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<td>From Fred Malek to Gordon Strachan. RE: California Campaign Manager, and Magruder's recommendation of George Babbe for the position. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Dent's urging of the Attorney General to push Governor Nunn to run for the open seat in Kentucky. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Gerald R. Ford to the President. RE: Ford's description of why he should serve as Permanent Chairman, and preside over the President's renomination in 1972. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: The findings and conclusions concerning Compass Systems, Inc. 4 pgs.</td>
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<td>A report detailing plans to draw new district lines for the 80 member assembly; written by Assemblyman Jerry Lewis. Attached is the plan characterized under &quot;Minority representation&quot; and &quot;Equal representation.&quot; 4 pgs.</td>
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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: California Campaign Manager

I am not sure it would be appropriate for me to make any recommendation to the Attorney General on Jeb's recommendation of George Babbe for the California Campaign Manager position. First, I don't really know Babbe and can evaluate him only on the basis of his resume. Secondly, I really do not think it is my role to second-guess on Jeb's personal recommendations unless the Attorney General asks me to. Finally, I doubt that Babbe is a serious contender since he is only at the recommendation stage.

Despite the foregoing, I will give you my private opinion - which I will be glad to share with Bob if he so desires. My opinion based on the resume is that Babbe is strictly an average man. He simply doesn't have a track record that denotes excellence at his age, and I would be hesitant to place him in a position of such import.
Dent is urging the Attorney General to push Governor Nunn to run for deceased Congressman Watts' Lexington seat in Kentucky. Dent argues that such a move would help Republican gubernatorial candidate Emberton as well as Nunn's chances should he run for Senator next year. Whether the Nunn/Hardin project should be reconsidered is something you may want to discuss with the Attorney General.

Gordon Strachan
Governor Louie Nunn might be persuaded to set the election for the Congressional vacancy created by the death of Congressman Watts in Kentucky's 6th District (the Lexington area) on November 2 and run himself. This would help the governor candidate by a minimum of 10,000 votes in that District, would give Nunn an elective spot from which to campaign for the Senate next year, and the combination of the Nunn and Emberton victories would be a big boost to the President from a political psychological standpoint. Emberton's people believe Nunn would be virtually sure to win. Jim Watson of Nunn's staff thinks there would be only an outside chance that Nunn would lose. Watson says Nunn does seem to be personally interested in the idea.

The Democrat candidate for governor Ford is the current lieutenant governor. The inauguration of the new governor is December 7, meaning Nunn would have to hang on for five weeks as governor after winning the Congressional seat. They say they believe they could do this OK.

I like the idea, particularly because it seems to be in the President's overall interest. If Nunn does not run, there will probably be a fight over the GOP nomination right in the middle of the governor's race and in a key Congressional District.

If you think well of the idea, I suggest you call Nunn right away while the iron is hot.

cc: Bob Haldeman
September 24, 1971

Dear Jerry:

I would like to acknowledge and thank you for your September 21 letter to the President in reference to your conversation with him concerning your desire to serve again as the Permanent Chairman of the Republican National Convention. I know the President appreciates your thoughtfulness in making your interest known at this time. It will also be most helpful as the Arrangements Committee finalizes plans for the Convention.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President

Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Minority Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
September 21, 1971

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

One of the proudest moments of my life was when I had the honor and privilege of presenting you, Pat and the girls to the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami Beach.

As plans are already underway for the 1972 Convention, it is my profound hope that I will again be privileged to serve as Permanent Chairman and preside over your renomination. Although I realize the formal announcement of the convention officers must await the recommendations of the Arrangements Committee, I was delighted to find during our recent conversation on this point that you are receptive to my desire to serve as Permanent Chairman in San Diego.

I am confident that 1972 will bring a great victory and vindication of your leadership at home and abroad.

Warm personal regards,

Gerald R. Ford, M. C.

GRF:rn
cc to: Senator Robert J. Dole
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Patrick J. Buchanan

Our operations contra Muskie have met, with Muskie's assistance, with considerable success. His slippage is considerable; there is a possibility Wallace could take him in the second major primary; Proxmire in the third (Wisconsin); perhaps even Jackson in Oregon -- and EMK is running two-to-one ahead of him in California. We are doing a major analysis of the "guantlet" Muskie must now run to the nomination for First Tuesday.

However, a problem has arisen and we need a decision:

A) Should we continue to focus upon Edmund Muskie, and do all we can to damage him; or should we turn to Edward M. Kennedy -- whom some consider (Nofziger among them) the most difficult candidate the President could face.

B) We think the time has come to do a major MONDAY piece throwing Jackson into the same basket with all the rest of the Democrats -- and unless we hear otherwise, shall do so.

C) Bob Finch feels very strongly the time has come to lay the groundwork for the "Do Nothing" Congress charge. He recommends a Cabinet meeting, clear of aides, in which RN calls on each member of the Cabinet to begin a round of speeches, taking on the Congress for its failures to push the Nixon Programs -- and following which each member of the Cabinet goes about the country, both hitting the general Congressional failings -- and the specific Congressional failings in their own area.

After making the initial pitch, the President might depart leaving Bob Finch to fill in the details.
There should be produced for these Cabinet officers a set-piece speech, in which each Cabinet officer could insert materials in his own area of expertise.

