

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
White House Special Files Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
20	7	11/22/1968	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Reorganization of the National Committee and the Relationship Between the White House and National Committee. Handwritten comments by unknown author on first page. 22 pgs.
20	7	01/02/1969	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Chairman Bliss. 5 pgs.
20	7	01/10/1969	Other Document	Briefing summary RE: Republican National Committee Chairman Ray Bliss. 1 pg.
20	7	01/02/1969	Memo	Memo from John Sears to RN RE: Chairman Bliss. Handwritten note by H to the attention of Ehrlichman on first page. 5 pgs.
20	7	12/05/1968	Memo	Memo from John Ehrlichman to D. C. RE: Ripon Society Recruiting. 1 pg.
20	7	12/05/1968	Letter	Copy of letter from John Ehrlichman to Roger Fisher RE: Fisher's letter of November 18 concerning the Ripon Society. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
20	7	11/21/1968	Letter	Letter from Lon L. Fuller to RN RE: Recruiting from academic faculties. 1 pg.
20	7	10/10/1968	Letter	Letter from Lon L. Fuller to RN RE: Feelings about the present campaign. 2 pgs.
20	7	11/18/1968	Letter	Letter from Roger Fisher to RN RE: Contacting the Ripon Society about recruiting. 2 pgs.
20	7	11/21/1968	Other Document	Postmarked envelope from Professor Lon L. Fuller to RN. 1 pg.
20	7	12/17/1968	Letter	Letter from Roger Fisher to John Erhlichman RE: Clarification regarding the Ripon Society. 1 pg.
20	7	08/20/1968	Other Document	August 1968 calendar showing RN's schedule. 1 pg.
20	7	08/20/1968	Other Document	September 1968 calendar showing RN's schedule. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
20	7	08/20/1968	Other Document	October 1968 calendar showing RN's schedule. 1 pg.
20	7	08/20/1968	Other Document	November 1968 calendar showing RN's schedule. 1 pg.
20	7	N.D.	Other Document	Handwritten itinerary by unknown author for September 1 - October 4 and list of states. 2 pgs.
20	7	01/13/1969	Memo	Memo from Harry Flemming to John Ehrlichman RE: Description of permanent staff, including Flemming, Larry Dunn, Linda Underwood, Bill Casselman, Amelia Leukhardt, George Bell and open positions. 3 pgs.
20	7	01/04/1969	Report	Staffing Status Report for the Department of the Interior. 3 pgs.
20	7	01/03/1969	Report	Staffing Status Report for the Department of Labor. 2 pgs.
20	7	01/03/1969	Report	Staffing Status Report for the Department of Agriculture. 2 pgs.

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20	7	01/02/1969	Report	Staffing Status Report for the Post Office. 2 pgs.
20	7	01/03/1969	Report	Staffing Status Report for the Department of Defense. 2 pgs.
20	7	N.D.	Report	Staffing Status Report for the Army. 1 pg.

November 22, 1968

MEMO TO: RN  
FROM: Sears  
RE: Reorganization of the National Committee and the Relationship Between The White House and National Committee

7H  
① a lot of this makes sense -  
② what is our game plan?  
a report by February 20.  
③ Page 11 should be implemented now -

④ The Senate Committee (page 25) should be picked now (give me a report by March 15)

I. General Discussion: As a result of the November 5th election, it is obvious that the future of the Republican Party, together with its political base, lies in an area stretching from Florida to the State of Washington. This area includes all of the Old South, the Middle West, with the exception of Michigan and Minnesota, and all of the Far West. In the Northeast, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania should be considered border states under the new configuration and over the next few years. The election results in these states, as well as Michigan and Minnesota, will vary from year to year depending on issues, events and candidates. New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and, for a while, West Virginia must be considered Democratic strongholds. Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont will remain Republican.

⑤ also a report of Senate candidates (page 17-18) by April 15

The political job over the next two years is to build and establish the Party within the confines of its Florida-Washington base, making it so strong in these areas that it can be counted upon to deliver a Republican majority in statewide elections. Once this is done, and we are sure of our base, we can tackle the larger problem of making Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey more predictably Republican and establishing stronger organization in Michigan, New York and Connecticut. If we do our job in the Florida-Washington areas well enough over the next ~~two~~ years, this second phase (the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, New York, Michigan, Connecticut push) could be commenced after the 1970 elections. The objective of both Phase I, aimed at establishing a sure base of Republican electoral votes in any national election and gaining control of the House and Senate in 1970, and Phase II, the push in the Northern states mentioned above, will result in making the Republican Party the majority party in this country four years hence.

II. General Problems: If the above two-phase plan is to be accomplished in four years, a number of things must be set in motion immediately: (1) the power and authority of the Presidency must be brought to bear on the National Committee to completely remodel it, both in terms of personnel and function; (2) the Congressional Campaign Committee, the Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Republican Governors Association must be abolished, at least insofar as they now attempt to perform some campaign function, and their political functions transferred to a strengthened National Committee; (3) federal patronage, both in terms of jobs and projects, must be funnelled through a central source in the White House to be sure that its distribution is serving the best political purpose possible. For the next two years, patronage must be used almost exclusively to build the party in the Florida-Washington base and not to reward incumbent Republicans. After we have won control of the Congress, we can use an appropriate amount of it to keep our incumbents popular; (4) the patronage which flows from the many governmental agencies must be funnelled through the same central source, and this must all be coordinated with the patronage which our many Republican governors are distributing; (5) the selection of candidates for

the 1970 elections in Virginia and New Jersey must commence immediately, and the White House, while not dabbling in this matter publicly, should use its power and authority to be sure that the best candidates run and without going through damaging primaries.

All of this, as well as many other more particular functions, will have to be undertaken while RN is trying to deal with a Democratic Congress, confronting the grave national problems that face us and beating down the normal amount of sharply aimed criticism from the Democrats. It is not too unlikely that Teddy Kennedy, who already has begun rustling around to gain control of his party, will start running against us next year, and this will be a separate problem to deal with.

III. The Proposed Function of the Remodeled National Committee:

If we are to change the leadership of the National Committee, as well as its personnel, and abolish the Congressional Campaign Committee and the Senatorial Campaign Committee, it must be expected that this will generate a certain amount of internal dissension in the party itself. Ray Bliss, while he certainly can't win any confrontations with RN, has a few cards to play. Quite wrongly, most of the state

chairmen believe that he has done a good job and see no reason to replace him. He has cultivated their loyalty assiduously against the time when someone might try to replace him. Were he a different kind of fellow, we could kick him upstairs somewhere, but I can't think of any place where he could do a decent job.

Therefore, if we are to replace him we must be sure that the person or persons who take over his obligations are acceptable to the National Committee members and such good appointments that we can keep the bitching to a minimum. I am in agreement with the concept of having a two-man Chairmanship, a name Chairman who is a spokesman for the party and the Administration, and a second man with a lesser title who is a purely political mechanic. While RN will have to decide on the top spot himself since this man will have to speak for him, I think that Keith Bulen would be an ideal selection for the second position. Bulen is highly regarded in the National Committee, a strong and thorough organizer; he has proven himself tough enough to move a lot of people around and break some china, yet maintains a strong respect, even among those whom he has offended. He has been through a similar exercise to that we are facing in his own state

of Indiana, and is therefore aware of some of the problems that might not be apparent to others. Most important, he could be counted upon to be totally loyal.

In order to hold down the public clamor in this regard to abolishing the two Campaign Committees, I think that it is necessary to proceed by first abolishing their fund-raising capabilities and lodging those with the National Committee; and then we can proceed to take over their other functions in regard to candidate selection and campaign services. Once they no longer have any fund-raising capability, you will have them on a pretty short string anyway.

As a temporary mechanism to make it easy on everybody, I think that a general campaign committee should be formed at the National Committee comprised of the National Chairman, his political second, a member of the House, a Senator, and a Governor. This committee would in actuality have no campaign function but would serve as a substitute for the present arrangement. Also, the Governor, the Senator, and the Congressman could help the National Chairman in his spokesman duties.

