlichman - Outside

Pat Hitt - HEW

Dorothy Elston Kabis - Treasurer of U. S.

Carol Khosrovi - VISTA

Virginia Knauer - Consumer Affairs

Cynthia Newmann - Secretary of State of Virginia

Stan Pottinger - HEW

Ethel Walsh - EEOC

Anne Armstrong - RNC Liaison

Democratic and Republican Contenders

Pat Buchanan - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Bob Finch - White House
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Dick Moore - White House
Ray Price - White House
Bill Timmons - White House
Ron Walker - White House

Ed DeBolt - RNC Liaison
Lyn Nofziger - RNC Liaison

Polling, Computers, and Research

Peter Flanigan - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Martin Anderson - White House
Dick Chaney - White House
Chuck Colson - White House
Ed David - White House
David Derge - Outside
George Grassmuck - White House
Ed Harper - White House
Tom Huston - Outside
Dick Howard - White House
Bill Low - RNC
Ray Price - White House
Lance Tarrance - Commerce
Larry Higby - White House

The Elderly Vote

Len Garment - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

George Bell - White House
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Lee Huebner - White House
John Guy Miller - Minority Counsel
to Senate Subcommittee on Aging
Ed Morgan - White House
Brad Patterson - White House
Fred Rhodes - VA

Bernard van Rensselaer - RNC Liaison

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

Harry Flemming - Chairman
Peter Millspaugh - Project Manager

David Lissy - State Department
Dick Mastrangelo - HEW
Bill Gifford - OMB
John Nidecker - White House

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1971

G
Be sure we
maintain a complete
file of all this mail.
As it develops.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G H.

SUBJECT:

Citizens for the Re-Election
of the President

Magruder met with the Attorney General and received clearance for the last two names on the Committee - Eric Jonsson, former Mayor of Dallas, and Frank Borman, Astronaut. The other members of the Committee (Frank Dale, Max Fisher, Tom Pappas, Rita Hauser, Don Schollander, and Bob Volk) were brought to your attention in the April 28 memorandum attached at tab A. The formal announcement will be tomorrow in Cincinnati at 2:00 p.m. Frank Dale will issue the press release attached at tab B. The possible questions and suggested responses are at tab C.

Magruder will be in Cincinnati with Dale for the announcement. Magruder reports that the announcement should get some national media coverage.

The 14 task forces began operating when their members were cleared with the Attorney General. The members names and a brief description of their function appears at tab D. A detailed description of the "missions" of the task forces appears at tab E.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
E.O. 12812, SECTION 6-102
By Sp. [unclear], Date 3-23-82

April 28, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Citizens for the Reelection
of the President

Magruder met with the Attorney General yesterday. Subject matters discussed included:

1. The formal announcement of the formation of the Citizens for the Reelection of the President should occur next week.
2. Besides Frank Dale, Max Fisher, Tom Pappas, the Committee will include Rita Hauser, Don Schollander (Olympic swimmer), and Bob Volk (President of Union Bank, Los Angeles).

Hal Greenwood, a Democratic supporter of Humphrey in 1968 and 1970, and Nathaniel Rogers, (a Democrat and the President of the First City National Bank of Houston), may also be included if they are cleared by the Attorney General.

3. Magruder and Odle will leave the White House payroll Saturday, May 1. Effective Monday, May 3, they will be paid by the Citizens Committee and will be located at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue.
4. Magruder has been talking with the top staff about his role in the campaign. He will see the Vice President, Dole, and Cabinet members individually at their convenience. You have an appointment pending with him.
5. Magruder will meet regularly with the Attorney General for one half hour, twice a week to discuss the campaign.

GS:lm

CINCINNATI, Ohio -- The formation of a committee to be known as Citizens for the Re-election of the President was announced today by Francis L. Dale, chairman.

The group, which will form the vanguard of nationwide support for President Nixon, includes Mrs. Rita Hauser, New York, a delegate to the United Nations; Max Fisher, Detroit business leader; Thomas W. Pappas, Boston food importer; Donald A. Schollander, a former olympic swimming champion and presently a college administrator; Robert H. Volk, Los Angeles, President and Director of Unionamerica, Inc.; Eric Jonsson, an instrument manufacturing company executive and former mayor of Dallas; and Frank Borman, former astronaut and presently an executive for Eastern Airlines.

Dale, President and Publisher of the Cincinnati, Ohio, Enquirer, said he was proud to be chairman of the citizens group.

"President Nixon has brought good government back to this nation during his term as our President," Dale said in a statement issued here. "We feel the people of the United States should be told the true story of what the President's wise and prudent policies at home and abroad have done to improve our country.

"When Richard Nixon took office in 1969, this nation was faced with rampant inflation that threatened the very fiber of our economic system. Now the rate of inflation is slowing, our economy is stabilizing and our long-range prospects look excellent.

"When President Nixon took office only two years ago there were 540,000 American troops in Vietnam and 30,000 of our finest men had died there. Now, there are less than 300,000 American men in Vietnam and the President has pledged to reduce that commitment by 100,000 men between May 1 and December 1 of this year. President Nixon has kept or exceeded every withdrawal deadline that he has established in Vietnam -- just as he has kept his promises on the domestic front and in every statement he has made. un

"Under President Nixon's leadership, this nation has been given a new sense of direction and purposes," Dale said. "He sought a return of power to the people through a plan to use the federal government's vast tax collecting power to share revenue with the states. He has called for the most comprehensive re-organization of the executive branch of government in history. He has acted decisively in many areas.

"President Nixon's New American Revolution must continue to grow across the face of America, bringing a new generation of peace with prosperity to our country." l:

The committee will have an office at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, in Washington, D.C. It will employ a small staff to begin operations.

Jeb S. Magruder, who has resigned his position as Deputy Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, will be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Washington Office. J.S.M

Harry S. Flemming, a former Special Assistant to the President, will be responsible for the political affairs. Flemming

An attorney, Dale is President of the Cincinnati Reds. He is active in the American Red Cross, the United Fund, Boys Club of America, and Goodwill Industries.

Mrs. Hauser, also an attorney, has specialized in foreign trade and investment counseling and has been an instructor in law and economics at Finch College. She has published numerous magazine articles and a book "A Guide to Doing Business in the European Common Market." She is also U.S. Representative on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Pappas also has been active in civic affairs, serving with the American Red Cross, the American Cancer Society, and Boys and Girls Camps, Inc. He is president of C. Pappas Co., Inc., and of Suffolk Grocery Co., Inc.

Fisher was appointed by President Nixon as Chairman of the Board of the new National Center for Voluntary Action in April of 1969, serving until March of 1970. He is President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; he also was Chairman of New Detroit, Inc., an urban coalition group; Chairman of the Board of United Foundation of Detroit; and general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal.

Schollander, who is presently Director of Student Employment at the Lewis & Clark College, Portland, Oregon, is a graduate of Yale University, and a winner of four Gold Medals in the 1964 Olympics. He is on the Board of Consultants, U.S. Olympic Committee, and a member of the U.S. Olympic Swimming Committee.

Volk, who is a graduate of and received his law degree from Stanford University is President and Director of Unionamerica, Inc. He was Commissioner of Corporations, State of California, during which time he co-authored "Practice Under the Corporate Securities Law of 1968." He is on the Board of Directors, Independent Colleges of Southern California, is married and has four children.

Jonsson, who is an instrument manufacturing company executive and former mayor of Dallas, has long been active in Dallas civic affairs. He is married and has three children.

Borman, a former astronaut now an executive with Eastern Airlines, was the command pilot on the fourteen day orbital Gemini 7 flight in December of 1965. He is married and is the father of two sons.

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR MR. DALE

Q. Have you talked to the President about your Citizens' Committee?

A. No.

Q. Is the President aware that you are organizing this group?

A. Yes, I think he knows about it.

Q. How did he find out?

A. I really don't know.

Q. Have you talked to anyone at the White House about your committee?

A. Certainly. As you can see by the press release, two former members of the White House staff are joining me in this effort.

Q. Do you expect the President to be a candidate for re-election?

A. Certainly, and we are organizing this committee to indicate to the President the type of support he has in this country among Republicans, Democrats and Independents.

Q. Has he told you that he would run?

A. As I said, I haven't spoken directly to the President about the formation of this committee.

Q. Will this group form the basis for the President's re-election campaign?

A. We certainly hope that those of us in this committee will be asked by the President to continue to serve when he announces that he will be a candidate for re-election.

Q. Have you talked to the Attorney General?

A. Yes, I called the Attorney General and told him we were forming this group.

Q. What did he say?

A. He indicated he was in no position to comment.

Q. Why did you call the Attorney General on this subject?

A. As you know, gentlemen, he directed the 1968 campaign for the President and you all know that that campaign was successful. Also, I worked with him in that campaign.

Q. There have been reports that the Attorney General will be leaving office toward the end of this year to head President Nixon's re-election campaign. Is that true?

A. I really don't know. The Attorney General and I have not discussed this matter.

Q. Have you talked to Bob Finch?

A. No.

Q. Do you expect Mr. Finch will play a leading role in the 1972 campaign?

A. Certainly. As you know, Bob Finch is a close adviser to the President and has been for some years.

Q. What will he be doing in the campaign?

A. I really don't know at this time. In fact, it must be obvious to you that many of these kinds of questions haven't been answered because we are only now organizing this citizen group.

Q. What will Mr. Magruder's role be?

A. He will be in charge of the day-to-day operations of the committee.

Q. What is Mr. Flemming's job?

A. Mr. Flemming will be concerned with the political operations.

- Q. Who will be raising funds for your group or for the campaign?
- A. At this stage we will accept contributions from all citizens who are interested in the re-election of the President.
- Q. When you ask people to vote for President Nixon for a second term what arguments will you use?
- A. Two of the major points are in the press release which you gentlemen have received -- as the President said he would, he is ending the tragic war in Vietnam -- at the same time, he is stabilizing our economy. In addition to those areas of concern, the President has, I think, responded to the needs of our society in other significant areas. He has proposed a revenue sharing plan which will return the power of decision to the people most affected by that decision. He has suggested a comprehensive program to clean up our environment. He has proposed welfare reform of historic magnitude and a health program that will take care of those unfortunates who need help. This list is endless.....
- Q. Why are you announcing this group a year before the New Hampshire primary and a year and a half before the election?
- A. It takes a substantial period of time to put together an effort of this magnitude around the country. We had two options open to us really -- one was to organize and move around the country in a sort of semi-secret way.....we chose not to do that. Instead it was our feeling that we should announce the formation now in an open press conference.

Q. Do you believe the President will be re-elected?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe Vice President Agnew will be on the ticket next year?

A. I think both the President and Vice President have left that question open. I must say, however, that the Vice President has been doing an excellent job of enunciating the crucial issues of our day.

Q. Is the war in Viet Nam going to be a political issue in the campaign?

A. I certainly hope not. The President's successful efforts directed towards bringing that war to a conclusion should deserve the heartfelt thanks and appreciation of the American people.

Q. If the economy doesn't improve, do you really think the President can be re-elected?

A. The economy is improving and the President has indicated that he believes this year will be a good year for American business and next year will be a better year. I believe him and so do the American people.

Q. Who do you expect to be the President's opponent in 1972?

A. I don't think it makes any difference who it is. The President will be re-elected.

Q. Some of those who have already announced or have been mentioned include Senator Muskie, Senator McGovern, Senator Hughes and Kennedy. Of that group, which would you rather have as an opponent?

A. Now let's not get into a name dropping game. As I have said it doesn't matter who runs against the President -- he will win it.... I am confident of that.

- Q. Do you anticipate the President will enter primary elections around the country next year?
- A. I doubt that any decision has been made yet on whether the President will put his name in the primaries. I am certain the President will announce his intention at an appropriate time.
- Q. Would you recommend the President enter primaries?
- A. I'm really in no position to make those kinds of recommendations to the President today.
- Q. Do you expect opposition to develop to the President? What about Congressman McCloskey?
- A. We really have no advance information on Congressman McCloskey's political intentions. However, let me say this...we welcome Congressman McCloskey as well as other Republicans into this effort. We would welcome the Congressman's support for the President. We think President Nixon has done an amazing job in handling the war in Viet Nam and we hope Congressman McCloskey will reach the same conclusion.
- Q. Do you see the possibility of a McCarthy type campaign developing within the Republican Party?
- A. We wouldn't look forward to it -- we would hope all Republicans would join us in supporting the President.
- Q. Governor Reagan has been making some speeches around the country lately and plans an overseas trip. Do you see him as a possible candidate?
- A. Governor Reagan has said publicly many times that he expects to head a delegation from California pledged to the President at the GOP national convention. We are pleased at this decision by the Governor

to join us in re-election Richard Nixon as President of the United States.

Q. Do you think the Governor is a candidate for Vice-President?

A. I can't answer for the Governor.....you'll have to ask him. But certainly the Governor is an outstanding chief executive for his state and has been able to make a marvelous record during his Administration which led the people of California to re-election him in 1970.

I. Primaries and Field Organization.

Studies all state primaries: when, where, the laws governing in each, potential Republican opposition in each, Democratic contenders in each and our posture toward them.

