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STATEMENT OF INFORMATION:  
APPENDIX IV

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS**

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

**H. Res. 803**

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE  
ON THE JUDICIARY TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER SUFFICIENT  
GROUNDS EXIST FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO  
EXERCISE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO IMPEACH  
RICHARD M. NIXON  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

POLITICAL MATTERS MEMORANDA

112-11 St. I.'3, 19A1-September 18, 19N'2

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON: 1974



**MAY-JUNE 1974**



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(ii)

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JOHN WHITMAN, *Counsel*



INTRODUCTORY  
NOTE

This volume contains nineteen memoranda written by Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman in 1971 and 1972. The memoranda were regularly prepared by Strachan from documents and information which he obtained from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

Strachan testified before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities that he prepared a total of twenty-eight Political Matters Memoranda. He further testified that after the Watergate break-in he destroyed memorandum number eighteen. Of the twenty-seven remaining memoranda, the White House furnished to the House Judiciary Committee twenty-one memoranda and certain of the attachments to them.

Nineteen Political Matters Memoranda and three attachments are cited as evidence for the Committee's Statements of Information, Summary of Information, and Report. These memoranda and attachments are included in this volume. Material which is irrelevant or defamatory has been deleted under direction of the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member prior to publication.

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AUGUST 13, 1971  
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Confidential

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FROM:

SUBJECT:

August 13, 1971

H. R. HALD~"2;N

**GORDON STRACHAN G**

**Political Matters**

It might be helpful for you to reviews the recent activities and thoughts of those on the White House Staff and at Citizens VE7ho are most involved with political matters. Recent discussions with Magruder, Flemming, Dents Tixm.ons, Cole, Buchanan, and Colson (Howard) developed the following cor.u-llents and materials:

1) Olson submitted more Harris gossip on Lindsay. His points are that Tully Plessner is doing the polling, Irwin Stiller (Cumains Engine) the financing, and the New Stork Media the promoting (memo at Tab A);

9 5 Done calmest

st C.t-al delis ons (textiles and bussing) that vJrII have a substantial bearing on tne President' s ability to carry the South in 1972. Dent has covered these points with the Attorney General, George Shultz, and John Ehrlichman. Dent has also attached Dick Richards' most recent memorandum. (these memoranda are attached at Tab B.);

3) Tit..r,mons is travelling to San Diego this I^see}:end on the Attorney General's behalf.. The trip sill be "low key". Tim.>m.ons task force on Convention format has not yet met, but Chapin is pushing;

4) Flem.m.i.ncJ is in New Hampshire where he will be talking with Lane DrYinell about the possibility of being the I3ixon Chairman for 1972. Levis reports on McClos;;ey's trip to New Hampshire indicated that he had been met by Governor Peterson and Stewart Lamprey. Flemning checked the Attorney General who said he knew of no croblera between Governor Peterson and the White House. Flem~mi!!g asks on behalf of the Attorney General Whether you knows of any problem;

5) Cole resorts that John Ehrlicnman has received "full

responsibility from the President" for the development or  
the approval for the 1372 Repub

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[REDACTED]

on two pending Preside  
lian Convention. It is

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also Cole's understanding that "the budget will be the platform". When Cole met the day before yesterday with Jeb Magruder and Bill Timmons just to make sure they understood that Ehrlichman's office had responsibility for the development of the platform. Cole reports that in addition to the standard budget- dictates of the platform, he will be working with Chuck Colson for the development of specific items aimed at individual voting groups. Cole emphasized that the project was in the very early stages and doubted there would be anything on paper for the next several months. There will not be regularly scheduled meetings of Cole, Colson, Timmons, and Mr Magruder. However, all dealings with the RNC about the platform will be done by Citizens instead of Ehrlichman's operation;

6) Buchanan submitted memoranda to you and the Attorney General concerning the Presidential contenders. Theory and specific tactics are discussed. The Attorney General will want to discuss these memoranda (attached at Tab C) with you according to Magruder. OQ09£~~

Pursuant to your request on Tuesday, Buchanan, Chapin, Walker and I met on Wednesday and developed our oral recommendations for political intelligence and covert activities;

7) Magruder- met with the Attorney General today for one hour and covered the following matters:

a) Compass, Systems Inc., which Bob Finch, Sam Wiley, and Put Livermore were interested in is now:1 to be financed (\$65,000) by Citizens;

b) Magruder will seek information on how to keep McCloskey off the Florida Republican primary ballot;

c) The Democrats 1972 Sponsor's Club will have a Citizens sponsored (\$72 per month); member;

d) Citizens requests will be answered by the RNC; only high level offers of assistance and White House and Administration referrals will be handled directly by Citizens;

██████████

██████████ e) Don Bonafede of the National Journal will do



a story on Citizens based on writ-ten questions submitted to Magruder;

(8)

f) Ken Rietz will attend former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller's 'Salute to the New York;

Rietz will not



AUGUST 13.  
1971

discuss issues or policy;

**g) The ~- Attorney General will contact the JRS about the tax exempt status of the National Movement for the Student Vote, Which opposes the President;**

**h) Ken Rietz will go to New Hampshire to organize young voters as soon as the Nixon Chairman for 1972 is selected;**

**i) The Attorney General has directed Magruder to talk with Haig about what conservatives can say in support of the President's decision to go to China. Magruder will relay this to Salvatori who will talk to Reagan. The Attorney General asks whether other conservative leaders should be programmed through the White House to make similar supporting statements. If so, should Colson have the responsibility?**

**Program conservatives through Colson at the White House**

000963

**j) YAF will hold its national Convention in Houston Texas on September 2-5, 1971. The Attorney General wants Buchanan to go, but seeks your advice.**

**Buchanan goes**

**No White House Staff (including Buchanan) to go**

**\_ Other**

**The Attorney General "feels strongly" that Klein's office should facilitate the flow of the Administration line to conservative publications (Human Events, National Review, and Battle Line). Klein currently assists Harrison**

**Salisbury with the New York Times Op Ed page.**

**Agree Disagree**

Comment,ent

**The Attorney General also "feels strongly" that the Philadelphia Society of the 100 top academic conservatives should begin receiving "White House" treatment (e.g.**

**lists, commissions, and calls).**



FORMER BY APTA

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... Other

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invitation li

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_ WH \_\_\_\_\_

(3)

AUGUST 13, 1971

k) The RNC special delegates and organizations Committee has prepared a list of recommendations on the GOP convention, and party structure. Timmons has summarized their recommendations and Magruder submitted them to the Attorney General for decision. A copy of the memo is attached at Tab D;

l) Timmons and Odle have been asked to develop an analysis of the status of Democratic Party reform and suggest possible action items;

m) Rita Hauser believes she will be the women's chairman or Nixon, though the Attorney General has not yet decided. She has submitted a very long analysis of the women's vote which the Attorney General has not

n) Odle is watching the Michigan Conservative Party situation for the Attorney General but has suggested no action steps;

o) Citizens will not hire Dick Richards because Tom Evans would not accept that alternative. Magruder will tell Richards to go back to Utah 00 96, etc.

p) Magruder learned that Bob Finch held a meeting at the California Club in Los Angeles on Monday or Tuesday. Finch and Leonard Firestone reviewed how they would handle the California Campaign for the benefit of those attending the meeting. The Attorney General had not heard of the meeting, was upset, and will probably call Finch in the

q) The Attorney General asked Magruder to contact Klein about no further comments on the Convention; the Attorney General was pleased to learn that the same point has been made in the 8:15 a.m. meeting;

r) The Attorney General did not know that the R-NC had a \$350,000 research budget and has directed Magruder to get the complete back up information. No decision has been reached as to how to handle the projected \$2 million RNC deficit;

s) The Secretary Stans \$1 million discretionary fund is the non-earmarked funds within the departments. These funds have been used for briefings, conferences, and advertising expenditures. These departmental funds would also be used for the retention of

potential California employees.

yet read;

near future;

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Administratively Confidential

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

FROM:

SUBJECT T:

SEPTEMBER 18, 1971

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Recent developments that you may find of interest are:

September 18, 19

H. R. HALDEMAN

GORDON STRACHAN G

Political Matters

1) Finances -- Kalmbach called on September 15 to report that Kent Smith, who is in for 250, asked him to raise an "intelligence matter concerning a professor at Case Western Reserve University"; the Professor is legitimate according to Dr. Ed David. Kalmbach plans on raising the details with you at his meeting next Tuesday.

Kalmbach confirmed that Harold McClure, Jr., the National Committeeman from Michigan, is in for 50; Max Fisher will come in for 250, though the "close" by Kalmbach-will come later.

Secretary Stans- met with Lee Nunn, Hugh Sloan, Patrick Dugan, and Lang Washburn on Wednesday, September 15 to review the current campaign finance situation and to make plans for Campaign 1972. Stans had prepared fourteen guideline's which will be revised for review by you and the Attorney General next Tuesday. Stans maintains that he has not accepted full responsibility for the finances for Campaign 1972, but all who are working with him assume he will at the appropriate time. Indicative of Stans' leadership is his directive to Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan to: a) prepare projected budgets for the Campaign to the Convention and from the Convention through the election; b) contact Tom Evans of New York about the position of Counsel to the **Finance Committee, and; c) stop worrying about the RNFC fund raising letter that will net little cash.**

One discouraging note is the Charles Bartlett article that appeared in the Star on September 14 indicating that Stans would become President of the World Bank if he assumed the Campaign Finance role. Kalmbach was surprised and dismayed that this matter, which he had been handling, had leaked.

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[REDACTED]

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2) M[agruder's Projects -

a) Your comment that it was "ridiculous for M agruder to "staff up" with an individual for "blacjs" was explained. However, he is receiving authority from the Attorney General to hire individuals for other voting groups. For example, in spite of your reservations (which Magruder conveyed to the Attorney General) about Rita Hauser

' as a New York Jewish Democrat in the Campaign, she will begin full time in January, but will be heavily involved before then. Also, Larry Goldberg from Rhode Island will begin work on October 1 at the Committee to work with the Jewish community pursuant to Max Fisher's memorandum to the Attorney General. Magruder also plans to hire an "aide" to assist him with administrative detail. The two likeliest prospects are Bob Herrema from Senator Weicker's staff or Curt Herge Midge, Rose;

b) The Attorney General will hold a breakfast meeting on October 2

in California to "lay down the law". The attendees are unknown to Magruder;

z,2 ) The Attorney General's next "political meeting with Rumsfeld, Kleindienst, LaRue,~ Flemming, and Magruder scheduled for

(I Thursday, September 23. This will be their first meeting since TV A> you and the Attorney General determined on July 2 that it **would tj~~** - be advantageous for me to attend as your representative;

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8;73 >\*v7 d) After some confusion this week Magruder, Colson, Chapin, and Bull agreed upon a method to handle surrogate candidates through November 7, 197Z. Bull 's memorandum, which Chaplin submitted to you yesterday, covers this subject in great detail. Basically, "political scheduling" (Martha Mitchell, fund raisers, / campaign endorsement trips, etc. ) will be handled by the Committee while Colson's operation retains control of all "non

political scheduling"

(legitimate Cabinet inspection trips, speaking **:ngagements, and official appearances);**

A plant will be in Muskie headquarters beginning October 1;

f) The Attorney General has decided not to keep McCloskey's name off the ballot in Florida because the President will win easily and make McCloskey look weak. However, an attempt ./may be made to keep Wallace off the Florida ballot to help >a Jackson cut into Muskie's lead;

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g) Cliff Miller and Magruder suggested that Georg-Babbe be  
I'm 5 considered as Campaign Manager in California. No decision  
fvA 7X\ has been made; ~~~~Ci\_ Am ~ ~ A jZ~~

h) Pursuant to your request, Magruder emphasized the importance  
putting a high percentage of responsible people under the age  
{ of 30 on the state committees. The Attorney General agreed;

i) The ENC \$350, 000 research budget has been explained to the Attorney General in  
some detail by Magruder. Basically, \$150, 000 as gone to 18 states to assist in  
legislative redistricting; \$130, 000 has been budgeted for development of software  
and data reporting capabilities in various states. The \$65, 000 balance is not yet  
committed;

j) The Richard A. Viguerie Company is being considered as the cont actor for  
the direct mail fund solicitation function. The Evans & Novak column on the  
link between Viguerie and the "Friends of the FBI" and "Americans for Agnew"  
Committees is untrue. The "Friends of the FBI" and "Americans for Agnew" are  
ran by Lee Edwards and Pat Gorman;

k) The press policy of the Committee for the Re-election of the President is  
increasingly important in light of the two recent  
articles in the National Journal on polling and the **campaign** strategy. You indicated you  
wanted to cover this with the Attorney *General* and a talking paper is attached;

%) Ken Rietz, who is organizing Young Voters for the President, **attended**  
**former Governor** Winthrop Rockefeller's "New Voter  
**Day at Winrock**", > Arkansas. Rietz did not speak, but Ed Harper  
- *of* the Domestic Council did, apparently very well. The President received a vote  
of confidence when the Convention attendees voted;

David Keene of the Vice President's staff submitted a report  
on the YAF Convention in Houston. The report recounts the

**P** disasters and points out the facts known to all: the conservatives  
have substantive policy complaints and cosmetics won't work;

3) RNC Convention: Timmons-

Tim}mons has been acting as chairman of Magruder's task  
force on the RNC Convention; he is spending a good deal of

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time on the project. The Attorney General requests your decision as Chief of Staff as to whether or not Timmons can continue to commit blocks of his time to the Convention. The Attorney General would prefer to have Timmons continue. Timmons believes he can handle both the Convention and his Congressional

Relations responsibilities.

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Timmons continues *S£/4CSC~~ - V*

Timmons to be replaced as the Attorney

General's man for the RNC Convention

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4 Timmons has submitted to the Attorney General a memorandum requesting decisions on the size of Campaign staff financial arrangements for guests and possible VIPs that may have to be housed in San Diego. The Attorney General has not acted on this memorandum; <)fiWr .cc\_--zv 4--"" -- Cts

c) Timmons submitted a memorandum to Jeb Magruder regarding Convention Appointments. -The appointments range from Chairman of the Platform Committee (John Rhodes is recommended Timmons and Ehrlichman) to Floor Leader, Rules, etc.

Of mons believes that you the Attorney General and the President

-may wish to review this entire package of 13 appointments. The

Attorney General has not yet reviewed the materials. At your

\ next meeting with the Attorney General I will give you the package

gad with a talking paper. .- : S

'S 'a

4) Harry Dent -- Several items have been submitted including state analyses that you have already read and state polls that are not **usually reviewed by** you. Two matters deserve your attention: a) The Kentucky (:governor's Race can be won by Republican Tom Embertone according to Dent. However, Governor Louie Nunn is seeking a 200 to -300 commitment from here for television during the closing weeks of the campaign. As you will recall from your discussion with the Attorney General this morning, this would not be a loan. The amount discussed was 100 and you were to check with the President. If he disagreed with releasing f,~8J~---- Bathe money you and the Attorney General were to discuss it in a

T 1 1 meeting with the President; b) The Kissinger briefing- of the

;;~SS -lit O()OO4'i

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SEPTEMBER 18, 1971

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Other

SEPTEMBER 18, 1971

September ~~, Monitoring of Democrats- Colson submitted  
a memorandum

— expressing surprise and dismay that we did not have a list of the attendees of the  
A/ius: <ie ' Lat catr -.weekend (>:e did nve s •ch 2 Lsst ;ird seSr, a copy io 5Er) His  
omer conce-n is •mat no a~srgements ;>ve been made to taDe recorH 211 of  
l~~~~tus'~ie's statereents, incluvi^, me "oDf-hand" cor-|men.s. Colson suggested -  
dn2t No ziger arr2nge ~or tbfis but Lyn said he had no money for this t,me of p-ojecE

The most recent E.NE report has been submitted. It contains no information

The question is whether or not the subject of intelligence should not receive a greater  
allocation of time and resources than it is

receive; ~g now. / . :

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No, maintain **current level of inactivity**;

\_ Other

z 6) The detailed demographic comparison of the last **four ORC polls** on Presidential  
popularity is attached. It includes the new **break-of party** vna ideology that you  
requested;

7) National Journal -- The National Journal has done **two articles on**

;^e "Florida Primary" and "Common Cause". **Clean unmarked copies** / are attached. The  
Florida primary article is detailed but deserving of your time. The Common Cause article is  
the best in depth study:

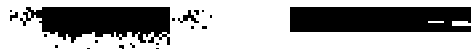
9 done to date. There is nothing new except that **Barbara Laird, wife  
of the Secretary of Defense** and **David Packard** are now listed as  
members .

83 Tom Evans of the RNC forwarded the results of the RNYC **Delaware** study. In  
late June and early July, 601 registered voters were personally interviewed. The  
three most important issues are the Vietnam War (61. 65%), the inflation/recession  
economic issue (55. 55%), and drugs (57. 56. 60%) believe in the country -s  
worse off today than three years ago. In the President received 35%,

Not us' Sie 245ra and the undecided is listed as 42% SO, xvEich the EYC believes

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Billy Graham group received excellent coverage in Northern Baptist  
and other religious publications.

- Yes, more resources, ~~discuss with me~~  
*Don't see to it what:*

SEPTEMBER 18, 1971

is an accurate undecided level. The President's approval rating is 56%,o, with disapproval at 32% and 11% don't know. The results are detailed by county and problem but not demographics.

Tom Evans wonders whether it would be useful to re-interview some of the 601 respondents. The additional cost is \$1, 500. He has not raised the subject with the Attorney General. My recommendation is that you do not indicate approval of the additional expenditure as that is within the Attorney General's province

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- Agree

Disagree

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SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

THE, 'SE ', WHITE HOUSE  
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FROM .

SUBJECT:

September 24, 1973

H . R . HALDEMAN

**GORDON STRACHAN**

Political Matters

Recent developments that you may find of interest are:

1) Finances -- Kalmhach told me he appreciated the opportunity to meet <sup>with\_1</sup>you on September 21. A review of decisions and subsequent developments includes:

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a) Stans cannot be assured any particular post if he becomes Nixon Finance Chairman, but something of the calibre of the World Bank would be expected; > Gregg Swat ago ~~M>5g

b) All of Stans requests upon departure would be accepted except his desire to delay his departure from Commerce. It is the Attorney General's view that it might be advantageous to delay Stans' departure until after the campaign spending legislation becomes final. These matters should be covered when you meet with the Attorney General and Stans to reach an "understanding";

/ Kalmbach will obtain from Stans a list of the 1968 commitments which are frequently mentioned to you without specifics;

d) Stans postponed the meeting of the finance people (Nunn, Sloan, Dugan, Washburn) until September 29. Kalmbach will not attend as he wishes to retain his role of reporting , x directly to you. The Stans meeting will review the current financial situation (1,400 received, 400 spent), the Campaign < get, and the participants responsibilities;

e) You told Kalmbach you would cover the 800 special fund with the Attorney General;

f) At Kalmbach's meeting with the Attorney General on September 21, he was informed that "sandwedge" has been

put on "hold" as there is concern about the structuring of the project;

[REDACTED]

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

[REDACTED]

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(11)

g) DeRoulet and Symington -- You agreed with Kalmbach that their 100 each should be returned since the European commitments cannot now be met. Kalmbach had lunch with DeRoulet in New York. ~ on September 22. The repayment because of non-delivery on the European ambassadorship was covered by Kalmbach and DeRoulet was "really upset", However, the

A C.V. Whitney move to Spain was not covered, and since  
j n > DeRoulet wants to meet with you while he is in the U.S.  
go for the next 10 days, Kalmbach Believes you should cover  
/ ~ ~ n the C.V. Whitney/Spain matter. DeRoulet will see Flanigan  
go t t on September 24, and Kalmbach expects Flanigan to be "ham- ^ X88  
> handed" in emphasizing to DeRoulet that a European post  
o >< U2 ~ ~ < is out. Kalmbach hopes that either Malta or Mexico may  
z be "doable" in 1973;

h) Firestone for 100, Schreiber for 100, and Jules Stein  
< for 150 are in on the condition that the money will be  
used in California;

< 1) The only commitment that Kalmbach is aware of at this  
time is Farcas for Costa Rica;

<< In spite of Kalmbach's 1,200 European trip, there is no  
assurance on those posts after 1973;

k) wT have asked General Haig to call Professor Edward Glaser,  
the friend of Dr. Ed David, about the "intelligence matter"  
- referred to by Kalmbach while discussing Kent Smith;

v T > 1) You were going to check with the President whether or not or, | g < /  
the San Clemente maintenance should be changed from Lynch w < - to Gavin  
Herbert;

< site selection project is on hold,

2} RNC Convention -

, a) Network coverage will be gavel-to-gavel each day by CBS  
and NBC. They hope the Convention begins, at 4:30 PDT so  
R live coverage can begin at 7:30 EDT. ABC will begin at  
9 9:30 ZDT and continue to the close of the session. CBS and ABC have  
9:30 ZDT and continue to the close of the session. CBS and ABC have  
scheduled "specials" for  
Sunday, August 20, 1972;

SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

b) The Attorney General agrees that Timmons should continue to act as Chairman of Magruder's task force on the RNC

Convention;

c) The Timmons memorandum for Magruder on hotel accommodations, transportation, and seating is attached at Tab A request;

per your

d) The Ehrlichman and Timmons recommendations for Convention Appointments is attached with a talking caper for the Em Attorney General at Tab B.

