

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1972

Dear Doug:

I appreciate very much your memo of November 30. You have, as usual, articulated brilliantly what is at the moment the biggest single deficiency as we attempt to institutionalize the President's new constituency. Let me give you my reactions to your memo.

First, you are still being taken in by news reports. I am not, as you put it, mucking around with the RNC. The RNC is a hopeless institution; it can never become the voice of or the coalescing force for the New Majority. It must remain the resting place for the hard core faithful, the organization that does provide some precinct work, get out the vote effort, hopefully some candidate selection and an occasional hard-line political propaganda. That's all. The RN cannot do more than that.

We do desperately need something like what you have outlined. Why don't you decide to do something useful and constructive with your life, bail out of Harvard Law School and come down here and go to work putting together exactly what you have outlined. I am not in the slightest being facetious. You are too valuable to waste three years in the ivory towers of Cambridge, and unless I have completely misjudged you, your success in life will be in no way affected by whether you have a Harvard Law School sheepskin on the wall or whether you got one from GW or Georgetown nights or, as a matter of fact, whether you ever got one at all. I'm very serious about this. You could perform an invaluable service if you were here in Washington, either inside or outside, for the next four years. This is our time, our opportunity to build our "establishment", but there are damn few on our side of the political spectrum who have either the interest, the imagination or the disposition to do it. You could.

As you may have read in the press -- and these reports are accurate -- I am leaving as soon as I can do it to go into private law practice, but that will be only a part-time endeavor. I will be taking on some assignments, very much in this area. The Washington establishment has been the breeding place for all of the enemy's ideas and, in fact, power and it has been a government in exile during those interludes when Republicans have controlled the Government, particularly during the Eisenhower years. I am going to try with all the power I can generate to change that and to build an infrastructure on our side during the next four years. That too is a big job. There too, you could find a happy home working part-time while attending law school down here.

What you have outlined in your memo is precisely what I am trying to get AEI to do. In order for AEI to pull this off, it has to change its name (we are in the process of exploring ways to do this). It has to staff itself with new people, it has to take on a new face and it could then do a very large part of what you are proposing -- not the lobbying function but certainly the educational effort, publications, the gathering of people, the research and reference service, the issue material, the speakers bureau, the scholarly activities, etc. Once again, finding the new people who really have the interest to do this is maybe the biggest single hurdle. We can reform AEI. It presently has a budget of \$2 million a year. We can double, triple or even quadruple that without too much effort if we have the kind of people who understand the problem the way you have obviously perceived it, have the motivation to do something about it and the drive to carry out their objectives. I've been around Washington long enough to know that the kind of people who have this type of imagination, vision, interests, seem always to be exclusively on the other side. This is our deficiency. Our people don't understand how to use the levers of power. They don't understand power. Maybe they understand money; maybe they understand their day to day lives and what they would like to achieve in a personal sense, but I think they lack the idealism and the vision to try to achieve the broader goals which really effect the kind of society we live in in the broadest sense. Therefore, I would really enthusiastically welcome any suggestions for names of the kind of people on our side who could participate in this.

I have been meaning to write you, but in addition to being totally exhausted from the campaign, going through kind of a personal let down myself, I have been surprisingly, terribly busy and deeply immersed in the President's efforts at reorganization. I have not attended to even the

simplest courtesies like writing those who worked most closely with me in the campaign to thank them for their efforts. Without being maudlin about this, I really want you to know how important I think your contributions were to the President's re-election. What you did with the issue groups way back when we were forming them in terms of defining their objectives, developing the plans for implementing them, was an enormous contribution. From time to time you contributed truly inspired ideas, many of which we followed; a lot of your written material, if not in precise form, at least in its concept, found it's way into the President's statements during the campaign and in the months preceding it, and clearly you, by pushing hard from time to time, did have an impact on the issue. I also think despite the fact that you are intellectually and in some other ways an elitist, you understand that the basic power of this administration has been built on a non-elitist foundation. I really think you understood very early in the game the nature of our constituency and even though at times you were schizophrenic about it and resisted it, you really did, in fact, understand it and pushed very hard for us to develop it as we did. What I am really saying is that I think you always were torn inside. You worried that really in building the new constituency we were appealing to the baser instincts of people and that ran counter to your intellectual and cultural instincts. On the other hand, you realized that this was important, that the Kingman Brewsters had to be destroyed and that we had to build the New Majority from Middle America, as we have done, as the first step to building our new establishment. In short, it was something of a destructive effort. We had to cut theirs down before we could build ours.

You often psychoanalyze me. I'm giving you a little dose of your own medicine back, which I have also done once or twice before. You are an extraordinarily talented energetic, ambitious and creative young man. You don't need pats on the back from me, but based on my brief time working with you, you will always be entitled to them if you want them. In short, you did a hell of a good job and I hope that we will be working together in similarly successful efforts in the future, like the one you outlined in your memo to me.

I am, by the way, mindful of your desire to be on a Presidential Commission. One way or another before I leave here, I will work that out and it will be a commission that will involve you in something that interests you. I will also undertake to get you the kind of certificate you mentioned in one of your earlier letters to me that are being issued to staff assistants.

Finally, as to one of your notes during the campaign about taking care of the Colson people, I think you will see also before I leave, that most of them will have moved on to bigger and better things. I am sensitive to their personal problems. I didn't have a lot of time over the past couple of years to really worry about that; I am doing my best now to make up for it which is probably one reason that I'm still working 12-hour days even though the campaign is over.

Whatever else you do, please keep sending me your thoughts. I do find them very useful. I used to kid you that you were the best test of my political judgment because if you reacted one way, I always knew the opposite would be the correct thing to do. I know you realized that I did that jokingly and that in fact I very much respected your analytical abilities and very often your judgment. Please keep the cards and letters coming.

In any event, I really look forward to seeing you during the Inauguration. I'm sure you can escape from Cambridge for a few days for that. And if you need any help with arrangements, let us know. I will see that you get the invitation, but be sure you check in with us.

Have a happy Christmas!

Sincerely,

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