Purpose -- To lay the groundwork now, to leave open the President's option in 1972 to put the Democrats on the defensive as negativist Do-Nothing Congress. The schedules should be coordinated through our Cabinet speakers bureau; and a major speech drafted which would stand up for a month or so -- in order that individual Cabinet officers could make variations on theme.

Buchanan
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN

Per our phone conversation on whether one White House Staff member ought to be assigned each opposition candidate to become a source person for that candidate. Buchanan's view parallels mine. Namely, this would involve too many players, and would also be duplicating efforts elsewhere.

RNC already has persons tracking specific candidates: desk-men if you will, who are assigned one candidate to follow. They are available to me for information when I need it. As for in-house, you have Buchanan and myself with this responsibility, and I am continually keeping tabs on all opposition with emphasis on the frontrunners.

Unless this system breaks down, I recommend we keep it as it is.

cc: Buchanan
CONFLICT

August 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ROBERT H. MARTZ
GREGG PETERSMEYER
SUBJECT: RNC OPPOSITION REPORTS--Your Memo of 8/9/71

Per your request, we have reviewed the points in the subject memo. Overall, it might help the RNC if you stated the objective you are seeking: Comprehensive summary content on the first one or two pages for someone like Bob Haldeman, and sufficient backup on the remaining pages for someone like yourself who may need to provide more complete backup on specific questions.

The format of the summary page should be as consistent as possible from one report to the next. It should contain more substance than the current summaries do. One example, although by no means the only alternative, is given in Tab A. The relative importance of issues, as measured by space allotted in the body of the report, is going to vary as issues come and go. In the end, if there is to be any realistic limit on length, decisions concerning relative importance will necessarily involve the researcher's judgment.

In that vein, we agree with your points 1, 2, 6 and 7 relating to the bi-weekly or monthly contender reports. We tend, however, to feel that, in points 3, 4 and 5, sufficient information is given to get the point across. The RNC has worked to achieve a non-voluminous, lean report which can be quickly read and digested. It would be too bad to beef it up again, particularly when the overall amount of news generated is going to increase substantially in the months to come.
As we understand it, the purpose of the reports covered in points 8 and 9 is to summarize, organize and give some perspective to information already presented in the more frequent reports on each contender. One could refer back to those reports or to the RNC research staff for a more complete text. Again, if we don't preserve brevity, we will be overwhelmed with paper.

Regarding paragraph 9, your questions are all relevant, and what you are really saying is that you would have liked to see a more detailed report in greater depth. We do have most of the information you mentioned and we plan to have it readily retrievable by the time the campaign begins.
SUMMARY
RNC RESEARCH DIV.
Page 270
August 3, 1971

SENATOR EDMUND MUSKIE
July 19 - August 1, 1971

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

Gov. Warren Hearnes is reportedly supporting Muskie.
David Carley, a 43-year old millionaire and advisor to
Gov. Lucey, has taken over the lagging Wisconsin
organization.
Robert L. Nelson, Muskie's deputy director, will direct
the Florida campaign.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE
(No information)

TRAVEL

July 16 Washington, D. C. Lunch with Sen. Hughes
July 21 Washington, D. C. Press Conference with
summer interns
July 22-23 Washington, D. C. Conducted hearings of
arms control sub-committee
July 26 Boston, Mass. Occasion unknown
Potomac, Md. Staff picnic at Mrs. Drew
Pearson's home
August 11 Dallas, Tex. Speech - Dallas AFL-CIO
August 28 Maine Clambake for state Dem. Party
Sept. 11-12 Kennebunkport, Ma. Weekend with Dem. moneymen

POLLS

Harris (Date): Nixon 37%
Muskie 35%
Wallace 12%
McCarthy 10%
Not sure 6%

ISSUES

Domestic: Housing--Muskie called the President's June 11
fair housing statement a "blueprint for the
status quo."

Foreign: Vietnam--Muskie now says that the bombing of
North Vietnam was never justified. In 1968, he cautioned against a bombing halt.
ABM-MIRV--The U. S. should seek a moratorium with
the Soviet Union on new arms deployment for six
months at a time.
COMMENTARY

Evans and Novak--Muskie will be most successful in centrist position.

Lee Bundy--Muskie's major problem in South is that Southern Dems are "flocking" to Mill's "non-candidacy."

Tom Braden--Muskie should "stand still" for he can only damage position by moving right or left.
8-18-71
Per GS instructions: copies sent to Bob Marik and Greg Petersmeyer

TO GS in
5-C.
MEMORANDUM TO: Gordon Strachen
FROM: Ed DeBolt
RE: Memo of 8/9/71 on RNC Opposition Reports

August 17, 1971

First, I want to say how much your comments are appreciated. We are always pleased to learn that people are reading our material and welcome suggestions and comments as to how they might be more useful.

My comments on your suggestions are as follows:

1. I would agree that the Vietnam quotes might have been included within the Summary. Generally, we try to limit the "Summary" section to one page and thus at times restrict the number of quotes. However, in this instance, it could have been included.

2. Muskie addressed the Congressional Bi-Partisan Intern Program on 7/21/71. I agree that a more complete description of the occasion would have been helpful. By the way, we did have interns at this meeting to tape Muskie's remarks and ask pointed questions. Muskie was the only speaker on the program and the reactions were too diverse to really summarize conclusively.

3. Muskie's statement on housing consisted of only six sentences. I feel our summary and quote was really adequate.

4. I agree that the context for the ABM quote would have been helpful. Generally, I believe you will find we identify the context of most quotes in our reports.