### 3) Magruder's Projects -

v/ ~'

Magruder will attempt to implement Buchanan's suggestions for Muskie's trip to Chicago and Milwaukee this weekend. The suggestions include: Black pickets with "Conyers for President", "No Bigots for President", etc.; leaflets in the South Side encouraging demonstrations at the Hilton where Muskie will speak; letters to Chicago papers, and an Ogilvie statement hitting Muskie on his black Vice Presidential statement and pro-busing stand;

b) The Attorney General cancelled the 'political meeting' with Rumsfeld, Kleindienst, LaRue, Flemming, and Magruder. I shall attend when it is again on the Attorney "schedule;

c) Press policy at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President includes: Francis Dale as the official for quotation spokesman; the Attorney General or Magruder in a "minor situation" will determine whether or not Magruder should talk with the press on a background basis; any involvement by the Attorney General is denied; no one besides Magruder may speak with the press; Martha Mitchell receives help from the Committee because the Committee would "help any key Republican"; Nunn and Sloan are raising day-to-day expenses only; a Committee Press Spokesman will be added in January.

### 4-) Harry Dent's Recommendations are as follows --

The Vice President should sign the Gerald Ford Congressional Committee fund raising letter if the draft were changed to delete the negativism and hucksterism;

b) Congressman Jim McClure should receive White House

██████████ support

... .. in his attempt to replace Jordan of Idaho in  
1972.

The Vice President's office (Art Sohmer) has been advised;

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(13)

SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

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c) He is increasingly concerned that the Attorney General is not spending enough time on the hard organizational decisions: Harry Flerming is doing only the most obvious, lightweight work; the 'political meetings' (last one held on June 30) are not reaching decisions; there are no regional men active yet, etc. Dent believes that the / Attorney General is just too busy with his Justice, 5" domestic policy, and NSC responsibilities. He has no "political staff" at Justice and is simply inundated with pending Campaign decisions submitted by Magruder.

Subjects that you have raised with the Attorney General that indicate he is too busy include: state by state Campaign leader dinners, recommendations on state leader assignments, and a strategy for the primaries.

Magruder concurs that the Attorney General is too busy and > has not been able to focus on the accumulating hard Campaign decisions.

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(14)



OCTOBER 7 19 71

THE WHITE HOUSE

October--7--  
1971

ADMINISTRATIVE CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM!  
FOR

FROM:

SUBJECT

Finances

H. R. HALDEMAN

& GORDON STRYCHAN

Political Matt

/

X, \_\_\_\_\_

D Secretary Stans met with Hugh Sloan, Lee Nunn and Herb Kalmbach on September 29. They reviewed Stans' fourteen points concerning financial control of the Campaign. Stans sent Hugh Sloan to the Attorney General with fourteen points and the joint Attorney General-Stans decisions are:

1) The Budget Committee will have representatives from the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President. but the Campaign Chairman makes the

financial decisions;

2) Outside groups (e.g. Businessmen for Nixon) will be self-sustaining;

3) Citizens organization will be merely a division of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President instead of an independent unit;

d) There will be no fundraising activities until

after the November 9 SYNC dinners. The PMFC will be  
/controlled by the Finance Committee for the Re-Election  
of the President-beginning November 10 or  
> January 1 depending on a decision to be made by the  
Attorney General and Stans at a later date;

/Hugh Sloan is acting Chairman of the Finance  
Committee for the Re-Election of the President until  
Stans decides to accept the post or an interim  
Chairman (General Clay or Tom Patton) is chosen;

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WASHINGTON (15)

OCTOBER 7, 1971

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-|~) The Attorney General is currently retaining complete financial control, exercised through Hugh Sloan until Stans decides whether to accept or reject the position of Finance Chairman for the Campaign,

g) Preliminary budgets ~-

B;->-Election or the President (\$23,000,000 and for the Finance Committee (\$3,000,000) have been submitted to Stans but not put in final form for review by you and the Attorney General yet.

< The Vice President's re-drafted fund raising letter for the Congressional Committee will go out on October 9.

4) Colson sent you a memorandum noting a Justice Department Anti-Trust Division investigation of the milk producers association exemption, which was upheld by the District of Columbia Federal District Court in 1956. John Dean verified the report. Colson urges his own non-involvement.

Lee Nunn forwarded a letter from John Rarick (D-La.) to Secretary Hardin about a new merger of milk producers and what type of control is to be exerted.

TA subject is covered in paragraph 2 of the talking paper or the Attorney General.

### Harry Dent Matters

15-- The Attorney General called Harry Dent to say that "the campaign organization in the key states has not yet been developed to the point where we could be sure of having the right people there.' (At Key state dinners at the White House.) The immediate result is -that the October 21 dinner for the New York people has been indefinitely postponed. The

For the Committee for the Attorney General doubts whether any Key state dinners can be held before January 1, 1972. Dave Parker is preparing a memorandum tracing

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(16)

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-\_-:-,e Presidential request for these dinners back to February

(v.s.)

2, ~- Also the Attorney General advises that a v Presidential reception. for members of the SYNC should be delayed until

t he spring .

7) A young Aide to Senator Gurney mistakenly attributed to Harry-Dent statements about Gurney's Vice Presidential opportunities.

4) At the Delaware reception on October 5, John Rollins talked to the President about a fourth party situation. The President

called Dent and told him to have Rollins meet with you and perhaps the Attorney General. The subject is presumably the M funding o the black candidate project that the President discussed with you on the Spirit of '76 while returning from Alaska.

A. //

'n

Arrange meeting for Haldeman, the Attorney General and John Rollins

Arrange conference telephone call for Haldeman, the Attorney General and John Rollins

Other

John Dean

Father McLaughlin will-hold a fundraising dinner in Rhode Island on November 4. When you asked John Dean to turn off the project, as was too far along - letters of invitation had already been se < Dean did talk with Father McLaughlin, but did not accept Dean's advice to stop the project. In addition, Ray Price told /Dean "not to worry," that there would be no incidents, and that the event would be held "with restraint. n

Murray  
Chotiner

A gruder reports that the Attorney General informed Chotiner that / the \$1,,00 per month services of Chapman's Friends would be terminated,

You received a carbon of a memorandum from Chotiner to the Attorney General suggesting that "Lee Nunn, or someone like him" should /be contacting "Governors and Senators and other VIPs". f

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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(17)

Or

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### Magruder's Projects

()011.'~~,;:

1) Martha Mitchell will not do w talk show but will begin doing a syndicated column, probably for King Features. A /701 staff writer will prepare the material;

2> The Attorney General told Lyn Nofziger he would not be the /California Campaign Manager. Magruder believes it will be 1/ Gordon Luce, but the Attorney General has not decided;

<<Additional office space is being acquired at 1701 in anticipation of the staffing up between November 1 and January 1;

4) The Attorney General was pleased that the GOP Moderates Meeting at/the Army Navy Club leaked to the press pursuant to plan. He believes that this undermined the "dump Agnew" overtones. The Attorney General has a list of those who attended

5) The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President, with Lane Dwinell as chairman and Allen Walker as the action person, will be announced toward the end of October. Th ere will be no direct connection with the national Committee \ / for the Re-Election of the President, and the press policy will v be the same: no Presidential or White House involvement but occasional discussion with the National Committee for the ReElection of the President;

6) Although the Attorney General has not reviewed Ken Rietz r youth campaign plan, he has approved Rietz plan for a new voter registration plan in Orange County, Florida, -beginning with a kickoff speech by Senator Brock on November 1. The drive will t' conclude November 20, to be followed with appropriate publici

ly i

8) Bob Marik, who prepared the Computers, Polling, and Research Planning Study for Flanigan's signature, went to New York to asses ~- he reapportionment project in New York. The Attorney Gener al directed Magruder and Marik to work with Dick Scolaro ion the reapportionment project but with (Chuck)Lanigan for /political matters such as strengthening the RNC - NY Republican party cooperation;

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9) Magruder suggested to the Attorney General that when Governor Reagan returns from Taiwan and other Asian countries it would be appropriate for Reagan to speak to the National Press Club and reappear on his support for the President's dialogue with China. Attorney General agreed. The National Press Club speech by Reagan could be immediately after Reagan's personal report "to the President on the results of his findings" according to Magruder,

IEJ: you acted on the Bull-Chapin memorandum on the scheduling of Senator Goldwater and other surrogate candidates, Magruder checked with the Attorney General to confirm his understanding that there were no contacts between your department and the Attorney General's staff. Case only minor divergence concerned the role of the White

House Speakers Bureau. You decided that "official spokesmen from all non-political functions up through the Convention" should be handled by Colson's operation. The Attorney General gave tentative approval "deserving further consideration."

11) Al Saupinen will join Harry Flemming at the Committee to Study Staff Organizations on November 1. Kaupinen requests continuation of White House messengers. Jeb Magruder and Hugh Sloan at the Committee currently have messengers' privileges. - WS:jl\*

**Recommendation:**

That Raupinen not retain White House Mess privileges.

Approve - if

**Comment**

12) After the YAF Convention debacle, Buchanan was asked to comment or suggested methods of courting Conservatives. Buchanan urged extreme caution on all the suggestions including the NSC talking paper on China (Kilpatrick column would be better); post-Presidential speech telephone calls (several might not be accepted); assistance getting Administration explanations in Battle Line, etc. (the key editors and writers have already broken with the Administration so extraordinary assistance would be





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### The Democratic Contenders

Pat Buchanan, as the chairman of the Attorney General's task force on the Democratic Contenders, supervises the RNC research on the contenders, drafts materials for Monday and clears "political hard ball" suggestions for Magruder's implementation. Buchanan reports that he has had significant success in all three areas.

Ed DeBolt at the RNC supervises the preparation of weekly reports on the Democratic Contenders which are detailed enough to preclude the necessity to "assign one White House staff member to \*- . . . each candidate according to Buchanan.

Both Monday and the anti-Democratic Contenders' signs, demonstrations, State Chairmen statements, and letters to the editors have been "not inconsiderable in terms of harassing our adversaries." / He forwarded the attached memorandum and clippings to prove his point.

In addition, Buchanan has prepared an excellent updated strategy memorandum entitled "Dividing the Democrats". A copy is attached as you may want to read it prior to the general discussion of approach to the Democrats with the Attorney General. Buchanan has led the attack against Muskie but now asks guidance as to format whether the attack shouldn't be shifted to Kennedy, whom some Reconsider (Nofziger among them) the most difficult candidate the President could face." Buchanan also believes that Jackson should receive his share of the attack as a Democratic contender.

Finally, Buchanan reports that "Bob Finch feels very strongly that the time has come to lay the groundwork for the "Do Nothing" Congress charge. Finch believes that the President should open a Cabinet meeting, "clear of Aides," encourage the Cabinet to do a series of speeches supporting the President, and then "depart leaving Bob Finch to fill in the details.

### The Attorney General)

As mentioned in my September 24 Political Matters memorandum some involved in the campaign are concerned that the Attorney General is not spending the time necessary to make the early important decisions. Rumsfeld and Flanigan now agree with Dent and Magruder that the time has come for hard decisions by the Attorney General in these areas, for which the Task Force "planning studies" have been completed:

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1) Young voters for Nixon - Rietz proposal;

2; Polling, computers, and research Flanigan recommendation;

3} Democratic Contenders Strategy - Buchanan memoranda;

A) RNC Convention Appointments - Timmons suggestions;

5)-voter Block Staff Requirements Magruder;

67 Advertising Director The- Attorney General saw Peter Dailey on October 11 and will see Richard O'Reilly on October 13;

7) RNC - Dole Problems - raised by Colson, Nofziger Evans, Dent, etc.;

9\* Sandwege and other Covert Activities - Dean;

9} The Farm vote - Whitaker recommendations;

10) State Organizations: Flemming is doing only the preliminary, light weight work which is being criticized by Chotiner and Sears. The Attorney General has not held a "political meeting" since June. None of the State organizational dinners, first suggested in February 1971 will occur before January ;97\*

**Recommendation:**

**That you-arrange a political meeting with the Attorney General at the earliest mutually convenient date to discuss all pending**

**+ matters**

**>< Agree, Strachan set date**

**IN Disagree, raise again in one month.**

**Forget suggestion.**

**Other.**

OCTOBER 27, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE

gym

WASHINGTON

by

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

October 27 D 1971

H. R. HALDE, 4AN

GORDON STRACHAN G

Political Matters

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You decided to have a political meeting with the Attorney General to discuss all pending matters. Thursday, October 28- at 11:00 a.m. could be the best time because the President will be meeting with Tito at 11:00 a.m. The date, and -- me have been cleared with the Attorney General's personal secretary, Lea Jablonsky, and Jeb Magruder.

\_Set the meeting for October 28, 11:00 a.m.

\_Set the meeting 1 ater

Other

Following your last political meeting with the Attorney General on July 2 you indicated that Magruder and I should be present for part but not all of this meeting. The attached suggested agenda is divided between subjects you may want to discuss with Magruder and me present and those you may want to discuss with the Attorney General alone.

Additional background for the subjects included in the agenda as well as materials covered by Magruder in a three hour meeting with the Attorney General on October 25 include:

Finances

*Set  
Stans  
Halden*

1) Secretary Stans has not yet met with the Attorney General to discuss Stans' fourteen points concerning financial control of the Campaign. Stans is awaiting the specific request to become Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972. Stans may want to be asked by the President. The Attorney General has been advised that World Bank is not possible for Stans in 1973. Kalmbach will cover this with Stans as soon as you and the Attorney General reach a decision. Point covered in paragraph 1a of the agenda.

OCTOBER 27, 1971

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A 4 3) Lee Nunn is working on special political projects for

(J)11 4.'

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~~~t-\~~~2U<P~ the Attorney General instead of fund raising because

tv 1sf of the decision to wait until after the RNC November 9 dinners. /

4) Two of these RNC November 9 dinners have been cancelled; the RNC's general financ-~~-ial situation is covered in paragraph 1b of the agenda. j

**Harry Dent Matters /**

i;>,l >\_.. \_\_\_\_\_ 0 Dent distributed to the White House staff By 12? -@ description a the political situation in each state, the <>i <n @/~~pr < able candidates joining the President on the ballot in 4 ~~~~psi~~¢ h each state and selected 1968 voting results. You needn't u lady / review the complete book and are familiar with the information /bn the key states. g

2) The Attorney General has been advised that Mayor Sam Yorty will enter the primaries in New Hampshire, Nebraska and California but not Florida, because he expects Wallace to enter and win Florida as a Democrat.

3) Washington Governor Evans is swinging in behind the President according to Ehrlichman, and Dent has suggested to the Attorney General that "maybe (we) ought to start working closely with him for '72." if

4) Dent's October 26 description of the "Major Elections in November" is attached at Tab A should you wish to review all of the races. To summarize: GOP Tom Emberton should defeat Democrat Lt. Governor Wendell Ford in a very close race for Governor of Kentucky; the Virginia Lt. Governorship will be won by Independent Howell, not GOP State Delegate Shafron; Pennsylvania's special congressional seat should go to GOP candidate John Heinz III; Dick Lugar should win re-election as Indianapolis' Mayor; Alioto should win again in San Francisco. Magruder and Dent will conduct an "election watch".

*[Handwritten signature]*

<5) The President asked Dent to develop a mechanism for recruiting "some good new House candidates." The House

██████████

██████████ Campaign

Committee usually

emphasizes incumbents. You discussed this problem with MacGregor and Timmons on

*[Handwritten initials]*

On October 13, 1981

*[Handwritten initials]*

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October 22. Dent sent  
Attorney General which

memorandum to  
the

\_ Dan Kuy]~~endall, who is currently assisting Bob  
Wilson, assume responsibility for this project. Gerry Ford  
should also be talked with, but Dent makes no specific  
recommendation nor has he taken any action. The point is  
covered in 13 of the Agenda. < n 011 a i

6) Dent has advised the Attorney General that he has five top Southern  
businessmen who.~~want to work for the President in '72. They would  
not be state chairman, \ to but would raise money, use their  
transportation facilities, \ '~~3 \ and work with groups where they have  
strength. The five

8 v N {6 are Laurence Lee - Jacksonville; Willard Robertson - New  
I x Orleans; Stan Frank - Greenboro, North Carolina; Maxie

V>,t,

Jarman - Nashville; and Win Rockefeller. In additions  
Roger Milliken and Fred z Dent, no kin to Harry, are also  
mentioned. Dent is asking the Attorney General for  
authority to move p ahead with this group.

7) Dent advised the New York Conservative Party in writing  
that Agnew would be on the ticket in 1972. Klein recently  
made a similar representation to the press. Whether Agnew  
will or will not be on the ticket is not the question. Rather  
the President's decision making freedom probably should be  
protected from such statements. The point is covered at 23 in  
the Agenda. /

8) Dent responded to an Action Memorandum based on a news  
summary notation about Vir 4 nia politics by noting that the  
Democrats have conducted An intensive registration drive,  
student support of the President rose after the China initiative v z the  
Vice President is >he focal point for the students / antestablishment v v  
fS;

Charlie McWhorter

He attended the Midwest

Indianapolis on October

I/

Regional Republican Conference in  
7-9 and submitted a report to Harry

Flemming which made the following points:

1) The spirit of the Conference was general support for

██████████ ██████████ the  
President,

but two specific criticisms were the  
need for a new Secretary of Agriculture  
and the NEP's failure to meet the political  
requirements of those close to farmers

2) Bob Griffin's chances have improved, but the President  
still faces an uphill fight in Michigan; Lt. Governor Jim  
Brickley is the recommended Nixon Chairman;

8) The President will have no difficulties in the Wisconsin primary

McWhorter also submitted a report to Flemming on the Western States Republican Conference in Las Vegas on October 14-16. The

report suggests: y *O()llew*

1) That Alaska would be ideal for a woman (Joan Crossen?)  
Nixon Chairman; eg

2) McCall should not be encouraged to challenge Hatfield in the Oregon primary because McCall would be no more reliable, and a bitter primary would assure the election of a Democratic Senator; .

Magruder's Projects

A  
1) Several reports by Ken Rietz and Jeb Magruder on the Campaign's approach to youth have been submitted to the Attorney General. Matters covered include: 1

a) Magruder has received authority from the Attorney General to discuss the Campaign's activities with youth to develop positive stories in the media. Magruder's information has appeared in the October 13 Washington Post article by Ken Clausen, the October 18 issue of Newsweek, and in the October 11 Jules Whitcover article in the Los Angeles Times.

b) The Life article on youth registration is deceptive because "(r)egistration figures for the new voter on a national level are still ranging from 10 to 15%." However, "young people when confronted with an organized registration drive will register, and usually in favor of whomever

is running the registration effort. In light of this, Rietz plans youth registration drives beginning November 1 in New Hampshire, Tennessee, and Florida.

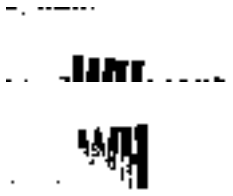
Efforts are being made to begin in Illinois, Wisconsin, Colorado and Texas. Results will be available December 1. In New Mexico where Rietz has a youth registration drive in operation the under 21 group has registered



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c) Richard Scammon says "75-80% of the young people will vote the same as their parents."



d) Rietz has prepared a list of Mock Conventions for Counsellor Rumsfeld, who has promised to review the list, obtain Administration spokesman, and assist in the development of target [redacted] organization.