As to the functions which a revamped National Committee should perform, they should be the following:

A. State Organization -- Political organizations are built at the state level by a combination of patronage, discipline and co-ordination with the White House. The National Committee should have responsibility for riding herd on the state chairmen to be sure that state patronage is being distributed as best suits the organizational growth, that registration programs are properly carried out, that special interest is maintained in particular voting groups which are either fundamental to that particular state or with which we are weak and, on the whole, insure that the state organizations are run efficiently and with the required discipline.

B. Campaign Managers -- While the National Committee in the past has made some ineffective stabs at improving the work of our state chairmen, no one has ever made any effort to train any campaign managers. My feeling about the state chairman situation is that if we find that a particular state chairman does not know how to carry out his office, we should replace him with one who does, instead of trying to train him. In the last election, at least four Senate seats were lost because of bad campaign managers,

and even in areas where we won, I would be hard-pressed to point to any good campaign managers. As will be stated in detail later in this memorandum, we have an excellent chance in the off-year elections of 1970, especially in the Senate, but we are likely to fritter away this opportunity unless we can train some campaign managers in the meantime. I would charge the National Committee with this responsibility.

C. Money Raising -- The National Committee should have full responsibility for raising all money necessary for the upcoming off-year elections. This should be commenced immediately, and should occupy a majority of the Committee's time over the next year. Two years from now the Committee will be asked to finance 14 target Senate races and about 45 target Congressional races. This, in addition to the ordinary financing that has been required in the past.

D. Suburban Program -- The opportunity for growth in the party over the next ten years does not lie in the cities. We are woefully out-organized there; most voters have a bad impression of the Republican party and probably won't change until conditions change demonstrably for the better under a Republican Administration, and the historic ties to the Democratic party, especially among

blacks and other non-white racial groups are so strong that they can only be broken over a long period of time.

In point of actual fact, even now the largest single block of voters in each of the fifteen largest states in this country reside in the suburbs, with the exception of New York and Texas. Even in New York and Texas, a combination of the suburban vote and the rural vote far outweighs that in the cities. The complex of the suburbs is in a drastic state of change with considerable numbers of former city dwellers in the process of moving to the suburbs. Once there and owning property, they have a tendency to become more Republican in their thought than they were in the cities as matters of taxes and local government come more forcefully home to them. The real challenge for us then is to improve our organization in these areas.

At present, both parties are very poorly organized, and due to the great change in the population of these areas, a large share of the voters are not even identified as to party affiliation or leaning. In the main the Democrats have tried to perpetuate the "clubhouse" method of organization, but this does not work at all in areas that are spread out geographically and have no central characteristics of race or economic level. Our party which in most cases was their first, operates as though

it were a small town concern rather than suburban. We still elect the town clerks in most of the non-Southern areas but are out of touch with the new voters who moved over the last eight or nine years. I think the National Committee should be responsible for developing and implementing a program specifically aimed at the suburbs. This should be done immediately and should occupy a large share of the Committee's time when it is not raising money during the next year.

E. Young Voters Program -- In combination with the efforts of the Administration in this area, the National Committee should institute a new program aimed to attract to the party as workers and voters those between the ages of 18 and 30. The Young Republicans, while they make a great deal of noise, have been an ineffective vehicle for attracting youth to the party. The Young Republicans are too restrictive philosophically and are mainly concerned with power struggles within their own body instead of making any attempt to generate a broad appeal to youth. They are also too old, the age limit being technically thirty-five, but many members staying on till well past forty. Instead of encouraging membership, the present leadership group often discourages it since they are fearful that if a lot of new members join the organization the so-called "syndicate" will be voted out of power.

Beyond the Young Republicans, there are a number of other conservative youth groups which should be dried up. If this is to be done, a strong hand will have to be exercised from the National Committee. While this does not sound like a high-priority responsibility, it would help to develop our organization fantastically if we could develop a better program for young voters so that we don't wind up trying to convert them from being Democrats when they are 35, as is presently the case.

F. Early Warning System -- One material way that the Democrats have always been much better than we are has been that up and down the ranks of their organization they have usually been better prepared to defend the actions of the Democratic Administrations to the voting public. In the Democratic party, precinct chairmen are usually well enough aware of the "party-line" that they can answer the routine questions of voters within their block about most actions that are taken by the President or the party. We have never had this kind of discipline in our party, and, therefore, when a concerned voter asks his precinct chairman why we did "X" he usually stands and looks at the sky and shakes his head. I think it would be extremely helpful for the National Committee in co-ordination with

the White House and Congress to be charged with the responsibility of mailing to a large mailing list of party workers a "party-line" on any significant development. A very wise politician once told me that "the most effective way to influence the voters is to have your own clowns charged up and able to give the impression they are on the inside." This is absolutely true, and this program would be aimed at keeping the "clowns" charged up.

G. Direct Mail -- In place of the extraordinary amounts of trash that the National Committee now circulates to a vast mailing list, the National Committee should make available to the state committees specified mailings aimed at selling the party and the Administration. The cost factor on this could be worked out jointly by the National Committee and state committees, and the state committees could do the actual mailings. This would help and encourage the state committees to develop their own mailing lists as well. Even in the days of television, no one has ever found a substitute for direct mail in politics.

H. Liaison with the White House -- The political mechanic at the National Committee should be in close contact with the political man at the White House on matters of patronage, party re-organization, and general strategy.

As stated above, the National Committee will be raising the money, training campaign managers and implementing specific programs in the suburbs and among youth, but since all of the re-organization described above will take time, much of the burden of distributing patronage, working out the knotty problems of candidate selection and choosing the target races for 1970 will have to come from the White House. The mechanic at the National Committee should be made fully aware of these White House functions, and they should be co-ordinated with the activities of the National Committee through his person.

IV. The White House Role: As stated in I, we are examining a two-phase program: (1) establishing and building a base for the party that stretches from Florida to the state of Washington with the goal of carrying the Senate and House in 1970, and (2) thereafter concentrating on specific states outside that base to build the party into a majority party by 1972. Since a great deal of time will be taken up at the National Committee in accomplishing the re-organization set forth in III, and pressing the programs suggested there, it will be necessary, as well as advisable, for the White House to carry out the following political functions:

A. The Co-ordination and Distribution of Patronage -- There should be one man at the White House through whom all patronage is funnelled. He would work in conjunction with the political man at the National Committee and to some extent with our Congressional liaison. He should have flowing through him all direct federal patronage, all patronage of the agencies of the federal government and a knowledge of what patronage the Republican governors have and how they are using it. The above should be true for both job appointments and work projects. For the next two years, the vast majority of patronage should be used to build the party within the Florida-Washington base with the added hope that certain individuals whom we are trying to build up to run for office in 1970 can be benefitted by the use of patronage also. Very little patronage should be used during this period to reward incumbent officeholders. Once we gain a majority in the House and Senate, we can use our patronage to insure the incumbents' popularity, but using it for that purpose now would defeat our goal of carrying Congress. There will be some bitching about this, but that's the way it will have to be for the next couple of years. The person handling the patronage must be very aware politically, so that when we decide to build a dam in Arkansas he can call up the local county chairman and alert him. The local county

chairman in turn should then be able to call up his old buddy, "Joe" and tell him he has got a job, thus obligating "Joe," his family, and friends. This over-simplification is basically how it should work. I might add that under this scheme, the National Committee would be responsible for riding on the local county chairman to be sure that he knows some "Joe's" to call.

B. Candidate Selection -- There are some 32 Senate seats up for election in 1970, only seven of which are Republican (Fannin, Murphy, Scott, Williams, Hruska, Fong, and Goodell). The seven Republican seats look to be quite safe. The 25 Democrats make up the class of '58, which was swept into office in a year when we lost heavily and re-elected in 1964 when it was almost impossible to lose if you were a Democrat. Outside of a few safe Senate seats in the South, a large number of these 25 seats can be won if we start early enough and put up decent candidates.