5. With regard to the campaign spending quote, I believe that our researcher captured the most politically relevant portion of Muskie's response. Muskie's response was in the form of a dissertation and the quote used in the report captured the gist adequately.
Memorandum to
Gordon Strachen
August 17, 1971
Page 2

6. John Kyl's (R-Iowa) quote was not really worth repeating. I believe, in this case, our researcher's synopsis was adequate.

7. I agree that the information on Robert Nelson probably should have been included in the summary. Generally, you will find that information of this type is included in our summaries.

8. The Muskie Myth is a prototype of what we intend to be a comprehensive work documenting Ed Muskie's vulnerabilities and inconsistencies. It is intended to be used by party people in Washington as well as across the country. Many of the quotes and observations have appeared in various reports in the past year.

We purposely interjected comments in various places to create, tie together and emphasize certain tones and themes which will be important in 1972.

9. "The Democrat Contenders" is intended for use by party leaders who do not receive our Opposition Reports. Its purpose is to summarize the positions and strategies of the top Democrats. For brevity and economy we try to limit the number of quotes. In an accompanying cover letter, we explained to recipients that we were prepared to provide backup material for any of the information contained therein.

By the way, the Humphrey quote to which you refer was included in the report.

10. "Where the Voters Are" is intended as an overview of the general population characteristics of the American electorate. All of your observations are valid, and, along with many other aspects of this report, could provide a basis for future reports.

With regard to our Opposition Reports in general, I would add the following observations. First, these reports, by necessity, must be summaries. As I am certain you fully realize, the sheer volume of material we have on the leading contenders makes it impossible to include every quote or, in some cases, the quote in its entirety. We try to include statements which are unique and represent new or changed positions. Although we cannot print an entire statement, for example, on campaign spending, we bring to our user's attention the fact that Muskie did address himself to the issue on a certain date. Thus, our user, if he requires additional information, can contact us for the full text.
Second, as I am certain you also appreciate, the information contained on the summary page is, in the end, a matter of opinion and opinions vary. When preparing our summaries, we include that information most useful to political decision makers.

Third, and most important, your observations are appreciated. I welcome them and hope that you will feel free to comment on these and other reports in the future.

If you wish to discuss these reports further, please contact me.

Thanks very much.

P.S. We goofed in proofing the blue lines of the Presidential map that I sent over to you and inadvertently put Delaware in the wrong column for 1968. We have ordered new maps which should be arriving in a few days.

Get out your blue marking pen and fix the one you have and I'll send over a whole batch of new one when we get them.

Sorry about the mistake. Hope it won't cause any inconvenience.
August 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED DeBOLT
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: RNC Opposition Reports

Some thought has been given to the format of the opposition reports submitted under the date August 3, 1971. First, the July 19 - August 1 report on Muskie is generally excellent. The relevant items (travel, issues, staff, and quotes) are covered, however, you might want to consider making the following changes:

1) On the Muskie statement on Vietnam, which you list on the summary as appearing on page 272, it would be helpful to put the full quote on page 1, especially since the quotes are quite short;

2) In the travel section, where it indicates that Muskie spoke to the summer interns, it would be interesting to know if the group of summer interns included those from all departments. Presumably, one of our people could have been there and given an impersonal assessment of the numbers and reaction, as well as who else spoke to the summer interns;

3) Muskie's statement on housing would be much more useful if the full quote were given. That is, exactly the type of subject that should be followed closely but more than a three or four word quote is necessary;

4) Similarly, on Muskie's ABN - MIRV statement, some of the context would be helpful;

5) The campaign contributions quote appearing on page 273 would be more useful if his complete quote were given;

6) In reference to the addition of a Joint Committee on the Environment, some background on Representative John Kyl would be helpful, as well as his quote;

7) On page 275, the indication that Robert Nelson would direct the Florida Campaign is the type of information
that should appear on the summary, page 270, as that is an interesting and important development;

8) Concerning the "Muskies Myth" report, it would be helpful to know the purpose of this publication. If it were only for the use of the recipients of the Opposition Report, the emphasis should be more factual instead of the type of comments which hopefully will appear in newspaper columns. For example, on page 1, the comments about the temper would be more useful if there were quotations from columnists about the fact that he became "irritable", "blew his top", or "over reacted". The "inconsistent" section is excellent but quotes should be fuller with an assessment of the important phrases as this would be more useful;

9) Similarly, the Opposition Report intitled "The Democratic Contenders" would be more useful if the actual quotes appeared. For example, on page 3, under "issues", the report says that Humphrey has openly admitted that the Johnson-Humphrey economic policies failed. A quotation to this effect from Humphrey would be most useful;

10) Concerning the report on "Where the Voters Are", this is particularly useful. The only observation would be that the charts should be more closely tied to the key states. For example, on page 13, it would be interesting to have the population in metropolitan areas in the North-east broken out by Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. Similarly, on page 15, it would be interesting to know where the SMSA's are in the key states. Another way of saying the same thing is that the chart on page 19, which shows 1972 voter participation, would be very helpful if comparisons were made. That is, if California constitutes 10% of the total voting population, what percentage of Californians vote -- is it higher, lower, or the same as the national average? Similarly, what sections within the California population have a higher percentage of voter participation? Do old people in California vote in a higher percentage than old people in Florida or New York?