OCTOBER 27 1971

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e) The RNC is behind in youth registration drives, but  
>t>? Magruder has obtained a cabtment from Tom Evans end x  
act Anne Armstrong to begin o ff November 11.

2) This flurry of memoranda from Magruder/Rietz is a result of your October 6 memorandum to the Attorney General expressing the President's frequently voiced concern about young voters. The only tangible results are the positive media stories and the New Mexico report. Young Voters for Nixon is the subject of paragraph 8 of the Agenda.

3) RNC F i lm 11 d- XJ

Chapin, Carruthers, Goode, Kehrli and I reviewed the Robert Goodman film "A Generation of Peace" prepared for the RNC. The unanimous view that there should be substantial rewriting and editing resulted in Chapin assigning the project to Mark Goode. The Attorney General received the revised script October 20. A copy with my comments is attached. The only additional filming that Mark Goode urges that requires your approval is use of the interior of the Spirit of '76. Goode says this will take three hours at the most. Since the film already uses footage of the Spirit of '76 arriving the hope is that some footage can be obtained of the interior which would closely associate the President with the plane. Pictures of the conference area and seal have been mentioned by Goode.

, Approve use of Spirit of 76.

F Disapprove use of Spirit of '76.

Other,

Discussion with Mark Goode about the type of documentary film that you, MacGregor and Timmons envision for the Campaign indicates that the two projects are distinct. The RNC film is Republican party worker oriented. The documentary film is the type Dwight Chapin has been discussin with David Polper, a recognized, professional film maker.

Reference to the two films appears in paragraph 14

of the Agenda.

4) After you suggested to the Attorney General that the RNC change their "Mission 70" theme to Mission 72, Magruder talked with Tom Evans who agreed to have future materials printed Mission 72.

5) The middle level Campaign Strategy Group (Dent; Flemming,

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Garment, Magruder, Marik, Miller, Moore and Strachan; Buchanan will join the group upon return from Russia) met on October 13, 25, and 27. The discussion of the New Hampshire primary led to consideration of the correct mechanism for the President's announcement for a second term. The group recommended to the Attorney General that "the President should maintain a low political profile in the primaries, but, when necessary, should be candid about his intentions for 1972 and meet the legal New Hampshire tests in a routine manner." The decision papers for the Attorney General as well as Buchanan's comments on primary strategy are attached at Tab C. The entire subject of primaries and the Attorney General's recommendations for w l 1 J S President is discussed in paragraph 6- of the Agenda <sup>sb</sup>

6) Magruder is meeting with some success in implementing Buchanan's suggestions for causing Muskie difficulties during appearances. Recent reports he has submitted have copies of the media coverage given to white and black pickets with anti-Muskie signs. The Muskie office plant is also producing speeches prior to delivery recipients of Muskie materials in certain states, and films of certain files. No other intelligence activities against any of the other Democratic contenders is being pursued by Magruder. The subject of covert activities is covered in paragraph 2 of the Agenda.

7) Magruder urges the Attorney General to meet with New Jersey Governor Cahill to assure a redistricting plan that gives a black district to Newark.

8) The Committee is prepared to hire a writer. Magruder suggests that he physically located in Ray Price's office so that he could act as liaison the Committee and Price and be

available to Price as the need arose. Magruder has interviewed Tom Shepard's writer, Mel Grayson, but has deferred a decision in light of the White House's first option on Grayson's services.

\_ 9 RECOMMENDATION.XENDAT  
ION:

- ' That the Committee writer not be located in Price's office but at 1701 with the rest of the Campaign staff.

Approve |\_S Disapprove Comment \_

9) Magruder recommended to the Attorney General that the Committee hire Clayton Yeutter (/lighter") to be the Farm

OCTOBER 27, 1971

**WU**

vote. Harlow and WHITAKER concur in the recommendation. Ehrlichman interviewed him in June 1970, but said there was no need for a "White house Farmer ... at this time." Yeutter is from Nebraska and former Administrative Assistant

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## WH

to Governor Tieman (Republican - Nebraska). He is currently the Administrator of Consumer and Marketing Service at DOA.

10) Bob Marik prepared a basic statement of the election realities for Ken Cole and Ed Harper for use in the budget 'if or R hearings. Charts indicate the size and location of voter \$;25 , blocs within the key states. Combining this information )< with the 1968 results should make it easier to target

,> budget decisions.

> 11) Rita Houser's conception of her role in the Campaign differs from the Attorney General s. Her report on women's activities is too women's liberation, public relations oriented. Magruder is preparing a response for the 0 0 l Attorney General's signature. by

12) Magruder has been asked to submit weekly updates about all Campaign matters instead of series of unrelated memoranda. You will, of course, receive a copy of the report.

14) The Attorney General directed Magruder to prepare the background materials for the "political matters" Cabinet meeting tentatively scheduled for November 5. Magruder's proposal to the Attorney General makes several suggestions which you should consider changing. First, the group Magruder proposes is too large. In addition to the President, Vice President and Cabinet level individuals Magruder is

recommending RNC (Dole, Evans, Armstrong), Campaign - Committee (Magruder and Flemming), and a "political" representative from each Department. The subject and the attendees will be in the press within an hour after invitations are extended. The press reports will be adverse because the suggested format is the President commenting on the Campaign (during a non-political year?), and detailed descriptions of the Campaign organization by the Attorney General, Magruder, and Flemming, as well as RNC functions, and the Cabinet's crucial political role in 1972. The subject is raised in point 4 of the Agenda.

15) The Attorney General was very upset at the Evans and Novak article of October 25 indicating that the President had to get quality Supreme Court nominees from the White

House Staff because the Attorney General couldn't deliver.

[REDACTED]

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OCTOBER 27, 1971

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16 ! Tom Reed, the GOP Nation..\_

tteeman from California, will be offered the

position of Director of the direct mail and telephone operation at the Committee.

17) The Attorney General directed Magruder to get as much detailed information about McCloskey's activities in New Hampshire as possible. Magruder currently expects McCloskey to receive 20-2596 of the vote. j

18) With the Attorney General's approval Magruder will contact Bob Walters, the Wallace California., Chairman in 1968, about gett Wallace off the California ballot. Magruder will use third parties to protect the transaction may involve a payment to Walters of 10. Final approval for the payment has not been granted. The subject is covered in 15 of the Agenda. / Q U I 1 -- J

19) The 1972 RNC Convention Tasks Force headed by Bill Timmons recommende to the Attorney General that no commitments be made until next Spring for the high visibility convention positions (Permanent Chairman, Platform Chairman, etc.). The reason for the delay is that relative (political) clout" should not control these decisions but rather that the controlling factor should be television image to the Nation of various leaders on certain issues. Chairman Dole would be responsible for stopping the current lobbying

for the various positions. .§

Harry Flemming Matters

He continues to travel on the Attorney General's behalf. A recent review of all the states indicates that commitments have been made for Nixon Chairmen for 1972 in twelve states (Colorado-Governor Love; Illinois-Tom Houser; Maine - Ned Harding; Missouri-Larry Roos; Nebraska-George Cook; Nevada-Paul^ Laxalt; New Hampshire-Lane Dwinell; North Carolina- Charlie Jonas, Jr., and Willis Smith, Jr.; Ohio-Ray Bliss; OregonWendall Wyatt; South Dakota-"Obie" O'Brien; Wisconsin - John

McIver). Egi

rji scuss; an wi th Cliff Mi'  
\_\_\_\_\_ ..\_ \_\_\_, ller after your telephone conversation

of October 15 indicates that he wants to assist the Attorney General in the Campaign.(at \$2,000 per month according to Magruder), while retaining his direct access to you for special projects inside the White House. He plans to put particular emphasis on the efforts of Colson, Moore, Klein, Ziegler and Ehrlichman}

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[REDACTED]

Cliff Miller Matters



OCTOBER 27, 1971

ZNC Matters

Discussion with Tom Evans in his office on October 26 covered several matters that you may want to raise with the Attorney General. The November 9 RSC dinners will not raise as much money as anticipated because Nunn went around and obtained commitments that really hurt the SAC. On the specific dinner arrangements Evans told Bernard Lasky, New York Dinner Chairman, that he would urge the President to spend more than 30 minutes in New York. Evans also wants to be aboard the Spirit of '76 on the flight from New York to Chicago because he "can be a great help to the President" with names and anecdotes. The Regional Conferences, such as the Western States Republican Conferences are disasters (1/5 of projected attendance) because the ZNC is not in charge, Patronage under Tom Evans and Dan Kingsley is running very smoothly. Tom Evans feels left out of the convention planning. Harry Flemming is not heavy enough to deal with some of the state leaders; he does not advise Evans ahead of time so ill will results; and Harry Flemming's European trip for Nixon Chairman caused several whom Flemming contacted, to call Tom Evans and express real concern. Tom Evans is also seeking more involvement in Administration policy decisions through the Domestic Council. He is particularly interested in certain old age issues.

The Attorney General 1 5 0 0

The Attorney General has indicated to Jeb Magruder that he will resign as Attorney General, rejoin Mudge Rose Guthrie and Alexander, and run the Campaign from office space at Mudge Rose in Washington. The entire middle level strategy group has very serious reservations about the adverse publicity that will result from the Attorney General rejoining the firm. Len Garment and Dick Moore definitely want to see you personally before the subject is raised with the Attorney General.

Set  
meeting.

i < ~ ~ T Advise Garment and Moore to put their arguments on paper.

ent and Moore that the Attorney General's  
ejoin Mudge Rose .

↓  
H/AG  
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is firm.

***NOTE: The following talking paper is referred to in the Political Matters Memorandum of October 27, 1971, as being attached to the memorandum. Four pages of the talking paper were included among the documents relating to the Political Matters Memoranda received by the House Judiciary Committee from the White House. The entire talking paper was included among other White House documents received by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the Committee.***

ATTACHMENT 20 **OCTOBER B 2?, 1971**  
**MEMORANDU**  
**M**

OQ1\*7t:t

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO:

FROM:

Date: 11-3-71

H . R . DD LD\_ '~~~3S'

GORDON S~~~~~;C-^'o'sS

The Attorney General asked Magruder for an agenda for the political matters meeting tentavily scheduled for Thursday October 4th 4pm2. The AG received a copy of the attached agenda He did not of course receive a copyof the talking paper, nor has he received materials on the s->:~~~Jecz to be covered after  
>:agracer and Strachan;,an de;?ar rt .



TALKING/ ~ ~ NG )25 T.J- M FOR FOR THE 8.t -- S. ATTORNEY G- ~ ~ ' ~ ~ X ~ ~ Z

Rc: Po]itw'ca' \* : ]-te--s Dendinv/'avruder and Strachan Present

1. Finances:

()0 i 'a t.! ;)

Will Mauri Stans be Nixon Finance C; ,air..,an for 1972?

Kalmbach reports that in his talk with you last wee'.{ you had reservations about Stans' departure on Dece. ~ ~ . ~ ~ er 1.

How will Stans function vis a vis the RNEC? Shouldn't Stans ta',re charge of all fund raising activities, including the RNFC, shortly after the RNC November 9 dinner)

Do you want to cover with Stans that Treasury and World Bank are definitely out for him in 1973? Apparently Kalmbach is willing to inform Stans if that would be best.

Is there any Presidential participation necessary for this Stans move?

2. Intelligence: Sandwedge has received an initial 50, but are we really developing the capability needed?

John Dean reports that nothing is happening right now. Should his involve, enfi be ex, san ~ ~ ~ ~ ed to som. ^ .ething more, e than mere ; , r. , itc House co. . tae', ?

(35)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Kalmbach keeps asking for "tough, interesting assian...cnts".  
Could we make! ~e him the one man responsible for this  
intelligence system?

3. Republican National CO...l ttee:

OQi74 -t

Magruder indicates that you are considering setting up  
someone (Murray Chotir.e~?) with real clout to  
supervise the ZNC and assure its proper role in the  
Campaign.

Magruder has talked with Bryce Harlow about this role. Are  
we going to use him to shake up the RSC?

Dent reports that Mardian has discussed with you the Tom  
Evans "ego-maniac" problem. Apparently Evans and Dole rarely  
speak to each other.

What about shifting Tom Evans' job? He could become  
National Finance Chairman because he is good at fund  
raising and Milbank'~~ has indicated to Kalmbach'; that he  
might be interested in leaving.



Den' suggests replacing Evans with a "real sa w y political operator" with:a statue -- someone like Governor Louie Sunn. Nur.n would probably have to receive the "mission to organize the Republican troo?s" from the President.

What is your reaction to replacing Evans?

00 0 {TV

t..ne2Wher Evans is replaced or not, shouldn't the SYNC be directed to work on Senate and House campaigns instead of trying to increase their involve...en; in the Presidents campaign?

4. Cabinet in the Campaign:

In tomorrow's political Cabinet meeting, the point must be made that the Campaign starts today. *That* it AS up to the Cabinet Members to shift gears as of today. Star' moving on a totally all out political basis.

They must take on the responsibility for attack as well as defense and, of course, major emphasis on tile idea o1 the outstanding work of the President and the ~~;~~aracWetraits of the P:~~iiv12IAt .ao q '.X\A~~.

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[Redacted]

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Connally would have been very effective in this kind of meeting, but in his absence careful planning and follow-up should enable us to keep the initiative *on this* concept that the Campaign is underway.

OQi74o

Although:z this Cabinet meeting is not the one for the details which Sec, evarv Volpe asked the Pres«dent for, would you at some point cover his questions about voting residence, delegate position at the National Conventions an,c the Cabinet Officers role in the Presidential primaries with.the Cabinet?

5. Congressional Candidates

MacGregor and Ti~mons believe that now is the time for the President to have unannounced half-hour meetings with the Republican Senators up for re-election in 1972, Before the President meets with them would you contact them individually or as a group, review their specific requests on behalf ox the President, and advise them that the meeting will be a general, issue oriented discussion with no Presidential commitments for dams, parks, or appearances?

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In addition to the 2;President desire not to be led into doing anything ng against any of those people who have supported us on Vietnam., you should know that the President does not i..tenc to do television shorts for the Senate or

House candidates next year. In some cases he will do pictures for incumbents U? for re-election, but he will

not do pictures for new candidates () Qi7d ,

If Rumsfeld now cannot handle this political matter, who should?

6. Strategy on Primaries:

Because of the new primaries with different filing deadlines, would now be the time for the development..t of your formal recom..mend.a.ion to the President covering strategy, timing, surrogate candidates, and announcement procedures?

~~,.>t

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buchanan's october 18 ,,,e..~~o-^-andwm and the two  
me.~~,orar.ua from the Magruder Strategy Group pose many of  
the hard questions 'or the President and the Democrats.

7. A:cClos>=

2as:

I understand tha. Magruder is obtaining as much political  
information on 3<lcCloskey in New Hampshire as possible. The  
President noted beside a report that ~-tcClos'.sey may get

25-30°~~ of the vote in New ;~~,Hampshire: "Let's not overlook the  
best possible total party support we can. **All the** leaders should be  
asked to take sides." Will Lane Dwinell as the Nixon Chairman in  
New H~~.Hampshire in 1972 get this done? Will Magruder now  
handle these State Chairman announcements so that McClos'.<  
ey doesn't get all of the media coverage?

8 Political Stra,ezv Group:

()0i-ito

You have the backup informa,ion on the possible political .  
strategy groups. You may want to cover this with the Attorney  
Gene-al.

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9. Youth Vote:

ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER 27, 1971 MEMORANDUM

Have you decided against having any further political meetings with Kleindienst, LaRue, Mardian, Rumsfeld, Dent, Fleishman and Magruder?

dOi74o

As I explained in my October 6 memorandums the President is very concerned that there has been very little action

by the Congress for the Re-Election of the President to counter the Democratic registration of youth.

Recent Magruder/Rietz memoranda indicate We are starting to be successful with the media. Is the Rietz request for \$2.5 million a reasonable solution to the youth vote?

After the Gallup Poll results showing the Republicans at 25%, the President.

31% Independents because "(t)hey are not independent by choice -- most just are undecided not independent".

10. The Democratic Contenders'ers

Buchanan's memorandum ask for several decisions: a) Should the attack continue to be centered on Muskie to the exclusion of Kennedy?

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[REDACTED]

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nt emphasized that we must go after the

[REDACTED]

ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER 27, 1971  
MEMORANDUM

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11. The Democratic Convention

b) What's about Jac. ...? His schedule and rumored decision to enter N2x: ... pshire indicate he is running r.a--d. Should ...le attack on him be suspended? c) Should the Vice President be used as a resource to attack the Democratic candidates? d) You raised a question about Ron ... Talker being engaged in certain political activities during my election, The cost was \$1100 and carried a "Ron Walker - \$2,000" notation. The balance has been returned to Sloan. I suggest ... do not use ... for his activities in the future.

OO i9tloil

Bill ... prepared a memorandum summarizing the status of the Democratic Party Convention reforms. The memo also contains recommendations as to action that should be taken to complete their Convention. Some of it is above board and some down and dirty.

Who should have primary responsibility for implementing his suggestions? -John De2n? zeb A5agrade??

WI,er^

12. Political Discussions of the ...: S;'

...ted a suggested ... cal' 10-^

the President to ... alter ... Governor W~ 4

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

MEMORANDUM

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New Hampshire. . . . 2 also s ~ ~ . li- ted your reo, uest for t. ae  
Presidcat to m ~ ~ eet szith Governor Frank Sargent or  
~ ~ lassacusetts. It is the ~ ~ ~ ~ esident's rJish that there be no  
more -eccm endations Lor political discussions of this type.

13. w?-llace:

I understar.d tha > > a5,UGer con- acted Bob Walters, the I9oE I^ 'ailace  
Cnair.>an in Calirornia. I realize nlagruaer is using third ~ ~ zar- ies  
DUt shouldn' ~ ~ sc.i;>iion2 else ...o- e removed Srom the Camlcaign --  
such as XaL.>ibach -- be handling **this?**

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ATTACHEMENT TO OCTOBER 27J 1971 MEMORANDUM

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~D TT~—

ATTO,'Di.:" G~N~?~L S.~O.E!E. ,vaG~tUD->< .?,-.UD STR,'.C^X~N  
Dv9t'R'S'

14. Until Stans or so..cone else asszues con.rol of tr.e finances, are  
you szill personally approving e~openditur2s through 'ugn  
Sloan? The reason t'la. I raise t;nis control OCL CommitGee  
e;e;?enses is that tne salary increases of the first cJroup of  
e.,,ployees may make it difficulc to

recruit good talent at a reasonable price later. The h~gh  
sala.ies nre also ".avi..s z very r~~sative efl^ecv c.. morale  
here at the lsinite .2.ouse, especially since there

have not been any raises since the freeze. ~6g.~le~~ loyeas  
and sala~y inc~eases are:

Ezrlite .0: s2 Salary Co...~' \_tee ~n7~—.

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Bart Ps-.cXen ReXitz

\$32,500                      \$38,50G

28,000

22,500

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17,000

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also 5zill ca-use uS t.o~uble lat2r.

Vrnatever .he salary problems, recrui'ur2nt ot perscr.r.el such  
as Ger,-y loiarren o~ Van S'nuz.uway wi,hout consultation with  
tne peowle involved nere .t the linite House also strains t;ae  
relationship sti.;a th.e Co.-.mit.ee.

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15. As you probably knoxf, \_D.e .s5ilk Producers cu,rently  
enjoy an anfiitrust e:<amstion xesul.ing ,rom a 1956  
decision by ,he Federal Dis.ric. .or the District of Columbia. A  
report here at the IEnite House indicaLes

the Anti-rust Division az Justice is now investigaving thaf  
exe.Tption. knother repor. indicates tha. the Washir,gton nos' has  
assigned four repo~ters full-tine on the milk money project. Do I  
understana correctly .hat you have direc.ed John Dean to revievr  
any reports tha- have .o be filed on the Hill connected lfi .h the  
receipt of .he milk mon~-^?

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17. Fro.n the Ca~.,~~aign AU:1dS 1 need S00-o00 .~or surveilla,ce;

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ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER 27, 1977 MEMORANDUM

18. In light of our Discussion with John Rollins last Thursday, should any of the Magruder activities involving "investigating S-12y C; -isholm's candidacy" be reconside; -\_c. Is there any need to follow-up on the black convention question and .RcCa~tfhy?