Many of these target Senate seats are in the Florida-Washington area that we will be concentrating on in the next two years (MaGee, Burdick, Cannon, Hartke, Gore, Moss, Holland, Montoya, Proxmire, Young and Yaroborough). In Michigan, New Jersey and possibly Connecticut (Hart, Williams, and Dodd, respectively), seats are also up for election which we could win with the right candidates.

Far too often in the past we have lost for one of two reasons: bad candidates or bad campaign management. The White House power and authority should be brought to bear on the first of these problems and the National Committee should try to solve the second as indicated above. While the President cannot get directly involved in selecting Senatorial candidates, it is a fairly easy matter to freeze out individuals who should not be running by letting the word get around in party circles that the White House thinks "X" should make the race. Some of our Governors should be encouraged immediately to seek Senatorial nominations and if they work early and swiftly, they can avoid going through any harmful primaries. This does not mean they need to publicly announce their candidacies; just that we privately understand that they will be willing to make the race and can count on that fact. In some areas (North Dakota, for example) a Congressman (Mark Andrews perhaps, or if not, Tom Kleppe) should be tested out early as to whether it is possible for them to run for the Senate. The tender problem of maneuvering the right man into running for the Senate in these particular states without offending the local party should be the responsibility of the White House man since he can speak with the authority of the President and will be able to devote more of his time to working out any problems with getting the right candidate

to run through the use of patronage. He should, of course, consult various sources before deciding on any particular candidate in any particular state.

In the House we have suffered from the same problem of poor candidates and poor campaign managers. Even though we've had a Congressional Campaign Committee which has spent an inordinate amount of time and money trying to select candidates, we still run into the problem of men running for the House from particular areas in which they just cannot appeal to the voters. As an example, in this past election, our candidate in the 24th District of Pennsylvania (Erie) was a Protestant Minister, this in a district which is heavily Catholic and heavily ethnic. Add this to the fact that his Democratic opponent was an Italian, and it is not hard to see why we lost this district which had been Republican for a substantial period of time up until 1964. In the 2nd District of Iowa (Cedar Rapids) we ran a lawyer who had never been out on a farm and should any manure have attached to his shoe, he probably would have thrown his shoes away. This in a district which can be carried for the Republicans if we can get a strong farm vote in the counties outside of Cedar Rapids. It is presently held by a Congressman who no more fits the District than Adolph Hitler could

represent the Lower East Side. Yet we lost it for the third straight time.

It is suggested that in approximately 45 target Congressional districts that the White House take a very active interest in the candidates selected to run and that the National Committee see to it that they are well-financed and well-managed. Advice as to these candidates can be obtained from reliable sources in the states, and the candidates can be screened by the political man at the National Committee, as well as by the man at the White House.

C. Political Advice to the President, Vice President, and Cabinet -- In making various decision the President may need the benefit of political advice from someone in the White House who is aware enough of what is going on in the country to be able to form judgment as to how various Presidential decisions will be received. In regard to the Vice President, since much of what he does will involve dealing with the Governors, it might be helpful to him to have the advice of a politician so that programs such as block-grants to the states can be implemented in areas where they will both serve the public good and the good of the Republican party. The same is true for the members of the Cabinet dealing with domestic policy.

In addition, at least some of the time of the Vice President and the Cabinet members should be spent in helping to build the party through well-placed speaking engagements and, in regard to the Vice President, a fairly strenuous program of fund raising speeches. These should be coordinated through the White House man.

D. Congressional Operations -- From time to time, while trying to get legislation through a Democratic Congress, it may be necessary to put some extra pressure on some of the Democratic members in order to obtain their votes (for example, generating a lot of mail from their district encouraging them to vote for the bill or being in close enough contact with some of their contributors to generate a few telephone calls to them). This is not a function that the Congressional liaison can adequately take care of, nor is it one that the National Committee should involve itself in. Again, it is a matter of delicacy which must be handled apart from any involvement of the President, but the White House, the only institution with the power and authority to generate such pressures. I think it should, therefore, be the responsibility of the political man in the White House to see that this is done if necessary.

E. Candidate Building -- Sometimes we have been in the situation where we have had good candidates but they were totally unknown to the populace of the area where they were running. The White House should co-operate with the National Committee in seeing to it that we don't run any races in 1970 in the target areas at least where the candidate is not "known" to the voting public. This involves working the prospective candidates into various short-term governmental committees and operations, so that they can obtain a little publicity back home. Basically it should be handled by the White House political man, but there will be areas where co-ordination with the National Committee man will be helpful.

F. Liaison with the National Committee -- Certainly the White House man should keep in close contact with the man at the National Committee and work with him to accomplish the programs described in III. A close working arrangement between these two individuals is imperative if the plan is to work. The two should work well enough together that they can freely exchange thoughts about both their responsibilities.

G. Defining the White House Function -- Since it would be costly for the world at large to know that the White House was going to take such an active interest in the building of the party and selecting candidates, and the political use of patronage, it would be best to describe the political operative at the White House merely as the President's chief political advisor and combine his above-stated duties with a few others which won't take up much of his time, but will give the impression that he is not spending a majority of his time on politics. In line with this it would be appropriate for him to take over the duties of the Cabinet Secretary and also some responsibilities for working with Vice President Agnew. Both of these functions can be helpful in the political vein, since I would hope that the Cabinet could be used for political purpose and certainly Vice President Agnew should devote a healthy portion of his time to the political effort. The Cabinet Secretary function would be helpful to the political man in that he would have some way to keep apprised of what substantive matters were being decided in the Departments which might be of

political benefit, and it would allow him to keep a better rein on the patronage flowing from the Cabinet positions. The political man should not be given the title of Cabinet Secretary; however, he should assume the function. To carry out his job he'll need a title of appropriate weight in the White House staff.

January 2, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN  
FROM: Sears  
RE: Chairman Bliss

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BACKGROUND

I've had Jack Jordan, Bob Ray and Bill Ayres speak to Bliss at different times over the last three weeks and these conversations, together with Bryce's visit with him produced the following conclusions:

1. Bliss is mainly concerned with saving face and will not fight over the Chairmanship if a way can be found for him to make his exit which will not be embarrassing for him.
2. Each of them counseled him that it would be a mistake to fight RN over the Chairmanship and that all such a fight would produce is disunity in the Party with little real hope that Ray would be kept on as National Chairman. He was also told that since this was the case, he should stop directing press attention to the situation and stop encouraging members of the National Committee and those holding public office to call and write the Nixon people, urging them to retain him. In the final analysis, he was told, the decision of whether he should stay or go rested entirely between RN and himself. And since this was true, nothing should be said about it pending some determination at that level.

This seems to have met with some success in that he has stopped having his people talk with the press and is no longer barraging us with calls seeking his continuance. Since he views all of the above people as close friends of his, I'm sure it gave him second thoughts about contesting the matter openly.

3. Bliss wants very much to be given great credit for the success of the party over the last four years and, if he is to retire from office, to have it done in such a way that it appears to be his decision rather than ours.

PROGRAM

RN should see Bliss here in New York prior to the National Committee meetings on January 17. Bryce Harlow should be present at this meeting since (1) Bliss views Bryce as a very close friend and (2) Bryce has spoken personally with Bliss recently and therefore, if he is present, Bliss will be unable to say anything which contradicts what he told Bryce and the other gentlemen I mentioned above. The first part of the conversation should be taken up with complimenting Bliss for administering over the recovery of the Party during the last four years, a short discussion of the Republican Coordinating Committee and whether it has any role to perform now (this will make Bliss happy because he views the Republican Coordinating Committee as his invention and the instrument through which unity was obtained), his views on what role the National Committee should perform under a Republican Administration and his concept as to what can be done in the future to improve the Party. All of this shouldn't take more than 15 minutes and is geared to soften him up for Phase II.