Also, examines GOP state organizations, finds Nixon chairman in each state, organizes field operations, looks at delegates being selected to nominating convention.

Harry Dent - Chairman
Rob Odle - Project Manager

Dean Burch - FCC
Bob Finch - White House
Harry Flemming - Campaign Committee
Bob Kunzig - GSA
Fred LaRue - White House
Jerris Leonard - Justice
Howard Russell - SBA

Dick Richards - RNC Liaison

II. Citizens Committee.

Examine approaches to 1972 citizens activities. Examines specific issues as they relate to the campaign and where certain issues are most important. Realistically examines and appraises the 1968 citizens' effort, and the needs for 1972.

Jeb S. Magruder - Chairman
Rob Odle - Project Manager

Al Abrams - OEO
Lamar Alexander - Outside
George Bell - White House
Raymond Brown - 1968 Citizens
Ambassador Henry Catto - State Department
Harry Dent - White House
Tom W. Evans - Outside
W. P. Gullander - Outside
Jim Low - Outside
Charles Shearer - Export-Import Bank
Ambassador Abbot Washburn - State Department
Dick Wiley - FCC General Counsel

Dick Richards - RNC Liaison

III. Convention.

Bill Timmons - Chairman
Rob Odle - Project Manager

Logistics

Studies convention site and factors influencing it.

John Davies - White House
Harry Flemming - Campaign Committee
Dick Moore - White House
Ed Morgan - White House
John Niedecker - White House
Ron Walker - White House

Strategy

Studies format, dates, procedures, possible reforms, strategies and tactics.

Roger Ailes - Outside
Pat Buchanan - White House
Dwight Chapin - White House
Harry Dent - White House
Len Garment - White House
Dick Kleindienst - Justice
Fred LaRue - White House
Dick Moore - White House
Don Rumsfeld - White House
Bill Safire - White House
Frank Shakespeare - USIA

Jo Good - RNC Liaison

IV. Advertising, Direct Mail, and Campaign Committee Media Organization.

Decides what type of advertising organization and approach to use in 1972 (in-house or outside agency, etc.) after studying all options.

Decides on what press office and media operations are necessary for campaign committee headquarters. Examines how Lyndon Johnson conducted this aspect of his 1964 campaign.

Jeb S. Magruder - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Roger Ailes - Outside
Pat Buchanan - White House
Dwight Chapin - White House
Steve Frankfurt - Outside
Len Garment - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Cliff Miller - Outside
Dick Moore - White House
Ray Price - White House
Frank Shakespeare - USIA
Ron Ziegler - White House

Al Cole - RNC Liaison
Lyn Nofziger - RNC Liaison

XI. The Middle American, the Ethnic and Labor Vote.

Chuck Colson - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Pat Buchanan - White House
Harry Dent - White House
Herb DeSimone - DOT
Bill Gavin - USIA
Al Kaupinen - White House
Jim Keogh - Outside
Jerome Rosow - Labor
Gordon Strachan - White House
Jim Suffridge - AFL-CIO

Laszlo Pasztor - RNC Liaison

V. Polling, Computers, and Research

Decides on what polling is appropriate, and what research and retrieval facilities will be needed, acquires knowledge of how to use computers, catalogs all polling resources.

Peter Flanigan - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Martin Anderson - Outside
Dick Chaney - White House
Chuck Colson - White House
Ed David - White House
David Derge - Outside
George Grassmuck - White House
Ed Harper - White House
Larry Higby - White House
Dick Howard - White House
Tom Huston - Outside
Ray Price - White House
Lance Tarrance - Commerce

Bill Low - RNC Liaison

VI. Democratic and Republican Contenders.

Collects information and clips on all Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential contenders as well as develops a feel for the strategy for each. Perhaps each member of the task force studies one particular contender. Analyzes Democratic Party strategy as well.

Also, collects similar information on potential Republican challengers to the President's nomination.

Pat Buchanan - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Bob Finch - White House
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Dick Moore - White House
Ray Price - White House
Bill Timmons - White House
Ron Walker - White House

Ed DeBolt - RNC Liaison
Lyn Nofziger - RNC Liaison

VII. Spokesmen Resources.

Analyzes best uses of spokesmen, "surrogate candidates", the Vice President, Cabinet, Senate and House Republicans, White House and Administration officials, entertainers, and sports celebrities.

Don Rumsfeld - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Ellen Annan - Outside
Henry Cashen - White House
Ken Cole - White House
Herb DeSimone - DOT
Roy Goodearle - White House
Herb Klein - White House
Clark MacGregor - White House
Mike Saperstein - SEC
Ron Walker - White House
John Whitaker - White House

Ernie Minor - RNC Liaison

VIII. 18-21 Year Old Vote.

Bob Finch - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Mort Allin - White House
Senator Bill Brock - United States Senate
Ken Cole - White House
Michael Dively - Michigan Legislator
Lee Heubner - White House
David Keene - White House
Dave Parker - White House
Jon Rose - White House
Bruce Kehrli - White House

Anne Armstrong - RNC Liaison

IX. The Black Vote.

Len Garment - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Bill Brown - EEOC
Bob Brown - White House
Dorothy Duke - Outside
Art Fletcher - Labor
Stan Pottinger - HEW
Sam Pierce - Treasury

Ed Sexton - RNC Liaison

X. The Women's Vote.

Rita Hauser - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

Virginia Allen - Presidential Commission on the Rights of Women
Catherine May Bedell - Former Congresswoman; Railpax
Helen Bentley - Federal Maritime Administration
Jean Ehrlichman - Outside
Pat Hitt - HEW
Dorothy Elston Kabis - Treasurer of U. S.
Carol Khosrovi - VISTA
Virginia Knauer - Consumer Affairs
Cynthia Newmann - Secretary of State of Virginia
Stan Pottinger - HEW
Ethel Walsh - EEOC

Anne Armstrong - RNC Liaison

XII. The Elderly Vote.

Len Garment - Chairman
Bob Marik - Project Manager

George Bell - White House
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Lee Huebner - White House
John Guy Miller - Minority Counsel to Senate Subcommittee on Aging
Ed Morgan - White House
Brad Patterson - White House
Fred Rhodes - VA

Bernard van Rensselaer - RNC Liaison

XIII. The Farm Vote.

John Whitaker - Chairman
Bart Porter - Project Manager

Roger Fleming - American Farm Bureau
Bill Galbraith - Agriculture
George Hanson - Agriculture
Bryce Harlow - Outside
Ken Khachigian - White House
Odin Langon - Agriculture
Hyde Murray - Minority Counsel House Agriculture Committee
Bob Spitzer - Outside
Bill Taggart - Legislative Assistant to Senator Dole

XIV. Utilization of Resources.

Harry Flemming - Chairman
Peter Milspaugh - Project Manager

William Gifford - OMB
Bud Krogh - White House
David Lissy - State Department
Dick Mastrangelo - HEW

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MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON
PRIMARIES AND FIELD ORGANIZATION

Objective

The objective of the planning study is to develop recommended and detailed proposals for approval regarding the 1972 Nixon political field organization and a suggested posture with respect to the Presidential preference primaries. The study should be completed by October 31, 1971, although much of it would be implemented well before that date.

Scope of the Study

In the area of field organization, the study must analyze (working with the Republican National Committee) each state GOP organization to determine the strengths and weaknesses of each, pro or anti-Nixon sentiment in each, etc. Using the findings from this analysis, the size and type of Nixon campaign operation in each state can then be determined. For example, in states with strong GOP organizations which are enthusiastically pro-Nixon, a small Nixon campaign operation may be warranted. Where the Republican committee is weak or not pro-Nixon, a larger effort would be necessary.

During 1971, the study must also examine all the various individuals throughout the country who might be involved in the Nixon campaign. These groups would include GOP officials, former Nixon workers, independent leaders who are pro-Nixon, and Presidential appointees who reside in the various states. On the basis of this information, preliminary selections can be made for Nixon chairmen and committee members in each state.

In the area of primaries, the study must analyze each state's procedure whereby delegates are selected to the national convention, i. e., primaries and state conventions.

Special attention must be given to the primary states: the study should collect information on the filing dates in each and the laws governing each (must candidates file or are they put on the ballot automatically? Are write-ins allowed? Are they easy? Can a member of one party

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vote in another party's primary?) The study should analyze potential Republican and Democratic contenders in each primary and our suggested posture toward them.

The study should also make recommendations based on a thorough knowledge of the political situation in each state as to whether the President should enter each primary, allow his name to be entered, encourage write-ins, or simply not be on the ballot. Furthermore, the study should recommend on a state-by-state basis whether the President should campaign personally in the various states, make non-political appearances, or not appear at all.

Finally, information must be collected on each state convention which will select delegates to the national convention. Plans must be made to have the campaign committee represented at each convention by the proper persons to make certain that Nixon delegates are selected at these conventions.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the chairman, and/or the project manager under the direction of the chairman will meet individually with each member of the group to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise. These discussions will cover two broad areas: what capabilities will be needed on the campaign and what techniques exist to achieve them. The project manager will maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum coordination among all facets of campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the chairman and the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the group. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

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By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will reflect the best thinking of the group, as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. It will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location for the activity in Washington, and a time schedule for implementation. The report will also analyze the relationships between this study and the other campaign planning studies.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By LS, date 3-23-72

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON
THE CONVENTION

Objective

The objective of the planning study is in two parts. First, to develop a recommendation to the Republican National Committee for the 1972 GOP convention site and a detailed operating plan for the convention. Second, to develop proposals for approval regarding convention strategy, including format, possible reforms, procedures, liaison with delegates, press coverage, and Presidential participation. The study should be completed by October 31, 1971, although some of the suggestions might be implemented before that date.

Scope of the Study

Part One

The recommendation of a convention site should be the first order of business. Working with the RNC, the following considerations should be explored:

1. Housing - enough rooms? hotels in same vicinity?
2. Transportation - to convention hall and other hotels?
3. Convention Hall - large enough? convenient to hotels?
4. Security - of convention hall and general area of country?
5. Support Facilities - local services, etc.?
6. Media - a major media center?
7. Dates - in relation to Democratic convention?
8. Weather - is it good on those dates?
9. Entertainment - for delegates?
10. Convenience to President - can he easily get in and out?
11. Local RN support groups - is the city strong for RN?
12. Finances - will city financially support the convention?
13. Political Benefit - will it affect enough electoral votes?
14. Local cooperation - will the city power structure be of assistance?
15. Relationship to other GOP candidates - will it help them?
16. Local cost factors - is the city expensive?
17. RNC Site Committee cooperation - does the RNC like the city?

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Once the site of the convention is determined, a preliminary plan must be set up taking into account the 17 considerations enumerated above. Much of the actual work can be done by and through the RNC. Plans must be drawn up for all 17 areas; in the first, for example, an analysis should be made of all the city's hotels and number of rooms available, the Nixon hotel headquarters should be selected, the state delegations apportioned to the various hotels, etc.

Down through the other 16 areas, plans should also be made. Possibly each member of the planning study would be asked to take on 2 or 3 of the various sub-projects.

Part Two

In the area of format, the study should focus on a proposed agenda for the convention, an agenda designed to appeal to the delegates and the television audience. Closely allied with the format of the convention is the question of possible reforms which might shorten the length of the entire convention, shorten each session, do away with some of the ceremonies, and/or shorten the length of time allowed for demonstrations on the floor.

In the procedures area, the study should examine the various convention committees (e.g., rules, resolutions, etc.) to make certain our best people are represented on each, and that Nixon leaders from the various states who are delegates to the convention are represented on each. The study should make preliminary decisions as to which issues should be the subject of resolutions and what rules and order of business should be followed.

Liaison with delegates deals with finding ways in which to make the delegates feel they are participating in the convention in a meaningful way. Various ways in which to "stroke" delegates must be found so that they will feel as important at this convention as they would at a convention where there was not an incumbent President to be re-nominated.

The study will have to explore what press coverage there should be at the convention and determine what kind of a press center will be necessary to service the needs of newsmen covering the convention. Coordination of the convention activities of the White House Press Office, RNC communications division, and Nixon campaign press office will have to

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be examined in the study. Also, suggestions must be made as to the rules which newsmen will follow in covering the convention.

Finally, the study should make suggestions for Presidential and Vice Presidential participation in the convention, as well as the proper utilization of Cabinet officers and high Administration officials.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the chairman, and/or the project manager under the direction of the chairman will meet individually with each member of the group to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise. These discussions will cover two broad areas: what capabilities will be needed on the campaign and what techniques exist to achieve them. The project manager will maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum coordination among all facets of campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the chairman and the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the group. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will reflect the best thinking of the group, as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. It will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location

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for the activity in Washington, and a time schedule for implementation. The report will also analyze the relationships between this study and the other campaign planning studies.

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DECLASSIFIED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By CP, Date 3-23-82

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY
ON THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE

Objective

The objective of this planning study is to develop recommended and detailed proposals for approval regarding the 1972 citizens committee. The study should be completed by October 31, 1971, although some aspects of it would be implemented before that date.