19. The current ~'I:E surveillance activities under the direction of John Dean are not producing the type of results What may be useful next year. Who should we designate to increase the surveillance of E:-iK from periodic to constant?

001vS .z

Is there

any other candidate or group, such as Co.-,umon

Cause, aDout

tVhow.. we should obtain damaging info-.,,a.ion

20. Reports from Murray Chotiner, Tom Evans, (John Sears) and Harry Dent indicate that maybe someone "heavier" than Harry Fleming be making the commitments on Nixon Chairman in the various states.

Also, if Fleming is considering using just state desk men with no regional men won't there be a rush by these individuals to get to you to appeal Fleming's decisions?

21. Harry Dent Denote the New York Conservative Party, to say

(46)

WH

WH

[Redacted]

that Agncxsx-;ou'd de,initely be on the ticket in 1972. herb Klein made a similar statement How do you want to handle Shea.,?

22. We need to hit Kevin P;-;illi?s on his line that we should not be overlooking McCloskey. He wrote a column maki..g the point that McCloskey would pick up 20-25°~~ of the New Hampshire vote and this would be regarded as a,severe setback for the President. This may or may not be the case, the point is we should not let the line develop in th s direction. u Qi i ! So

23. You mentioned a memo to you about Reeves Bunting We have no record of it. What should we do to resolve the matter?

24. I understand Len Garment talked to you on Friday about your rumored (source: Magruder) plan to rejoin the law firm, Xudge Rose Guthrie & Alexander, and run the Campaign Pro., the firm's office space at 1701, Len Gar..len., Dick Moore, Harry Fler;uning, Clisf tiller, Bob I-larik, and Jeb Magruder consider this a "political mistake of the first order". (Garment me.,,o~-ar.dum attached.)

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ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER 7 1971 MEMORANDUM

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If compensation is the primary, any public... should establish a  
...whereby all you... are paid, so you "volunteer" your  
services to assure the Presidents... In 1973 any ... salary  
loss would be covered in full.

() Q i - S t

S  
11-3-71

...t,7.....

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[REDACTED]

**NOVEMBER 16, 1971**

The

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

**SUBJECT:**

**Finances**

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**November 15, 13** Xf<,~~/>,~~,\$ j

**H. R. HALDEMAN** 9

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**GORDON STRACHAN** G

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**Political Matters**

1) Secretary Stans did not see the Attorney General about being Finance Chairman for 1972 before he left for Russia. Hugh Sloan believes the Attorney General may have talked on the telephone with Stans before his departure. In any event, if Stans assumed control of the financial aspect of the '72 campaign, Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan have not been informed. They are still waiting for instructions to begin fund raising now that the November 9 RNC dinners are completed. Only Kalmbach is out obtaining pledges and cash. Secretary Stans will return from Russia December 6.

2) Herb Kalmbach called on November 15 and covered the following:

(5). Raymond Guest delivered 100 of the 200 on November 3. Kalmbach informed Peter Flanigan that: "Raymond asked for no commitments and none were given";

(2). On November 18, Kalmbach will see John H. Safer, who will come in for 250. Kalmbach realizes-he cannot make a ncommitment,"-but would like to tell Safer that he would receive "serious consideration" for an Ambassadorship to Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Nether- lands, Belgium, Denmark, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Australia in that order. Kalmbach has not approached Flanigan about this because he would not want to risk another "DeRoulet/ Symington commitment" argument.

**Recommendation**

:

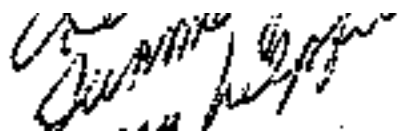
That Kalmbach not receive Haldeman authority to use "serious.

consideration" because the implication is obvious and

██████████

██████████

nondelivery is very  
damaging. 00 O15 ]

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "William H. ...".

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Agree 4

Comment

Concerning Fife Symington, he just wrote you (letter a: response attached). His letter makes three points: "I feel sure that Peter will work things out in accordance with He-  
b's commitment to me;" his willingness to work in the campaign, especially with the negro vote; and  
his desire to attend "a small function With the Presider

at the White House so he can thank the President personally for his "wonderful letter accepting (Symington's) resignation."

3/ The Attorney General has directed Harry Flemming to have each of the President Nixon state chairman remain financially independent of the national campaign. All operating expenses must be raised locally by the local chairmen.

Harry Dent

1) After your meeting with the Attorney General on November 4-- Magruder and Dent met, agreed upon a list of attendees, /and have called the first meeting of the Political Strategy / Group on November 23. Those invited are: Bob Finch, Don  
g Rumsfeld, Herb Klein, Bill Safire, Ray Price, Senator Dole, Angle  
Armstrong, Tom Evans, Jeb Magruder, Bob Teeter, Chuck Colson/  
Bill Timmons, Ken Cole, Bryce Harlow, Ed Harper..

/) Dent is urging you, the Attorney General and Ed Morgan /for the Administration to support an anti-bussing amendment;

3) Holton's brand of Virginia Republican liberalism is dead. Dent is urging the Attorney General to get the Harry Byrd forces and Republicans together for the President's reelection. /Dent suggests that Congressman Ken Robinson (R-XVinchester, Va) become the President Nixon State Chairman for 1972.

4) Florida may be safe for President Nixon in 1972 if Wallace By 2 runs in the Democratic pri -- cause a new election ruling fib god \ / would forfeit any WallaceKdelega;is won in the Florida t 1 > primary if he ran in anot -- te as an Independent c

5) Dent sent materials to the Attorney Ge'neral concerning / w rrence Meisel, a member of the Secutive Committee of > /the Republican Finance Committee/(1964-1969) and top fund 4) -- / P raiser from Missou--i. Isleisel As very upset about the VIM~/g Administration's national secArity policies. Disk Alleni z has met with Meisel and wit gtry to continue a running A, t At "dialogue" to prevent further attacks on the President. > ,'-!~

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NOVEMBER 16, 1971

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L.

Disagree

NOVEMBER 16 1971

1+ The first weekly report of campaign activities has been submitted to the Attorney General. It is 20 pages long with charts of polling information that you already have. Specific items of interest are:

a) Office space adjacent to Judge Rose Guthrie and Alexander at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue has been leased for Magruder and his expanding staff. They anticipate the Attorney General will head the *campaign*

< The Campaign staff now has a car and driver as well as a "bellboy" radio system;

832/8 (c) David Keene of the Vice President's staff is working with the new Executive Director of YAF, Wayne Thornburn, to arrange a meeting with the Committee staff to

assure better support for the President;

d) Larry Goldberg is working for Max Fisher as the

liaison with the Jewish community;

e) Young voter registration drives are being conducted in Orlando, Florida, San Diego, and New Hampshire, where the registration drive is combined with a signature

drive for the President's petition in New Hampshire

drive UI Liz cts. DP-X I I s14MCw 1 7

kin aU f > en R>etz is contacting each of the young 1971

V Election victors to determine support for the President.

2) New Hampshire Primary - The Campaign Strategy Group submitted a proposal to the Attorney General regarding the President's announcement to seek reselection. The group recommends an announcement by the President though low key,



possibly after a long weekend in San Clemente. One possibility would be as the opening statement in his discussion with the TV commentators in early January. The groMp recommends against using TV in New Hampshire because < the "big money" image of the campaign. Instead the group /recommends to the Attorney General that emphasis be placed on / direct mail (\$31,000 for 2 mailings to Republicans and 1 to Independents) and telephone contact of voters (\$25,000). TV ads will be prepared just in case the decision not to



Magruder's Projects use TV is Xhanged.

of the law firm; tlcSioskey's efforts in New Hampshire consist of: 14 days in New Hampshire to date speaking at colleges and doing l/effective "coffee;" three staff members, two are under V 30 and Robert Reno, McCloskey's State Chairman from Concord; (where the only headquarters are located); no town, city or

00015:'

county chairmen have surfaced; rumors of Governor Peterson's aides associating with McCloskey; Manchester Union Leader publisher sill Loe^D blasts McCloskey while not giving the President any good marks.

Los Angeles Mayor Sum Yorty can not enter both the Democrat and Republican primaries in New Hampshire.

3) RNC Convention - The Attorney General met with Bill Timmons, Jeb Magruder, and Rob Odle on November 12 to review the status of the SYNC convention. In addition to the selection of the ~  
<atform Chairman (Representative John Rhodes - RAriz.), decisions include:

a)\_ Bill Timmons advises Senator Dole of decisions made y the Attorney General concerning the Convention;

b) Were will be no nationwide public hearings by the  
P v form Committee; suggestions may be submitted in  
X, '~ ~writin  
g;

c) Floor demonstrations will be permitted only for the serious us candidates" for President, who must have stantial delegate support (10% of the Convention delegates - 134);

d) Roberts Rules of Order will not control the Convention because the House Rules offer more control by the /hairman and are less "democratic."

e) Instead of specifying the time for nominating speeches, any "serious candidate" for President or ice President will have 15 minutes to use as he sees fit;

f) >\_Each Cabinet Officer and agency head will decide whether he wants, at his own expense, to be housed in San Diego with his state delegation or the "political" group.

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e ~ ~ ; ZU

# Slv

g) The tentative agenda for the convention is:

Monday, August 21 Day:

DX - Night:

Tuesday, August 22 Day:

Night:

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Procedural Details

(1) 1972 version of

1.445 [REDACTED] 502

2.5- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

traditional key note  
address

(2) Film of Foreign

Travel

(3) Salute to Mrs.. Nixon

Committee Reports

Nomination of President

Nomination of Vice President

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Tuesday, August 2 -- Day: Business Session  
Night: President's Acceptance  
Speech

h) A dispute, which may reach the press, is developing between the new owner of the arena (Peter Thompson of Vancouver) and the RNC. The Attorney General sent Dick Herman to San Diego this week to work out a solution;

4) The Ripen Society has filed suit against the RNTC challenging the formula for the allocation of delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention. Since the campaign committee does not yet have a campaign counsel they ask whether John Dean can assist Fred Scribner in the preparation of the RNC's answers to the 200 page complaint. --

/Yes, use Dean temporarily;

No, rely on Fred Scribner

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G--m as

After preliminary work by gaft Schreiber and the Dart Porter at the Committee, the Attorney General met with fifteen representatives of the movie industry in California on November 10. -- The purpose of the-meeting was to obtain commitments of support from these individuals who control the performers' futures. The meeting opened with a reveiw of what the Nixon Administration had done for the movie industry. All agreed to supply a key contact /in his company to line up performers behind the President. \* / These contacts will work with a professional staff man, > funded by the meetings' attendees.

U Taft Schreiber has the follow-up responsibi l lity ~ a: ^

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project with B,aFt Porter reporting to the Attorney General

/~~

The White House, primarily Henry Cashen in Colson's office, has done a fair job cultivating athletes but has experienced difficulties recruiting entertainers because they are generally liberal and not particularly receptive to White House approaches. It is felt that entertainers can best be persuaded by their employers to endorse the President's reselection. Taft Schreiber's group with follow-up by Bart Porter and have received this assignment from the Attorney General. -fL yz

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Other

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NOVEMBER 16, 1971

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6) Friends of Richard Nixon Seminar - The Attorney General has been asked by Anne Armstrong to send a personal letter to John Ehrlichman, Don Rumsfeld, Joe Blatchford, Dolf Droge, Virginia Knauer, Rogers Morton, and Curtis Tarr to accept PSC invitations to speak to a seminar in Washington December 14-15. The Attorney General has not decided whether to send the letter. If he does, his "political control" of the Campaign will be obvious and will probably appear in the press.

; 4°\49 7) Magruder advised the Attorney General that the Harris  
•t ~ ~ < tX Ads x Family Issues Poll would not be available to anyone at > z t > /  
) the Committee for the Re-Election of the Presidents ? ^ i S ~ ~ ncluding  
the Attorney General. 00 10 to 0 A WS

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8) Ken Cole followed up the November 5 Cabinet Meeting by contacting the Cabinet officers about the political scheduling by Bart Porter at the Committee for the ReElection of the President. An advance manual for the surrogate candidates is being prepared by Ron Walker's office. The first monthly report on the program is due/ December 5.

Dwight Chapin and Jeb Magruder met on November 9 with Senator Goldwater's staff about his schedule. The reaction of his staff was quite negative. Magruder plans on submitting a Goldwater scheduling status report in one week.



TO:

FROM

H.R. HALDEMAN

GORDON STRACHAN

NOVEMBER 16, 1971

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Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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DECEMBER 2, 1971

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THE4vHITE HOUSE

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FOR:

FROM:

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Dece.Eber 2, 1971

H.R. HALDEnvxn

GORDON STRACH~s a

3 -

Political Matters

The Nixon Finance Committee of Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan has received 1,700 and disbursed 630, leaving a balance of 1,070. The receipts are low because fundraising was curtailed before the November 9 RNC dinner and Secretary Stans does not return from Russia until December 6. On his return the Attorney General is prepared to discuss with him the position of Financial Chairman for 1972.

Herb Kalzbach now has pledges of 11,600 but "in the barn" receipts are only 1,000. However, he believes there will be a 95%-delivery on the pledges.

The RSC financial situation will be reviewed by the Attorney General on December 4. Magruder will meet with Tom Evans on December 2 and 3 to get detailed budget and receipt figures from the RNC with particular focus on the November 9 dinners.

Concerning ambassadorships, Kalsbach will get a case by case determination from the Attorney General as he did in the case of John Safer. Kalsbach has tried to approach Flanigan but continues to have the same problems of having telephone calls returned and reaching an understanding.

The Committee for the Reelection of the President has a December budget of 100,000, of which 50,000 is salary, 16,000 travel and entertainment, and 36,000 operating expenses. The budget submitted to the Attorney General does not list the 40 employees and their individual salaries.

Cliff Miller -- He met with the Attorney General on December 2 for one hour to review the Campaign. The Attorney General asked Miller to know the details and to supply independent advice on polling and research, advertising, the PR - press area, and telephone - direct mail. Miller expressed his view, that the weakest part of the Campaign was Harry Flemming's

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WASHINGTON

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DECEMBER 2, 1971

Field operation. The Attorney General admitted that here a problem, which she Attorney General planned to alleviate by bringing in I'fe' with a little more stature", such as Masdian. Also, the Attorney General has kept Fleming, inq under "very close reins" so far.

The Attorney General agreed that it might be a good idea to have Miller or someone else go to New Hampshire to take an independent look at the New Hampshire campaign operation.

The Attorney General is concerned that the Shillmeyer move did not proceed quicker and with more careful checking by Miller, Miller assured him that all parties were now in agreement and that he will work directly with Fred Malek.

Without any hard evidence, Miller believes that the Attorney General is pleased with Magruder's performance.

Harry Dent -- The Attorney General is being urged to talk to Governor Holton about a Byrd Coalition candidate for Senator Spong's seat so that Virginia will be an easy victory for the President.

Ehrlichman received a political briefing from Dent on North Carolina in connection with his trip to Duke University. The memorandum emphasizes the impending party primary fight between Jim Holshouser and Jim Gardner for the governorship and the problems getting Jim Broyhill to run for Senator Jordan's Senate seat. However, "the President seems to be in good shape in North Carolina".

After you questioned whether Wallace would forfeit delegates or electors if he runs in the Democratic primary in Florida and then as an independent in another state, Dent double checked. The Florida Democratic Executive Committee passed and then rescinded a provision that would have denied Wallace his delegates. The Secretary of State did not follow the Democratic party's example and rule that he would also lose his electors.

Dent talks with Kevin Phillips periodically. Last week the Attorney General "hit Phillips hard" on some of his recently published remarks. Dent has the highest regard for: Phillips "political brain" and says that although Phillips elates Colson, Ehrlichman, Fleming and Kleindienst, he is only beginning to turn sour on the Administration. Dent, at the Attorney General's direction, will continue to stay in touch with Phillips, but Dent believes you should see Phillips briefly to convince him that the President still looks to Kevin Phillips

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for political advice.

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DECEMBER 2, 1971

> Arrange Haldeman meeting with Phillips

s-)0>g g -Receive Phillips political advice through the i T~>> <  
Attorney General and Dent

Other

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Dent attended the Republican Governors Conference on Novmeber 20-21 in Indiana and reports that "their public statements and actions were very good". The Governors want to be more political and help the President. They also feel that more information should be made available to the Vice President.

Martha Mitchell was a "smash hit" at a GOP fund raising appearance in South Carolina, November 19.

Dent is urging the Attorney General to contact the Vice President to have him reconsider his change of plans cancelling his appearance before the Southern GOP Conference on December the 4th.

Wallace Henley is tracking George Wallace and reports that he has resigned himself to running as an independent in Alabama because of his problems with the Legislature, The new AIP platform is like a reprint of the Burchers Blue Book. The AIP National Convention will be held in Toledo. The date has not been set.

Murray Chotiner

Cliff White is still meeting with Conservatives and blaming the President for the U.N. result.

John Dean -- The Attorney General discussed with John De the need to develop a political intelligence capability. Sandwedge has been scrapped. Instead, Gordon Liddy who been working with Bud Kroqh, will become general counsel

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has

to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, effective December 6, 1971. He will handle political intelligence as well as legal matters. Liddy will also work with Dean on the "political

enemies" project.

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DECEMBER 2, 1971

Jac>< Caulfield will go over to the Committee Jnen tk2 attorney C-e.eral moves. Caulfield will handle the savage urojec's re currently does. on addition he ~.,-1l ass~ar.e responsibility for the Dersonal protection of tine Attorney General.

CaSp27'an Related Action Memo -- A Sigma Delta Chi Convention Identified the Ca>7paign's principle issues as the economy (107 of 122 votes), international affairs (9), and law and order (3). T,~nile reading the news summary report of this the President "strongly stated . . . that the Democrats must not be allowed to get away with this . . . international affairs is our issue and the economy is theirs -- regardless of what happens to it because the liberals can always promise more". You, Ehrlich^man, and Colson received the memorandum.

You, Ehrlichman, and Colson were also advised that "our political types working the precinct in the ghettos and Navaho Reservations for Republican converts would do well to focus their attention upon the Holy Name Society, the Women's Sodality, and the Polish-American Union".

Maaruder's Projects -- The weekly report submitted to the Attorney General on December 1 is briefer and better than previous reports. It is attached at Tab A for your review instead of being summarized because you had asked about the youth registration drives, which are covered in some detail.

Magruder reports that the Attorney General met with Lyn Nofziger on December 1. On November 4 you and the Attorney General talked about the importance of getting a Nofziger interpretation of the Dole-Evans split. Unfortunately, Magruder believes this subject was not covered because the meeting focused on the California situation.

Magruder will meet with Tom Evans of the RNC on December 2 and 3 to get his views of the role of the RNC in the Campaign. Magruder and Flemming meet with the Attorney General on December 4 to decide on the role and budget of the RNC vis a vis the Committee. On December 6 the Attorney General, Magruder and Flemming will tell Tom Evans of their decisions. Tom Evans will explain the decisions to the RNC at the meeting in Washington on December 9-12. Besides the Budget,

Magruder considers the voter registration and get out the vote functions as the only important areas that have not been resolved.

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DECEMBER 2, 1971

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Magruder and some of his top people have moved into new offices adjoining Judge Rose Guthrie and Alexander at 1701 because everyone is still under the impression that the Attorney General will become a partner in the law firm when he leaves Justice. You may already have discussed this matter of joining the firm with the Attorney General pursuant to the Len Garment memorandum.

Magruder now receives a copy of the news summary. He says he needs another copy for Harry Flemming and Ken Rietz.

C;S isn't

ADDrove additional ccpy of news summary

~iffir~ ~~Cancel Maaruder's news  
summarv

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Magruder submitted memoranda to the Attorney General on transient voters, women in the Campaign, the Middle American, and the functions of a Citizens organization. The Attorney General has not yet reviewed them. The one on the Middle American received substantial input from Colson but is very long. You will receive it for reading on one of the trips this month.