At the end of the above, RN should say, "Ray, this National Committee situation has been a hard thing for me to think through. If we had gained control of the Congress, there would have been no problem since the Administration would have the necessary spokesmen to sell itself and the Party to the people. But, without control of the Congress, we have no base of partisanship from which we can publicize our achievements and fully explain our decisions. I can't be overly partisan in public because of the divisions in the country and because I must try to work with a Democratic Congress in order to get my programs passed. Ev and Gerry must also choose their words very carefully if we are to get the Democratic votes necessary in Congress and furthermore, as minority leaders, cannot command the attention necessary to sell the Administration. Thus, the way things stand now, if we do something good in Congress, the Democrats will always be able to claim partial credit because their votes were necessary to pass the legislation and if we must do something which causes the public to react negatively there is no one who can respond in proper partisan style with our side of it. Therefore, I have no alternative but to use the National Chairmanship as a means of supplying this

partisan aspect. I have wondered at great length about whether there is any other possible way to do this but the National Chairmanship is the only office of sufficient national significance which can afford to be partisan under the present situation. Of course, I would very much like to have you join the Administration and be available on an informal basis to advise me on the affairs of the party." (Pause, and see what he says. I am fairly sure that this is as close as he wishes to come to being fired and he will acquiesce in the need for a partisan Chairman and probably question you as to what positions in the Administration are available. If he does the latter, mention some general areas and leave it to Bryce to work out the specifics.)

Thereafter the question of how to handle this publicly will arise. RN should make it clear at the outset that he would not wish the public or anyone else to think that Bliss was being asked to resign and that in any event, it would only be right for everyone to understand that Ray's staying or leaving was a matter of his (Bliss's) decision. If it's possible to just shut this discussion off, this again would be a matter that Bryce could better handle alone with Bliss. Along these lines, I would suggest as one alternative the issuance of two statements on the day of the meeting, one by Bliss and the other by RN. Bliss's statement should include the following points:

1. He and RN met for about an hour and discussed the Party and its future.
2. In the course of their conversation RN made it clear that he was very appreciative of Bliss's service to date and that Bliss could either remain in his present position or assume a high place in the Administration.
3. That he, Bliss, intended to consider a third possibility, namely, returning to his thriving insurance business in Ohio.
4. That he presently was undecided as to what he would do but as soon as the National Committee meetings and the Inauguration were over, he intended to take his first vacation in four years in the course of which he would decide which of the three alternatives he would do.
5. Thereafter, he would report his decision to RN and make his intentions known to the public.

6. The statement should also include an expression on Bliss's part to the effect that he wishes to make up his mind in private and that while he thanks his many friends and admirers in the party and elsewhere for their interest and advice, he wished to make up his own mind. (This will stop any "Draft Bliss" movements emanating from the National Committee.)

RN's statement should include the following points:

1. Chairman Bliss is the best National Chairman that RN has seen in action since RN has entered politics.
2. It was Bliss who built the unity which the Party now enjoys and which played so large a part on RN's own victory.
3. While Bliss was Chairman, the Party gained 51 House seats, 8 Senate seats and 14 Governorships together with literally hundreds of lower offices.
4. In our conversation today we discussed the Party and its future and I gave him the choice of staying on in his present position or of joining the new Administration in a responsible role. He also indicated to me that he must also consider returning to his business which I can surely understand in view of the many years he has served the Party. He has agreed to report his decision to me in the near future and although I know it will be a difficult one for him to make, I shall only be unhappy that he cannot do all three.

Bryce should work it out with Bliss such that at the National Committee meetings Bliss will cooperate in stopping any "Keep Bliss" resolutions from being passed. Rather, we will introduce one commending the Chairman for his service to date and express the thought that whatever he decided the best wishes of the National Committee members go with him for continued success whether it be in the affairs of the Party, the Administration or his private business endeavors. Meanwhile, we can tactfully inquire from the members of the National Committee whom they might prefer to replace him were he to go. This will divert their attentions and speculation toward his replacement, rather than whether he is going or staying. This again would serve to submarine any movements to keep him on.

Late in February, Bliss can return from sabbatical, make his decision to join the Administration (or hopefully retire) public, endorse his successor, and fly away.

If it is appropriate, RN should make known to Bliss during the course of their conversation that he would be the first to endorse and participate in a dinner honoring him for the selfless work he's done for the party and if anyone can think of some interesting thing for him to do at the inauguration this should be done also. It is odd, but these things mean a great deal to Bliss and they don't really cost us anything.

The utmost secrecy must be maintained, even internally, about this matter. No one but Bryce and RN should know that he is actually leaving and they should also be the only ones aware of just what federal appointments are available to him. All questions about Bliss's decision should be referred to him. If none of us violate this, he should cooperate since I am sure that he will not wish to embarrass himself by owning up to the fact he's being dumped.

JS/si

BRIEFING SUMMARY

January 10, 1969

At an impromptu briefing held at 1:45, Republican National Committee Chairman, Ray Bliss, discussed the agenda of his meeting with the President-elect. Further, Bliss indicated that the President-elect expressed his complete satisfaction with and complimented Chairman Bliss on the job that had been done during the 1968 campaign. According to Bliss, the President-elect expressed his desire that he continue as Chairman. Chairman Bliss said that he would do so and that he was very pleased.

Maurice Stans has submitted his resignation as Finance Chairman of the National Committee effective January 18th, according to Bliss. This post was discussed with the President-elect, and Chairman Bliss indicated that he hoped to be able to name a new Finance Chairman at the next National Committee meeting, which is to be held January 17th in Washington, D.C.

The prospects for the 1970 elections were outlined for and discussed with the President-elect. Chairman Bliss feels that the party has a good chance of winning control of both the House and Senate in that year.

Bryce Harlow, Assistant to the President for Congressional Affairs, was present at the meeting.

The next briefing is scheduled for 4 p.m.

January 2, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN  
FROM: Sears  
RE: Chairman Bliss

Ehrlichman  
I have reviewed  
this w/ RN + Harlow  
They do not agree with  
this approach.  
H

BACKGROUND

I've had Jack Jordan, Bob Ray and Bill Ayres speak to Bliss at different times over the last three weeks and these conversations, together with Bryce's visit with him produced the following conclusions:

1. Bliss is mainly concerned with saving face and will not fight over the Chairmanship if a way can be found for him to make his exit which will not be embarrassing for him.
2. Each of them counseled him that it would be a mistake to fight RN over the Chairmanship and that all such a fight would produce is disunity in the Party with little real hope that Ray would be kept on as National Chairman. He was also told that since this was the case, he should stop directing press attention to the situation and stop encouraging members of the National Committee and those holding public office to call and write the Nixon people, urging them to retain him. In the final analysis, he was told, the decision of whether he should stay or go rested entirely between RN and himself. And since this was true, nothing should be said about it pending some determination at that level.

This seems to have met with some success in that he has stopped having his people talk with the press and is no longer barraging us with calls seeking his continuance. Since he views all of the above people as close friends of his, I'm sure it gave him second thoughts about contesting the matter openly.

3. Bliss wants very much to be given great credit for the success of the party over the last four years and, if he is to retire from office, to have it done in such a way that it appears to be his decision rather than ours.

PROCEDURE

RN should see Bliss here in New York prior to the National Committee meetings on January 17. Bryce Harlow should be present at this meeting since (1) Bliss views Bryce as a very close friend and (2) Bryce has spoken personally with Bliss recently and therefore, if he is present, Bliss will be unable to say anything which contradicts what he told Bryce and the other gentlemen I mentioned above. The first part of the conversation should be taken up with complimenting Bliss for administering over the recovery of the Party during the last four years, a short discussion of the Republican Coordinating Committee and whether it has any role to perform now (this will make Bliss happy because he views the Republican Coordinating Committee as his invention and the instrument through which unity was obtained), his views on what role the National Committee should perform under a Republican Administration and his concept as to what can be done in the future to improve the Party. All of this shouldn't take more than 15 minutes and is geared to soften him up for Phase II.