Scope of the Study

Drawing on the experience of United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew in 1968 and the experience of other citizens committees in past campaigns, this study will chart the ways in which citizens throughout the country, in all walks of life, can be recruited for the 1972 effort. Lists must be drawn up of the various sub-committees which should be formed (e. g. : Doctors for Nixon, Lawyers for Nixon, etc.) and the individuals who might chair and run these committees. Also, state citizens committees should be put together, with emphasis at the beginning on the key states and states with early primaries.

The Citizens study must also examine various issues which can or will be raised in the campaign and find ways in which to key these issues to various groups and geographical areas. For example, the President's interest in and program for judicial reform should be played up to lawyers, the SST can be emphasized in the Pacific Northwest, the Burger Court in the South and among conservative groups. The study must also examine the various vote bloc groups which initially will be the subject of separate planning studies (e. g. , youth, ethnic, etc.) but which later must be incorporated in the Citizens efforts (e. g. , Youth for Nixon).

Also, the Citizens planning study must work closely with the Field Organization study to make certain that leaders in each state are utilized in the proper area of the campaign -- the political end or the Citizens.

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Procedure

At the outset of the study, the chairman, and/or the project manager under the direction of the chairman will meet individually with each member of the group to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise. These discussions will cover two broad areas: what capabilities will be needed on the campaign and what techniques exist to achieve them. The project manager will maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum coordination among all facets of campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaign of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the chairman and the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the group. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will reflect the best thinking of the group, as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. It will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location for the activity in Washington, and a time schedule for implementation. The report will also analyze the relationships between this study and the other campaign planning studies.

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MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON
POLLING, COMPUTERS AND RESEARCH

Objective

The objective of the planning study is to develop, for approval, a recommended detailed operating plan for the use of polling, computers and research in the 1972 campaign. The final report is to be completed within the next few months, if possible, but no later than October 31, 1971.

Scope of the Study

In the area of polling, the study must determine what should be measured (trends of voter opinion, impact of specific campaign strategy, etc.), what types of questions should be asked (candidate preference, sensitivity toward issues, opinions on issues, etc.) and what segments of the population should be surveyed (demographic characteristics, size of geographical areas to be analyzed, previous voting behavior, etc.).

Computers can be extremely useful for certain tasks of storing, retrieving, analyzing and displaying large masses of data. In other roles, they can be ponderous and excessively expensive. The study must take an imaginative approach to discover how the computer can be integrated into the overall campaign activity to provide optimum results.

Research should provide a key input to the overall campaign strategy by achieving sound understanding of voter behavior, the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates and the process by which the voters can be effectively approached and influenced. This planning study must design a research program which is politically relevant, flexible to the changing events through the campaign and highly responsive on short notice to requirements from the field.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction of the planning study chairman, will meet individually with each member of the Resource Group, to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise as it bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What output capabilities the projected system must have for the campaign and what techniques exist in each field to achieve the desired output. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths

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and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the chairman and the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Resource Group, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise. The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify any steps which should be implemented before submission of the final report. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will reflect the best thinking of the Resource Group, as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and the detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location, a time schedule for implementation and a description of the interrelationship with the other campaign activities.

area or interest group. The study will also analyze the effectiveness of the use of the telephone as an advertising medium.

Brochures are an important part of any campaign. Perhaps it would be interesting to review RN's statements on the issues of 1968 and relate those statements to what he's actually done. The idea here would be to build credibility. In addition, this information could be very effective put in a brochure.

Particular emphasis should be placed on the overall theme of the campaign. This should be decided as early as possible so that we can begin to build toward the theme now. Also, it is important to remember that existing and planned foreign and domestic policy will have a great effect on the themes and tenor of the 1972 campaign. What will the President be saying?

Regarding the President, the use of the President during the campaign must be reviewed. How visible should he be? It is interesting to note, for instance, that Johnson stayed mainly "invisible" in the White House in 1964, giving the image of a "working President."

Another important area to be considered is the campaign committee headquarters press operation. The study should include a review of past campaign press operations and a close look at available personnel to staff such an activity. Also, the decision as to when this group is to become operational should be made early.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction and guidance of the Chairman of the Planning Study on Advertising, Direct Mail and Campaign Media Organization, will meet with various persons whose area of expertise bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What capabilities the projected organization must have for the campaign and what techniques exist now in this area to achieve the desired results. Throughout, the project manager will draw

heavily on the planning study chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with project managers of the other planning studies to ensure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Planning Study, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify any steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will be a recommended or proposed operating plan submitted for approval and will reflect the best thinking of the Chairman and the Planning Study Group as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and a proposed detailed operating plan for the campaign.

The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location of each function, a time schedule for implementation, and the proposed interrelation between this activity and each of the other campaign activities.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By CP, Date 3-23-80

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON
DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CONTENDERS

Objective

The objective of the planning study is to develop, for approval, a recommended operating plan for a system which will facilitate compiling and rapid retrieval of pertinent information on Democratic and Republican Presidential and Vice Presidential contenders in 1972. The final report is to be completed within the next few months, if possible, but no later than October 31, 1971.

Scope of the Study

The study must determine the most efficient and effective system for collecting, storing and retrieving a maximum amount of pertinent information on the statements and actions of key contenders in 1972. Equally important, there must be a capability for evaluating the data, both to understand the strategy of the contender and also to determine the relative importance of each event in terms of the President's strategy.

Data which are carefully indexed, but never again retrieved and used, are of little value in operating the campaign. However, the great volume of information available requires a carefully designed system for its compilation. The system which is finally selected must represent the optimum balance among thoroughness, rapid response and retrieval, and cost. Above all, it must be designed to meet the needs of the users in the field.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction of the planning study chairman, will meet individually with each member of the Resource Group, to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise as it bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What output capabilities the projected system must have for the campaign and what techniques exist in each field to achieve the desired output. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

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Having surveyed the subject area, the chairman and the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Resource Group, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise. The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify any steps which should be implemented before submission of the final report. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will reflect the best thinking of the Resource Group, as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and the detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location, a time schedule for implementation and a description of the interrelationship with the other campaign activities.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 5-102
By SP Date 3-23-82

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

Objective

The objective of the planning study, to be completed by October 31, 1971, is to develop, for approval, a proposed operating plan for maximizing Spokesmen Resources for the President in the 1972 campaign. In certain instances, however, it may be appropriate to complete all or a portion of this study prior to the above date.

Scope of the Study

The study will analyze the present functions of various "speakers bureaus" at the White House, the RNC, and other departments. The study will draw on the experiences of past speakers bureau-type operations during campaigns which more or less grew quickly and became crisis reaction centers rather than sophisticated and efficiently run operations.

Careful analysis should be made of available spokesmen and their particular areas of expertise. These persons will include the First Family, the Vice President, the Cabinet, Senate and House Republicans, White House and other Administration officials, entertainers, sports celebrities, and others.

An effort must be made to set up an organization that will provide for maximum co-ordination of all of the activities of the various spokesmen. The plan should call for detailed analysis of who goes where and when. We must set up an organization that is not only responsive but creative, as well. Prime targets and key states will be reviewed and appropriate spokesmen targeted for specific areas. The object of any spokesmen resources plan is to be effective and that means fine tuning the allocation of every available resource. In other words, develop a plan that puts the right person in the right place at the right time.

Logistics is always a problem during a campaign and 1972 will be no different. Plans must be developed for travel arrangements, expenses, airplane schedules, etc. and the organization must be able to establish priorities as the campaign swings into high gear.

Spokesmen are not effective unless they have something to say. A plan must be developed where campaign policies and the "party line" or "word" can easily and quickly be distributed to all campaign spokesmen so that all of our people are saying the same thing at the same time.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction and guidance of the Chairman of the Planning Study on Spokesmen Resources, will meet with various persons whose area of expertise bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What capabilities the projected organization must have for the campaign and what techniques exist now in this area to achieve the desired results. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the planning study chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with project managers of the other planning studies to ensure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation.

This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Planning Study, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise. The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

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The final report will be a recommended or proposed operating plan submitted for approval and will reflect the best thinking of the Chairman and the Planning Study Group as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and a proposed detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location of each function, a time schedule for implementation, and the proposed interrelation between this activity and each of the other campaign activities.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By AP Date 3-23-82

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON

18-21 YEAR OLD VOTE

Objective

The objective of the planning study, to be completed by October 31, 1971, is to develop, for approval, a proposed operating plan for maximizing the 18-21 Year Old Vote for the President in the 1972 campaign. In certain instances, however, it may be appropriate to complete all or a portion of this study prior to the above date.

Scope of the Study

In that this group has never gone to the polls, there are some basic questions which must be answered in order to come up with an operating plan to achieve the desired results in 1972. The first, and most obvious, question is will these voters vote any differently than the rest of the electorate? It should be determined whether or not they will vote as a block or whether they will vote as their parents, for example.

Decisions should be made as to the most effective media to be used in reaching this age group. This will be difficult to identify in that where they get their news may differ from where they form their opinions. It would appear that a universal medium reaching all segments of this group is radio, both AM and FM music stations.

Polls should be taken to determine their feelings toward the President, the Vice President, and government in general. Also, we must establish just who the real opinion makers are for different segments of the 18-21 year old voter. It may be, for instance, that one segment is more responsive to a contemporary while another segment may be responsive to an older adult.

The organization of the "Youth for Nixon" group will come under close scrutiny. Past efforts to organize other youth groups will be analyzed, remembering that our candidate is an incumbent President with a not-so-obvious appeal to the youthful voter.

Special study should be made to determine if the votes of college and non-college youth should be sought separately.

Additionally, we may want to organize massive voter registration drives on the high school campuses where the polls would indicate we have more support.

Finally, the formation of this group will definitely require that we go out and communicate directly with representatives of this age group prior to developing an overall operating plan.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction and guidance of the Chairman of the Planning Study on the 18-21 Year Old Vote, will meet with various persons whose area of expertise bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What capabilities the projected organization must have for the campaign and what techniques exist now in this area to achieve the desired results. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the planning study chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with project managers of the other planning studies to ensure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Planning Study, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify any steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will be a recommended or proposed operating plan submitted for approval and will reflect the best thinking of the Chairman and the Planning Study Group as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and a proposed detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location of each function, a time schedule for implementation, and the proposed interrelation between this activity and each of the other campaign activities.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12812, Section 6-102
By SP-1 HARS, Date 3-11-82

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON
THE WOMEN'S VOTE

Objective

The objective of the planning study is to develop, for approval, a recommended detailed operating plan for maximizing the women's vote for the President in the 1972 campaign. The final report is to be completed within the next few months, if possible, but no later than October 31, 1971.

Scope of the Study

The basic question is how the woman voter can best be influenced to vote for the President in 1972. To approach that problem, the study will explore her opinions and intensity of feeling on current issues, particularly with reference to which issues will be most important during the campaign. It will also be useful to determine, to the extent possible, why she voted for or against the Republican candidate in prior elections.

Evaluation will be made of various methods to reach and influence the women voters between now and the election. These methods might include actions by the President, publicizing of successful programs which are responsive to women's concerns, and direct appeals to the voters.

On the basis of demographic data, previous voter behavior, and a judgment of political conditions in 1972, an estimate will be made of the reasonable minimum and maximum votes which can be expected, depending upon the effectiveness of the strategy employed.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager will meet individually with each member of the Resource Group, to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise as it bears on the subject. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the planning study chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum co-ordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

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Having surveyed the subject area, the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Resource Group, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise. The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

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The final report will reflect the best thinking of the Resource Group, as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and the detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location, a time schedule for implementation and a description of the interrelationship with the other campaign activities.

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON

MIDDLE AMERICAN, ETHNIC AND LABOR VOTEObjective

The objective of the planning study, to be completed by October 31, 1971, is to develop, for approval, a proposed operating plan for maximizing the Middle American, Ethnic and Labor Vote for the President in the 1972 campaign. In certain instances, however, it may be appropriate to complete all or a portion of this study prior to the above date.

Scope of the Study

The Middle American voter has been described as our "basic constituency." He helped us win in 1968, and the study must develop a plan to keep this voter in our camp for 1972. Careful study should be made of the reasons for our successes in 1968 with the idea of building on an existing group of supporters. What media should be utilized in 1972 to most effectively reach this voter? The study should look at television, newspapers, magazines, and, also, not overlook the probable effectiveness of word-of-mouth campaigns among this group.

The fact that there are more female voters than men voters in this group should be reviewed. Ways should be determined to make the President even more appealing to the female voter in that many of them vote on emotion rather than on issues. For instance, how effective was the President's interview with the newswomen? What was the reaction of this voter group to the McCall's article? Heavy polling should be planned for this group to determine voter preferences and priority of issues.

The Ethnic Vote is much more complex in that they are difficult to identify. It is fairly simple to poll black voters, for instance, but very difficult to zero in on Italians, Poles, Irishmen, Slavs. etc.

While the tendency among these groups is to gather together, it is not always so. The study must try to determine an effective way to find out the thinking of these various groups, whether it be by talking to known leaders of their communities or actually going into an identifiable area to take a poll. The overall effectiveness of ethnic support groups will be analyzed along with a determination of well-known ethnic personalities and celebrities who will be willing to support the President.