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Other

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DECEMBER 6 1971

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MEMORANDUM F

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GORDON STRACHAN ~/g g

Political Matters

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Jeb agruder met with the Attorney General ~-- Be  
on December 4. Some of the matters covered require  
decisions by you:

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1) Julie Nixon Eisenhower - "Registration '72"

Jeb Magruder has recommended to the Attorney General that Julie Nixon Eisenhower become the Honorary Chairman for "Registration '72", which is a joint registration effort by the Committee (Ken Rietz) and the RNC (Ed Desolt) in the largest counties or California, Florida, and Texas. This position would require Julie to "make appearances, write letters, and otherwise get publicity" for these registration drives. In terms of a particular scheduling requirement, she would have to appear at the RNC meeting this week for the announcement. Dave Parker reports that she will be in Virginia and so is available. The Attorney General defers entirely to you on whether she should become Honorary Chairman. The Attorney General feels that you should consider if this appointment of Julie Nixon Eisenhower as Honorary Chairman of Registration '72 is "too gimmicky". (The original memorandum to the Attorney General is attached at Tab A.)

h tight - - Yes, Julie Nixon Eisenhower is to be named  
\$ Honorary Chairman of Registration '72

lags r\* No, Julie is not to be Honorary Chairman

\_Other

2) PxNC Budget - Tyrnrite House  
Support

The wNC is currently preparing their budget for 1972.  
The Attorney General will receive a report from Tom

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[REDACTED]

~~WNC - Tyrnrite House~~

FROM:

SUBJECT:

~~AS - 49,000,000  
with press  
bill back~~

Evans to carry on the general financial condition of the RNC.

a) - on tab report 11 be forwarded for you. In 1971 the White House subsidiary account was \$500,000. This paid for advanced, White House special events and receptions, the Colson/Klein printing and distribution of materials, and the Vice President's expenses Tom Evans of the RNC wants to continue to have a White House account of 500 to pay for these support activities.

additional 1,000 in "political expenses" for the White House in 1972. The Attorney General believes that there should be a single White House political account of 1,500 for 1972. According to Magruder the Attorney General believes this account should be controlled at the Committee instead of the RNC to assure a unified accounting mechanism and to protect against any "McCloskey type" criticism of the RNC for giving financial assistance to the political activities of the President.

Since Tom Evans and the RNC must be told before the RNC meeting this week, the Attorney General asks that you consider this general approach without the specific budget information from the RNC.

#### Recommendation

:

That you approve of the transfer of all "political expenses" for the White House to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

< Approve

disapprove

Comment

If you approve I will inform the Attorney General through Magruder. Upon receipt of the detailed RNC budget information Bruce Kehrli (as the new Staff Secretary) and I will develop recommended procedures with Hugh Sloan and Jeb Magruder.

#### 3) The Nixon Reelector

Jeb Magruder, Lyn Nofziger and Frank Leonard prepared the materials at Tab B regarding a "campaign publication to get the message out to the organization". The format would be

similar to that of 1968. The Attorney General basically thinks it would be a good idea but asks whether you believe it is a generally good or bad idea. If you

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The Attorney General estimates that there will be an

give your general approval, Magruder will have Peter Dailey prepare a detailed proposal for review by you and the Attorney General. Frank Leonard would have primary responsibility for the publication that may be called the Nixon re-Elector

Recommendation

:

G 9 C.O.W

^9y That you approve the general idea of a tabloid publication for the campaign similar to the Nixon Re-Elector, subject to review of the Peter Dailey detailed proposal.

Approve

1

Disapprove

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4) Committee Press Relations

Comment

The question of whether and at what salary Van Shunway is to move to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President raises several related matters. According to Magruder, the Attorney General assumes that the President will announce his candidacy for re-election on January 6. Although Magruder is not privy to the decision he believes that there will be just a lowkey Presidential statement. The candidacy will not be announced at a press conference or during a "conversation with the President" as had been suggested.

It may be that the Attorney General has reviewed these matters with the President.

The Attorney General expects that after the announcement, Ziegler will not answer "political questions" but rather will refer them to the Committee. This means that on January 6 the Committee must have a sophisticated individual to handle the questions. If Shumway cannot definitely be transferred to the Committee by January 6 or some other date certain, the Attorney General believes the Committee must hire someone else. The Attorney

n.g.

General respects the fact that Shumway must be replaced Ful;

I ~ A \$ but also appreciates Malek's assessment of the chances D

w t\ -#19 Of finding a replacement: 50/50 for Shumway replacement to S S y  
January 3; 75/25 by January 15; but 25E chance that tJ, ~-§ will be  
impossible to obtain a Shumway replacement that t9 ~ \*whim acceptable  
to Colson and Klein. The Attorney Genera \_  
Ago , ¢ --za Wants the press man at the Committee to be compatible  
orney General rejected /

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DECEMBER 8, 1971

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In the meantime, Ann Dore, a New YtoSrK PR person recruited by Magruder and Miller, will begin handling some press relations at the Committee, work with the 10 Nixon State Chairmen to prevent another New zampshire press announcement disaster, and eventually work with the surrogate candidates on radio and TV coverage. She begins December 13.

The net result of this sketch of the Committee's press/PR situation is that you must decide whether Malek should be instructed to have a replacement for Shumway locked with Colson and Klein by a date, hopefully January 3.

- Yes, Malek must find a Shumway replacement by / a date certain
- 2 No, Malek should assist Magruder in finding someone

G -- Other

5) General Counsel to the Committee

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Eons at the Committee

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Gordon ~^ C.9tf \\*Xili b2-ome General Counsel to t'-e CommittOD for the Reflection of the President on December 14. He Hi\ has been Worming with Bud Krogh or. the declassification

I've project. Liddy is paid \$26,000 by the Domestic Coun~il. \>~L'\ Bud Arogh had been urging Ken Cole to raise his salary, 4> ~ Age but rethink happened during the freeze. Arogh talked

I with the Attorney General and recommended that Liddy receive an increase. Dean agrees that Liddy should receive an { >> god \* increase to \$30 1000 because of his age (41), experience, ED ail and prior sacrifice. The Attorney General said the t4/ Committee will hire Liddy, and he won't be paid any less / than he is receiving from the Domestic Council. Magruder has put a hold on Liddy's transfer to the Committee at \$30,000 because of the rule that no one goes to the Committee a salary higher than he is receiving at the hEite House. Dean and Krogh are familiar with this rule, hue st+onalv urea an expection in this case.

--- -or---  
I {

> ~ e ^ Grant exception, Liddy to receive 30,000 per G ^ ~9 % % annum at Committee face

find someone else

Other

Denv exception, Liddy accept job at 26,000 or

The subject of salaries at the Committee appears in the talking paper for you to cover with the Attorney General. An updated version of this talking paper of subjects pending will be submitted separately. Ad 2

Other matters which Magruder discussed with the Attorney General which do not require decisions by you include:

1 > dvertising Advisory Group

/ he Advertising Advisory-Group (list attached at Tab C) will hold its first meeting December 9. The group will meet periodically to advise Peter Dailey.

2) Direct Mail Fund Raising

The Richard A. Viguerie Company will probably handle direct mail fund raising for the Committee. In addition, t Xthe Attorney General has authorized the Viguerie Company to conduct direct mail fund raising for Former Senator McCarthy on the condition that he run "in another party", not as a Democrat.

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DECEMBER 6, 1971

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DECEMBER 6, 1971

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3) Americans for Agnew Group

The Attorney General decided against doing anything to encourage or discourage the Americans for Agnew group that recently sent out a 50,000 mailing over John Gayness

> signature.

<) The Middle Level Campaign Strategy Group

The middle level Campaign Strategy Group met on November 1 and December 1. The minutes are attached at Tab D. The minutes cover

New Hampshire Campaign details, Campaign literature publications, and suggestions for the Florida primary.

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Finances

1) If the Attorney General and Secretary Stans have reached

a final decision on stans being Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972, Herb Kalzbach, Lee Nunn, and Hugh Sloan haven't been told. stans told Sloan he would accept if asked, but he had not been asked yet. stans continues to advise Nunn and

Sloan. At their most recent meeting on December 14, stans \_ agreed to begin spending one-half day a week beginning

January 3 at an office at 1701.

2) The current financial situation at 1701 is 2,000 raised, 650 disbursed for salaries and operating expenses of 1701, leaving a balance of 1,350 in the bank, primarily infchecks

not cash.

3) In spite of Ken Cole's very real concern that not enough mgsa ~ L being brought En gow-befQre file lg gisla3 ~ . ;:xailO has decid ~ o have Nu ~ d Sloan appra ~ only the standard, reliable, heavy contributors at this time. Others will not be approached until the Campaign spending legislation is sent to the President for signature. Max Friedersdorf and Ken Cole report that the bill and conference report may not be approved by the House until after January 23 at the earliest. The bill has a 60 day period, after the President signs it, before becoming, effective. During this time, stans would resign from the Cabinet and begin collecting

in earnest.

4) Ken Cole urges that stans be asked by the President now to begin collecting immediately because there is only 90 days left in which to collect the money for the Campaign\_ This matter is covered in your talking paper for the

Attorney General.

5) Herb Kalmbach has exceeded his personal goal of 12,000

</A) in pledges. However, he is not depressed and angry. The LAYX, ' problem is his relationship With Peter Flanigan, xfo quill

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CONFIDENTIAL COPY 1972

Camp 12

Political Matters

reifier Return / \a'...~2C~ 's telep.<oaL calls nor reach 20  
 agreement re~---n.r<. no ^o.~sidera'iorl o-£ contributors for  
 ambassadorships. Upon learning What C.V. t>;nitn<\_S~.izould  
 mot become '-nassad3r to Spai,, Kalmnach was ~--r>T upset  
 when Flanizan didn't have the courtesy to call 'inim and  
 discuss the "commitments" to DeRoulet and Syimington.  
 astead, Lee Nunn called Xal~.bach on behalf o~ Dan Kingslev  
 for ominously pro forma input.

Fred Malek has also expressed his dissatisfaction with tshe  
 recommendations for Spain.

### Harry Dent

1) Dent called you on December 11 to discuss the southern g strategy  
 for 1972. Higby took the call and recommended g p you talk with him,  
 Higby's memorandum is in your talking v / paper drawer.

2) Dent prepared a memorandum for the President which reports  
 on the Southern GOP Conference. David and Julie, the Vice President,  
 Art Fletcher, and Dolf Droge were all excellent. The only major news  
 item was the "total willir.gness to add 'color' (blacks) to the  
 southern strategy".

3) An analysis for the Attorney General of the Senate races in the  
 southern and border states indicates that: either Louie Nunn or  
 Senator Cooper must go for the Kentucky seat to help the  
 President carry the state; Senator Gambrell is vulnerable in  
 Georgia but for any Republican to win in Georgia would be a  
 difficult task; although Sparkman looks old, Red Blount, Jim  
 Martin, or Bert Nettles would have a hard time -capturing the  
 Alabama Senate seat; there is no first rate Republican candidate  
 for Jordan's seat in North Carolina; Flemming thinks Spong's  
 Virginia seat should be conceded in 1972, but Dent is working on a  
 Byrd coalition candidate; Dewey Bartlett will have trouble  
 beating Ed Edmondson in Oklahoma.

4) The Texas Governor's race could result in a defeat of the  
 Democrats were it not for the split in the Republican party.

### Murray Chotiner

1) Harry Flemming is working on Chotiner's suggestion that  
 Ambassador Bob Hill be a candidate for Delegate-at-Large  
 supporting the President in New Hampshire, ,



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DECEMBER 16, 1971

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DECEMBER 16 1971

God He -

Pat

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\_ Yes, Tom Evans check with the Attorney General  
on Hill's directorship

NO, Haldeman will handle news; on RII~~

+ **Other** 9 avg>ZM ~ hi

Buchanan

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1) He recently reviewed the entire Democratic Contenders tracking and attack capability. Buchanan believes that the RNC is performing its research function well, that the Committee is succeeding in its attempts to implement such anans suggestions for attack, and that no additional resources need to be assigned to this operation nosh

2) George Wallace is appealing to the Republican right, with his blue ribbon panel report on the poor state of National Defense under president Nixon.

3) An excellent analysis of the McCloskey candidacy in New Hampshire and suggestions for appropriate responses is attached at Tab A.

1) You asked that John Sears submit his political suggestions through Buchanan. Sears' first memo is attached at Tab B.

5) If the Administration can give Ashbrook and some of the Manhattan 12 line item proof of hard, tangible items in the Strategic Weapcnszresearch and Development budgets of Defens Buchanan believes Ashbrook will withhold his announcement > scheduled for December 27.

\ g t;04 \_ < Have Buchanan get the information from Haig and  
< inform the Conservatives with Colson

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**Tell Buchanan the information is not available**

**Other**

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in, b

. Chuck Colson

DECFMBER 16, 1971

WU

- , 1) In discussion with a Democrat from Illinois, Calson obtained Jo some accurate helpful background information on the Illinois ; ts, ~-- 1 political situation. This was transmitted to Flemming and >>Sib .NJ+g>I~K~Iagruder. They disagree with Colson's assessment that , ~:,r.~ "is a very bad mistake. He's '~ 4i ,>- a nice guy but definitely not heavy enough to pull all of ~U~ As,\ A, the strings together".

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2) He met with Senator Dole and established a system authorizing Noel Koch to issue statements in Dole's name. Tn a followup meeting of Dole and Koch, Nofziger "happened" to be there, and the old dispute between Nofziger's "intransigence" and Colson's need for a spokesman emerged. Koch can still issue statements for Dole, but Koch believes Nofziger is 'doing a job on (Dole) instead of for him". Dole likes Nofziger but is trying to see the Attorney General about firing some of Nofziger's people. Dole and Koch are working on getting the Democrats to hold hearings on the Pentagon papers.

John Dean

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Working with Fred Scribner at the tic, Dean was able to have the Ripon Society suit against the SYNC re-cast so that there will not be an attempt to contest the allocation of delegates in the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Magruder's Projects

1) the most recent weekly report submitted to the Attorney General is attached at Tab C. It is too long with too little hard information.

2) The minutes from the Campaign Strategy Group meeting of

December 16 are attached at Tab D. You may want to read this because it includes dete Dailey's strategy statement for advertising during the Campaign. Also included are the reasons "Re-Elect the President" was chosen over "Re-Elect our President"(which was your choice). Finally, the alternate dates for the President to announce for asecond term are discussed.

3) Additional office space at 1701 is being acquired at \$7.' per square foot sothat the entire Campaign operation will be in one building. The great bulk of the space is to bn acquired February lo 1972.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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*DECEMBER 1-71*

4) 33ili TirT^mons, as Chairman OL the Convention Task Borne, continues dealing With Senator Dole and the RSC on all procedural questions related to the Convention General approval is sought periodically from the Attorney General. The deXailed information need not be reviewed by you.

5) Magruder met with Cliff White as a folloT,~~up to the Attorney General's meeting with White. White is "very bullish".on the President's chances for reselection and ability to handle the Conservatives.

6) Clayton Yeutter, the Farm Director for the Campaign, began work on December 16. There is no longer a need for a White House Farmer, but according to Magruder, the Attorney General wants Yeutter to have more substantive input with Whitaker. Yeutter will become a top spokesman for the Pre s ident .

7) The Attorney General approved the citizens Committee plan submitted by Tom Evans of Mudge Rose and Rob Odle. The Attorney General politely rejected Tom EvansW offer to head up the citizens operation.

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JANUARY 18, 1972 v

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

DO-S7IDUM EOR:

FPO5:

SUBJECT:

Finances

January 18, 1972

H. R. LDE1NSA

GORDON STP9CHAN ha.

Political Matters

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1) Herb Kalmbach met with Messrs. Jacobsen and Nelson on January the 14th Concerning the milk money. Kalmbach had a "good meeting"; the money will Continue to Come in, but the milk people do not want to Continue to deal with Reeves & Harrison (Chotiner's firm). KalrDbach would take over this project as a special assignment. He will ask the Attorney General on January the20th. The Attorney General approved of Kalzbaeh meeting with Jacobsen even though Milt Seimer is Jaeobsen's law partner and Treasurer of the Muskie Campaign. Kalrnbach informed Colson of the meeting but would not tell Colson .'ro asked him to see Jacobsen. Kalrbach believes someone should give all information about the milk situation to Colson. I told him Colson was no longer involved.

Recommendation:

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That you inform Colson of the milk situation, and that XalDbach be asked not to discuss the milk situation with Colson in the future.

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Condiment

\_ Disapprove \_

/Dewitt Wallace is in SalzMaeh's 100 club.



x Kalrnbaeh's pledges total 12,435.

4) Act Kalmbaeh's invitation, I attended a finance meeting chaired by Secretary Stans on January 12. Dan Hofgren, Tom Evans (N.Y.), Lee Nunn, Jeb Magruder, Harry FleTeming, Harry Dent, Lang Washburn, Hugh Sloan, and Gordon Liddy reviewed the Campaign spending legislation. The legislation will be one effective 60 days from the date of the President's signature (expected around April 1). The limit of 10¢ per voter on all communications (broadcast, newspapers, telephones, E.C.) will be informed by requiring a certificate from the national campaign organization. The definition of contribution is something of value contributed

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... local bill boards, air travel and other hidden forms of 'assistance' in the past. The disclosure provisions are equally tough, requiring public accord or any contribution above \$10. To inform the public the Controller General must receive complex, detailed forms on March 10, June 10, September 10 and 15, and five days before the election. The paper work will be so voluminous that, according to Stans, the number of people working in finance to keep the records will exceed the size of the campaign staff. The main positive aspect is that the \$5,000 limit on individual contributions has been dropped.

is full disclosure of the individual giving.

5) You asked to see the text of the fund raising letter that Lee Nunn wants to send to 20,000 of the 500,000 White House staff support. One of 10 variable letters with the same tone is attached at Tab A.

Harry Dent is urging the Attorney General to move Bill Murfin, the S27A Director in New Orleans, to Florida to help the Nixon man Tommy Thomas with the primary. Dent is also asking the Attorney General for authority to assist a New York redistricting project that would aid conservative Congressman Jim Delaney

Wallace Henley, Dent's man monitoring George Wallace, reports that his sources believe that "we ought to assume that he will do surprisingly well in the Democratic primaries in Florida, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, that he will launch an effort this spring to preserve his third party option and that he will double back as a third party candidate after Miami.

Dent holds a biweekly political issues meeting pursuant to a discussion with the Attorney General on November 4. Ache minutes of the most recent meeting on national defense problems and the Nixon Administration's response are attached at Tab B.

In light of your meeting with Harry Dent on political matters last week, are there any projects that I should be following up on?

Cliff Miller

He has assumed control of the public relations efforts of the Joint Committee. Van Shuway and Tom Girard will handle most discussions with Washington correspondents. Van Shuway will be

able to go "on the record" and Magruder may be quoted as a high level spokesman". inn Dore is making the arrangements

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JANUARY 18, 1972

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for the '4i on State Committee announcements. She is receiving unanimous praise from locals, i'lerning's organization, and n2Tfsmen .

';lagruder and Miller submitted a memorandum to the Attorney General on January 7 requesting authority to grant a feature article on the campaign's youth activity by Hays \_<orey oF Time. The Attorney General approved but the -t emphasis will be on the "President's positions and interest" instead of any campaign strategy discussion. The memorandum, with a list of the youth officially recruited to work on the President's behalf, is attached at Tab C.

Martha Mitchell and Mesdames Romney, Rogers, Connally, and Xush will be interviewed by Barbara Walters of NBC on /"Not for Yeomen Only", which follows the "Today" show. The first segment will igin January 31st.

Cliff Miller, and in his absence Van Shumway, still sit /in on Colson's Tuesday and Thursday meetings on news planning. pMagruder will not attend. This is part of Miller's project to increase contact with Colson as a means of liaison between Colson and the Attorney General.

Xiller will suggest to the Attorney General that he chair a /meeting every other week of you, Ehrlichman, Flanigan, Finch, Garment, Colson, and Dent to discuss the Campaign.

ZNC  
Convention

Bial Timmons and John Dean conducted a security survey of /an Diego last week. They obtained the support requested.

Lo

St A,^g in  
T Zmons is also asking  
whether you ha g any objection to  
permitting part of the  
California delegation, including  
/ Governor Reagan, to take  
some of the extra rooms in the  
>San Diego Sheraton, Which will be the President's headquarters  
hotel. The Attorney General agrees with Timmons that the  
g7Californiar,delegatio7 should receive this special treatment

oO;vi <g&~ icy Z /1 ~  
\s' Recommendation:

xBe gnat Ti.-!ons be inferred that you are to receive this information but

no-'. Eor acLion Tir^mons should receive instructions

GOO3,J' ...'