At the end of the above, RN should say, "Ray, this National Committee situation has been a hard thing for me to think through. If we had gained control of the Congress, there would have been no problem since the Administration would have the necessary spokesmen to sell itself and the Party to the people. But, without control of the Congress, we have no base of partisanship from which we can publicize our achievements and fully explain our decisions. I can't be overly partisan in public because of the divisions in the country and because I must try to work with a Democratic Congress in order to get my programs passed. Ev and Gerry must also choose their words very carefully if we are to get the Democratic votes necessary in Congress and furthermore, as minority leaders, cannot command the attention necessary to sell the Administration. Thus, the way things stand now, if we do something good in Congress, the Democrats will always be able to claim partial credit because their votes were necessary to pass the legislation and if we must do something which causes the public to react negatively there is no one who can respond in proper partisan style with our side of it. Therefore, I have no alternative but to use the National Chairmanship as a means of supplying this

partisan aspect. I have wondered at great length about whether there is any other possible way to do this but the National Chairmanship is the only office of sufficient national significance which can afford to be partisan under the present situation. Of course, I would very much like to have you join the Administration and be available on an informal basis to advise me on the affairs of the party." (Pause, and see what he says. I am fairly sure that this is as close as he wishes to come to being fired and he will acquiesce in the need for a partisan Chairman and probably question you as to what positions in the Administration are available. If he does the latter, mention some general areas and leave it to Bryce to work out the specifics.)

Thereafter the question of how to handle this publicly will arise. RN should make it clear at the outset that he would not wish the public or anyone else to think that Bliss was being asked to resign and that in any event, it would only be right for everyone to understand that Ray's staying or leaving was a matter of his (Bliss's) decision. If it's possible to just shut this discussion off, this again would be a matter that Bryce could better handle alone with Bliss. Along these lines, I would suggest as one alternative the issuance of two statements on the day of the meeting, one by Bliss and the other by RN. Bliss's statement should include the following points:

1. He and RN met for about an hour and discussed the Party and its future.
2. In the course of their conversation RN made it clear that he was very appreciative of Bliss's service to date and that Bliss could either remain in his present position or assume a high place in the Administration.
3. That he, Bliss, intended to consider a third possibility, namely, returning to his thriving insurance business in Ohio.
4. That he presently was undecided as to what he would do but as soon as the National Committee meetings and the Inauguration were over, he intended to take his first vacation in four years in the course of which he would decide which of the three alternatives he would do.
5. Thereafter, he would report his decision to RN and make his intentions known to the public.

6. The statement should also include an expression on Bliss's part to the effect that he wishes to make up his mind in private and that while he thanks his many friends and admirers in the party and elsewhere for their interest and advice, he wished to make up his own mind. (This will stop any "Draft Bliss" movements emanating from the National Committee.)

RN's statement should include the following points:

1. Chairman Bliss is the best National Chairman that RN has seen in action since RN has entered politics.
2. It was Bliss who built the unity which the Party now enjoys and which played so large a part on RN's own victory.
3. While Bliss was Chairman, the Party gained 51 House seats, 8 Senate seats and 14 Governorships together with literally hundreds of lower offices.
4. In our conversation today we discussed the Party and its future and I gave him the choice of staying on in his present position or of joining the new Administration in a responsible role. He also indicated to me that he must also consider returning to his business which I can surely understand in view of the many years he has served the Party. He has agreed to report his decision to me in the near future and although I know it will be a difficult one for him to make, I shall only be unhappy that he cannot do all three.

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The utmost secrecy must be maintained, even internally, about this matter. No one but Bryce and RN should know that he is actually leaving and they should also be the only ones aware of just what federal appointments are available to him. All questions about Bliss's decision should be referred to him. If none of us violate this, he should cooperate since I am sure that he will not wish to embarrass himself by owning up to the fact he's being dumped.

JS/si

To: D. C.

Date: December 5, 1968

From:q John D. Ehrlichman

Subject: Ripon Society Recruiting

Our records show that we received a number of recruiting suggestions from Tom Petrie of the Ripon Society about the third week in October, 1968.

These suggestions have been included in our lists of prospects which are being processed in the regular way.

So far as I know, no one on our staff has discouraged the Ripon Society from engaging in any supplemental talent hunt or in furnishing us with the results of such a hunt.

I have written the enclosed letter to attempt to correct this misapprehension.

JDE:sw  
Enclosure

John D. Ehrlichman



bcc: D. C.

December 5, 1968

Mr. Roger Fisher  
Law School of Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Fisher:

Your letter of November 18, 1968, to the President-elect has been handed to me for attention.

As one responsible for the recruitment and selection of talent for the new Administration, I am particularly concerned about the opening line of your letter indicating that the Ripon Society has been discouraged from furnishing us with prospects.

Far from discouraging any such effort, we have to the best of our ability attempted to encourage the cooperation of all segments of the Republican Party and, indeed, a broader segment of society.

We have solicited names from a number of leaders of business, the professions, the colleges, and the arts. This solicitation has been without regard to party or persuasion.

I would appreciate any information you can give me as to the source of the Ripon Society's discouragement referred to in your letter.

Please reassure your young people that we are ready, willing, and able to consider any suggestions they have at the various levels of government.

Yours sincerely,



John D. Ehrlichman  
Counsel to the President-elect

TRE:GW

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

November 21, 1968

President-elect Richard M. Nixon  
Pierre Hotel  
Fifth Avenue & 61st Street  
New York, New York

Dear Dick:

About a month before the election I wrote a letter to you which obviously did not reach you, though I received some kind of computerized answer that purported to be signed by you.

PC. Naturally, under the conditions of the campaign I realized that it would be very difficult to reach you. In any event, I enclose a copy of the letter.

I am writing now just to say that if I can be of any assistance to you in recruiting from academic faculties, please do not hesitate to call on me.

I also enclose a letter from a colleague, Roger Fisher, who was most eager to get some ideas across to you on the recruitment problem. You might turn the letter over to some member of your staff charged with such matters.

For Dave and me, and I am sure for all of us who knew you "back when," these are very proud days.

Sincerely,

Lon

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

October 10, 1968

Mr. Richard M. Nixon  
Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander  
20 Broad Street  
New York, New York

Dear Dick:

I have been intending for some time to drop you a note to tell you my feelings about the present campaign. As things now stand I plan definitely to vote for you -- with enthusiasm.

Lately I have been approached by some of those active locally in the Republican cause who have asked me to take an open and declared part in the campaign. This I have declined to do for reasons similar to those I expressed in a letter to you in June, 1965, *à propos* of a dinner for Elliot Richardson.

My reluctance to get directly involved in politics comes largely from my observation of colleagues who, having gone in for political activism, seem to have difficulty in making the trip back to more prosaic academic surroundings. Four of my present colleagues have held important positions with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations; their "return" to academic life has been, to say the least, incomplete; they are restless and ill-at-ease when they are not in the midst of things. There are those who can make the trip back successfully; I think I could. The trouble is, however, that those who really return are judged by the standards applied to those who don't and their opinions tend from then on to be suspect.

---

Richard M. Nixon  
October 10, 1968  
Page 2

You may be interested to know that I am now playing the part of a father-confessor for some of my colleagues who want to vote for you but are worried about compromising their liberal principles in doing so. So far I have been fairly successful in purging them of a sense of guilt, though my efforts in that direction have been somewhat impaired lately by the Wall Street letter.

Let me close by wishing you success in a campaign that has been very successfully conducted on a high plane.

With affection and respect,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lon".

Lon L. Fuller

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

November 18, 1968

Honorable Richard M. Nixon

Dear Mr. Nixon:

I understand from some of the young people here that the Ripon Society has been discouraged from engaging in a supplemental talent hunt. Although at present you must be concerned with cabinet appointments, I would like to suggest that you do ask the Ripon Society, and perhaps two other conspicuous groups or individuals, to do whatever they can to collect names of people whom they would suggest for consideration by you or your new cabinet members for recruitment by the government.