While we can expect Organized Labor to favor the opposition, the study will analyze the most effective means of neutralizing that support. Much will depend on the issues, both real and imagined. In fact, support from all three of the above-mentioned segments of the voting population will key on whether the issues by election are social, the economy, or the war. Every effort should be made early to analyze what the key issues will be. Strategy in the study will depend on that analysis.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction and guidance of the Chairman of the Planning Study on the Middle American, Ethnic and Labor Vote, will meet with various persons whose area of expertise bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What capabilities the projected organization must have for the campaign and what techniques exist now in this area to achieve the desired results. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the planning study chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with project managers of the other planning studies to ensure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Planning Study, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify any steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will be a recommended or proposed operating plan submitted for approval and will reflect the best thinking of the Chairman and the Planning Study Group as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and a proposed detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location of each function, a time schedule for implementation, and the proposed interrelation between this activity and each of the other campaign activities.

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MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON
THE BLACK VOTE

Objective

The objective of the planning study is to develop, for approval, a recommended operating plan for maximizing the Black vote for the President in the 1972 campaign. The final report is to be completed within the next few months, if possible, but no later than October 31, 1971.

Scope of the Study

The basic question is how the Black voter can best be influenced to vote for the President in 1972. To approach that problem, the study will explore his opinions and intensity of feeling on current issues, particularly with reference to which issues will be most important during the campaign. It will also be useful to determine, to the extent possible, why he voted for or against the Republican candidate in prior elections.

Evaluation will be made of various methods to reach and influence the Black community between now and the election. These methods might include actions by the President, publicizing of successful programs which are responsive to Black concerns, and direct appeals to the voters.

On the basis of demographic data, previous voter behavior, and a judgment of political conditions in 1972, an estimate will be made of the reasonable minimum and maximum votes which can be expected, depending upon the effectiveness of the strategy employed.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction of the planning study chairman, will meet individually with each member of the Resource Group, to obtain guidance in that person's area of expertise as it bears on the subject. Throughout, the project manager will draw heavily on the chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with the project managers of the other planning studies to assure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

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DEFENDERS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By CP Date 2-23-82

MISSION OF THE PLANNING STUDY ON

THE FARM VOTE

Objective

The objective of the planning study, to be completed by October 31, 1971, is to develop, for approval, a proposed operating plan for maximizing the Farm Vote for the President in the 1972 campaign. In certain instances, however, it may be appropriate to complete all or a portion of this study prior to the above date.

Scope of the Study

Drawing on the experiences of those who are qualified to speak on the subject of farming, the study will analyze which states are going to be considered key farm states and which states designated as "overall prime target states" have a significant population of farm-type voters. A hard look at the issues these farmers think important will be a necessary function of this study.

It will be necessary, for instance, to determine farmers' preferences and opinions as they relate to the President and compare them to their preferences and opinions of other Administration officials, in particular, the Department of Agriculture. In that farmers and local farm organizations are tied in closely to the activities and policies of the USDA, an evaluation as to the overall effectiveness of the USDA public information office should be made. In past elections, it would appear that farmers follow closely the responses to questions put to the USDA by several of the large agricultural organizations. Therefore, we must develop a plan that will ensure positive reaction.

Included in the study will be an analysis of Presidential participation at certain functions in key farm areas and the overall effectiveness of this type of activity. Through the use of polls, farm sentiment on a broad range of issues can be determined rapidly. Based on the findings of these polls, further strategy can be developed.

Farm support groups will undoubtedly play an important role in 1972. Careful study should be made to determine, for instance, the past successes and failures of such organizations. Decisions will have to be made with respect to farm citizen spokesmen, organizational set-up, location of farm support groups, and the best method of maintaining overall control of information dealing with the Administration's farm policies.

Procedure

At the outset of the study, the project manager, under the direction and guidance of the Chairman of the Planning Study on the Farm Vote, will meet with various persons whose area of expertise bears on the subject. These discussions will cover two broad areas: What capabilities the projected organization must have for the campaign and what techniques exist now in this area to achieve the desired results. Throughout, the Project Manager will draw heavily on the planning study chairman and others to assure that the concepts being developed adhere to political and practical reality. He will also maintain close liaison with project managers of the other planning studies to ensure maximum coordination among all facets of the campaign planning.

This early definition of the problem will include a careful analysis of similar activities in the campaigns of 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968. By understanding the strengths and weaknesses of those efforts, a solid foundation can be built for 1972, capitalizing on what has been learned in the past. The experience and current activities of the RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Planning Study, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise.

The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

By developing a preliminary version of the operating plan, those participating in the study will be able to identify any steps which should be implemented before October 31. In such cases, early recommendations for action will be made.

The final report will be recommended or proposed operating plan submitted for approval and will reflect the best thinking of the Chairman and the Planning Study Group as well as the review and comments of other key people connected with the campaign. In form, the body of the report will be a summary of the recommended strategy; included as appendices will be a broader discussion of the technical findings of the study and a proposed detailed operating plan for the campaign. The latter will include projected costs, budget by month, personnel requirements, a rough organization chart, proposed physical location of each function, a time schedule for implementation, and the proposed interrelation between this activity and each of the other campaign activities.

The RNC will also be thoroughly reviewed as a point of departure for the current planning study.

Having surveyed the subject area, the chairman and the project manager will produce an interim report, including a preliminary outline of the program plan, with emphasis on the areas which require further investigation. This will serve as a basis for continuing discussions in greater depth with members of the Resources Group, individually and possibly all together as the strategy evolves toward its final form. From time to time, the members may be asked to perform brief studies in their areas of expertise. The project manager will also meet with potential vendors and experts outside of government when advisable to achieve a complete analysis.

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Memo
H-
5/10 5/7Citizens for the Re-election of the President

- ① Magruder saw the A G late this afternoon and received clearance for these names:
- Frank Dale
 - Max Fisher
 - Tom Pappas
 - Rita Hauser
 - Don Schollander
 - Bob Volk
 - Eric Jonsson (former mayor of Dallas)
 - Frank Borman
- H. has not approved the last two but the A G did not ask for his approval
- ② The announcement will be Tuesday 5/11 at 2 p from Cincinnati. Dale will do the talking but Magruder will be there;
- ③ You have a copy of the members of the task forces. The "missions" are attached for your review.
- ④ The budget without details, but ~~my~~ with my notes, is attached.

May 6, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By ELC, Date 3-2-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Utilization of Government Resources by General Eisenhower,
President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey

The following is an interim report on the use the above individuals made of government resources during their campaign for election in 1956, 1964, and 1968 respectively. I have completed work on General Eisenhower's activities, but have not been able to get all the information needed for Johnson and Humphrey.

General Eisenhower used Len Hall, Chairman of the RNC, as his chief political adviser. All of the initial planning work, including things such as polling, research, and development of field organizations, was done through the RNC. No members of the White House staff worked directly on this other than in an advisory capacity. The individuals on the White House staff who were particularly concerned were Sherman Adams, Tom Stephens, the Appointment Secretary, and General Persons, who was head of Congressional Liaison. Bryce Harlow wrote most of the General's political speeches and Herbert Brownell, the Attorney General, and General Lucius Clay were also active in determining strategy for the campaign.

During the actual campaign no use was made of the White House or the Federal Government to specifically work on the campaign other than the normal support activities given General Eisenhower through his position as President.

CONFIDENTIAL

Under Johnson it has been indicated that he made considerable use of the White House staff and individuals in the departments to work on the campaign. At the present time, I have not been able to get any specific information but, hopefully, will have more concise information in the near future.

Before the convention, Humphrey used many people on his Vice Presidential staff, as well as individuals who were employed by the Cabinet Committees he was in charge of, to work specifically on the campaign. Many individuals remained on the government payroll after the convention and continued to work exclusively on the campaign. As an example, the individual who headed up his veterans activity was employed by the Veterans Administration and remained with the VA throughout the campaign. Some use was also made of the research facilities at the Census Bureau.

We have also determined that Humphrey made very little use of the Democratic National Committee before the convention, but that the other Democratic candidates used the DNC extensively for printing and travel arrangements. Evidentially, in 1968 the DNC was very lax in this area.

One reason why both Johnson and Humphrey had an easier time than we would have in this situation is that the control of Congress was under the Democrats and my information is that it was difficult for the Republicans to make much of this issue on the Hill. On the other hand, if we used these resources in the same way Johnson and Humphrey did, with the control of the Congress in the hands of the Democrats, they could make this an issue.

From a public relations standpoint, it would seem best to restrict the use of government employees to:

1. direct assistance for the President, and
2. to help develop strategy.

They should not get involved in the day-to-day campaign functions.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

JSM:ger'
JSM Chron
JSM AG File

May 5, 1971

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of March 23. Please excuse the delay in responding but I wanted to discuss your very interesting suggestions with other people here before I responded.

At the present time, you will have to rely on press reports for information as to where the President will travel or be speaking. Once an apparatus is established to give advance notification (prior to the press) we will be back in touch.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dwight L. Chapin
Deputy Assistant
to the President

Mr. Greig L. Smith
National Director of Operations
Post Office Box 1322
Whittier, California 90603
DLCφny

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: May 3, 1971

TO:

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Dwight:

Attached is the file on Greig Smith. I have a copy in my campaign file.

From your note I didn't realize you wanted me to answer the letter.

A suggested draft reply for your signature is attached.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of March 23, 1971. Please excuse the delay in responding but I wanted to discuss your very interesting suggestions with other people here before I responded.

At the present time you will have to
~~I know that we will be able to work together soon~~

rely on ~~Pres reports for info as to when~~
the P will travel or be speaking.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

once an agreement is established
to give advance notification (Pres
to the press) we will be back

Dwight Chapin
Deputy Assistant to the President

in touch,

Mr. Greig L. Smith

National Director of Operations

Post Office Box 1322

Whittier, California 90603

TO GORDON STRACHAN- ✓

OTHER _____

Gordon - Don't
let people start using
this N/C



*New Generation
For
Nixon*

*Camp
Suggs*

P.O. Box 1322 Whittier, California 90603

Mr. Dwight Chappin
c/o The White House
1600 Pennsylvania ave.
Washington, D. C.

March 23, 1971

Dear Mr. Chappin;

As Director of Operations for a new organization named "The New Generation for Nixon", a youth group formed to support the President in his reelection campaign, I am interested in having our groups in attendance at as many of the Presidents public appearances as is possible. We feel it is not too early to start showing a little support for the President, and I am sure that the President and his staff would like to see more friendly faces in the crowds.

In your capacity as scheduling secretary to the President you can be very helpful to us. If it is possible could we be notified of each of the Presidents public appearances. We know you can't give us much time because of Secret Service regulations but even just a few days notice will suffice for us to notify our local people in each state of the planned event.

I know you wouldn't give this information to any one who might request it so may I offer the name of Mr. Murray Chotiner as a reference as to our validity.

Your cooperation is sincerely appreciated.

Yours for a Better America

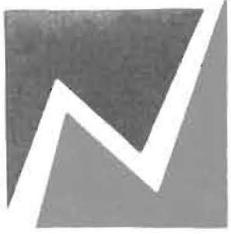
Greig L. Smith
National Director of Operations



*New Generation
For
Nixon*

GREIG L. SMITH

P.O. Box 1322 Whittier, California 90603



New Generation For Nixon

P.O. Box 1322 Whittier, California 90603

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The 1972 elections will have a direct bearing on the Republican Party for the rest of this decade. If we are to become the majority party in the Congress and in registration we must be able to relate to all segments of the voting population.

In the past the party has formed Youth Committees for its candidates on a last minute, haphazard basis without thought to the future voters of America. Those efforts which have been made were done so for reasons of political expediency or just for the sake of saying "We have a Youth Committee!"

The time is past when young people, the new generation, can be put off with old slogans, promises and hack politics. The old image of politicians, both Democrat and Republican, is that of corrupt Tammany Hall, heavy set, cigar-smoking and always lying to the public. The Democrat party recently had a re-evaluation of the Convention process, and as a byproduct, the role of youth with the Senior party. It is their belief that since the 18 year old vote is a reality, since young people are sincerely more aware and concerned, since they will make up the largest single voter group by 1980 and are considered to be the backbone of the "dirty work" volunteer force in every campaign, a concerted effort must be made for their support.

It would be most easy to set up, through regular Republican channels, a "Youth for Nixon". But the easy way is not always the best. During the 1968 campaign a Student Coalition pilot program was developed to bring new people into the Republican fold and in particular to support Nixon-Agnew. The purpose was clear, just like the McCarthy campaign, we were trying to get new vigor, ideas and enthusiasm into the party. Each year the old youth workers continue to carry on the same unimaginative efforts for the Republican party and its candidates. The Democrats on the other hand were able, using the McCarthy candidacy, Muskies image, McGovern's liberalistic populism, to bring large numbers of never before active young people into their campaigns. Now, four years later, the Democrats have a larger pool of people to draw upon for their youth campaigns, also a larger number of experienced and competent individuals who have worked for many different causes. Unfortunately we in Republican politics have not done our homework, some were more interested in control of the party than in control of the elections. Our program is geared toward finding new individuals, while using some of the old, gaining their trust, support and idealism for both Nixon and the party.