Please excuse the rambling in this memorandum, but we use the materials which you prepare and therefore were wondering what would make them more helpful. If you have any questions or if you would like to talk about these reports, please call.

8/17-on way-comm

cc: Bob Marik
Greg Petersmeyer
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER 9, 1971

FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

Attached is a memorandum from Bill Timmons recommending that John Rhodes be appointed the Chairman of the Platform Committee for the 1972 Republican National Convention. John Ehrlichman asked that I pass it through you to the President.

John and I concur with Bill's recommendation that Rhodes be the Chairman of the Committee. We believe that we can work constructively with him and that an early and firm selection of a Chairman can avoid some other problems.

We plan also to insure that Bryce Harlow plays an influential role as a member of the Platform Committee. (Unless you see some problems with Rhodes' selection, I plan to go ahead and advise Timmons that John Rhodes is acceptable as Chairman. Rhodes would like to have the job.)

Please advise.

Ken Cole

cc:
Bill Timmons
MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN EHRLICHMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS  
SUBJECT: '72 Convention  

We should soon be thinking about the person who is to be selected Chairman of the Resolutions (Platform) Committee for the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Senator Hugh Scott and Rep. John Rhodes have both expressed interest in being chairman of this Committee. Since Sen. Roman Hruska was Vice Chairman in 1968 under Everett Dirksen, he very likely could lay claim to the post. You may recall that the Committee was led by Mel Laird in '64 and Chuck Percy in '60.

It is not necessary for the Chairman to be a Member of Congress although Senators & Representatives probably have a better grasp of issues and the nuances of drafting platform language.

Since you have platform responsibilities, could you give me guidance on the individual you feel could best do the job and also one that you could work comfortably with?

My own recommendation is for Rhodes. As Chairman of the House Policy Committee and as a senior Member of the Appropriations Committee he understands issues and their interrelationships. Also, taking a House Member would not force a decision between our loyal friend Hruska and our Senate leader Scott. Additionally, Johnny is well liked in Congress and the choice would be popular.

The only possible liabilities, and they are minor, are Rhodes' close identification with the Conservative wing of the Party and a sometimes streak of western independence. On the key votes we measure loyalty by, John voted against the President only five times: three were SSI, one the OEO authorization and another on funding the International Development Association.
BRIEF BIO

Rhodes is 55, married with four children, served in Air Corps in World War II, law degree from Harvard, member of a variety of social-service-veterans associations. John is in his 10th term, having been first elected in 1952. He served on both Education & Labor and Interior Committees before joining the Appropriations Committee. He has been Policy Chairman since 1963.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: '72 Convention Appointments

There are a number of decisions which should be made soon and some which may be deferred regarding key posts at next year's national Republican Convention. Most of these decisions are for early planning and need not be announced until next spring and summer.

Attached are the major official jobs for the Convention, a brief description of each and my personal recommendations.

The Attorney General will certainly want to discuss these with the President and Bob Haldeman at some convenient time. When decisions are made, please let me know for planning and follow-up.

cc: H. R. Haldeman
FLOOR LEADER: An important publicity post. Should be identifiable personality who understands convention mechanics, politics and rules. Job is to represent candidate's interests on convention floor, make motions or speak to them for candidate, serves as conduit for information to key delegates. Floor leader is in constant communication with campaign manager and podium.

Recent Floor Leaders have been:

-- 1968 - Rogers Morton
-- 1964 - Curtis for Goldwater
-- 1960 - ???

I recommend that Hugh Scott be asked to assume this role. The Pennsylvanian Senator is GOP Senator and understands House rules from his years in that Body. A former National GOP Chairman who supported Rocky in '68 and Scranton in '64, but a Senator who with several exceptions supports the President's legislative program. If there is a revolt from the liberal camp over some platform plank or over the nomination of the Vice President, Hugh can communicate with the left wing. Also it is believed Scott will take instructions from the campaign manager. He expects to have a prominent role in the convention and has already sent signals for the Platform Chairmanship or, failing that, Rules Chairman. It is felt Scott must have some assignment or he and his friends will be extremely upset. It is believed the Floor Leader position is controllable.

APPROVE _______________ DISAPPROVE _______________
NOMINATOR AND SECONDER: Key actors in Convention drama.
New Rules will probably be adopted to limit nomination
and seconding addresses to a total of fifteen minutes, to
be allocated as each major candidate determines. (Favorite
sons and symbolic candidates will have five minutes total).
It will probably be smart to have a number of speakers with
very short remarks to show broad support for the President.
A good spot for Governors, especially Reagan & Rockefeller.
Possibility for Cabinet officers.

Recent nominators and seconders have been:

-- 1968 - Agnew, Hatfield, Baker, Volpe & Ogilvie
-- 1964 - (Goldwater) Dirksen, Knowland, Clare Luce,
    Tower, Halleck
-- 1960 - Hatfield, Kuchel, Chris Del Soto, Jewel
    Rogers, Taft, John Roosevelt, Mrs. Andrew
    Gavin, Javits

The decision for these posts should be made after the
Democratic National Convention and be used to the best media
advantage for the President.

APPROVE ___________ DISAPPROVE ___________
RULES CHAIRMAN: Presides over convention Rules Committee which makes rules changes recommendations to full convention. Important the Chairman be loyal and familiar with House Rules as well as existing RNC rules for a National Convention. In preparation for the '72 Convention, the RNC has already created a Rules Committee to study possible changes, hear arguments, etc. Normally, if elected delegates from their states, members of this Committee become actual Convention Rules Committee since they will have had most familiarity with issues. Former Rep. Bill Cramer is Chairman of the RNC Rules Committee.