Such talent hunts, in addition to the one being conducted by your immediate staff, seem desirable for several reasons:

1. The more widely that the net is cast the better talent you are likely to find. Thinking up names is best done not at the last minute on the back of an envelope but rather over a several weeks period. It is best done by identifying jobs to be filled and by collecting with some care from prior incumbents, outside experts in the field, and other suggested candidates. Finally it requires extensive telephoning around to get reactions to these names and in the process to stimulate other suggestions. The more that such work is undertaken by people with different contacts (such as the Ripon Society, Senator Hatfield, Senator Thurmond, and Senator Kennedy, for example) the better will be the roster of names for consideration by you and your new cabinet.

2. Inquiries by such supplemental talent hunts do not involve the problems of comparable inquiries by your immediate staff. Telephoned inquiries by you or your immediate staff immediately create rumors and often involve real costs. If you ask for someone else's judgment it is disclosed that you are considering the man. The word is likely to get around. Inquiries by the Ripon Society or some other person known to be independent of you and simply engaged in the task of collecting names for your consideration does not involve similar costs.

3. The very fact of calling on some liberals and conservatives to engage in supplemental talent hunts would demonstrate to the public your seriousness in trying to recruit the best people from all parts of the country and from all political views. If demonstrating the bi-partisan nature of your interest in qualified people is not done in this way you will be tempted to appoint some highly conspicuous Democrat or other well-known figure not because in each case he is the best man for the job, but because of the "window-dressing" aspect. (Appointing such persons also tends to put a damper on the image of a new, fresh administration.)

4. Asking some Senators to lend a hand could help future relations with the Hill.

5. It is likely that some persons at the assistant secretary or deputy assistant secretary level would in fact be appointed from names supplied in this fashion, which would further broaden the base of your Administration.

I do suggest that the next few weeks are important for this kind of effort. In operational terms my thought is that you might want to:

A. Tell the Ripon Society to go ahead, give them the name of someone they should use as the point of contact with your immediate staff, and assure them that suggestions from them will be considered when appointments are being made at the sub-cabinet level.

B. Try to find two senators, such as Senators Baker and Kennedy, who might jointly undertake a comparable effort.

C. Identify some conservative leader who might be interested in doing so as well.

Sincerely yours,



Professor Lon L. Fuller  
RETURN IN 5 DAYS TO  
HARVARD LAW SCHOOL  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138

*Peterson*



Attention:  
Miss Rosemary Wood

President-Elect Richard M. Nixon  
Pierre Hotel  
Fifth Avenue & 61st Street  
New York, New York

RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

file

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

December 17, 1968

Mr. John D. Ehrlichman  
Counsel to the President-Elect  
Office of Mr. Nixon  
450 Park Ave.  
New York, New York 10022

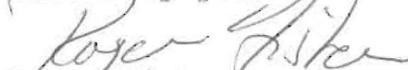
Dear Mr. Ehrlichman:

Many thanks for your letter of December 5. The suggestion in my letter of November 18 has been somewhat bypassed by events. The original discouragement of the Ripon Society was apparently the indirect consequence of some misunderstanding regarding the recruiting role of Mr. Olds. I'm satisfied that no attempt should now be made to go back and try to untangle the past.

The President-elect and you have certainly solicited suggestions and applicants from all segments of society. No one could complain that the net is not being cast broadly enough. There may be some risk that by asking help from everyone no one outside of Mr. Nixon's immediate staff will be doing the kind of detailed checking and rechecking and solicitation of competing names that is necessarily involved in the sort of work in which you are now engaged. My letter of November 18 was intended in part to commend to Mr. Nixon's consideration the possibility of encouraging two or three supplemental talent hunts of this sort. As suggested in the letter such supplemental talent hunts have some advantages over having the field work done by the President's immediate staff.

Keep up the good work. I have heard good things about you.

Sincerely yours,

  
Roger Fisher  
Professor of Law

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	
<u>AUGUST</u> <u>1968</u>			RN SCHEDULE AS OF AUGUST 20, 1968		1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
18 Fly San Diego- Springfield	19 Springfield Lansing Detroit - VFW Columbus, @	20 Columbus Harrisburg Wash, DC (Ike) NYC Apt. crowd	21 NYC- Key Issues with Apt. crowd Fly Miami	22	23 KEY BISCAYNE	24	
25	26	27	28 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION KEY BISCAYNE	29	30	31	

1968 AUGUST 1968						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

# SEPTEMBER

## 1968

1968 OCTOBER 1968						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1 Fly Miami-NYC Labor meeting for Labor Day news lead	2 LABOR DAY	3 10a.m.-2:30- CBS-TV tape and lunch Fly NYC-Chicago	4 REST Chicago-Noon Loop motorcade REST Statewide Ill. one-hour TV	5 REST-Chicago Fly San Francisco Drive Oakland Oakland auditorium rally	6 Fly San Francisco to Houston TV in hotel Fly Pittsburgh late arrival	7 Pittsburgh TV tapes and/or visit Golden Triangle
8 3 p.m. - Billy Graham Fly Pittsburgh-NYC-Montauk Pt.	9	10 New York state New Jersey one-hour TV in NYC	11 Norfolk, Va. Noon rally Charlotte, NC Fly New Orleans	12 REST American Legion Saturn rocket - New Orleans St. Louis 5 p.m. 1-hour TV in hotel for SE Illinois United Citizens drop-by	13 Fly St. Louis to Cleveland Noon rally REST Ohio state-wide one-hour TV	14 Fly Cleveland to prop stops in Michigan-Saginaw, Flint, Lansing Fly Milwaukee-rally; buy state wide TV?
15 Oklahoma City Prop stop 5 p.m. Denver downtown rally REST	16 Denver - Rocky Mountain regional TV tapes Noon-fly Los Angeles - rest REST	17 REST Los Angeles statewide one-hour TV	18 Prop stop Bakersfield, Fresno, San Jose Fly Seattle Seattle rally-buy statewide TV or tape in hotel	19 Fly Seattle-Indianapolis Butler Univ. 9:30 CDT if must feed closed-circuit to Stans 1000 dinner Fly Philadelphia	20 REST Penna. state-wide one-hour TV	21 One Philadelphia suburb shopping center One Camden N.J. shopping center Jacksonville, Fla. airport rally
22  (Rosh Hashanah starts - eve.)	23 KEY BISCAVNE  -----ROSH HASHANAH -----	24	25  Miami rally	26 Fly Boston Motorcade - New England regional one-hour TV	27 Meet Cardinal Cushing Noon-Syracuse 3 p.m. prop stop Erie, Pa. P.M.-Cleveland suburb shopping center	28 Noon-Polish-American Congress-Cleveland Chicago suburban rally Fly Detroit
29 REST Michigan state-wide one-hour TV	30 Peoria, Illinois Des Moines, Iowa					

RN SCHEDULE AS OF AUGUST 20, 1968

1968	SEPTEMBER					1968	
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
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29	30						