Now it is necessary to direct ourselves toward these new voters in such a way as to challenge them into working with us in order to open up new channels of communication. The Democrats have already started their youth programs for the '72 elections. This includes involvement seminars on the issues, voter registration drives on the campuses and youth campaigns for their major candidates have been formed and are now being staffed.

With the new voters the need for a method to present Nixon as a candidate the young can support and with the future of the party, in regard to the youth and this generation at stake, we present the following program.

One further note - Past elections have been riddled with "Youth Campaigns" made up of political friends, payoffs, favoritism and nepotism. It is now time for those interested in the candidate, Nixon, to present him to the NEW GENERATION.

NEW GENERATION FOR NIXON

Programs leading to finding new workers for the Nixon '72 campaign.

The following suggested programs are geared to finding young, idealistic, and enthusiastic partners in a new generation of Nixon and the Republican Party.

1. Public Relations campaign geared to the needs and fears of young people. This would be in their language and deal with the issues of the day in relation to how Nixon has met the challenges presented in an atmosphere of tension and dismay. Most young people today are alienated against the political process. Our first goal is to gain the trust and support of these people based on Nixon's programs, not on Nixon the man. We would use media that is presently accepted by the youth, including rock radio stations, underground newspapers, coffee houses, school bulletins and posters.
2. We propose opening up for a weekend night, coffee houses on or near high school and college campuses that would attract large numbers of young people for a good time. Coffee, Cokes, Malts and similar non-alcoholic beverages would be served (college houses would include beer). Music and bands would be available and only through posters and youth oriented literature would a push be made to support the President. This would gain us a reputation as being "in" and would allow us to confront students who usually have no previous interest in politics. Distribution of leaflets on a campus creates an ecological problem and rarely changes minds in that atmosphere.
3. Leadership training schools would be used to train regional, state, county and selected campus youth leaders. We would like to house these people in the homes of their Congressmen or Senators in order to create a sense of rapport with elected officials and so create a sense of loyalty and dedication to the party.
4. Speakers Bureaus are to be set not only as a truth squad but as an offensive weapon to be used against the opposition. Instead of waiting for the Democrat candidate to use campus Free Speech facilities to launch an attack, we should! Also, challenge the youth supporters of the opposition to debates. We propose to set up a debating bureau that will travel in a given region from campus to campus to address rallies and debate Democrats on the issues of the day. Our speakers and debaters will present and support the Nixon program in Congress. At the training session and subsequent programs, special emphasis will be made to prepare debaters in the art and techniques of speech through the use of teachers and professional speakers.
5. Manuals and fact sheets will be prepared, in conjunction with the National Committee, on stands taken by the official Democrat Party and leading Democrat candidates. This will facilitate the speakers bureau program and it will also be made available, and mandatory, for all headquarters and coffee houses.

6. We intend to immediately start a survey to ferret out those on the campuses who would, if asked, work for a political candidate. This will be geared toward the idealists and those who are "issue oriented". From this we will be able to meet the goal of the program: to find new faces and workers.

7. A coordinating council will be set up with all Republican candidates (nominated by the party) in order to organize a master calendar of events for an area. This would lessen the possibility of youth workers who tend to work in more than one campaign, to be forced to choose between activities for his candidates, which in many cases mean the campaigns are unsure of the number of volunteers they can count on.

8. Newsletter. The major problem in youth campaigns is lack of communication from the top to the grassroots. Too often, the only exposure a newly activated individual has with the campaign is his local headquarters and its' projects. It is our feeling that we must make these people feel they are an important part of the national effort by having them relate their activities to someone in another area of the country. This is also a challenge to them to do a better job and an opportunity to exchange ideas.

For this we propose a monthly newsletter of activities, personalities, issues, and awards. Toward the last three months of the campaign this would be increased to a bi-monthly publication.

To be revised as needed.
The New Generation for Nixon.
Feb. 1971

March 22, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-103
By 42 NARS, Date 3-23-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN TASK FORCES

The attached listing of the proposed Task Forces should give you an idea of our thoughts as to how these would be set up. The thrust of the Task Force would be fourfold: (1) to determine what needs to be done immediately; (2) to examine, exhaustively, the entire area of its responsibility; (3) based on its findings, to determine what needs to be done ultimately (e. g. : our mission, approach, philosophy, budget, people to use in each area, etc.) and set timetables for doing each thing; and (4) to self-liquidate -- by deciding when the Task Force's functions need to be assumed by full-time people at the campaign headquarters.

The typical Task Force could be put together as follows: approximately 8 persons would be selected to serve on each -- someone at a senior level on the White House staff would serve on each and the RNC would be represented on each. Also, we would draw from the various Cabinet Departments and Agencies as well as the Executive Office of the President. We would also use one or two "outsiders" on each.

A young Project Manager would serve as the "executive director" of each Task Force. He would be responsible for making certain the group meets regularly, shuffling the necessary papers, seeing that action items are completed on time, etc. Project Managers would be drawn from the campaign committee (Rob Odle), the White House staff (Bill Rhatican, Bart Porter, Van Shumway), the executive office of the President (Peter Carpenter, OMB), and the Departments (Bob Henry, Post Office). Project Managers would devote as much time as necessary to their Task Forces, and in some cases, virtually full-time. Arrangements can easily be made with their superiors in government to free their time for this purpose.

The advantages of the Task Force concept are many: first, we are able to harness the human resources throughout the government, outside the government, and at the RNC in order to look at all the various

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Haldeman

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components of the campaign. Thus, we use the maximum number of people with a minimum number actually involved in the official campaign structure. This means less visibility, fewer salaries, and money saved. This "low visibility" is important because this method would allow us to use large numbers of people without it being evident that we were doing so: they would operate from their own offices and no single Task Force would know of the existence or composition of the other Task Forces. In short, we have the least chance of being "found out."

This concept has been carefully examined with John Dean, who feels there would be no problem with it (and no problem vis-a-vis the Hatch Act) as long as the Task Forces disbanded at the time of the convention.

Second, we find through using this method who can do the job and who is so good that he ought to be used in the campaign once it really gets in high gear.

Third, we set up structures in which recommendations are actually made and carried out -- thus making it necessary for any "free floaters" to get into the structure in order for them to accomplish what they wish to accomplish. This means that decisions won't be made in a haphazard fashion by political operatives who might otherwise pursue their own areas of interest.

Our job now, of course, is to make preliminary selections for membership on the Task Forces as well as find the right Project Managers. Then, timetables must be set for getting these underway. For example, we need to move on #5 and #6 right away this month; #1 through #4 very shortly; and the rest after satisfactory progress is made on the first six.

Thomas B. Evans, Rob Odle, John Dean, and I have put together the attached listing of Task Forces and suggested members for each. With your approval and after you have had a chance to suggest additions, deletions, and changes, we can move immediately to set these up.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

1972 CAMPAIGN TASK FORCES

1. PRIMARIES.

Studies when, where, the laws governing, the political situation in each, and potential Republican opposition in each (the write-in problem, etc.), Democratic contenders in each and our posture toward them.

Harry Flemming, Suggested Chairman
Rob Odle, Suggested Project Manager

Harry Dent.
Bob Finch
Fred La Rue
Bob Mardian
Bill Rehnquist
Dick Richards
Glen Sedam

2. CONVENTION.

The location, dates, format, procedures, possible reforms.

Harry Dent, Suggested Chairman
Bob Henry, Suggested Project Manager

*Dwight
Chapin
+
Timmons*

Harry Flemming
Jo Good
Clark MacGregor
Ed Morgan
John Niedecker
Don Rumsfeld
Ron Walker
Will Wilson

3. FIELD ORGANIZATION
AND CITIZENS COMMITTEE

Examines existing GOP state organizations, finds Nixon chairman in each state, organizes field operations, looks at delegates being selected to nominating convention.

Dick Kleindienst, Suggested Chairman
Rob Odle, Suggested Project Manager

*Keith
Bulan*

John Andrews
Ray Bliss
Harry Dent
Thomas W. Evans
Harry Flemming
Dick Herman
Charlie McWhorter
Peter O'Donnell
Clarke Reid
Dick Richards
Dick Wiley

4. ADVERTISING AND
DIRECT MAIL

Decides what type of organization and approach is appropriate in '72 (in-house agency or outside agency, etc.) after studying all options.

Jeb Magruder, Suggested Chairman
Bill Rhatican, Suggested Project
Manager

Dwight Chapin
Al Cole
Steve Frankfurt
Len Garment
Dick Moore
Don Rumsfeld
Bill Safire
Frank Shakespeare
Harry Treleaven (?)

5. POLLING, COMPUTERS
AND RESEARCH.

Decides on what polling is appropriate. What research and retrieval facilities will be needed, acquires knowledge of how to use computers, etc.

Ed David, Suggested Chairman
Peter Carpenter, Suggested Project
Manager

Martin Anderson
David Derge
Peter Flanigan
George Grassmuck
Ed Harper
Tom Huston
Bill Low
Bart Porter
Ray Price
Lance Terrance

6. DEMOCRATIC
CONTENDERS.

Collects information and clips on all Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential contenders as well as develops a feel for the strategy of each. Perhaps each member of task force studies one particular contender. Analyzes O'Brien's party strategy as well.

Bob Finch, Suggested Chairman
Peter Carpenter, Suggested Project
Manager

Pat Buchanan
Ed De Bolt
Bryce Harlow
Dick Moore
Lyn Nofziger
Ray Price
Don Santarelli
Bill Timmons

7. MEDIA.

Presidential and non-Presidential use of the media, calculated leaks, use of TV, etc. (Separate from paid advertising.)

Herb Klein, Suggested Chairman
Van Shumway, Suggested Project
Manager

Roger Ailes
Mort Allin
Chuck Colson
Cliff Miller
Lyn Nofziger
Chris Perry
Bill Safire
Tommy Walker
Ron Ziegler

8. SPOKESMEN RESOURCES.

Analyzes best uses of spokesmen "surrogate candidates" including the VP, Cabinet, Senate and House Republicans, WH and Administration officials, entertainers and sports celebrities.

John Whitaker, Suggested Chairman
Bart Porter, Suggested Project
Manager

Ellen Annan
Ken Cole
Roy Goodearle
Herb Klein
Ernst Minor
Ron Walker

9. VOTE BLOCS: THE 18-21
YEAR-OLD, BLACK, ETHNIC,
WOMEN'S, ELDERELY, AND
MIDDLE AMERICAN.

While these might be split up later, one task force (possibly with subcommittees) would study the effect of bloc voting, how to reach it, the effect of it, etc.

Len Garment, Suggested Chairman
Bob Henry, Suggested Project Manager

Anne Armstrong
Bob Brown
Chuck Colson
Bob Finch
Pat Hitt
Jim Keogh
Jerris Leonard
Bob Mardian
Stan Pottinger

March 22, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 1-202
By EL, Date 3-23-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Announcement of the Committee for Richard Nixon

John Dean and I have discussed the need to program the announcement of the campaign committee. The purpose of the announcement is to provide a credible explanation of its operations. The problems and alternatives have been discussed with Dick Moore, Len Garment, Herb Klein, Van Shumway, and Tom Evans. The general consensus is:

The committee should be announced so that the problem of a leak or rumors are cutoff at the beginning. It should be announced by a committee member, preferably someone we can call the chairman, in a press conference format at his location, e. g., New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles. A suggested format for the release is attached. The press conference should be held so that questions can be answered effectively, e. g., "is Murray Chotiner connected with this operation?" "Did the President ask you to form this committee?" "Has the President told you he would run for reelection?" Everyone felt it was important to begin without a credibility gap.

The contact on the press release would be the committee member who holds the press conference. This avoids the problem of Flemming or myself having to answer questions regarding this committee. Secondly, by having the press conference in another city, the Washington Press Corps will have a more difficult time following up on the announcement. As we have already agreed, no one employed by the committee should discuss the formation of the committee with reporters.

The timing of the press conference relates in direct proportion to the chance of it leaking ahead of time. Probably the safest time for the

CONFIDENTIAL

announcement would be the week of March 29th when the President will be in California. If it could be delayed longer, it might be to our advantage because by that time, news (particularly relating to the war) might be more positive and we would not have to worry about a columnist indicating ~~the~~ formed the committee out of fear.

It was also felt that the address of the headquarters should be announced to avoid credibility problems and that the phone number remain unlisted as long as possible.

The first choice for the name is: "Friends of Richard Nixon" which is simple, to the point, and quite typical, e. g., Reagan's original committee was "Friends of Ronald Reagan." Another approach would be to connote eight years of a Presidency such as "Eight Years of Progress" or "Destination 76." Everyone agrees that it would be inappropriate to use some nebulous name such as "A committee for a Responsible Government."

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

✓cc: Mr. Haldeman

SUGGESTED FORMAT

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact _____

_____ today announced formation of the Friends of Richard Nixon Committee, a group of citizens from all parts of the country who support President Nixon's policies and programs.

The broadly-based group includes such prominent citizens as _____, _____, _____ and _____.