I recommend that Cramer be continued as Rules Chairman for the Convention. He is an able lawyer, thoroughly conversant with House and RNC Rules. He is in best position to carry forward recommendations and should work well with the campaign staff.

APPROVE _______________  DISAPPROVE __________________
KEYNOTE: Gives major speech on first evening of Convention. Maximum television exposure, sets scene and tone for Convention. Selection must be carefully made in light of political circumstances in August of 1972 and image we need to project.

Recent keynoters have been:

- 1968 - Dan Evans
- 1964 - Mark Hatfield
- 1960 - Walter Judd

I recommend that the selection of the keynoter be held until after the Democratic National Convention but that Chairman Dole be charged with stopping any lobbying by interested politicians. Should one individual build up broad support for the job and for campaign reasons not be selected, there will be friction.

APPROVE _______________  DISAPPROVE _______________

Recent Vice Chairmen have been:

-- 1968 - Don Ross
-- 1964 - Bob Pierce
-- 1960 - Jaren Jones

This post has already been filled by Dick Herman of Nebraska. Dick was regional director for '68 campaign, worked on transition staff for personnel, held key position in Nixon effort in Miami Convention. Has already been most helpful.
CHIEF PAGE: Usually a young man to organize and supervise official Convention pages. Pages are assigned each delegation and RNC offices, media, etc. Not a major post but one to reward friends and to establish network of intelligence for campaign operation (actually states appoint most of their own pages). Chief Page should work closely with Nixon Youth organization.

Recent Chief Pages have been:

- 1968 - Lance Tarrance
- 1964 - Michael Gill
- 1960 - Tom Van Sickle


APPROVE ________________  DISAPPROVE ________________
SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Administrative head of convention hall security and ushers. Responsible for validating tickets, parking permits, etc. No law enforcement experience necessary but loyalty and ability very important.

Recent Sergeants at Arms have been:

- 1968 - Jack Sherwood
- 1964 - Robert Carter
- 1960 - Edward McGinnis

This appointment has already been made with approval of the Attorney General. He is Ody Fish, former GOP State Chairman of Wisconsin.
PLATFORM CHAIRMAN: Presides over the hearings and sessions of the Resolutions Committee. Presents report to the delegates for adoption. Extremely important and difficult post. Must understand President's policy, national issues, public and delegate attitudes, etc. Hugh Scott and John Rhodes both want job. Roman Hruska probably would like assignment since he was Dirksen's Vice Chairman in 1968.

Recent Platform Chairmen have been:

-- 1968 - Everett Dirksen
-- 1964 - Melvin Laird
-- 1960 - Charles Percy

I recommend Rhodes get the nod. Have also asked John Ehrlichman for his views on best man. Johnny has been Chairman of the House GOP Policy Committee for nine years. Serves on Appropriations Committee and has also been on Interior and Education & Labor Committees. Harvard lawyer, World War II Air Corps, 55 years old, married with four children. He has voted "wrong" on only five occasions over 2-1/2 years: three on SST, one on OEO authorization, and one on funding International Development Association.

APPROVE ____________    DISAPPROVE ____________
PARLIAMENTARIAN: Makes recommendations to the Chairman on all questions of rules, procedures and precedents relating to the Convention. He must be a loyalist and personally compatible with the Permanent Chairman. Since the House Rules are used, the Parliamentarian should be a House Member. Rules Committee experience is helpful.

Recent Parliamentarians have been:

-- 1968 - H. Allen Smith
-- 1964 - Katherine St. George
-- 1960 - Katherine St. George

I recommend that Smith again be given the assignment. He is best authority on House Rules.

APPROVE ___________ DISAPPROVE ___________
SECRETARY: Normally held by the woman who is Secretary to the Republican National Committee. This is an important position that has seldom been effectively used. The Secretary's principal role is to call the roll of the states, announce tallies, etc. Therefore, the Secretary is on camera a lot. She should be an attractive and competent lady. Mrs. Connie Bailey of Vermont is RNC Secretary but does not project well and is unattractive physically.

Recent Secretaries have been:

- 1968 - Mrs. Connie Bailey
- 1964 - Mrs. C. D. Buck
- 1960 - Mrs. E. E. Heffelfinger

I recommend that we change precedent in 1972 and have the National Co-Chairman, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, serve as Secretary of the Convention. Anne is popular, attractive, dignified, and possesses a pleasant voice. She is from important Texas and currently will have virtually no official role in the Convention.

APPROVE ________________ DISAPPROVE ________________
PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Presides over the Convention for all business, including adoption of Committee reports (Platform), nominations and selection of candidates, acceptance speeches, etc. If the Convention continues to follow the House of Representatives Rules it seems appropriate that a House Member be the permanent Chairman. Jerry Ford has expressed interest in the job and most politicians expect he will be named (actually, he must be elected by the Convention itself). This probably the most important Convention responsibility.

Recent permanent chairmen have been:

- 1968 - Gerald Ford
- 1964 - Thruston Morton
- 1960 - Charles Halleck

I recommend that Ford again be given the assignment.

APPROVE             DISAPPROVE
TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: Presides over the early non-working sessions of the Convention (organization session and also keynote session). This is a prestigious appointment but one that can do relatively little damage to us. A good spot to expose a liberal or minority Republican or candidate in need.