# OCTOBER

## 1968

1968	NOVEMBER					1968	
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	
					1	2	
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
RN SCHEDULE AS OF  AUGUST 20, 1968		1 REST <hr/> P.M. - Dallas rally	2 (Yom Kippur) <hr/> REST <hr/> Texas state-wide one-hour TV	3 Fly LA - <hr/> REST <hr/> Los Angeles Forum rally	4 Fly LA - Kansas City, Mo <hr/> Kansas City, Mo	5 Fly Atlanta <hr/> Atlanta-Peachtree Street motorcade <hr/> Hurd Park
6 REST <hr/> Atlanta - Southern one-hour TV	7 Columbia, S.C. Noon-buy state-wide TV? <hr/> Fly Memphis- 5 p.m. rally <hr/> Fly NYC (JFK)	8 REST  MONTAUK PT.	9 REST  Plans \$1000 TV network-NYC? studio?	10 Noon-Atlantic City <hr/> 5 p.m.-Newark Staten Island P.M. rally	11 REST  MONTAUK PT.	12 COLUMBUS DAY Suffolk and Nassau County shopping center <hr/> Fly Salt Lake City-Mormon Tabernacle
13 Fly Salt Lake-San Francisco Union Square Chinatown motorcade <hr/> Marin County Salinas San Diego	14	15	----- CALIFORNIA - REST -----		18 Fly LA-Friendship Columbia, Md. Modern City-5p.m. <hr/> 7p.m.-Montgomery Co.,Md.shopping center-Federal <hr/> 9p.m.-Arlington, VA shopping center <hr/> BOARD TRAIN-DC	19 PENNA. TRAIN York, Harrisburg, Altoona, Johnstown, Greensburg  Pittsburgh rally
20 West Va-Ohio Martinsburg, WV Marietta, Ohio Parkersburg, WV Athens, Ohio Hamden-Chillicothe Cincinnati-Garden rally	21 Middleton, Dayton, Springfield, Columbus, (Noon), Marion, Lima, Deschler, Toledo	22 MICHIGAN Monroe, Ann Arbor, Jackson Battle Creek, Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, Muskegon	23 ILLINOIS Danville, Tuscola, Mattoon, Centralia, Carbondale, Quincy <hr/> Fly Davenport-airport rally <hr/> Rock Island, Illinois	24 REST	25 Buffalo <hr/> Rochester <hr/> Wilkes-Barre Scranton  Fly NYC	26 Brooklyn  Noon- Wall St. ticker-tape with Agnew  REST
27 North Jersey or Detroit or Cleveland suburbs Sunday afternoon motorcade	28	29	30 Louisville, Ky  Greensboro/High Point, N.C.	31 Philadelphia Thurs. night shopping downtown motorcade <hr/> Statewide TV <hr/> Rally - Convention Hall	RN SCHEDULE AS OF  AUGUST 20, 1968	

1968	OCTOBER					1968
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
5	7	1	2	3	4	5
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
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# NOVEMBER

## 1968

1968	DECEMBER					1968
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

SUNDAY      MONDAY      TUESDAY      WEDNESDAY      THURSDAY      FRIDAY      SATURDAY

	RN SCHEDULE AS OF AUGUST 20, 1968				<p>1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NETWORK TELETHON</p> <p>DECISION-Finch, Mitchell, Whitaker favor Friday or Saturday</p> <p>Shakespeare, Ellsworth favor Sunday</p>	<p>2</p>
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3 -----	4	5 GENERAL ELECTION DAY 	6	7	8	9
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16
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17	18	19	20	21	22	23
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24	25	26	27	28 THANKSGIVING DAY	29	30
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W CAL.  
 CHI.  
 Rally F OHIO.  
 S PITTSBURGH

SEPT =	1	S	9-1	
	2	M	9-2	
	3	T	9-3	
	4	W	9-4	CHICAGO (1 HOUR TV-Q&A) Noon Loop
	5	Th	Cal	
	6	F	Houston	
	7	S	TV Pittsburgh Ohio	
	8	S	Billy Graham (Pittsburgh)	3pm Pitt Stadium
	9	M		
	10	T	CHI - Illinois	
	11	W	New Orleans (Saturn plant?)	
	12	Th	Amer Legion	
	13	F		
	14	S		
	15	S		
	16	M		
	17	T		
	18	W		
	19	Th	SFO - Fresno	Chingtown motorcade
	20	F	3 Calif stops	
	21	S	Anaheim Stadium	
	22	S		
	23	M		
	24	T		
	25	W		
	26	Th		
	27	F		
	28	S		
	29	S		
	30	M		
OCT	1	T		
	2	W		
	3	Th		
	4	F		

TRAIN  
 Penna  
 Ohio  
 Ill.  
 Mich  
 NY - Wall St.  
 Ticket Cafe

Open spaces - Recreation -

Fla.

Ga.

Ill.

Ind.

St Louis

Iowa

Ky

Boston (TV - Q&A) Motorcade  
Cushing

Mich

Minn

Mo.

NJ

NY

No Car

Ohio

Penna.

So Car (?)

Tenn

Tex ?

Utah

Va.

Wash-

Wisc

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

RICHARD M. NIXON

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 13, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: Harry Flemming

SUBJ.: Permanent Staff

The following is a description of the permanent staff for the White House Personnel Office.

1. Harry Flemming - Special Assistant to the President
  2. Larry Dunn - Assistant to the Special Assistant, GS 16
    - A. Background - During the campaign Mr. Dunn was Assistant Tour Director in the New York office. He assisted in the scheduling of Advance Men and had the financial responsibility of the Tour Office budget.
    - B. Function - Mr. Dunn will supervise the mail, file and computer operations and in addition, will be responsible for maintaining the schedule of vacancies.
  3. Linda Underwood - Executive Secretary to the Special Assistant, GS 11
    - A. Background - Miss Underwood was a member of the Tour Staff during the campaign and served as Tour Secretary for John Ehrlichman. Prior to the campaign tour she was Convention Secretary under Bill Timmons.
    - B. Function - Her duties will be secretarial and administrative.
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4. Bill Casselman - Staff Assistant, GS 13
  - A. Background - Bill served as an Advance Man during the campaign, is Legislative Assistant to Congressman McClory and has a law degree.
  - B. Function - His duties will include personnel policy, research and writing. In addition, he will assist in interviewing and background checks.
  
5. GS 14
  - A. Background - Must have a thorough and extensive knowledge of the Civil Service system.
  - B. Function will be to assist in liaison affairs with the Civil Service Commission and in the re-assignment of non-career executive positions. He will also advise on Civil Service matters.
  
6. Amelia Leukhardt, GS 9/3
  - A. Mrs. Leukhardt has been employed in the Macy operation since 1965.
  - B. She will be in charge of the mechanical operation.
  
7. Correspondence Secretary, GS 8
  - A. She must have a strong English background and have the ability to compose letters.
  - B. The Correspondence Secretary will review incoming mail and respond to Congressional mail.
  
8. Two File Clerks, GS 5
  
9. Two Clerk-Typists, GS 7

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10. George Bell, GS 15

- A. He has extensive knowledge in the area of personnel management and experience with a number of small companies. During the campaign he served as Personnel Director for United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew.
- B. Mr. Bell will be on our staff for a 4-month period to enable us to close down the transition staffing operation and integrate the activity into the personnel office.

STAFFING STATUS REPORT

Department: INTERIOR

Date: January 4, 1969

Under-Secretary of Interior

Russell Train  
Clifford McIntyre

Will <sup>save</sup> give his answer 1/13/69.  
To be checked for other  
position.

Edwin Mechem

To be checked for other  
position.

Deputy Under Secretary

James G. Watt

Assistant Secretary - Public Land Management

Tom Kelley

Being pursued - in Alaska  
State Government. ←

Lawrence Burton  
William Harrison  
Kenneth Keller

To be checked.  
To be checked.  
To be checked.

Assistant Secretary - Water & Power Development

Robert Timm  
Henry Graeser  
Jack Hirshleifer

Check unsatisfactory.  
To be checked.  
To be checked.

Assistant Secretary - Water Pollution Control

William J. Fox

To be checked.

Assistant Secretary - Mineral Resources

Clyde Wheeler  
  
W. Beecher Charnbury  
William Ruckelshaus  
Arthur Spaulding  
  
Kenneth Keller  
Cecil Underwood

Checks well but business  
connection a problem. He  
is not available due to  
approach from Agriculture.  
Initial checks good.  
Initial checks good.  
Initial checks indicate  
Deputy Assistant Secretary.  
To be checked.  
To be checked.

Assistant Secretary - Fish and Wildlife

Charles Meacham	Meeting on 1/7. In Alaska State Government
John Hayden	Will use here or elsewhere. Very good.
Nathanial Reed	Initial checks not very good.
Ronald Speers	Initial checks not very good.

Solicitor

Frank Bracken	Gov. Hickel's advance man. Pursuing him.
Donald Hastings	To be checked.
William Ruckelshaus	To be checked.
George H. Revercomb	To be checked.