"We are deeply proud that President Nixon has brought good government back to this country during his term as our nation's leader," said _____. "We feel the people of the United States should know and appreciate what the President's wise and prudent policies have done for our country.

"When Richard Nixon took office, we were faced with rampant inflation that threatened the very fiber of our economic system. Now the rate of inflation is slowing and our economy is stabilizing.

"When he took office, we were deeply emeshed in a tragic war and more than 500,000 men were on the battle lines. Now nearly half of them are home and more are coming home every month. We are ending this war.

"President Nixon has given the nation a new sense of direction, purpose and firm leadership in troubled times," _____ added. "The members of this committee join with other Americans in expressing new confidence that Richard Nixon is our nation's best hope for continued strong and effective government."

The Committee will form the vanguard of nationwide support for President Nixon. It will employ a small staff, including Harry S. Flemming, a former special assistant to the President, and Jeb S. Magruder, who will resign his position as special assistant to the President.

The Committee has taken offices at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

March 22, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

CONFIDENTIAL

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By HP Date 3-23-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: The Role of the Republican National Committee in the
1972 Campaign

Thomas B. Evans and I have met and discussed the role which the RNC should play in the President's next campaign. Generally speaking, we agreed as to the parameters of the RNC as they relate to this campaign.

The basic mission of the RNC for the next two years should be:

1. To help build strong party organizations in all 50 states with an emphasis on primary and battleground states.
2. To assist in performing the attack function for the President in order to counteract Larry O'Brien, the Democratic National Committee, and Democratic Presidential aspirants.
3. To perform functional services for the Nixon campaign and other state campaigns where appropriate.

It is generally agreed that re-election will not be won within the framework of the Republican Party. Therefore, it is essential that the RNC's role be secondary to that of the Nixon for President Committee in developing and retaining public support.

The general guidelines I think we can follow which will create an effective working relationship are as follows:

1. A representative from the RNC should be involved in the decision making process at all levels -- Senator Dole or Evans should sit in on the general strategy meetings that you might have; and Lyn Nofziger or Dick Richards should be involved in the communications and political decisions regarding the campaign. In this way, we would maximize the use of all of our resources and significantly help the party organization feel a part of the President's re-election campaign.

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

2. As we develop our Task Forces, the RNC should have representatives on each. My memorandum to you on the Task Force concept indicates its role in these Task Forces.
3. The RNC can and should play a primary role in much of the functional work that will be done, particularly in the general research area. The analysis work we will need relating to the voter can be done easily through the RNC and then could be available for other state candidates on a selective basis. Each area in research which can be handled at the RNC should be turned over to the Committee with the understanding that the use we will have for each of these tools will be determined by the Nixon committee.
4. As the official sponsoring body of the convention, the RNC should play a primary role in the structuring and operation of the convention, with, of course, the final decision-making being left to you and the President.
5. The RNC should work directly with the campaign committee on the various voter bloc problems, i. e., the 18-21 year-old vote, the Black vote, the ethnic vote, etc. Again, because it is the Republican National Committee, it cannot have primary responsibility for determining how this vote can be delivered for Richard Nixon in 1972, but with its resource structure it should be able to assist us in determining how to maximize our vote potential.
6. In developing our state campaign organizations, the RNC should be involved in the decision making so that we develop a workable relationship between the Nixon state campaign chairman and the regular GOP campaign organization. One of the RNC's first tasks will be to analyze each Republican state organization to determine strategy and what degree of Nixon operation will be needed in each state. Once we determine what shape each state GOP organization is in, we can decide how much of a Nixon committee will be needed in each and the relationship between the regular Republican organization and the Nixon committee.

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The attached memorandum from Evans underscores, I think, our basic agreement on these points.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 11050, Sec. 1.6-102
BY *CP* DATE *3-23-82*

Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

March 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jeb S. Magruder

FROM: Thomas B. Evans, Jr. 

RE: Role of RNC in 1972 Campaign

In order to maximize the effectiveness of the 1972 Presidential campaign, it will be important to coordinate the efforts of the three major components: the White House, the Presidential campaign team, and the Republican National Committee. This memorandum sets forth the areas where we believe the RNC can be most effective.

We recognize, for example, that the President must receive support from Democrats and Independents who do not wish to attach themselves to a Republican organization and that citizens groups and a separate Nixon for President organization are needed in every state as well as nationally.

We must make certain that the people of America understand the accomplishments of the President and his Administration. We must be sure that those individuals who look favorably upon the President are registered, that they vote on Election Day, and that their votes are counted. Since we cannot depend upon the news media to convey our story accurately and fully, we must communicate with the voters in a variety of ways, including direct mail; television, radio and newspaper advertising; speakers; and the like.

An important concept for 1972, we believe, is selectivity. We must be selective in our communications approach, in terms of content as well as geography. We have the means today to do this. As I shall discuss in more detail later in this memorandum, we will be able to pinpoint what voters in a particular area or category want so that we can state our most effective case to them. For example, through the collection of census data, demographic information, voting

Page Two
Jeb S. Magruder
March 17, 1971

statistics and survey research, we might find that law-and-order is of special importance to a large number of residents in Chicago. We will have the capability to stress to those voters the steps taken by the Department of Justice and the new trend being taken by the Supreme Court. Obviously, we would emphasize the President's role. In short, it is a rifle-shot as opposed to a shotgun approach.

Just as we cannot count upon the news media to tell our story, we cannot always count upon Republican Party organizations to do the job that needs to be done. We will be in a position in the coming months to determine those organizations that are capable of being the focal point of a Presidential campaign and those that are not. We will need a separate organization in every state anyway, but its role might vary depending upon the assessment of the regular party group.

Our efforts must be concentrated where they can do the most good. There are some states where chances for victory will be extremely remote. There are others where the picture looks very good. In between will be the major battleground states in which we must concentrate our effort. A more immediate need is to consider the psychological impact of 1972 primary states.

Listed below are specific areas where I believe the National Committee is particularly well-equipped to operate over the next 20 months.

I. Party Building - The traditional role of the RNC lies in this area. We should continue with this task and improve the Mission 70's approach, which is designed to increase our effectiveness in terms of (a) voter identification, (b) selective registration, (c) get-out-the-vote efforts, and (d) ballot security.

II. Party Evaluation - As discussed above, it is important that we determine the strengths of the State party organizations so that we know where the citizens groups that will be formed in every state need to carry the major burden of the campaign effort. Through the use of our beefed-up field force, Dick Richards, myself and others who have the judgment capacity, we can make such objective determinations.

III. Research - The research effort includes (a) opposition research, (b) information storage and retrieval, and (c) the compiling and editing of stored data. There is nothing inherent in the research function that makes the RNC better qualified than the White House, a citizens committee or anyone else to accomplish the job. But the job does require adequate working space, trained and available personnel, library facilities, and storage and retrieval capacity. All of these resources exist today at the National Committee, and it would seem a waste to transfer the research function somewhere else. As we have discussed, we are gearing up so that we can respond promptly to anyone who has a legitimate need for this information.

IV. Building a Base File - If we are to be selective in 1972, and to use the rifle-shot approach which we believe can be so effective, we must have the data available. Perhaps the most important element is the building of a base file which consists of census data, demographic information and election results by precinct. This, combined with our polling information, will allow us to know more about the voters than ever before. With the fresh census data, including the fourth-count summary tape which contains the demographics, we have an unusual opportunity to utilize a scientific approach.

V. Communications - There are two types of communications involved, the internal communication within the party and the communication with the public at large. It is important that party people understand the programs and accomplishments of the Administration so they can speak up for the President and generate the necessary enthusiasm.

Obviously, there are some types of communications, especially relating directly to the issues, that can be handled only by the White House. There are other types, however, such as mailings sent into areas on the rifle-shot theory, that are better handled by the RNC via our communications program. As you know, we are developing an improved capability in this area.

The subject of how to reach the voter most effectively is a critical one, and it will be important for everyone to coordinate their efforts and see that they play their part most effectively. Also, there must necessarily be a very close relationship between our research operation and communications. In addition to the selective or

rifle-shot approach, we must be able to package useful and appropriate information for use by speakers as they enter our target areas and for use in TV, radio and newspaper ads. This would include, of course, material appropriate for Spanish-speaking groups, senior citizens, etc.

VI. Field Operation - We are stressing a field approach at the RNC to give us a more accurate view of what is happening within the states and to provide a more personal relationship. As discussed above, this will give us the capacity to make an early evaluation. As we approach the campaign, it will be important for our field force to coordinate with that of the Presidential campaign team. The roles may vary somewhat from state to state, depending upon how well the party is able to function in that situation.

VII. Speakers.- This is an area where close liaison between the RNC and the White House is essential. It is a subject of particular importance to our State organizations. Here again we can be selective: our data base file, coupled with our polling, should tell us scientifically the type of speaker to schedule into a particular area and what he should talk about or avoid. We can also receive helpful information from our field men and directly from the states.

VIII. Patronage - As you are aware, this area is of tremendous interest to all our party people. We do have the incumbency advantage which gives us the tools to provide incentives to Republican workers. The RNC is in the best position to evaluate which requests are the most important, which can do the most good in terms of re-electing the President. We are strengthening our capacity to be effective in this area and believe that patronage requests from State Chairmen and other party leaders must be channelled through the RNC, if we are to operate effectively. I believe the White House personnel operation now understands this need.

IX. Campaign Management - It is extremely important that we develop the proper coordination between the State campaigns and our Presidential effort. The most effective way to do this is to have good campaign managers for gubernatorial, senatorial, and other major races. Based upon some bad experiences in 1970, they should be in-state people. The RNC is the proper place to conduct campaign management seminars, and coordination of campaigns should be one major item covered.

Page Five
Jeb S. Magruder
March 17, 1971

X. Finance - As soon as possible, all fund-raising activities should be consolidated. The fragmented approach that has been used in the past has caused confusion among our contributors. We are initiating a plan to improve the financial condition of State organizations, most of which are in trouble today. If they are not in better financial condition by 1972, it will be difficult for any of them to be the focal point for an effective campaign effort.

XI. Special Groups - This effort can be broken down into two areas. The first is the communications function as it relates to minorities, heritage groups, senior citizens, agricultural groups or labor. Where the message we want to convey is for public or general consumption, it can best be handled by the White House. In fact, if the White House does not say or do what needs to be said or done to attract the senior citizen, black voter, Mexican-American, etc., there is little that the RNC can do that will be effective.

There are other times when there is an organization job that needs doing - organizing a demonstration, launching a letter-writing campaign. This has to be done outside of the White House and can in many instances be done by the RNC.

We understand fully that John Mitchell will serve as commander-in-chief of the 1972 campaign and that we will look to him for instructions. We further understand that we will not set policy but that we will have the opportunity to influence the setting of policy. This necessitates that we be present at meetings where policy decisions are made. This will avoid the problem of poor communications and will reduce the need for memoranda that can be dangerous.

The Task Force approach which we have discussed is a very good one. We have been developing names of persons who might participate in this venture and will have them to you today. I hope we can remain flexible and add names as we go along. The Republican National Committee is pleased to be involved and feels these Task Forces can be of invaluable assistance to the 1972 effort.

I am delighted that you and I will be working closely together. Our thinking seems to coincide exactly. All of us at the National Committee are dedicated to the re-election of President

Page Six
Jeb S. Magruder
March 17, 1971

Nixon in 1972. We believe this is essential for the well-being of our nation and the world. We are most anxious to do the things that we can do best and that will be most helpful in achieving this goal. We recognize that some things can be done better elsewhere and will cooperate completely in such instances. There is too much at stake to do otherwise.

TBEjr/mb

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADDRESS OF GENERAL INTEREST
E.O. 12812
By- 3-23-82

April 16, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Pursuant to your request this is a memorandum to advise you that Bob has received word that Arlin Spector, a Jewish liberal on law and order from Philadelphia has offered to help in the campaign.

He might make a good State Chairman.

Please inform the Attorney General and let me know if anything develops in this regard.

Thank you.

GS:elr

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JS

April 15, 1971

DECLASSIFIED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 13526, SECTION 6-1.02
By *EP*, Date *3-23-82*

CONFIDENTIAL / *Eye Only*

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *G*

has received word

Pursuant to your request this is a memorandum ^{*and*} advising you ^{*that Bob*} that Arlin Spector, a Jewish liberal on law and order from Philadelphia has offered to help in the campaign.

He might make a good State Chairman.

Please ~~get a reading from the Attorney General and advise me.~~ ^{*inform the Attorney General let me know if*}
anything develops in this regard.

Thank you.

42
April 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Jeb Magruder

Magruder spent an hour with me this morning expressing his very real concern that his effectiveness in the campaign will be undermined if he does not have the confidence of the Attorney General and Mr. Haldeman. It is Magruder's view that this confidence can only be developed by access.

He cites two examples where he feels his access has been impaired. The first concerns the Attorney General, when there was quite a delay in getting some of the initial decisions. Obviously little can be done directly to improve Magruder's relations with the Attorney General. However, Mr. Haldeman should be aware of that problem.