(77)



on the Convention from the Attorney General, not from vol

Anpro-ve ~ Disapprove-

Comment

Tore Evans -

P.NC

Discussion with Tom Evans on January 4 disclosed that he is receiving increasing adverse comment about Harry Flemming's Activities in the field; that the relationship with Malek / and Kingsley on patronage is excellent; that Evans is very / concerned about his lack of input with Rose Mary N>700ds on White House invitations; that Nofziger's lack of organizational ability will damage the President in California; that Evans By plans to make several communications staff changes in connection with Nofziger's departure (Malek has been advised; x via \ you have a talking piper for they ttorney Genera)).

-X-- ~ A? Ad ~ C> \$f~fW

Magruder's projects g\$ ~ g g~Xgg~g /

1) Schedule Matters - Magruder aske the Attorney General whether Secretary Connally should be scheduled into non / Political functions in primary and key states. The Attorney / General responded yes but "at his (Connally's) discretion". r . vr;11 morn +n 1 7nQ mr^r-- 12AC Z

(S :\_\_ \_ WV :... /... V=11j... sw-

<p lo February 1, at his Current salary of \$31800. g ~ >\_ ZJ-> ad/ w

tz 1 2) Congressional Sunport for the President - Bill Timmons ><>

Wv I seek to have Congressmen sign petitions supporting *d*

L~

.XLe vrewluczi- to unuersUs ~ongresssl~els AsnDrook anu XC> los.Yey

3> Older Voters - Dan Todd has been hired to supervise the Comsxttee's program for older voters.- Todd served as Arthur Flemming's assistant for the White House Conference >~ Aging. Todd recommended to the Attorney General that John Martin be removed as head of the Administration on Aging and replaced with a performance oriented individual reporting directly to Secretary Richardson. No decision has been reached. In addition to Todd, Arthur Flemming and Jamie McLane of Colson's staff are charged with overall responsibility for the older voter. S / <lob >>< ,

43~>ollina - The results from Florida, Kentucky, Wew Hangshire, and  
Tat sconsin may be received from Teeter on January 24. Teeter  
originally committed to delivering the results to you tne last Week OI  
December. A separate mlewdrandum on polling is included in this  
action folder.

Finance Committee contracted with market Opinion  
//Research as master with the other pollsters as subsidiaries.

(78)

00034t}



JANUARY 18, 1972

5) ~Securi.v - 'Magruder has recommeded/ and the Attorney , , -  
rnneral is consiclering, substantially improving the security >at 1701  
by adding rose guards and anti-bugging devices.

6) NetIs Summary - You decided on December 2nd that Magruder s'nould  
not receive a copy of the news summary. This severely restricts his  
abilitv to ressond to inquiries from -the Attorney General and the  
White House. Magruder also suggests that the Attorney General  
receive a copy of the news summary. According to Magruder, there xfill  
be no problem of other Cabinet Officers not receiving the summary  
because the Attorney General nfill leave the Cabinet to run the  
Campaign. The fact that Senator Dole and L;Jn Nofziger receive copies  
of the news summary is used by Magruder to buttress his argument  
that he and the Attorney General & ~ should receive copies.

^ ~W<9~ + Approve, the Attorney General and Magruder to  
bt@ receive copies of the news summary

Disapprover no copies of the news summary to 1701

Raise again when the Attorney General moves to the  
Campaign

Other

7) Opposition Material - Through various sources AshXrook's  
fir,st mailing, Muskie's plans for newspaper ads on youth on  
Rinuary 26th, Muskie's fund raising mailing, minutes of  
Muskie's Domestic Issues meeting, and YAF's confidential  
mailing have been received. These materials are-attached at  
Tab D.

8) White House Staff/Campaign - Magruder is very concerned about  
suggestions that the Campaign has "raided" the White House Mfaff.  
He requests that you read the memorandum at Tab E which lists  
each person from the White House who is at the Committee and  
the reason for the change. ~

9) Interest Group Reports - You have seen the reports on  
Ethnigs, Spanish-speaking, Blue Collar, and Middle America pr  
Pared by Magruder's Task Forces. The Attorney General c3id not  
want to go through such long reports and detailed ta'os  
according to Magruder. Therefore, a sundry with essential  
decisions has been prepared, but this has not been reviewed by  
the Attorney General. A copy is attached at Tab F.

000341

(79)







FEBRUARY 1, 1972

+ 1 d.LU~ ASX

February 1, 1372

'E"O.mANDUr4

FOR:

FROI:

SUBJECT:

Finances

H.R.

HALDEMAN

GORDON STDACHAN G

Political flatters

1) Herb Kalmbach reviewed his current financial situation and related hard decisions with the Attorney General and Secretary Stans on January 28. Ralmbach asked that you consider:

a) Of the 1.2 fund Ear *mh-->* *fiQ0'¿* *¥°*  
unde ~ al control. From the original 1.2,-1\_  
/9 ~tes4242 ~ to Lee Nunn for the Kentucky Governorship P.ac ~  
wen ~ ursQd  
v n '1 to Derge for polling over the last six months. Of the  
tt <5 900, 230 is in'greenoboxes, 570 is in a New York checking  
account and 120 is in a Newport checking account;

b) In light of the campaign spending legislation,  
Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean recommend that the 690 in ,&+  
accounts be spread back into legal committees 31a\_\_ept At  
under Finance Chairman Stans' control. Th<723 ~ '2? J  
would be put in a Riggs box with access by aSy----mbination5or  
of two of the following people: Tom Evans, New York -- <go  
France Raine, Jr. tSh \_ a~s~~g \_wants to use generally>- <  
in the finance area)~ -- and Waimbach. If finis recom- at 0  
mendation is not accepted Kalzbach is willing to retain  
personal control of the 900 and run the very high risk  
o-F-violating the criminal provisions of the campaign  
spending legislation. Stans is opposed to paying for  
any polls other than through a correct committee; the  
risk from using green is just too high. g

Recommendation: + ~5-22

'-t That the advice o <tans, Kalmbach, and Dean be followed in  
that the 690 Would be put in legal com.mittees;that only  
the ~ keen would be held under Kalmbach's personal  
control;\eeefd that any polling would be paid for by xeqlar

Nixon Finance Committees.

App rove -

Commen

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Disapprove-

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GAK

(81)

FEBRUARY 1, 1972

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C) Wal7nach is very concerned about his involvement in the milk producers situation. He believes that Jacobsen and Nelson Will deliver though they have cut the Original 2,000 commitment back to 1,000. Xalzba-1-l's concern centers around the recent Dress disclosures that link Jack Gleason and the '70 campaign election funding Kal-bach will accept -the risk of being subpoenaed by the court in connection with the Nader milk suit. The Attornev General believes Kalmbach should continue to handle the m-lk project, but Kalmbach wants your advice.

Recommendation:

vent K>lmhnoh not ho inltol-Zod in **the milk project**

l<> t ~-because of the risk of disclosure.

**A, i ~-3 Approve Disapprove.**

.@; <} Act g<omment JX ~ , ~ X ~~~~~

**e) Governor Nelson Rockefeller is in Kalmbach's 100 club with a 250 commitment.**

.>.s An  
-.,C.,

~ A.

**2) Stans will officially move to the Nixon Finance Committee on February 16. In the meantime, he, lCalmbach, Hofgrenr Nunn, andLSLoan are conducting a 60 day blitz-to-get s funds in before the campaign spending legislation becomes law.**

**(N7hen Stans arrives at 17.01 he will send a personal letter to the 5000/\$3000+ contributors. He will also authorize a-much larger Walter Wentz -- Readers Digest direct mail appeal from various lists.**

The current financial position of 1701 is 3,600 received, 1,300 disbursed, leaving a 1,600 balance of which only 50 is in green

Stans is moving into operational responsibility, but there is still no budget set for the various parts of the 1701 e Efforts.

Through Xallmbach, SLans is requesting Executive bless Privileges. As you may recall, Cabinet Officers have

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F79BRUARY 1.  
1972

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honorary membe-rsclips in the regular White House Sta>~f  
Mess. To my knowledge, only Secretary Hodgson uses this  
privilege.

^<ecom.mendation: , ~ TV++

'4 That Stans receive~Executive Mess privileges.

>-;X~ Approve o-- , ) Disapprove \_

Cosmment-

Harry Dent

1) He believes that the President's "drop by" at the Bob Brown  
dinner was one of the most important, successful, politically  
astute moves made toward blacks in this Administration;

2) Hugh Chatham may seek and win the North Carolina Senate  
seat in 1972; Pete Domenici may beat Dave Cargo for the nomination  
to seek the New Mexico Senate seat;

3) Thurston Morton may lead a drive to get Louie Nunn into the Kentucky  
Senate race if there is some financial assistance;

Recommendation:

7^ .r If you have not discussed the Dent/Brown theory with the g 0 4~f>@  
Attorney General, Dent should be advised to do so and then

cJ Follow the Attorney General's advice on the disposition swathe Urban League  
requests

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PP Lo .zr \_

Cors4r. ç, t-

' Disapprove \_

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FEBRUARY 1, 1972

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RNC  
Convention

1) John Dean summarized an Intelligence Evaluation Committee report on the demonstrations planned for the Republican National Convention in San Diego (Tab C);

' any

Jack Gleason

As you know, Jack Gleason's name has appeared in the recent "milk money" stories in the STAR. Gleason is "sick and fed up with this type of material appearing in the press". Gleason blames Bob O'Dell and Eleanor Williams at the RNC. However, Gleason is also mad at Colson stemming from Colson's "summoning" him to his office and "accusing" Gleason of leaking derogatory information to the press about Colson. Gleason is seeking advice whether he should have a quiet, off-the-record, discussion with reporters Jules Whitcover and Polk to demonstrate that Gleason is a "nice" guy. It's hard to imagine a worse idea than having Gleason talk with reporters, but told Gleason I would check. .nN

~ Yes, Gleason see reporters

+ R O, Gleason should continue to avoid reporters-

Don  
Rumsfeld



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~~~~~ ~ (

One memorandum on the conservative recruitment procedure in England arrived. An anonymous memorandum on the Indiana situation urges cultivation of Irvin raillery



(85)  
0004o's

  
6-25-00  Other

\,etaaruder's Projects

b 1) Schedule hatters -- Updated lists of surrogate candidates' ~ ~ appearances in New Hampshire and Florida are attached at to Tan E 'g-Ou~>\_~ <X^~t\_ ~ ?

Z) Older Voters -- You asked what the various Administration Officials were doing to cultivate the older voters. Ken Cole does not receive reports from Vicki Keller of the Domestic Council but does regularly review her work. Bud Evans, Colson's older voter's project manager is following an older voter plan developed in Colson's office. A final version of the resort will be submitted to you and the Attorney General. Keller (eat and Evans are workina with Arthur Flemmina and nnnntZ only of

99' the Committee to Re-Elect the President. ^

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ 7

b  
3) Magruder as spokesman -- Magruder was quite upset by you 4i January 17 memorandum to the Attorney General indicating that Magruder should not be a spokesman for the Campaign. t Magruder emphasizes that he and the Attorney General agree but that since May until February 7 there was no one else who could "get out the lines requested". There were only three series of interviews and most were quite positive. Magruder anticipates another series around the time of the Attorney General's move, but Shumway will handle the Committee's relations with the press at that time.

4) Polling -- The Attorney General directed Magruder to give Bob Teeter three weeks to deliver on his poll results scheduled or seek employment elsewhere. Magruder believes Teeter will norf begin delivering the-results and the projects you have requested. However~ the Campaign polling system is currently working poorly. You are receiving chunks of survey data with no recommendations as to what should be held by you and the Attorney General and what should be distributed to Peter Dailey, Harry Flemming and other members of the Campaign Strategy Group. I would welcome the assignment of reviewing these materials, recommending data for release, and processing requests to Teeter. One alternative, which Magruder is urging, is a meeting with you, the Attorney General, Teeter, and Magruder to resolve the polling problems of the quantity and quality of Teeter's work and the access to polling information.

\_Haldeman meet with the Attorney General, Magruder, and Teeter

# Strachan review soiling materials

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17 Other -

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FrEBRUARY 16, 1972

W 0 Copy MI of Feast=

February 16, 1972

.M~>'GRANDUM FOR:

FROPI: GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT.

H.R. HALDEMAN

Political flatters

Finances /

1 / erb Kalmbach will serve as Associate Chairman of the /  
inance Committee under Secretary Stans, The Attorney \_~'  
General concurs.

2) ~ ach cleared with the Attorney General and Stans  
350 in green under your unquestioned personal control. A  
separate box of green is being developed for the Campaign.

3 ~ 1mbach will receive an additional 100 from Dick Watson  
\_z0n Paris raises Watson's total from 2nn en Ann

4) ~ ash is working with the milk people to increase  
233 currently banked to 1,000 by April 7.

6) Kalgbach granted the full time gardner at San Clemente, Br  
~ o Garcia, a \$25 per month raise bringing his monthly Vary to  
\$539.00.

7) Concerning the Sta-r stery on Kalmbach, discussions with  
John Dean, Fred Malek, Jack Gleason, Hugh Sloan, Jeb  
Magruder, and Herb Kalmbach developed these tentative  
conclusions:

a) The material is primarily the result of thorough anvestigative  
reporting by skilled newspapermen; b) The material was  
probably not directly leaked but rather the result of  
careless, loose talk disclosing the only new information,  
Kalmbach's name; C) Information from 1968 may have come from  
Dan Hofgren (Herb Kalmbach lectured him harshly); the 1970  
information ma ~ ve come from (Jack Gleason and b Kalmbach  
say she is vindictive and cannot be influenced) and the 1972  
information may have come from Jon Huntsman, who was  
mentioning Kalmba~ff; name to people when leaving the White

House Staff. Kalmbach personally talked to him. These

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[REDACTED]

FEBRUARY 16 1972

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tentative conclusions regarding sources of information have not been confirmed by polygraphs.

8) The budget committee for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President will be Stans and the Attorney General as Co-Chairman, Herb Kalmbach as Associate Chairman, and Wunn, Cliff Miller, and Fred M'alek as members. Magruder is not on the Committee. Paul Barrik, a Stans' recruit, will act as Controller and Hugh Sloan will continue as Treasurer.

9) Within the strictly finance area, Stans will be Chairman and Leonard Firestone, Gus Levy, Max Fisher, John Rollins, and s. Ogden Phipps Will serve as Co-Chairmen. In use the Vice Chairmen will be Dan Hofgren, Lee Nunn, and Newell N5Ieed.

10) Stans' goal of 10,000 in by the Campaign Spending legislation effective date of April 7 is approximately one-third complete.

11) The Campaign has raised 5,000 but spent 2,000 in its first nine months. Expenses for January totalled 550 while

Projected expenses for February are 900. The Attorney General has asked Magruder for a list of the 124 employees and their salaries.

any, naps

U.S. 1972-1974

1) Magruder believes the Evans and Novak story on political aides at the White House criticizing the "consciously aiding" comment you made. The meeting could have been the Campaign Strategy Group meeting of February 7. Magruder has recast the Campaign Strategy Group to exclude Dent.

2) Dent advised the Attorney General that if Governor Nunn does not seek John Sherman Cooper's Senate seat, Robert Gable should be encouraged. Gable is a wealthy, loyal Republican.

3) Dent advised the Vice President that he should speak to the California Republican Assembly on April 8. Governor Reagan urged that the Vice President appear, and the Vice President accepted.



OQ130i.

5) A nationwide voter turnout survey indicates that only in the South has there been a rise in voter turnout, while the key states, Ohio and Missouri, suffered a decline of ~ 0s and 8.1% respectively between 1960 and 1968. The go' rise in the South is attributed to the black vote while the decline in certain states is attributed to apathy.

6) Wallace Henley monitors George Wallace for Harry Dent through -  
nird party challenge by Wallace in November is not anticipated but could develop if Wallace receives enough money and publicity

7) Wesy Virginia Governor Arch Moore will seek reselection according to Dent because he has a pollshowing him Si~e~ad of Jay Rockefeller. The President leads all Democratic contenders in West Virginia by at least 132 when Wallace is in the race.

8) David Treen lost the Louisiana Gubernatorial race to Congressman Ed Edwards because of the solidarity of the 9 mcfcrcatic Party and the heavy black vote. Dent believes ;\_\_~~ that this relatively narrow defeat augurs well for the President even if Wallace is in the race.

Don Rumsfeld

He,,forntlarded an anonymous political assessment of Hawaii  
Which indicates that "the likelihood of the President carrying Hawaii seems very slender". There are no races state wide in Hawaii in 1972.

Tom Evans

1) The primary responsibilities of the RNC in the 1972 Campaign will be voter registrations voter turnout, and ballot security. The registration drive (Target '72) b ~ in Florida and Texas in January and will continue / through the spring. Ed DeBolt at the RNC is the man /responsible to register 1 1/2 million Republicans by May 15 and 8 million by October 1972.

step 1  
Jo X  
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[Redacted]





FEBRUARY 16, 1972

001302

2) Tom Evens

asked Jek Magruder to censure John Lofton

for his PONI

wife call last week. Evans does not feel

he controls Lofton. Chuck Colson is exerting more control over Lofton and noontday with only occasional complaints from Evans.

Charlie McWhorter

During the campaign he 1 < ue travel at AT&T's expire.

However, he has terminated his formal ties

in the Vice President's office to protect against any suggestion of impropriety.

### Magruder's Projects

A\_

1) Advertising -- The newspaper ads that Peter Dailey prepared and you reviewed on February 14 Will run in New Hampshire. You did not view the TV spots which are not scheduled to run in New Hampshire. The decision as to the extent of the media campaign in Florida will be made it when the Florida follow-up telephone poll arrives.

2) New Hampshire/Florida -- The extensive direct mail (\$75000 in New Hampshire and \$100,000 in Florida) and telephone (\$25,000 in New Hampshire) campaigns are continuing as planned.

3) Wisconsin -- A campaign plan prepared by the Davis Agency for Nixon State Chairman John MacIver has been

A,

submitted to Magruder for review before submission to the Attorney General.

4) Farm -- Clayton Yeutter, the farm director at 1701, / red John Foltz, visited Secretary Butz, farm Senators and Congressmen, and worked with USDA on the rural development issue.

5) Elderly -- Fred Malek has been asked to "untangle" the te House/1701 confusion. His report is due March 1. -Arthur Flemming is now scheduled by the 1701 speakers bureau. Danny Todd and Peter Dailey are re-working HEW films for the elderly.

6) esmen Resources -- Schedules for New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin are submitted weekly.

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FEBRUARY 16 1972

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7) California -- The California delegation list for the RNC Convention has been submitted to the Attorney General. The Los Angeles County list has not been completed.

> He Attorney General authorized \$100,000 for a special 1,000,000 new young voters drive in California under the direction of Ken Rietz.

8) Campaign Strategy Group -- At the February 7 meeting the group approved the title for the campaign newspaper ( Elector). Bob Teeter informed the group that the

2 President was in good shape in 17 of 19 target states, < and was running ahead of his 1968 margin. Important issues are Vietnam, inflation, and order/calmness (in the President's favor), environment, race, health care (even), unemployment, crime/drugs (negative)."

9) Campaign Briefing -- Fred Malek and Jeff Magruder are considering a briefing for the White House staff on the activities at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. See 2 A - M

10) Media Monitoring -- Van Shumway is establishing state by state systems to review press coverage and to counteract negative comments. The Illinois program with weekly reports / Will serve as the model. The Attorney General does not receive the proposal, but Shumway is proceeding with Magruder's concurrence A-,, ,< S

11) RNC Convention Liaison -- and Magruder have asked the Attorney General to establish a permanent office in San Diego with US Executive Director. No decision has been reached. Meetings bi-weekly with Senator Dole, Representative John Rhodes, Dick Herman, John Dean and Bryce Harrow on plans for the Convention.

12) Sew York -- The Attorney General is using Bob Marik (generally considered the best man at 1701) as the staff man for regular contact with Governor Rockefeller's staff.

13) Magruder is seeking authority for approval of Campaign media by Cliff Miller instead of you for the White House. Repeated explanations to Magruder that you only want to see the material on an FYI basis have not convinced him that this is unnecessary. Magruder frequently finesses Miller (e.g. the infamous RNC film) in spite of the fact that Miller is the final media review for the Attorney General. However low your interest in the media materials you should continue to receive them on an FYI, not approval, basis.