Commissioner, Fish & Wildlife Service and Deputy Assistant Secretary Fish & Wildlife

(No Candidates)

Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Robert Bennett	To be checked.
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Director, Bureau of Mines

(No Candidates)

Director, Geological Survey

(No Candidates)

Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamations

(No Candidates)

Assistant to the Secretary & Director of Information

Basil Litten	To be checked.
Murray Snyder	To be checked.

Assistant to the Secretary, Congressional Liaison

George Hansen  
Bob Bennett

Being checked.  
To be checked.

Director, National Park Service

Bill Lane

To be checked.

Commissioner, Federal Water Pollution Control Administration

Victor Hanes

To be checked.

Governor of the Virgin Islands

Dr. Melvin Evans  
Peter Bove

To be checked.  
To be checked.

STAFFING STATUS REPORT

Department: LABOR

Date: January 30, 1969

Under-Secretary of Labor

James Hodgson  
Howard Jenkins

Will serve.  
Checked well. Good choice  
for Chairman of NLRB when  
next vacancy occurs.

Rocco Siciliano  
Sam Pierce

Not available.  
Moderate checks.

Assistant Secretary - Labor Management Service

Thomas Donahue

The incumbent, from the  
unions who declined to stay.

Don Wollett  
John Quilty  
Stuart Rothman

Checks well. To be pursued.  
Being considered.  
Not available.

Assistant Secretary - Labor International Affairs

John Quilty  
Alfred Green  
Allen Long  
George Weaver

Under consideration.  
To be checked.  
To be checked.  
Javitts and Ayres urge keeping  
for 6 months for ILP con-  
ference, which can be done  
as Special Assistant.

Assistant Secretary - Labor Manpower

Arnold Weber  
Alfred Green  
Eugene Callender  
Malcolm Lovell  
Joseph Fagan

Being pursued.  
Competent but uninspiring.  
Good checks.  
To be checked.  
To be checked.

Assistant Secretary - Planning

Jerome Rosow  
Don Mahon

Has been invited.  
Not checked.

Solicitor

Don Wollett	Checks well.
Sol Niel Corbin	Being checked.
Ed Silver	Being checked.
Charles Duncan	Being checked.
Richard Fisher	Unsatisfactory checks.
Donald Hastings	Unsatisfactory checks.

Administrator of Wage & Hours Divisions

John Peterson	Being considered, but he is known as against wage and hour laws.
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Commissioner of Labor Statistics

Jeffrey Moore	Being asked 1/6, and affirmative reply expected.
Victor Fuchs	To be checked.
James Morgan	To be checked.
Solomon Fabricant	To be checked.

Special Assistant to the Secretary - Legislative Liaison

Mike Bernstein	Shultz has met and likes.
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Director, Office of Information

Ralph Jones	To be checked.
Merrill Mueller	To be checked.
William Strasburg	To be checked.

STAFFING STATUS REPORT

Department: AGRICULTURE

Date: January 3, 1959

Undersecretary

J. Phil Campbell, Jr.	Agreed to serve.
Cliff McIntyre	Being checked for other position.
Dr. Sherwood Berg	To be checked for other position.
Richard Lys	To be checked for other position.
Eric Thor	To be checked for other position.
John Anderson	To be checked for other position.

Assistant Secretary - Administrator  
( No specific candidates )

<u>Assistant Secretary - President of OOC and International Affairs</u>	
Clarence Palmbly	Agreed to serve.
Hyde Murray	Not available.
Tom Wyman	Being checked for other position.

Assistant Secretary - Rural Development

Phillip Alampi	To be checked.
Gwynn Garnett	To be checked.

Assistant Secretary - Marketing and Consumer Services

Bunje	To be pursued.
Donald Moos	Not pursued.
Al Schpock	To be checked.

General Counsel

(No Candidates)

Administrator - Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Agency

Paul Kroger	To be checked.
Evans Harrell	To be checked.

Administrator - Farmers Home Administration

William Galbraith

Will invite when cleared.

Special Assistant to Secretary - Congressional Liaison

George Hanson

To be checked.

Administrator - REA

David Hamil

Will invite when cleared.

Regional Position

James V. Smith

Will invite when cleared  
and position is chosen.

Deputy Assistant Secretary

J. L. Meibergen

Under consideration.

Advisory Committee

Dr. Spitzer

Contacted and will be  
invited.

STAFFING STATUS REPORT

Department: POST OFFICE

Date: January 2, 1969

Deputy Postmaster General

Paul Gorman	Declined invitation.
Rocco Siciliano	Not available.
R. Gordon Hoxie	Not pursued due to unsatisfactory check.

Assistant Postmaster General - Operations

D. Brewer	Not pursued due to unsatisfactory checks and personal meeting.
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Assistant Postmaster General - Personnel

George Moore	Not pursued due to unsatisfactory checks in spite of a Congressional campaign on his behalf.
William Irvine	To be checked.

Assistant Postmaster General - Finance Administration

(No Candidates)

Assistant Postmaster General - Facilities

John Omarra	The incumbent (appointed 7/21/67) who Blount may wish to retain.
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Assistant Postmaster General - Transportation

Joe Matthews	To be checked.
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Assistant Postmaster General - Research & Engineering

Leo Packer	The incumbent (appointed 9/14/66) who Blount may wish to retain.
Norman Arnold	To be checked.

General Counsel

Abelard	Blount has met and is under consideration. Abelard is currently working with Flemming.
Marion Harrison	Under consideration.
Allan Kirk	Under consideration.

Special Assistant - Public Information

(No candidates)

Special Assistant - Congressional Relations

Nat Jackson	The incumbent, a Republican, who Harlow says should be retained and who is therefore under consideration.
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To assist him in his talent search, Blount has asked four individuals to act as a committee to propose and screen candidates for the top positions in the Post Office Department. These individuals are the two senior officers of Vulcan Materials, plus David Bell of the Ford Foundation (who was Director of the Budget under Kennedy), and Wood, President of Sears, Roebuck & Company.

STAFFING STATUS REPORT

Department: DEFENSE

Date: January 3, 1969

Deputy Secretary

D. Packard	Agreed to serve.
R. Mettler	Declined.
R. S. Laing	Not checked.
Karl Bendetson	Not checked.
Carl Gilbert	Not checked.
Elisha Grey	Not checked.
Jack Parker	Not checked.

Director of Defense Research & Engineering

John Foster	The incumbent (appointed 9/27/65) to be retained for one year.
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Deputy Director of Defense Research & Engineering

James C. Fletcher	Being checked.
A.D. Wheelon	Being checked.

Director of Advanced Research Projects

(No Candidates)

Assistant Secretary - Administration

Joseph M. McCrane	Not checked.
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Assistant Secretary - Comptroller

(No Candidates)

Assistant Secretary - Installations & Logistics

Fred J. Russell	Not pursued.
Robert James	Not checked.
Barry Schillito	Currently Assistant Secretary Navy for Installations & Logistics appointed 4/8/68, a Democrat who is highly recommended.



## STAFFING STATUS REPORT

### ARMY

#### Secretary of the Army

Stanley Resor	The incumbent (appointed 6/30/65) to be kept for 1 year.
Malcolm Baldrige, Jr.	Not checked.
William Casey	Not checked.
Bo Callaway	Not checked.
Tim Babcock	Not checked.

#### Under-Secretary of Army

Tim Babcock	Not pursued due to Governor Chafee as Sec. of Navy.
Malcolm Baldrige	Not checked.

#### Assistant Secretary - Financial Management

Eugene M. Becker	The incumbent (appointed 6/12/67) who Laird is considering retaining.
James T. George	To be checked.

#### Assistant Secretary - Installations & Logistics

Robert Kunzig	To be checked.
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#### Assistant Secretary - Manpower & Reserve Affairs

Marion Smoak	To be checked.
Max Rich	To be checked.
William Clark	To be checked.

#### Assistant Secretary - Research & Development

Harold Agnew	To be checked.
William McMillan	To be checked.
Thomas Cook	To be checked.

#### Director of Civil Defense

Don F. Guier	To be checked.
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General Counsel  
(No Candidates)