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A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
B. National security classified information.
C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NA FORM 1421 (4-85)
Presidential Materials Review Board
Review on Contested Documents

Collection: Staff Secretary
Box Number: 84
Folder: Presidential Memos - 1971 Finch

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ROBERT H. FINCH
SUBJECT: California Delegation, Convention and Campaign

The two attached memoranda from Tom Reed regarding the selection of the California delegation represent a power play with potentially disastrous consequences.

The very existence of this material and the polls in them is inexcusable.

Several things are obvious:

1. In terms of fund raising party unity and symbolism, you cannot separate the delegation from the California campaign. This is strongly reinforced if San Diego is the convention site.

2. The delegation must be structured solely on the basis of what will help carry California in November.

Any delegation picked by a committee chaired by Reed and composed of Reagan, his designee (Bob Walker), Tuttle, Eleanor Ring, and your designee (i.e. Firestone if it is presumed) will not meet this standard.

In 1968 you will recall, Tuttle "assessed" each delegate $5,000 or $10,000 for the "Reagan Fund." As in 1956 and 1964, a so-called "Host Committee" headed by the national committeeman, national committeewoman and state chairman, will raise a substantial sum of money for favors and gifts to delegates. This is money which will be denied us for the campaign.
I plan to meet with John Mitchell as soon as he returns and would like to recommend the following:

1. Reed should be advised that suggestions for delegates would be welcomed from each of the persons Reed proposed for his committee (except Bob Walker), plus each statewide Republican office holder as well as Republican congressmen from California and state legislators.

To keep it away from the White House, I would suggest Firestone or someone else -- clearly your man -- be designated as the person who will make final recommendations to Mitchell for the composition of the President's delegation.

2. There should be an agreement as soon as possible on "assessments" or other monies raised from delegates or others in connection with the convention. I would suggest that a given quota be established with one-half to be set aside for convention purposes and one-half for the Nixon campaign in California. There must be an accounting of these funds.

3. The other steps in the memos which must be countered are:

(a) No public announcements in August about delegation selection.

(b) "Records and Files" not in Reed's office.

(c) If further polls in California are taken someone from the Nixon organization should help formulate as well as have access to results -- who is paying for them? We certainly don't need any other polls on "If Richard Nixon does not run for President ...."

(d) OR memos saying "Nixon is in trouble in California."

4. This is your delegation, your convention, your campaign. Reagan should be chairman but if the Reeds and Walkers run wild with the kind of stupidity reflected in these documents and if they run the campaign we are in trouble.
POLICY FOR SELECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION TO THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

MAKEUP:

96 delegates: 2 from each congressional district, 10 at large (no more than 4 from each congressional district), and 96 alternates.

LEADERSHIP:

Governor Reagan, Chairman of delegation. T. C. Reed, Vice-Chairman. Delegation firmly pledged to the renomination of President Nixon.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE:

T. C. Reed, Chairman; Eleanor Ring; Governor Reagan (to be represented by one staff member); Holmes Tuttle; Leonard Firestone.

Counsel (not for public announcement): W. F. Smith.

Staff: To be selected by Chairman (Reed) with approval of the Committee. Initially, Helen Healey will act as Secretary of the Committee.

Records and Files: Office of the National Committeeman.

SCHEDULE:

August 1971 - Public announcement of organizing committee.
September-December 1971 - Informal "hearings." Luncheon meetings with key leadership. Somewhat formal "hearings" by Reed and Ring at RSGCC State Convention, October 1-3.
January 1972 - Committee commences deliberations as a group, including others as appropriate.
Late March 1972 - (After New Hampshire, Wisconsin primaries)
Submit list to Governor for approval. List to include suggested officers of delegation. No "draft" lists to be released prior to this date.
March 8, 1972 - Earliest date to file for primary.
April 7, 1972 - Latest date to file for primary.

PRIMARY CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT:

To be determined by the President and the Governor in the spring of 1972 in light of apparent challenges.

PROCEDURES:

Every effort will be made to involve the rank and file of the Republican Party in California in the nominating process; to avoid problems under
rule 14 adopted at the 1968 convention; to assure that as many communities and constituencies as possible are represented; and to build political strength for the President and the Governor consistent with the above. Computer time-sharing and file maintenance will be used to assure the retention and analysis of all nominations.

FOLLING:

The Organizing Committee will undertake regular surveys to analyze the probability and nature of a primary challenge to this delegation, and to ascertain the opinions of all Republicans.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION AT THE CONVENTION:

To be the responsibility of the National Committeeman and Committee-woman (Reed and Ring). Financial arrangements to be started by the Organizing Committee.

The above discussed with and approved by RR, 7/5/71, Sacramento.

The above policy, but not specific memo, discussed with and approved by John Mitchell, 5/29/71, Washington, D.C.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT H. FINCH
FROM: JON M. HUNTSMAN
SUBJECT: California Strategy (Action Memo P-1214).

The California Strategy (Action Memo P-1214) that you submitted to the President was read with interest. A copy of your memorandum is attached.