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14) Magruder and Colson are increasingly at odds. The most recent dispute concerns the "line" as to whether Muskie should be personally attacked on his war stand. After your "consciously aiding" statement Magruder and Driller thought they had an agreement on behalf of the Attorney General that Colson was not to continue programming hits at Muskie. Colson continued the attack on Muskie through Cabinet and Hill spokesmen. Magruder plans on seeking authority from the Attorney General to be the only contact with the spokesmen to the express exclusion of Colson.

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MARCH 3, 1972

**March 3, 1972**

J.F.Ni-2R.X@'i-?Tz ? < FOR:

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GORDON STRACHAN G

To la ,i c al Af at a: e r s

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f.,.

1. Discussion with Herb Kalmbach covered five matters o. interest: (ad bpTloiv has 13, 300 in commitments;

(c) James Polks the author of the Star article on Kalmbach will publish an expanded version in the next Harper's magazine; (d) the AG directed him to spend 50 in green (Kalmbnch is not sure you are aware of the subject and asks that you talk to tone AG if you have any questions); and

Z. Lee Dunn indicates that the confidential goal for the campaign is 45, OClO. ~ Nunn is working the lobbyists for money and Ohio as a special Project. He is worried about the get-out-the-vote operation in general and harry Flemming in particular.

3. Secretary Stans reviewed the Ray Price draft of the fund raising letter to be test mailed to 10, 000 names on the **500, 000** name White House support list. The revised version of letter with the Stans request is attached at TabA.

Subject to review of the text of the letter, you approved the idea of a fund raising test mailing to those who have written to the President.

Reconlmenation:

That you authorize Secretary Stans to send the 3 revised l xetter 7 to tones ) 10, 000 test g 7 up. ~i~ \$~ by ~ Zap ~

Approve seZ Pi                      Disapproag> ~;7n~ / Am big .

4. Jack Gleason has been working quietly with the Scans found raisers at 17(> 1~a~ reports that progress is being made. Hugh Sloan is doing an **exc/ellent job according to Gleason. He has heard that Edward M. mennedy** ,~v>-ill annotmce on March 17.

5.. - Fred l~/Ialek, Jeb Magruder, Chuck Colson and Bruce Keh-rli met h. Wrte this week to settle on a AVhite House support budget. The Bvo problem .a'-rea>; are *COISGEIS* mailings (Carson asked for 900; Ntagrttcer urged 500) and pc~ tore avlancerrlen's 'o .dget (Ch pin asked for l 5S0 ard Atnle'i ant ALagrurler **are** trying to cuL teat down).

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Attorney General

1. The Attorney General has asked for Honorary Executive Privileges. As a member of the Cabinet he had Honorary Mess Privileges. You granted Secretary Stans request for

A, Honorary Executive Mess privileges on February 3.

all (6.) Recommendation:

1. Scowcroft be informed by Bruce Kehrli that the Attorney General is to be granted Honorary Executive Mess privileges.

Approve or Disapprove

Comment

2. The Attorney General began receiving the News Summary on March 1. Magruder receives the other copy that goes to 1701.

3. Kissinger had planned on recommending to the President that he send a letter to Ambassador Hill acknowledging receipt of his report on Spain. A check with the Attorney General through Magruder

resulted in a delay of the President's letter until after the New Hampshire primary on March 7.

FLUENT

A/i

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4. You decided on February 28, 1972 to accept Malek's recommendation and invite the Attorney General to the 8:15 a.m. meetings. Malek has informed the Attorney General who will begin attending on Tuesday, March 7. You may want to mention to the **other attendees on Monday** the fact that the Attorney General will be attending.

Harry Dent

2 Harry Dent has urged the Attorney General, and you and Ehrlichman by carbon copy, to have the Administration support the

proposal to link Kansas City and Chicago with an interstate highway.

OOOG70



MARCH 3, 1972

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3. Senator NLU3ndt's seat is being actively sought by at least  
to e Sepllbicans. Dent is urging the Attorney General to encourage  
C.onQ,i essmail Ben Re-fel to consider the Gubernatorial seal instead  
ic'l, unclt's Sena-ce seat.

Lyn Nofziger

. \_t,89>S

Discussion with Nofziger on February 26 resulted in his agreement to send you  
copter of his memoranda to Governor Reagan regarding the California campaign. Nofziger  
sends copies to the ALtorney General and was not reluctant to send copies to you. His  
February 12 and February 28 reports are attached at Tab B.

Cliff Miller

Governor Rockefeller contacted his pollster Lloyd Free and uraed  
him to begin working for tne President's reelection. Free called  
ASIiller and they will meet next week to discuss the President's position  
in the polls. Free believes that the President is personally doing well  
butt only has 2-50-50 chance of winning after a hard campaign. t

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Don Rums~~ />2~ ~ g

He forwarded an anonymous analysis of the President's standing with labor  
organizations suggesting we taloe a hard line with unions tax exempt status, The argument  
is not made •vell enough to justify sending it to Colson or Shultz. ,\*,2,~/ g39tS ~\_,~;7?

Tom Evans

~,~,~ 1. The primary effort of the RgCis •vinter has been

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, ^ ^ O NO register Republicans, Nationwidet , 000 ~ \ L \_

,qW have resulted from the drives thE~ntrated in Florida, Texas, if ~7  
Sti7 California, Ohio, arid Tennessee. Fred LaRue believes Ed DeBolt has

fairly good job on this project. LaRue will push DeBolt to

done a  
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ontinue to deliver registrations through this spring.

2, LaRue and Dent report that

Anne Armstrong is an increasingly effective spokeswoznan.

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MARCH 3, 1972

lar I--> Fl e; rnrir.g,

1. Discussion R Vit'l Flemming indicates that he is mostly concerned about what Bob A-taridan's role in the campaign would be.

2. Contrary to Jeb Magruder's assessment Flerwrnillg believes Allergy Walker is doing a pretty good job in New Hampshire as the Executive Director under Lane Des-rinell.

Lo

### Web Magruder's Projects

1. Nesv Hampshire and Florida. Bob Marik prepared a summary of campaign efforts in New Hampshire and Florida. The summary covers spokesmen, direct mail, telephone, get-out-the-vote, advertising and youth (attached at Tab C).

2. Wisconsin. With each primary state Magruder's staff prepares a detailed operating plan. This is used as a talking paper for a Saturday meeting of those involved nationally and those involved locally. The result of these meetings is a final written recommendation to the AG requesting budget decisions. The Wisconsin Operating Plan is attached at Tab D.

3. Meetings. Criticism by Chapin and Malek resulted in Magruder recasting the meeting and clearance systems for campaign suggestions. Magruder uses these groups to prepare recommendations to the AG. Since you and the AG discussed the Strategy Group and the Political Issues Group on November 4, you may want to review Magruder's summary of these groups and their areas of responsibility which is attached at Tab E.

AG Campaign Titles. Only the AG will have a title at the campaign. He will be Campaign Director. Secretary Stans has not made a decision on titles for his finance division.

5. Audio-Video. Colson and Magruder convinced the AG to terminate the RNC -David Greencorcontract providing for videotape and audio feeds of Senators and Congressmen to TV and radio stations around the country. The system was the unfortunate result of a Lyn Nofziger agreement while at the RNC, Gorgon Liddy, as Counsel at the Committee is negotiating termination of the contract. Instead the campaign will establish its own audio service under Scott Peters, the 97,000 per year head of the UPI audio Service. He will work with Des Barker on Colson's staff to get the best statements from within the E.R.elliott Efranch.

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6. The volume of xvritt-s; material generated at 1701 is incensi:rlg. Or. flour behalf, I receive a copy of every hill that is sent to the AG. According to Magruder he reads very little of the material. After reviewing the materials I forward to you a small percentage. The memoranda that I have not forwarded to you during the last ten days cover: (1) mailing to Independents in New Hampshire; (2) Mailing Samples; (3) Get-Out-The Vote Telegrams; (4) New Hampshire Technical Institute Mock Election Results; (5) Florida Rally; (6) Lawyers Committee for the Reelection of the President; (7) Senator Case's Press Clippings; (8) Frank Dale's Letter to Muskie; (9) Clayton Yeutter's Analysis of Wheat Prices; (10) the California **Delegation list; and (II) Report on Manchester Union Leader coverage of the President's telephone campaign.** The weekly report for the AG, which is prepared by Rob Odle for Jeb Magruder is attached at Tab F.

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ATTACHMENT TO MARCH 3, 1972 MEMOSNDUM

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l-.;lesa to each. of th.2 On2l

Joi~.t Sta.'~ '>leet~ns (Attend2es listed in TaDD'

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a. 11 a.n., and is co.-.Dosed oL senior stafr me.~bers frca. 1701 and thz L~C. The  
purDose o' the group is to discuss nz, .ers .eI2t-.n? to thcampaiOn, particularly  
those zilich bear on rt-Nc-co^~bmitte2 cooperat~\_n.

Volitical Issues Group (At.endees listed in Tab E) - }'eets **every** oth.er  
Nl2dnesday in Harry Dent's oefice. The purpose of the group is to prov.de a  
foru-, predomiaantly corposed o' **high level l.lhite** House statf ~emzers, for tne  
discussion of **izportant issues relating to** the cam2aign.

In 2ddition to the T-eetings listed above, Clifl **tsiller or Van Shu~.-;ay** regularly  
attend Chucl.; Colson's 2:30 p.m. plannino meetings on lIondays, }!ednesdays and  
Fridays at thz N~.nite House.

As you know, lve also strenOly reco~zzad that you attend *the 8:15 a.a.* daily  
r~eetir.gs in Mr. Ha lGeman's office.

JE B S. 2~fAGPSIJ3ER

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CONFIDENTIAL

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described their functions as they might relate to the campaign. The  
participate also provide an opportunity for members and staff to

portunity for setting

erating managers.

D) - Meets every Tu

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ATTACHMENT TO MARCH 3 1972  
MEMORANDUM

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ten Garreat

Bob blarit:

Dicta Moore

Jeb Magruder

Cliff Miller

Bob Teeter Nor Ted Garish)

Peter Dailey (or Phil  
Joanou)

Pat Buchanan

Fred taRue

Bob Finch

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STRATEGY GROUP ATTENDEES

ATTACHMENT TO MARCH 3 1972 MEMORANDUM

Ken Reitz

Peter Dailey (or Pili  
Jo2r.0u)

Bob Sari'-. .

Jeb Magruder

Harry Fleming (or Ah  
'Kaupinen)

Bob Teeter (or led Garrish)

Bert Porter

Fred LaPxue

Fred tfalek

Pat Hutar

Cliff Stiller (or Ivan Shuzz,ay)

Gordon Strachan

Bob Wiorgan (as needed)

Nancy Brataas (as needed)

Citizens Group Directors (as  
needed)

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STRATEGY PLANNING GROUP ATTENDEES

j PrS r pM-.NV ~0 MARCH 3, 1972 MEMORANDUM

RE:-TIOf CC,"gTT

STAFF >\_ETit, JTE'Pi-a:

Murray Cnotiner

Pecer Dailey

Marry Fl-el-<zino

Larry Goldberg

Pat Eutar

**Paul Jones**

**Allan Cnupinen**

Paul Kays2r

Fred La Rue

Gordon Liddy

Frederic Elalek

Bob DIarik

Edward Nixon

Herbert Porter

Bou Reisher

Ken Reitz

baa Shum-vay

**Bugh Sloan**

Mob Teeter

Dan Todd

Clayton Yeutter

Ro'o Ot'le

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TAt' C

**Alex Armandaris**

ATTACHMENT TO MARCH 3v 1972 MEMORANDUM

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lla-.r;,- D2z.t

Ion Evans

Ed DeE;o 1 t

Jeb Magruder

Fred LaRue

Earry Fleming

Rugh Sloan

Lee Dunn

Rita Hauser

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ATTACHMENT TO MARCH 3, 1972 MEMORANDUM.

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S.C. - ; r l : s = o r l ,

RD>- rL

Ken to 12

Charles Colson

Bob Dole

Caomas Evans

bober; Finch

Leonary Garm2nt

Rcy Goodearle

Bryce Earlow

B1 Harper

Rita Xauser

Berbert Flein

30hn Lehman

**Clark bIacCregor**

Bay Price

Donald  
Rlamsfield

Willian Safire

Gordon Strachan

**Robert** Teeter

Willian Ti-mons

Rose ; 'ry Coods

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Tr3 F



I<AY 16, 1972

Convention  
Political

PR/Media

Polling

Direct Mail

Telephones

9 Voter Blocs -

y i ~ t ~ , ~ ~ Spokesmen Resources  
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E t O R A N 3 I D i l F O R :

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SUBJECT:

Finances

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~ ~ ,

Ma - , 16 , 1972 > < ~

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H. R.

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GORDON STRACHAN Id <

1) Mitchell and Stans are developing the campaign budget. Eaten 1701 "division" (advertising, political, administration, etc.) submitted projected budgets. These totaled 44,000. The Budget Committee (Mitchell, Stans, Magruder, Malek, Nunn, Sloan, LaRue, and Odle) cut the budget to 31,700, excluding state committees' budgets. The state committees' budgets are being submitted to Flemming, who hopes to have semi-final rigures by May 19. The total state budgets should be 4-5,000. To summarize:

Advertising

- 12,150 (1,500 under limit)

White House Support - 1,380  
(President and First  
Family Travel and

- 475

- 211

- 740

- 750

- **4,500**

725

Lawson  
Budget)

l son ~w-gg4z72 Cook'>

2,354 (Youth and Women  
receive twice what o&  
h'r MaleR groups reef  
ve) " Z

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Political Matters

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2) Fundraising letters are now cleared technically by Bob Morgan, the Campaign's direct mail organizer T\*φho is considered one of 1701's most capable employees. The final approval for text, mailing lists, and timing is Stans. Every contribution received is acknowledged. As the amount increases, the personalized aspect of Stans' response does also.

3) Prepayments before April 7 will preclude ORC appearing as a polling vendor of 1701 until at least September 10 and hopefully after November 7.

4) Lee Nunn called on May 11 to say that the Florida Finance Chairman, George Champion, Jr., is having trouble raising money in Florida because they claim to "be giving through Bebe". In addition to campaign spending law prob  
**newspaper stories is also high.**

Recommendation

Rather than you calling and urging Bebe to funnel everything through George Champion, Jr., Stans should call and mention he had covered the matter with you. nJ

~ Agree

S &

Comments

5) Kalmbach has completely severed any fundraising relationship with 1701, including resignation from the Budget Committee. When he returns from Europe on June 12, he will be available for any "assignments". He met with Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Dean before departure but received no assignments.

Harry Dent

1) The Political Issues Group met to discuss women's issues on April 25, with Rita Hauser as the speaker. The

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**Disagree**

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attendance was poor (Rose elary \70ods was invited but did rot a,Lenc.\

2) Wallace Henley, on Dent's staff, maintains low level contacts with the George Wallace campaign. His three most recent analyses (prepared before the assassination attempt) suggest that Wallace may be seeking to establish his pure "Democrat" credentials so he could become Alabama's Senator in 1974. The American Independent Party is trying to schedule their National Convention in either Louisville or Dallas on August 4-6, 1972.

3) State by state analyses for Harry Dent are prepared by Brad Hainsworth. Mitchell, Magruder, you, and Parker receive copies. The analyses cover local races, issues, and party organization. They are better summaries than either Chotiner's (RNC) or 1701 (White House Staff wives). An us-to-date file is maintained in my office.

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Lyn Nofziger

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The periodic reports for Governor Reagan continue to emphasize the progress on telephone banks, direct mail, and successful recruiting of volunteers. The area Chairmen, Banowsky, Packard, and Flanagan have established the basic campaign organization under Nofziger. The problem areas in Nofziger's mind are voter registration, Finch, and finances. The Republican Party organization neither cooperates with Nofziger nor produces results for the Party. Nofziger has repeatedly advised Reagan and Mitchell, but according to Magruder no solutions are being

The financial problems are blamed on Stans, who is requiring firm county budgets and Mitchell who is no- authorizing enough money for the biggest, most important state, according to Nofziger.

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1<4Y 16) 1972

1) bI--gruder directed Stiller -to act as the Chairman on L'ne Campaign Strategy Group, a role Shriller  
•horoughl~>; enjoys

2) Ed Nixon has asked Miller rot periodic p.r -press advice, which Ed Nixon will need as his speaking and public appearance role continues to increase.

3) Ted Cummings, Taft Schreiber, et al, will finance newspaper ads requested by Colson and Magruder.

Murray Chotiner

**As the** man responsible to John Mitchell for ballot security, Chotiner has a former CIA agent (H.L.T. Koren) as his rulltime deputy There are five field men (all former FBI) who will concentrate on Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. In addition, Chotiner will have 27 state chairmen for Voters' Rights.

Chotiner attends the Campaign Strategy Group meetings regularly.

Charlie McWhorter

Although he is still upset by the Dole attacks on AT&T, McWhorter still talks with me weekly. His most recent report covers the Republican Governor's Conference and RNC meetings in early May. The Governors were in "a very positive mood with regard to the Administration" They voted to work for the reselection of Agnew, not to pressure the President to accept Agnew as his running mate but rather as "an expression of confidence in Agnew if he is chosen".

The RNC had an underlying "I told you so" attitude **about the** shift from San Diego to Miami Beach

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Cliff Miller

1g4Y 16, 1972

Although continuing to advise Secretary Stans and Gordon Liddy on Federal reporting requirements, Dean is not actively involved in legal work for the campaign. His only recent project directly nor Mitchell concerned the legal complications of the shift from San Diego to Miami Beach.

Before reviewing the specific 1701 projects and personalities, it might be useful to focus on the overall organizational set-up:

John Mitchell

Finance

(Stans)

Political

(Mosiman,  
Mardian,  
~ LaRue,  
Flemming,  
Kaupinen,  
Yeutter)

Voter Blocs Everything Else

(Malek) (Magruder)

Advertising - Dailey

Convention - Timmons  
PR/Media - Miller/Shumway

Polling - Teeter

Research/Planning - Marik

Spokesmen Resources - Porter

Administration - Odle

The four principals have direct access to Mitchell. They supervise a total of 100 professionals with monthly operating costs including salary, rent, etc., in the amount of 100.

Malek and Magruder meet with Mitchell daily at 9 a.m. Malek usually discusses questions rather than working from mem3randa as Magruder does.

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[REDACTED]

John Dean

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MAY 16, 1972

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1) The finance group works independently of the other three divisions. Information regarding receipts, contributions and projects is held within St-2a group of Hugh Sloan, the Nuns, and Ken Talmadge

2) The six members of the Political group report directly to Mitchell but Bob O'Leary and Fred LaRue have general, informal authority over Flemming, Mosiman, Yeutter, and Kaupinen. The states are divided geographically and politically among the six. Mardian has direct responsibility for the western states and Missouri. Yeutter has the Midwest including South Dakota, North Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota and Oklahoma. Don Mosiman has Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Maryland, Delaware and Michigan. Al Kaupinen has the Northeast including Connecticut. Flemming has direct responsibility for the South and Southeast.

Mitchell considers himself personally responsible for California, Texas, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Ohio. Day-to-day operations in these crucial states are handled by O'Leary for California, Flemming for New York, LaRue for Texas, Kaupinen for Illinois, Mosiman for Ohio and New Jersey

3) The Toter Blouse including Women, **are controlled** by Malek. He will submit a report to you after the Russia trip summarizing all his activities at 1701.

#### 4) Jeb Magruder's Projects

a) The surrogate's situation remains confused. Mitchell and Magruder have talked to **Whitaker who continues** to waffle, due to his near adamant **refusal to be involved in scheduling** again in 1972. The **latest possibility** is that Whitaker will serve in some "advisory"-capacity.

John Mitchell chaired a meeting on May 16 of the 32 key surrogates. Only Reagan and Rockefeller did not appear at the briefing in person. In addition to Mitchell Magruder, Malek, Teeter, Stans, **Dailey and Shumsfay addressed the group. Magruder thought the meeting excellent; Malek** says it was poorly advanced in that the **room was too small**, principals and aides were **not separated, and little actionable information** was supplied.