The second example that Magruder cites is the Bart Porter matter. Pursuant to your direction I did not discuss, or in any way alleviate, Magruder's concern about how that matter was handled. However, Magruder's point is that the memorandum that I drafted, incorporated Colson's and Magruder's attitudes, filtered the Magruder explanation of the matter to Haldeman. There is very little we can do about the Porter matter now and probably very little that we should do.

The point of this rambling memorandum is that it may be in our interest to protect Magruder from the second guessing and other that will always emerge in campaign contacts.

If you agree with this memorandum it might be useful for the two of us to sit down with Magruder for a "therapy" session.

April 14, 1971

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L, JSM, G

4/16
8a

JSM prob - outside activity sooner than expected

- no heavy (A G) at Hqtrs to protect JSM & other middle level men (Fleming had probs here) plus lower staffmen.

- increased publicity.

- much second guessing by former campaign types to the WH directly, thereby end-running + undermining JSM

To prevent problems:

JSM sit down w/ A & B + get ans.

G must be specific, detailed in memos but JSM

must be careful in dealings

G prepare detailed polling proposal - keep it + telep to H + L but the issue base materials should be made avail to JSM + camp.

L + A must work to protect JSM

Weekly mtg w/ file of pol info
- Breakfast

JSM - Shauls at WH; second guessing
- "operating at direct of AG"
- pub's getting info → AG
- explore AG avenues

G → L
H.

Polling - JSM begin dealing
(OK) w/ Howe + Berge on proposal
for 2 yrs.

L - Monday proposal → H
Simulation

L prepare
discussed Proposal
for JSM
to review

Coord info needs of
cond's / comp
Simulation

JSM/AG will not set up hardware

L - ORC can supply most things we need,
except the things that Benham can add
for us.

1968 - wave studies of panel interviews
Polling TF - must figure out who are
the experts - each of 5 - must
come up w/ intensive plan.

N. D. CARTANO
LIAM H. BOTZER
N. W. CHAPMAN
BERT A. O'NEILL
GLAS J. SMITH
NK W. BIRKHOLZ
ION V. LARSON
MAS C. MCKINNON

LAW OFFICES OF
CARTANO, BOTZER AND CHAPMAN

1300 IBM BUILDING
SEATTLE 98101
AREA CODE 206 MAIN 3-0700

ETHAN ALLEN PEYSER-1933
JAMES M. BAILEY-1940

April 5, 1971

Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
Assistant to the President
Domestic Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20000

Dear John:

I am writing you as a lifelong Republican and supporter of President Nixon who is concerned about the marshalling of support for the administration in the State of Washington. Jerry Hillis has probably mentioned to you that I had expressed concern about the development of support for the President's policies, particularly with regard to the coming presidential election, and that I am aware of a growing number of responsible business and community leaders who are similarly concerned.

I have been highly pleased to note in the past several weeks that Mr. Nixon has "opened up" in his attempt to improve his personal rapport with the public and to explain his policies. His handling of the recent press conferences, for example, has been excellent. However, this public relations strategy warrants continued analysis and constant effort toward improvement, in my opinion.

No doubt you have ample unsolicited advice on the subject, That is not the purpose of this letter. Rather, my interest is in determining whether there is interest at the national level with the marshalling of support for the President by a citizens group in the State of Washington which could provide advice and support in a consulting role and provide the additional capability of establishing a nucleus for an independent voters' campaign during election year.

I feel strongly that such an organization should be established, made up of independent voters of both parties who

Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
The White House
Washington, D. C.
Page Two

April 5, 1971

are middle-of-the-road or moderate conservatives, and who are respected community leaders not strongly identified with the Establishment. The group would be aimed at support of the national policies of the President and would hopefully be so structured to accommodate both supporters of Governor Evans and the more conservative elements of the Republican Party in the State, and to further attract the potential supporters of Senator Jackson.

Emphasis would be placed upon selling the quality of the administration's domestic and foreign programs rather than engagement in an aggressive campaign of personalities. Initially, the group would be composed of between 40 and 100 persons with backgrounds in business, banking, law, accounting, medicine, labor and agriculture, from a cross section of the entire State. Hopefully, the group could provide a sufficient age spread to reflect the feelings of the young voters as well as those of their parents' generation. Initially, this would include persons aged 30 through 55, although longer range plans would include the merger with young voter groups in the 18 to 25 age category.

One purpose in organizing such a group as soon as possible would be to head off early commitments of many moderate Republicans and conservative Democrats who might otherwise commit their time and energies to other campaigns, including that of Senator Jackson. It would also be anticipated that because many of the members of this group might have dual allegiance to Senator Jackson and to President Nixon on foreign policy matters, the organization could possibly enfold that organization if the Senator's campaign for nomination is unsuccessful. In this respect, I think it important that in the State of Washington any campaign conducted at this time not be antagonistic between these two groups.

I believe that the essential ingredients of such a group presently exist and that such an organization could be easily formed. The question is whether the administration would look favorably upon such an organization. Obviously, it would serve no useful purpose without proper lines of communication to the administration.

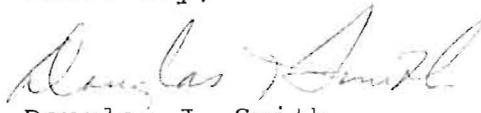
Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
The White House
Washington, D. C.
Page Three

April 5, 1971

The need to organize such groups with broad political appeal in support of the administration is certainly a common concern throughout the country, and the efforts of similar organizations in other states could be utilized and coordinated. However, my immediate concern for doing something now here in Washington is that unless immediate steps are taken to establish strong coordinated leadership and to focus attention upon the domestic programs of the administration, many of the same persons who would otherwise support the administration will become increasingly involved in support of the possible candidacy of Senator Jackson, or otherwise become disaffected.

You are undoubtedly aware of everything I have said so far, and for this reason you can probably best evaluate the suggestion. If you feel it has merit, or if you believe some other vehicle will better serve the same purpose, I would much appreciate your comments. Naturally, any reply would be considered personal and confidential.

Sincerely,


Douglas J. Smith

April 22, 1971

FOR: MR. CHAPIN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Per our conversation, you should answer this.

*Mr Chapin
I think we
sent this to
Gordon
Strachan,*

*See what
Gord
will do
with it*

Nell

Camp
Camp

Box 1332 ... 90603

Mr. Dwight Chappin
c/o The White House
1600 Pennsylvania ave.
Washington, D.C.

March 23, 1971

Dear Mr. Chappin;

As Director of Operations for a new organization named "The New Generation for Nixon", a youth group formed to support the President in his reelection campaign, I am interested in having our groups in attendance at as many of the Presidents public appearances as is possible. We feel it is not to early to start showing a little support for the President, and I am sure that the President and his staff would like to see more friendly faces in the crowds.

In your capacity as scheduling secretary to the President you can be very helpful to us. If it is possible could we be notified of each of the Presidents public appearances. We know you can't give us much time because of Secret Service regulations but even just a few days notice will suffice for us to notify our local people in each state of the planned event.

I know you wouldn't give this information to any one who might request it so may I offer the name of Mr. Murray Chotiner as a reference as to our validity.

Your cooperation is sincerely appreciated.

Yours for a Better America

Greig L. Smith
National Director of Operations

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 14176, Section 6-102
By HL, Date 4-23-71 April 28, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Citizens for the Reelection
of the President

Magruder met with the Attorney General yesterday. Subject matters discussed included:

1. The formal announcement of the formation of the Citizens for the Reelection of the President should occur next week.
2. Besides Frank Dale, Max Fisher, Tom Pappas, the Committee will include Rita Hauser, Don Schollander (Olympic swimmer), and Bob Volk (President of Union Bank, Los Angeles).

Hal Greenwood, a Democratic supporter of Humphrey in 1968 and 1970, and Nathaniel Rogers, (a Democrat and the President of the First City National Bank of Houston), may also be included if they are cleared by the Attorney General.

3. Magruder and Odle will leave the White House payroll Saturday, May 1. Effective Monday, May 3, they will be paid by the Citizens Committee and will be located at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue.
4. Magruder has been talking with the top staff about his role in the campaign. He will see the Vice President, Dole, and Cabinet members individually at their convenience. You have an appointment pending with him.
5. Magruder will meet regularly with the Attorney General for one half hour, twice a week to discuss the campaign.

GS:lm

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED TO BE AN
ATOMIC WEAPON MARKING

E.O. 12812, Section 6-102

By CP Date 3-23-82

April 21, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

Reviewing my notes from the Magruder, Higby, Strachan meeting on Friday, April 16th, the only outstanding item is the polling recommendation. You indicated you were going to prepare a proposal based on Derge's strategy memo, the need for simulation, and your readings from Haldeman.

Both Jeb and I indicated some interest in seeing Derge's two year strategy memo. I will forward it to him if you think it appropriate.

G/

February 12, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By SP NARS, date 2-23-82

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The avowed, potential and latent Democratic candidates for President led by their leader, Larry O'Brien, have formed an "unholy alliance" and have "conspired" not to attack one another, but to aim their fire at the President.

Art Summerfield just phoned in a suggestion that someone ought to take them on and blast them for devoting their time and attention to attacking the President of the United States at a time when he is working to disengage us from a war.

May I add that, in addition to the foregoing, our spokesman could point out that so many domestic problems need attention, as shown by the President's proposals to Congress.

If candidates for the Presidency would devote as much time and attention to working on legislation in Congress to solve the problems referred to by the President as they are in running around the country making partisan political speeches in an off-election year, they would be performing a real service to our country.

How about the proper person, whoever that is, passing the word to Senator Dole as Chairman of the RNC to launch the counter attack?

G-FU
an AG
10/2/71?

Murray M. Chotiner
Special Counsel to the President

cc: Mr. Haldeman ✓
Mr. Klein

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1971

G
for the file
no action,
H

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: ROSE MARY WOODS

Roose

I don't know at the moment to whom political suggestions should be given, but Lloyd Waring called last month to suggest that he felt it would be smart to bring Cliff White into the picture again. He thinks he has demonstrated great ability in past campaigns and suggests that he be used.

Porter - ^{Bob} ~~Mank~~ - RNC payroll JSM 4/26

Rita Hauser	Break next week Pr Rel + G + F
Tom Pappas	
Frank Dale	
Mrs Fisher	
Don Schollander	

? Hal Greenwood - D, H#H supporter, 68, 70
? Nathaniel Rogers - D, Tr of First City Nat'l
Bank of Houston
* Bob Volk - Tr of ~~W~~ Bank

Next Mon, 5/3 - JSM + R.O. → 1701

JSM + Porter - will handle Mrs. Mfr/1701
AG ?'s "little pencils chasing around after H"
but JSM laid it on about 6-OK

JSM → Use ~~P, Z, Dale~~ + Cal individually

* 1/2 hr twice a wk

AG concerned about polling, not
telling JSM - wants input
on all polls.
- is this 2 way street.

Everything ready for Press Conf

- AG hasn't gone ahead
- no projected date
- Magruder sent memo urging strongly urging next week

~~JSM stay at H&K next week~~

- Rita Hauser - firm,
- Frank Hale
- Max Fisher
- Tom Pappas
- ~~Dr~~ Dick Woley - dells F-out
Hansberger, TL of Boise Coade
Flanigan checking
Dem, Young, West for 7 total

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY L

As you know, Bob called the Attorney General and did not discuss the Magruder matter with him.

This whole matter does, however, continue to be a problem. We should do something so Magruder doesn't feel he has gotten away ~~with~~ lightly.

For that reason, I would think it best you not talk to Magruder on this subject.

In addition, you should know that Magruder has been given an okay by Bob to try and get people transferred over to the RNC for working on these projects.

The same rule would apply here, however, they should not go over at an increase in salary.

Hope this is satisfactory.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 7, 1971

PHONE CALL

4:30 p.m.

ATTORNEY GENERAL (Opr)

In Florida

After 6 361 5737 (Key Biscayne)

*See Maguire
Memo attached .*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY L

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Hope this is satisfactory.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 7, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12812, Section 6-102
By *JP*, Date *3-23-82*

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Bart Porter

Obviously I moved faster with Bart Porter than was appropriate. I gather Larry has given you most of the background relating to this subject.

The salary part of the Porter problem developed not because of my intention to set any pattern or to, in effect, give him a raise, but rather to bring him back to the level which had been indicated to him when he came to Washington. It was not necessary to convince him to come to work on the campaign since he had indicated an interest in this area when he first came to work at the White House. He has shown tremendous ability and I felt this would be a good move for him. It was also my impression that Colson and Howard agreed in general with the move.

As far as salary policy at the committee, I completely concur with your feelings in this matter and, if you feel a discussion on general salary policy with the Attorney General is warranted, I would think that he would agree with you and there would be no question relating to salary policy that you and he would differ on.