Recent temporary chairmen have been:

- 1968 - Edward Brooke
- 1964 - Mark Hatfield
- 1960 - Cecil Underwood

I am not prepared to make a recommendation at this time and believe the post should be held open until after the Democratic Convention. Probably should go to a Governor (Holton, Ogilvie?) if that will not hurt general election effort.

APPROVE _______________________________ DISAPPROVE _______________________________
FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

For your information and relay to Larry and Mr. Haldeman if necessary.
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
SUBJECT: DMI

With reference to my comment on Gordon's memo about DMI and Spencer Roberts, I obtained more information from Ed DeBolt, who was on the California State Central Committee at the time of their corporate separation.

Stu Spencer and Vince Barabba had a "complete falling out" on the issue of whether S-R should provide all advertising services for DMI. They physically moved to separate locations. Ed says he is certain that the estrangement is so thorough that the two sides now have no business connections. It was one of the "major political stories of the year."
September 21, 1971

The Honorable Spiro T. Agnew
Vice President of the United States
2203 New Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Earlier in the year when I wrote to you with a request that you sign a fund raising letter for the Congressional Committee, you indicated that you might be willing to do so later in the year.

The Congressional Committee is now doing everything possible to raise its budget for the last quarter of the year, which, among other things, will insure the continuing incumbent support programs which the Committee funds. Fund raising, particularly by the Committee's direct mail programs, has been difficult this year, but Bob Wilson and I feel strongly that a letter signed by you and mailed to a good list of Republican friends might very well turn the trick and produce the needed income.

I enclose a draft letter for your consideration, and I would be personally very appreciative if you can sign it for the Committee's use.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford, M. C.

Enclosure
Dear Fellow Republican:

I'm hearing far too much talk these days against President Nixon's Administration. I don't mean complaints from the radical Left. We expect that. I'm referring to gripes from good Republicans.

I know that no Administration is perfect. But let's be sensible. Let's not forget the key point: no Administration is much better than the Congress it has to work with. Right now, President Nixon is up against an overwhelmingly Democrat Congress.

ELECTING A REPUBLICAN TICKET IN 1972 IS ONLY HALF THE JOB WE FACE. The entire House of Representatives comes up for election. If President Nixon wins (and I for one am going to work my heart out to see that he does), then we mustn't saddle him with a Democrat House that far too often delays, emasculates or road-blocks the President's constructive legislative program. I personally think that we'd be hearing far less criticism from good Republicans if Dick Nixon had a Congress that would work with him, not against him.

In the House, about 40 seats can make the difference. Bob Wilson and my other friends at the Republican Congressional Committee tell me that we have a chance -- if we can get enough early seed money. You can't get a good man to take on the job of unseating a Democrat unless you can give him professional campaign help -- along with the funds he must have to break through in the media.

That is why I am writing to you today. I probably won't write a more important letter this year. I've seen how the Republican Congressional Committee can make the difference in a campaign -- for a conspicuous example, the special election that brought Barry Goldwater to Congress.

If you will send your check to the Committee today (an envelope is enclosed) you can be sure your money will count for our country next fall. And please -- won't you make out the check for as much as you can spare? Thank you.

Yours in friendship,

P.S. The Committee people tell me that if you send $25, you'll receive the Republican Congressional Newsletter every week for a full year. I recommend this. It is valuable reading, especially in an election year.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Convention Network Coverage

We have received the following information on the coverage the networks plan to give on the Republican National Convention. I will forward this to Bill Timmons so he can use it for planning purposes when he discussed with his planning group the format for the convention.

CBS will televise the convention gavel-to-gavel each day. They are hoping the convention will begin at 4:30 pm PDT so that it can be run live starting at 7:30 pm EDT. They also plan to have a special on Sunday night August 20 which will run from 10:00 - 11:00 pm.

NBC will also plan to cover the convention gavel-to-gavel also hoping it begins at 4:30 pm PDT for the same reasons. At the present time, they have no plans for a special.

ABC will cover the convention from 9:30 pm EDT to the close of the session. This is similar to their format in 1968. They will probably have a special either Saturday or Sunday evening.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

cc: Mr. William H. Timmons

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Sloan = JSM
Stans = 25 mil budget
"Mailback info = Stans --> AG"

Office G, Dean Malek, L - this
Subject: Leaks

$1,440,000 - raised, spent 400,
1,000,000 < acc. on $
9/21

Dole - official for quote
AG + or Maguire on news
situation, background on occasion based on
assessment of how it will come out.

- if a newsie calls + wants
cover record next Dole; if off record, then JEM+
Dole + AG will decide +
- sort of cultivate + very
happy so far; hold
stories
- in Jan a press spokse.
- no one else talks.

Muskie - member of AA

AG involved - a talk to many
at level admin of '71, AG, OK.

Never asked about Martha (only one
not in print); we help as
any day Republican

Nunn + Sloan - willing for
day to day act of Comm, not TNCamp
9/21

Denta

@ McClure - could should up lower than Hansen could get Hansen out

Julie Eisen asked me advice about going places.