It was noted that your first recommendation dealing with the organization of a Nixon Advisory Committee headed by Firestone or someone else (clearly loyal to the President and acceptable to Reagan) to send out the broadest possible mailing for "Friends of Nixon" was a good recommendation and should be implemented as soon as possible.

It was further suggested that Attorney General John Mitchell be involved in your third recommendation that it be made clear to Reagan and other key elected officials that he is not to head the Presidential campaign in California, even in a so-called honorary capacity.

It was further noted, that relative to your own role, that you should "work with or chair a small advisory strategy committee" which you felt from the standpoint of "overview" ought to be implemented as soon as possible.

There were no notations on the fourth page of your memorandum relative to the immediate recommendations you made.

Please submit a report to the office of the staff secretary. Thank you.

cc: H. R. Haldeman
    Alexander P. Butterfield
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB FINCH

RE: California Strategy (Action Memo P1214)

Factual Summary

1. The recent public and private polls taken in California which I have forwarded to you show that the Presidential race would be very close or that we would lose the State against any major Democratic contender at the present time. On the other hand, McCloskey has not exceeded 9% against the President among Republicans in any poll.

2. The California State Republican Central Committee and County Committees are in bad disrepair with generally a very poor quality of membership and leadership. Good talent has been absorbed into national and state government. Volunteer organizations are equally impotent and increasingly dominated by the far right.

3. Intense maneuvering vis-a-vis 1974 races (Governor and Senator) is going on by Reinecke, Younger, Flournoy in particular with a prejudicial effect in terms of fund raising, organizing and carrying the state for the President in 1972.

4. Against this background and the present vacuum of activities on behalf of the President, key members of the Governor's staff have been making contacts among corporate heads, party officials and prominent personalities in the following areas:

   a. Seeking staff and speakers to support the Governor's welfare reform proposals as against the Administration.

   b. Holmes Tuttle (after two meetings with the Governor) contacting prominent personalities with regard to serving on the Delegation.
c. Calls from Bob Walker with prominent leaders saying "the Governor's office will run the campaign--Finch to have nothing to do with it" and discussions on his part as to who might be city and county chairmen in the Presidential campaign.

(Specific examples of the above with names, places and dates can be provided to support these contentions)

Recommendations

1. A decision should be made as soon as possible for a Nixon Advisory Committee headed by Firestone or someone else (clearly loyal to the President and acceptable to Reagan) to send out the broadest possible mailing for "Friends of Nixon" in California--getting people signed up with their indicated areas of interest and a chance to offer suggestions and comments. These lists are organized and ready to go and I believe the mailing should go forward immediately after the wedding. The Governor should be notified of the action just prior to the mailing but without any option to veto. This organizing committee should include the Governor and all appropriate elected Republican officials in California as well as the key "fat cats" and "movers and shakers." It should not include members of the White House staff or Cabinet from California. Wives of such key persons on the federal payroll might be listed on the organizing committee.

2. The Governor in his key position as Chairman of the Delegation should be asked to submit some names he would like to have considered for the Delegation. At the same time, all other statewide officials should likewise be asked to submit names, i.e., Younger, Reinecke, Flournoy and Priest, as well as Congressmen, Monaghan, Scantor Harlor, State Chairman Livermore, Vice Chairman Luco and Ralph Rosedale, head of the County Chairmen's organization. These names could be considered for both Delegation and organizational purposes.
3. It should be made clear to Reagan and other key elected officials that he is not to head the Presidential campaign in California, even in a so-called honorary capacity. The President, in other words, will run his own campaign in his native state. If he is allowed to be "Honorary Chairman," his staff will take this as having the franchise for the whole campaign itself.

4. Movement should begin immediately following the mailing to put in place new blood as acting county and city Nixon chairman, i.e. Russell Green, Forrest Shumway, etc.

Finch Role

In connection with his general campaign assignments, it should be made clear that Finch will have input in political decisions and campaign personnel affecting California. After discussion with the President, it has been concluded that since NHF is a possible 1974 candidate, he should not again serve as state chairman as the '74 implications would be counterproductive to the '72 effort. There have been discussions about Finch working with or chairing a small advisory strategy committee which I think from the standpoint of "overview" ought to be implemented as soon as possible. It would be anticipated that Finch would have a very important responsibility in helping select city and county chairmen which are the critical spots to be filled in carrying California.

Finch should campaign heavily and publicly, particularly between the convention and the election in California, as well as nationally, in those areas where he can be of assistance among youth, minorities, etc.

Present Status in California

We have a small beachhead operation tied to the Kalmbach law firm where John Flanagan is serving as a volunteer, working with various groups like Waller Taylor, George St. Johns, Fred Martin and others, in compiling lists, but without authority to take any definitive action at this time.
Immediate Recommendation

There should be a meeting as soon as possible with the President, Attorney General, H. R. Haldeman and Robert H. Finch to discuss.

If agreement along these lines is reached, another meeting with HRH, Kalmbach and RHF should be set for June 11 to implement.

Firestone will be here for Patricia's wedding and, if agreed, Mitchell could provide marching orders to Firestone and Kalmbach at that time.

cc: Attorney General
    H. R. Haldeman