On the other hand, if you bring up the Porter situation with the Attorney General I think you will have seriously restricted my ability to function

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

effectively in the campaign. He would not know about Porter by name, he would not know about any salary discussion. His interest at this time was simply for me to get the planning started and he wanted me to do this within the guidelines that he set down with me a week ago Saturday. I am in the process of attempting to do this and John Dean will have a memorandum this afternoon which will detail how he feels it must be done. But to discuss Porter specifically with the Attorney General I think would be a mistake from my standpoint and will not accomplish any meaningful objective with the Attorney General.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 6, 1971

G
H kept 3rd page to
talk to Mitchell

DETERMINED TO BE AN
INFORMATIONAL
12065, Sect. 50-102
NARS, Date 4-11-71

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Citizens for the Reelection of the President

Magruder and Dick Moore discussed the announcement of the citizens committee yesterday with The Attorney General, who is vacationing in Florida. Based on that telephone conversation and discussion with Magruder this morning the status is:

1. Frank Dale will be chairman. The formal announcement of the formation of the committee will be made Wednesday, April 14 from Cincinnati. Magruder will handle the arrangements. Tom Pappas and Max Fisher are on the committee, but Bill Marriott has withdrawn. The Attorney General, Moore, and Magruder are looking for two more names. Colson, Flanigan, and Bell have made suggestions.
2. Charles Bartlett, the Publishers Hall syndicated columnist who appears in the Washington Evening Star will have a fairly extensive story about the citizens committee in the April 7 newspapers. He has had information for two weeks and has delayed in exchange for additional information from Magruder. Bartlett knows "something about Kalmbach" but will not use his name in the story. He will say that Magruder, Flemming, Odle and Sloan are working full time now.

John Carroll of the Baltimore Sun will also break the story April 7. He too had accurate information and delayed in exchange for more.

The Attorney General knows of both of these stories.

to go off the govt. payroll

3. Magruder will move his office on Monday, April 19 to 1701 Pennsylvania Ave. Odle, Flemming and Sloan are already there.
4. Magruder will approach the potential chairman of the task forces today. He will attend the first meetings, which will begin Monday, April 12.

The Task Forces are:

1. Primaries and Field Organizations: Kleindienst, Chairman; Odle, Project Manager;
2. Citizens Committee: Flanigan, Chairman; Porter, Project Manager;
3. Convention Logistics: Timmons, Chairman; Odle, Project Manager;
4. Convention Strategy: Rumsfeld, Chairman; Odle, Project Manager;
5. Advertising, Direct Mail, and Media: Magruder, Chairman; Rhatican, Project Manager;
6. Polling, Computers, Research: Ed David, Chairman; Marik, Project Manager;
7. Democratic and Republican Contenders: Buchanan, Chairman; Marik, Project Manager;
8. Spokesmen Resources: Rumsfeld, Chairman; Porter, Project Manager;
9. 18 - 20 year old vote: Finch, Chairman; Porter, Project Manager;
10. The Black Vote: Garment, Chairman; Porter, Project Manager;
11. The Women's Vote: Hitt, Chairman; Porter, Project Manager;

April 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Attorney General's Meeting
with Magruder, March 27

Discussions with Magruder on March 28, 31 and April 2 revealed the following about the meeting:

1. The formation of the Citizens for the Reelection of the President will probably be announced from Cincinnati the week of April 12. The Attorney General has approached Frank Dale to be chairman. Dale has accepted with the provision that he clears the job with his company. Magruder will go to Cincinnati to handle the arrangements for the announcement. Other members of the committee include Tom Pappas, Max Fisher, and Bill Marriott.
2. Charles Bartlett, the Publishers Hall syndicated columnist who appears in the Washington Evening Star, according to Magruder has some information on the citizens committee. He knows about the offices at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, that Magruder, Flemming, Odle and Sloan will be working there full-time. Bartlett also knows "something about Kalmbach." Magruder does not know how much. However, Magruder has reached an agreement with Bartlett to hold the story in exchange for additional information.
3. The Attorney General accepted the idea of the preemptive Task Force concept to consider obvious area--Convention, Citizens, Polling, etc.

The Task Forces should be under the control of Magruder. He would sit on them all and have five full time project managers under his direction.

These project managers would begin work "as soon as possible"--probably the week of April 12. Specifics about the Task Forces includes:

- a. Polling. Magruder says the Attorney General considers this a citizens committee function. However, they realize that certain "Presidential" matters would be within your exclusive control;
- b. The Task Force on the Convention would be split into "Logistics" and "Format". Timmons would be chairman of both. Shakespeare would be on the Format Task Force;
- c. Dent was pulled off two Task Forces. Magruder did not specifically know why;
- d. The citizens organization would be separate from the field and primaries organization. State Republican types would not participate in the field and primaries organization which would be headed by Kleindienst. The citizens organization would not be able to have Tom Evans from New York because of a recent decision by Evans' partners at Mudge Rose.
- e. The advertising and direct mail task force would include media, Magruder will be chairman. His first task is to find out exactly how LBJ ran as President in 1964.
- f. Finch would be the Chairman of the 18-20 year old vote task force. However, there would be a particularly strong project manager. Similarly Rumsfeld would head a spokesmen resource group with a strong project manager.
- g. Buchanan, not Finch, will head the group examining the Democratic Contenders. Dr. Edward David will be Chairman of the computer, research and polling group.

h. Magruder and the Attorney General discussed an "issues group" to consider not Presidential stands but what issues should be emphasized in which parts of the country.

4. According to Magruder the Attorney General is "very concerned about White House Staff involvement in the campaign." The only staff who should be in the campaign are those specifically requested by the Attorney General. Magruder thinks it would be helpful if I attended a meeting or two with the Attorney General to assure him that the White House Staff campaign activities are under control. Magruder will meet with the Attorney General weekly (tentatively Thursday mornings).

GS:kh

AG concerned that G role
too large - JSM thinks
H people too large in camp.

Tom Pappas + Max Fisher +
Bill Marriott -

Dem - Kaiser - checked
by Moore + guess
Kaiser not willing
- AG not that hot
for Dem.

Chmn - Frank Dale of Gen Reds
cuts for Reelce of TR - AG already to
Dale + Dale accepted
w/ proviso of clean
file

2 wks break day
JSM → AG → JSM re
setting up date in Gen

AG very concerned about WHS +
AG thinks WHS has not
protected TR

AG very concerned about WHS
on the camp

AG wants all WHS out of
camp unless AG wants
them in

Camp Open Bill
might have to accel
collec

Gale, Johnson, Wally, Dean,
Gene Cowen + JSM

Jeremy Jones - L, JSM, G -
orig weak + later more impressed

Polling - AG considers respon his
not H's, except for TR stuff

10 Task Forces -
- AG in gal - yes, go;
JSM controls proj man's
- proj man - Full Time
beginning ASAP

Timmons chmn of both TFs
on Convention - logistics +
Format (shakes, etc)

AG not too strong on Bent,
pulled off 2 TFs

Wants st repub types
not on field orgs

cuts org separate PR
field org + summaries together

TWE - can't be in campaign
by MRG + AG tho AG
wants him in + TWE
wants to be in.

Kleindienst - field org
w/ primaries

adv + air mail include
→ media

JSM chmn + pencil out
how LBJ

Bob Marak - proj man
of pol, computers + res +
oppol Dem contenders

Bob Henry - post office -
full time on convent +
block voter ops.

Funch - 18-20 yr olds but
w/ Henry as proj man
to see Bob Henry

Spokesmen Resource -
Room to be chosen
not Whitaker

Dem Con - Buchan
not Finley, is dem

Ed David - dem of
Comp, res & polling

for Jones - G → here rec.
Harris big on dem
Plesser - big on dem
Lonsel Basis at RNC?
G-mov - cheap (20,000 per yr)

A.G. - Premier's convention
ats.org, Cts (Dick Wiley)

Issues up - front what
→ It should talk about
but what areas in
what parts of country
new gips
G → never got it
issues memo

G see Bob Henry ←
- mammoth call

Charles Bartlett has
everything including
Kalmback - JSM
thinks someone telling
all

AG - JSM weekly mtg - Thur morning

Colson / Klein / Mag / Malek
compromise
Marilyn White reports to cac

Memo → 14
G. Allen
JCM
1/27
fr/B re
AFS

JSM, Dean, 3/10/71

JSM → Evans 3/11

JSM → AG, K 3/12

JSM - Dean - what can RNC do effectively + legally

- 1) Evans - like to do everything
- 2) Resources - people + assets
- 3)

→ Dean - Campaign

Minimal

① Primaries → 1 Task Force

① When occurring

J.D. ② Analysis of laws of states

- If it or stalling horse
has to go in, poli info

Fund raising

K - in Fri, elec reform legis

- to see Dean Fri

Millbank - normal RNC bit

② Convention → 2 Task Force

location

Time

Format

Delegate collection

Convention Procedure
of d R for D reform
JSM - Bean → Houston - good
TV time frame
KEAA grant info → JSM + Bean

Use of Hated people on Task Forces
- Shakespeare - low level, OK - JD
- JSM use 30 list for Malek
as TF Exec Dir

③ Citizens + Field Org's → Task Force
Delegates
Special Int Grps
- Kleindienst + Mardian + TWE

④ All TFs about 8-9
w/ one Exec Dir

⑤ Issue Devel TF?
- E already moving on this;
a WH function not campaign
JSM + JD agree to stay out of
issue area
G → H re info on is → JSM

⑦ JSM → 1701 - in 6 weeks

Polling Computers + Research

G on Task Force esp
Lee / Polling.

JSM - question re ORC ability
who controls polling.

G → H

Does AG want polling
done in cities.

- Various parts of polling.

JSM - ORC doesn't do good
some + swing voter stuff

Computer - use?

Tom Huston - best alone

Kevin Phillips - will be
work for AG this time.

- Neither JSM or JD know who
analysis of states / voting patterns

JD - AG cannot use as AGS
as bid people publicly.

JSM - Prepare Calendar of time frame.
- to go thru w/ AG + TH

Field Org

4 Regional Areas
South - Dent
East
Mid W
West

Grp for constant cntl for Disrup
- not Cenfield
Civil Disobedience TF
Dean, Walker,

TF to decide what is IT + what
is non-IT
- Kleindienst, Walker, Hughes,
Dean, Butterfield, Higley,

Total 14 Task Forces

GS - 14 assigned fr/col of

10 assigned to each one

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHAPIN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *G*
SUBJECT: "Youth for Nixon"

One of the task forces that Magruder is establishing deals with youth in general and the 18-20 year old voter in particular. Magruder has received a copy of Walker's memorandum describing Dewey Clower's information and Tom Bell's offer to organize a nation-wide group.

Appropriate follow-up should enable us to grasp this opportunity.

cc: Mr. Magruder

*Cg -
Does that mean
you are? - I assume!
C*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G
SUBJECT: "Youth for Nixon"

A copy of Ron Walker's memorandum to Dwight Chapin describes two opportunities that should not be missed. Would you have your youth task force consider Dewey Clower's information and Tom Bell's offer of assistance?

cc: Mr. Chapin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE 3/8

TO: Cordon S.
FROM: DWIGHT CHAPIN

FYI _____ PLEASE HANDLE _____

OTHER:

*How do we
handle this? /*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DWIGHT ^{C1} CHAPIN _{1/12}

FROM: RONALD H. WALKER _W

RE: "YOUTH FOR NIXON"

Dewey Clower has talked with many people including YR's at their recent conference and they are concerned with the apparent indifference of the Administration toward the 18 - 21 year olds. It is the opinion of these same people that the YR organization is not the proper forum to reach this group. It would appear that a "Youth for Nixon" organization should be considered outside of the RNC or YR organizations. This would be an organization loyal to the President, not just the Party.

Tom Bell, one of Senator Brock's young staffers, has talked about organizing such a nation-wide group. He is basing his organizational ideas on his success with "Young Volunteers for Brock" in Tennessee. Senator Brock has publicly on several occasions given much credit for his election to this group and has told Tom he'd let him loose to organize for RN. I suggest that if there is any way we can help Tom Bell or anyone else interested in organizing a "Youth for Nixon" campaign, we should. Such an organization could be most helpful to us in the field.

Please advise.

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: "Youth for Nixon"

A copy of Ron Walker's memorandum to Dwight Chapin describes two opportunities that should not be missed. Would you have your youth task force consider Dewey Clower's information and Tom Bell's offer of assistance?

cc: Mr. Chapin

GS:kb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: Jeb Magruder

Magruder spent an hour with me this morning expressing his very real concern that his effectiveness in the campaign will be under-¹mined if he does not have the confidence of the Attorney General and Mr. Haldeman. It is Magruder's view that this confidence can only be developed by access.

He cites two examples where he feels his access has been impaired. The first concerns the Attorney General, when there was quite a delay in getting some of the initial decisions. Obviously little can be done directly to improve Magruder's relations with the Attorney General. However, Mr. Haldeman should be aware of that problem.

The second example that Magruder cites is the Bart Porter matter. Pursuant to your direction I did not discuss, or in any way alleviate, Magruder's concern about how that matter was handled. However, Magruder's point is that the memorandum that I drafted, incorporated Colson's and Magruder's attitudes, filtered the Magruder explanation of the matter to Haldeman. There is very little we can do about the Porter matter now and probably very little that we should do.

The point of this rambling memorandum is that it may be in our interest to protect Magruder from the second guessing and other that will always emerge in campaign contacts.

If you agree with this memorandum it might be useful for the two of us to sit down with Magruder for a "therapy" session.

AS
L
Breakfast
L's office 8a