Send off until then. Very likely for McClure.
MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: HARRY DENT
SUBJECT: Report on GOP Aspirants to Replace Senator Jordan of Idaho

Based on my soundings, Congressman Jim McClure is our best bet to hold the Jordan seat in Idaho in 1972. McClure is a pro-Nixon congressman with conservative convictions. He was elected in 1966 and represents the Western District of the State, including Boise. A poll taken last summer and a preliminary check in the last week show that McClure stands the best chance of winning of any Republican. He has the backing of most all of the major industry and business leaders, including Boise Cascade.

Three other conservatives have indicated a strong interest in running. They are former governor Don Samuelson, former state senator Bill Bergesen (who will not run if McClure runs), and George Hanson, now at the Agriculture Department and the man Church defeated handily for Senate re-election. Hanson causes McClure the biggest problem, and the State Chairman says there is no way Hanson can win. He recommends very strongly that someone here in Washington get Hanson out of the race. Right now he is absolutely determined to run. McClure agrees fully with this assessment.

The liberal in the race is former governor Bob Smylie, no friend of the President's. It is figured that McClure would finish first in a primary with Smylie second. There is no runoff in the primary.

Bob Finch has an assistant at the White House named Dr. Glen Wegner. He is both a medical doctor and licensed attorney.
He is interested in running for either the Senate or to succeed McClure in case McClure runs for the Senate. The State Chairman says that Dr. Wegner is virtually unknown in Idaho and because of his connections with Finch I think the State Chairman thinks he would be a little too liberal to get the party nod.

Thus, the man I think we should back privately is Congressman McClure. Americans for Constitutional Action is also moving in behind him privately.
A G

- letter time
- no primaries
revised previous
MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Compass Systems Inc.

You may recall that in May there was considerable discussion between you, the Attorney General, and Robert Finch regarding the value of Compass Systems, Inc. to the President's efforts in California in 1972. Robert Finch had committed $60,352 to Put Livermore. You and the Attorney General put a hold on the project. Several alternate methods of financing were considered and rejected. Finally, Magruder assigned Bob Marik to the project. He prepared the attached memorandum to the Attorney General for Magruder's signature.

Jeb Magruder met with the Attorney General on September 18 and obtained his decision to fund Compass Systems, Inc. The amounts involved are $65,000 for equipment leases and $75,000 for the "system" cost through November, 1972.
FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

For your information.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Compass Systems Inc.

This memorandum is to summarize our findings and conclusions regarding Compass Systems, Inc. computer system capability, and to discuss the proposal by Putnam Livermore for joint funding of the project through 1972.

The System. Bob Marik visited Compass on Saturday, September 11, and discussed the system at length with the Compass principals and the staff of the Reapportionment Trustee Committee (RTC), along with Tom Reed, National Committeeman.

Briefly, the system has been completed and has produced a good assembly reapportionment plan, ahead of the Democrats. The Republicans have gained much favorable publicity throughout the state and have taken the offensive in the reapportionment struggle (Tab A). The system is also being used to aid in designing the state senate and Congressional reapportionment plans, but in a more limited way.

The system consists of an ingenious combination of hardware:

(1). A digitizer which allows the operator to manually trace the geographic area of interest on a map, after which the computer will determine population and voting characteristics therein.

(2). The computer itself.

(3). A graphic output capability for plotting colored symbols on a scale map of the area of interest, to represent the desired population characteristics.

(4). A visual display panel through which the operator can communicate with the computer to ask for a variety of demographic analyses.

(5). The printer.
The data base, which includes several items from the 1970 census, as well as registration and voting data by precinct for 1968 and 1970, is probably the most complete ever assembled for the state.

CSI Technical Capabilities. The three principals of CSI appear to be highly competent, skilled in system design and computer operation, and effective in performance. We would want to be sure that that team of three is preserved through the campaign.

Additional Work Required on the System. The computer system itself needs no further expansion for the 1972 campaign. Only the data base should be widened to include:

(1). Vote results from the San Diego and San Francisco mayoralty campaigns and local referenda of importance in measuring voter attitudes.

(2). The 1972 Democratic Presidential primary results if a liberal-conservative division occurs.

(3). An adjustment of the precinct boundaries to reflect changes that will occur after reapportionment.

(4). Updated voter registration figures.

Other Recommendations. The computer itself was manufactured by a local company in San Diego, Digital Scientific Corporation. Because of its small size, DSC is vulnerable to business failure, in which case parts and service would not be available at critical times over the next year. Two options are available:

(1). Switch to a Burroughs 1300, a second-generation computer which is well-suited to efficient operation of the system and which will cost no more than the current configuration. This option is preferred by the CSI principals.

(2). Change to a time-sharing arrangement, by which the main computer would be paid for only when online. The peripheral equipment (digitizer, and graphic, visual and printer output) would still have to be leased.

Both of the options will require program changeover to some degree, but either one should make the system more flexible. Put Livermore has indicated a willingness to make a changeover if warranted, and to involve us in that decision.
The staff of CSI was once at the level of 45 persons. It is now down to about 22, after completion of the data collection and programming. We must be sure that the staff is continually pared down to reflect actual workload and that we and the RTC do not support a CSI commercial marketing organization.

Utility of the System for the President in 1972. The computer maps and the data analysis capability of the system will be extremely helpful in our 1972 effort. It has already been developed and proven in reapportionment, and therefore does not represent a speculative investment. Tom Reed has suggested, and we agree, that a system of comparable utility could not be developed for the cost of our investment in Compass. The maps, which should be easily usable by people at the state and county levels, allow ready access to information on:

1. Concentrations of registered Republicans (by percentage and population density) for registration and get-out-the-vote drives, rallies and placement of local campaign headquarters.

2. Concentrations of ticket-splitters for direct mail, telephone and other targeted voter activities.

3. Concentration of voters by almost any behavioral or descriptive measure: high vote for the President in 1968, liberal or conservative votes on local candidates or issues, high or low turnout, level of income, etc.

Intelligent use of these maps, particularly in the case of a close contest, could increase the President's vote by one or two per cent in 1972 in this very important, but complex state.

Proposal by the RTC. Putnam Livermore has proposed that, after paying the $65,000 for equipment leases previously discussed, the Committee share in the system cost through November, 1972, to the degree of 50% of the total cost, up to a maximum contribution of $75,000. We believe that the implied maximum expenditure of $150,000 is realistic, and that it might be kept below that if the general recommendations discussed earlier can be implemented. Tom Reed has concurred.

Recommendations

That the Committee forward to Mr. Livermore the $65,000 approved in my memo of August 12, 1971.

Approve [Signature] Disapprove Comment
That the Committee accept the proposal of the RTC, to support 50% of the next year's activities up to a limit of $75,000 total contribution over that period.

Approve [Signature]    Disapprove [Signature]    Comment [Signature]

That Bob Marik be assigned to establish an ongoing relationship with RTC, to be responsible for monitoring the decisions taken by Compass and RTC over the next year which bear on the operating costs, and to assure that the Presidential campaign will obtain the maximum benefit from the system.

Approve [Signature]    Disapprove [Signature]    Comment [Signature]

JEB S. MAGRUDER
Assembly Republican Leaders today vowed to force legislative reapportionment "out of the smoke-filled rooms" and expose it to full public scrutiny.

They also announced their own plan to draw new district lines for the 80 member Assembly—a plan which would increase legislative representation for black and Mexican-American communities—and promised statewide hearings on the proposal.

The author of the plan, Assemblyman Jerry Lewis of San Bernardino County, appeared at a morning news conference with Minority Leader Bob Monagan of Tracy and GOP Caucus Chairman John Stull of San Diego.

Lewis said he will move to have the plan amended into existing legislation, AB 1971, and ask the Chairman of the Assembly Elections & Reapportionment Committee to immediately schedule hearings at both ends of the state. (Lewis is Vice Chairman of the Committee.)

Monagan said the plan is symbolic of a "new era" in which reapportionment will cease to be a "partisan numbers game which seeks to reward Majority Party incumbents at the expense of the Minority Party and to build safe districts for the next election even if it means gross inequities for voters."

The three lawmakers criticized house leaders for failure to bring a reapportionment plan before the public.
"We are not about to sit idly by while the pie is carved up in secret and passed out to the boys in the back room," Monagan warned.

"We are simply not going to accept another partisan gerrymander."

said Stull. "The Republican Caucus is going to stand together. We'll demand nothing less than equality, and we'll uphold a gubernatorial veto of any plan which fails to meet that standard."

"I am hopeful that the leadership will immediately unveil their reapportionment plan so that we will have two alternatives to present to the public," said Lewis. "There is no excuse for further delays. The necessary data has been available since May.

"More delays can only mean an attempt to keep their plan under wraps and shove it through at the last minute, without debate or public exposure. If that is the strategy, it is not going to be easy to implement."

"The leadership may have the votes to push through a bill, but there are going to be some red faces in those smoke-filled rooms before it reaches the Senate."

end  end  end
MINORITY REPRESENTATION

The plan would create two additional "Chicano" districts in East Los Angeles where only one Mexican-American Assemblyman has been elected, despite a heavy concentration of residents with Spanish surnames. Moreover, most of the Mexican-American community in Santa Clara County will share a single district, accounting for about 1/3 of the registered voters.

"Gerrymanders have been tough on minority communities as well as minority parties," said Monagan. "They have been rendered politically potent by district lines which divide their voting strength and prevent them from electing their own representatives. This plan would alleviate that injustice."

The plan would significantly increase the influence of black voters in Los Angeles and Bay Area districts.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION

Since 1962, when the U.S. Supreme Court established the "one man, one vote doctrine", the courts have made restraints on reapportionment increasingly stringent. Redistricting plans have already been thrown out in other states because of population variations between districts exceeding three percent.

"These restraints really don't disturb us," said Lewis. "If this plan is adopted, any possible deviations from the ideal district population of 249,414 will be far less than one percent. We have been trying for zero deviation."
The plan apportions Assembly representation in accordance with known growth patterns. For example, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Alameda Counties lose districts to heavy growth areas such as Santa Clara, Orange and San Diego Counties.

COMMUNITY OF INTEREST

The plan attempts to reunite communities and to respect municipal boundaries, wherever possible, to maximize political awareness and the ability of voters to identify with local candidates.

"We are obligated to meet the courts' demand for numerical fairness," explained Stull, "but we are also trying to provide political fairness and reestablish a sense of community."
MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California Political Meeting

The Attorney General told Magruder on September 18 that the attendees at the California political meeting on Campaign 1972 would be Ronald Reagan, Edward Rienecke, Evelle Younger, Houston Flournoy, Robert Finch, Robert Monaghan, Gordon Luce, Tom Reed, and Putnam Livermore. The Attorney General has specifically excluded the "financial types". The breakfast meeting is tentatively scheduled for October 1 or 2. Magruder will make the arrangements and attend.