Jon Foust has acquired control on the tour office aspect of the Spokesman Resources Division. He is urging Mitchell, through Magruder, to give him more authority to create schedule events rather than just record and expand on established events

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1;247 16, 1972

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b) Bill Ti-rmona is in Miami learn surveying the facilities for One co:vention. You reviewed the list of technical staff fho accompanied him. Tibmons nisi have an updated report-decision memorandum for your review upon Eeturning from Russia.

c) Peter Dailey has assembled the campaign advertising staff (November Group) in New York and Washington. The staff prepared three presentations for the Campaign Strategy Group (Chapin, Buchanan, Garment, Magruder, Dent, Chotiner, LaRue, Moore, Teeter, and Miller). Dailey had planned on asking to see you to review the materials before the Russia trip However, he now prefers to wait until you return so that the materials and theme will be in **near final** in Ehrlichman's office after Russia, you could review the campaign advertising materials. Dailey says an abbreviated presentation with his two top men (Phil Joanou and Bill Taylor) **would take 45** minutes.

Dailey and Chapin have been working on the Documentary Films with Wolper. There will be two 1/2 hour films, one fifteen minute condensation of each of the films, and a 10 minute film on Mrs. Nixon The total budget is 600.

d) Bob Marik is developing detailed campaign plans for each state. These are similar to the plans on New Hampshire and Florida you reviewed prior to those primaries.

The plan for **the~California primary specified a** budget of 500 through June, including 66 for a telephone campaign, and 340 for direct mail. The balance is salary and organizational expense. There will be no media advertising for the President in California.

Plans for the **definitely safe and loss states will be complete by June 3**. The **target state plans are** due to Mitchell on July 22. There is **some pressure to accelerate these dates but firm commitments have not yet been made**.

A talking paper for your Political Slecting in Ehrlichmants office tomorrow is attached.

Is there any follow up necessary from the first three meetings?

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JUNE 6, 1972

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SUBJECT:

June 6, 1972

H. R. HnIDEiwIL-p~^

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Finances

or} Mitchell and stans have continued to work on  
Ye campaign budget. No final decision has been reached  
'b'.lt t'ne figures you reviewed on May 16 serve as the  
current operating budget. The total national budget is  
31,700 . vimmons ' Convention budget is the only national  
expense not included. He hopes to Submit figures to

lvlitchell when he returns from Miami Beach today.

To the 31,700 budget, the state budgets will add  
8,500-9,000. IR^7enty-four of the fifty budgets have been  
approved; ...

V stans has released to the Epress the names of  
stage Finance Chairmen as they are selected. Darius  
Keaton of Pebble Beach, California will direct fundraising  
activities in a seven-state westerh area including Cali-

ifornia. Keaton heads Cha~^ter-Comsanv.

Pursuant to your decision on January 18, 1972,  
Lee Nunn supervised a test mailing of a Price-approved  
letter to a random 5,300 names of the White House Support

List (the 300,000 who have written supporting the President).

The response was \$.37 per letter mailed and was considered  
"a very successful mailing". The average contribution

was \$19 .15 ! yielding a total of \$1, 973.

Secretary stans and Lee Nunn now request use of  
the full list after the Democratic National Committee  
Convention. The copy of the letter will be submitted to  
you for approval after stans clears the letter. To be

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**Political Matters**



JUNE 6, 1972

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pleza e-l - the Jul~~ mailing, Nllnn see~;s per.-.ission to ~ ~  
punch ,lle names. The resulting magnetic t-.-g\_ trill ..Venue to  
be under your complete control.

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T; ,at you authorize Lee Nunn to have the White H.ouse Supsort  
List key punched for a mailing aster the Democratic National r  
Committee Convention subject to you=- approval of the tert

C O r the letter. ra>\As

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approval 7 Disapproval of A ~ Comments

gin 4) Herb Kalmbach returns from Europe June 18.

~ ><The first financial reports to the Comptroller General to comply  
Faith the campaign spending legislation will be released June 10. Stans  
Xfill not have a press conferences but Sihumway will be prepared to  
answer some questions.

John Dean has approved the only report requiring the President's  
signature. Dean has advised Stans and Mitchell about the general campaign  
reports, but Dean has not personally approved them.

Harry Dent

,~~ <Although Dent regularly attends any political meeting to whic'n he  
is invited, discussion With him on May 31 indicates he feels "leLt out'.  
Fe~.f attend his Political Issues Grous meetings. Dent is not  
particularly discouraged because he enjoys the preparation of primary  
result memoranda for the President and the resulting **periodic political  
telephone** conversations smith the President. Nevertheless, Dent has **begun  
"sniping" at decisions because he feels he is not participatina A possible  
solution is for you to discuss Dent's role** with Mitc'nell. (Subject appears  
**at Paragraph 13 in the** Talking Paper attached at Tab A).

rue Off Substantive Dent comments on the political situation are:

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~. ' , , >~ a) Toe suggested aclu-ertising slogan (9resident  
: :5?;F;M~on -- NO~frtore Than Ever) is too sophisticated for the  
~< S amperage fain: --i,r>\_> Ajax I , , o , ~; z~zzi-w. ~ 9>2~/<jc',  
A)Ej-

\_>)T\_McGovern becomes the Democratic nominee, the Tallace people Quill support the  
Presqdent;

**--a Or**

John Rollins is anxiously axfeiting some special t tWt assignment. Dent has asked Mitchell to approve a special  
@7!el fundraisina effort for Governors and Senators we are~<-rter- A\_ \*-S

5\sted in~supporti ~ Ad oh's 4\ ail die. It --,4;g~7  
By it, %

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t~\ sessions With the President have been sent to Parker; and <by

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of \_-rThN genes ))r C en ~-~l: =: ~n ~ As

>aft Dent's requests ~ pi

~ -y\_ A-< LU. *gal* *r* •> vrUparea f ; , - by Hainsxforth for Dent have  
now been completed for 38 states.~f-ç,r

Byn Nofziger

~ <The two recent weekly reports to Governor Reagan continue  
to emphasize Nofziger's problems with Put Livermore and finances  
and organization. Mitchell sent Bob Morgan to California to work  
out the Put Livermore/Compass Systems, Inc., problem which  
curtailed some direct mail efforts during the primary. Morgan  
succeeded and two million pieces were mailed which generated  
30,000 volunteers. Other volunteers were used at ten telephone  
call centers which completed 275,000 calls to Republicans.

2g The California registration drives **are beginning to pr ce**  
results.

Committee-to P.e-Elect the President Projects:

/Fred Malek submitted his first description of his campaign  
activities (attached at Tab B). It emphasizes the weaknesses at  
1701 rather than the strengths. To solve the weakness in the  
business area, Malek will use Cliff white as a consultant

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JUNE 6  
1972

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r ~/-Ad\_ You questioned the size of Tallies Older American budg\_t on .x3.Y17. The b-ldge-t is the same in Tab B of Malek's report but he says that amount is all that can be effectively spent for staff and travel. Older Americans are receiving a very substantial allocation of resources from the other campaign divisions In addition, many a? states will have full time directors reporting to Malek. 6,:qL he is convinced that he has met your objection to lack of <iemphasis on Older Americans. gi>

on June

Malek made several other points in a long discussion 1:

**And ~ olson's projects managers, with the exception** ^73S'>22of Bill Rhatican, are 'terrible in the p.r. area". slalek

#lS working directly with Colson to solve this. Hi

~ The political coordinators are months behind  
- the rest of the campaign

~ eMalek says Mitchell is keeping sat Whim in line. believes there is a conspiracy gn W (composed of Magruder and LaRue -- derogatorily referred Aiiq to as "Magrue'7) out to get him T'ne conspiracy exists but

C2vX hasn't succeeded in ousting A to ~, ~ 2 S ~>\_J

He

/ ~ <~ gh ~ ovmwesfi ~ aims to have only spent 20 minutes on politics during their retreat to Camp David, Malek is convinced they are doing much more politically. If so, Ken Sale pleads ignorance. You may want to discutss the Domestic Council activities with Mitchell. ~v~t:>:\*2;22 >~ zz>~

~>~J Jeb Magruder, but not Fred Malek, appears in the June 5 press release about the campaign organization Mitchell changed his mind about not using titles **for the** campaign staff. ~|>

t23 Jeb Magruder has still not been able to locate the oh attack man for the Democratic Convention, Several candidates PAgo have refused the offer and Magruder may have to rely on tP TV\ Gordon liddy, and a spokesman an Fh>)+;Ad;F

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JUNE 29, 1972

*THE 'WHITE' DUSE*  
SV.XS SS I.S--s r o .>

rob a end were not attached \_o Original  
when it came back \_ran ou\_box.

I wasp 't able to make copies for the original or for sour cog-;.of the two missing  
tabs.

FYI- I made two Xerox copies orf this with Has writing.

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SUBJECT

Finances

June 29, 1972

H. R. HALDE'9L}'{

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POLITICAL SPLATTERS

JUNE 29, 1972

1) Herb Nalmbach has returned from Europe, has avoided

a new 3^000 commitment to stans, and has complained again about Flanigan's treatment of contributors, Jack Mulcahy and John Moore have been trying to meet with Flanigan for six weeks concerning Pan Am in Ireland. According to Xalmbach, Mulcahy iD now angry at ClanigaAnD; pompous attitude toward h, < and the Irish vote. / :~ Z~,-S ,~::~

Leonard Firestone is fairly happy as Finance Chairman 'S.,?'S in California, but wants to be Ambassador to the United Kingdom,

a post also sought by Clem stone;

2) Stans, with Mitchell's approval, has issued str at

guidelines to the state Chairmen regarding fundraising, purchasing materials (campaign supplies), and advertising expenditure control;

3) In spite of stans' pressures Mitchell decided

against 1701 intervention in John Gardner' s Common Cause suit against TRW, Inc., for maintaining a political fund;

4) All of the t ce President, Rockefeller, and Reagan's

fundraising events scheduled from 1701 are cleared with Mitchell and stans personally;

5) Settlement of financial claims resulting from the

Convontion shift from San Diego to Miami Beach is proceeding slowly per stand request. To date the RNC has paid nothing,

and the final settlement should be surprisingly modest;

6) A new contract with Compass Systems, Inc., providing

for an additional \$6,000, bringing the total commitment to \$135,000, was executed in mid-June. A 1701 employee has been Mu\_ in control. Demographic information has been used for

Le12phone center location and direct mail targets.

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Handwritten signature and initials

JUNE 29, 1972

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J.D's Sears submitted an eight page analysis of the Democratic Situation with suggestions for a Strategy Against McGovern (attached at Tab A). Sears argues that McGovern should not be attacked as ultra-liberal because the President is after Democratic voters who still consider "liberal" good. Instead by emphasizing the issues, the differences between the "ends" of the President and McGovern will isolate McGovern. The issue differences would be highlighted by a Question-a-day". McGovern will choose a Vice Presidential candidate from the Senators of California, Illinois, Ohio or New Jersey and then concentrate his campaign in the large states.

John Dean

And,

~1

You read John Dean's June 20 report on Potential Disruptions at the RNC Convention. Dean's report summarized the Intelligence Evaluation Committee report. Both reports have detailed descriptions of the various demonstrations and their leaders. Although Dean's report is bullish ("General agreement has been reached by most interested groups that protest activity should be focused on the Republican Convention, but the mood is very pessimistic as to the probable success"), recent surveys by Mike Duval and Bill Henkel indicate the demonstrators may easily accomplish their goals in Miami Beach.

Duval and Henkel report that:

1) The entire San Diego demonstrator leadership is in Miami Beach. They have purchased office space, walkietalkies, telephones, and the special crystals necessary to monitor Sierra. (Source: USSS Paul Rundell and haul Burms, who did Miami in 1968.) ~ @g>><

2) The fence around the Convention Center is designed to accommodate demonstrators in indentations, but will not withstand 5,000+ demonstrators. When the **fence collapses, the 25 police** will retreat to the Convention Hall which can be held for 15 minutes. The principals under USSS protection will be removed via helicopter from the helipad which, under present plans, will be shielded by an electric fence. Federal troops will arrive via helicopter to restore order. (Source: Rundell, 10~;~] pail ce.) >k

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3) The hardened underground co--ard pos' will use rts --orli feeds to monitor demonstrator activities because she "ma i anal ne-l..3r5-s Rail' ha-v-e better co-  
erase oE the dezaons 6s-atocs than any closed circuit system" teat could be establis'aed. (Source: USSS Paul Burns.)

Rve:l if the USSS and local police are exaggerating, there is basic, unsound demonstrator control planning forlwl-i Beach, Decln is to perform only an information rote with  
Kleindienst having the primary responsibility. The Talking Paper for John-74itc'nell at Tab B covers this subject.

Lyn Nofziger

He has not submitted Weekly report to Reagan since May 29. During a discussion with him on June 29, he mentioned the following:

1) As confused as I am, California is much better organized than any other major state (IXlalek confirms this);

2) stans has limited Nofziger to \$2M exclusive of advertising, direct mail, and telephones. Nofziger wants Reagan to appeal to Mitchell;

3) He regrets his four region organization set-up. Dalze Packard, in charge of the Bay Area, cuts his own deals with Stans, and so is beyond Nofziger's control. Bill  
13anowski, the President of Pepperdine and in charge of Los Angeles, is too personally ambitious for Mofziger. McCandless, the Chairlaan of the Board or' Supervisors of Riverside County is  
good, as is Tracy Assemblyman Monagan, according to Nofziger;

4) Finch and Firestone bother Nofziger because they are always "bitching re appearances and money'.

5) Nofziger believes it's a mistake for Reaga,n to spend three weeks in Europe; he should be doing fundraising events and speaking in Middle  
America;

6) While the President is in California, he should remain low key with the appearance of a working vacation. Cabinet Yes icers should be su;unoned and  
then do radio and TSI

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**in California,**

JUNE 29, 1972

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7) No. - ziger Z2S no. invited to Taft Sc'nreiber's celebrities event because of long-standing personal animosity.

Charlie S->lc^hor.er

He attended the National Governors' Conference in Houston. The Governors believe the "President has developed a strong record of leadership and will be difficult for any Democrat to defeat". Governor Lucey of Wisconsin told McKInorter that i-icGovern's organization was quite flexible as indicated by the quick decision to attend the Governors' Conference. However, several Governors reported that the McGovern organization will have a shake-up after the Democratic Convention to include more of the standard Democratic leaders.

McWhorte-r suggests encouraging Jnm Kolstad, who is considered a fairly good political man, for the vice President.

Committee for the Re-Election of the President

Jeb. r4agruder's Projects:

1) Time will do a cover story on Celebrities in the

near future. Magruder has been trying to get Time to assure equal treatment for Clint Eastwood, John Wayne and Chad Everett.

McGovern's featured three will probably be Shirley MacLaine.

Julie Christie, and Warren Beatty.

fr4tst(y./ 2) Al Gatalucci (Rizzo's former campaign manager) will A

,%t.w M,fte Executive Director of Democrats for the President if Rizzo y }  
S 4s C D roves. Gatalucci will check Rizzo.g - a.; > , - C

3) The Direct Mail effort will be re-structured with Sam Wiley centralizing the software. The reformation will raise the campaign expense for direct mail from 4,500 to 5,500 . In the eleven key states all Republicans will receive three mailings while Independents will receive tNFO mailings.

4) According to Magruder there shrill be no counter activities against the Democratic fundraising telethon. The reason is that the moneV goes to 196S debtors instead of the 1972 campaign. Also, 1701 is reluctant to get caught.

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5) r,~i,htitchehllzs azoroval,Xagrunder leaked the  
c?,-aigX slogan -- 'resid-ne Nixon -t8T0.1rSiDre T--Gn Ever" --

to Kevin

tervi Dent he was not impress,e,d with she slogart. ,JI

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w) Additional office sgRe for 1701 staff 2nd 4 national

sFore-front grossed floor campaign headquarters has been rented

at 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue.

7) The original Frank Dale cofrsTrittee will be expanded  
by 50-100 geographically dispersed leaders, including Billy  
(Graham, Floyd nlcKissick, and Lee Trevino. rshe expansion will  
vC!occur after the Democratic Convention when the Democrats for  
8w/,W,Ln't! the President will be asserrbled// - efr o -\_A

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\_wt story in Life in addition to the campaign story, as you  
g~le reque+~~dJzn\_Juna 22. ~ ~ ~ ~ :7 apt

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-2p)wo The l2ive 1I Campaign Polling trial heat results  
shoulg be available on July 6, when Teeter is scheduled to meet  
Mitchell. Teeter may have the results on July 5. Receiving  
materials for the results b- telephone will be in California  
should the results be available early. Otherwise the results  
will be dexed to you o; July 5. In addition **to the trial** heat  
results, Teeter will have the first monthly report on the urban  
ethnics and upper-intome white suburbanites **that** he has been  
developing with Art Finkelstein. Teeter submitted a memorandum  
to Bçlitchell on the Spanishkmerican voter bloc. Your copy is  
attached at Tab C.

AGE) The State Chairmen or Executive Directors will be  
brought to Washington beginning July 6 for planning and  
development of the State Victory Plans. Hopefully, Malek will  
have reviewed the Field Organization materials with Mitchell  
before this series of meetings begin.

11) Mitchell sent a revised version of the Rick **Fore**  
**analysis of** the McGovern campaign to the Nixon state, county,  
**and precinct workers with** a tough cover memorandum.

1-2) Cliff Miller is Chairman of the Campaign Strategic  
Grouo. On June 27 the group reviewed the McGovern biography and  
spots that you saw on June 29. The analysis by the ctgroup is at Tab  
D.

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! -- **REBELLED NIXON - NOW MORE THAN**  
**last week as a trial balloon**



JUNE 29, 1972

13). <5i.che11 did nDt attend \_he w3ek1y political messing, but Mardtian, !agr.lde--. iXarik, --  
lill2r, anti LaPtue .1b'd the meeting to discuss tee Del>43cratic con-veEition scheduling of activities around that convention. Ed Tailor, who has bean hired to handle all negative  
aspects 0-- ~w173 campaign against ~<tcC-overn, has the responsibility for implementing 1701 activities during the Democratic convention. His Memorandum for Mitchell is at  
Tab E. I've basic system is a truth squad and DemocraF:c monitoring system run by Mitchell, Magruder and Failor from Washington.

The political group reviewed the theory of such an operation in light of the Watergate Caper but decided to go ahead. Buchanan and  
Khachigian, who were not at 'ne meeting, have submitted a dissenting view (attached at Tan F).

1701 also has prepared a surrogate speaking schedule through July 14, to be used to distribute the lines developed by Mitchell, Magruder and  
Failer arolund the country .

A copy of Robert Strauss' letter of invitation to t'ne '72 Sponsors Club and the sur[un]arized schedule is attached at Tab G.

Fred 7sl2lek's Projects

1) Fred Malek has submitted his 1701 Field Organization  
plan to you and Higby. He has not covered the subject with  
,7;titchell. Dent today emphasized the importance of completely  
re-vamping. Where Malek told him was in charge of  
theiVestern states as well as the South, Dent said "Lord  
help, " is "a damn disaster" .

2) A Black Vote Field Operation is being organized  
under Malek's top blacks, Ed Sexton and Paul Jones. The plan  
organi z ation .  
that advocated by Dent and Jones -- money and

3) Through hard, last minute work, Malek built the Bob Brown/Paul Jones'Blacks for President Nixon' dinner into a very successful event.

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4) Malek submitted a memorandum on June 15 describing his vision of the Older American's Program. He is now convinced he has met the objectives you raised concerning his emphasis and budget for Older Americans. Eden Todd, Executive Director of the Older Voters for the President, receives praise from most who work with him.

5) Malek manages his voting bloc directors by constant pressure and short memoranda. Copies are not forwarded to you.

Political matters Pending

1) John Ehrlichman submitted two large binders summarizing the issues on June 2. As the status Report indicates, Mr. Ehrlichman has not submitted the Action Plans for Key Issues that the President requested April 9. You might want to refer this to Mr. Ehrlichman.

2) On June 12, you noted on an Action Paper and Presidential memorandum that suggested a two-day strategy session "I'll handle". You may want to reconsider the establishment of a larger advisory group or planning session. The next meeting of Ehrlichman's political group is scheduled for July 20.

3) The Memoranda for the Presidents file for your meetings with the President and Mitchell on April 4 and April 12 remain overdue. Similarly, the memorandum for your meeting with the President and Bryce Harlow on January 19 is overdue.

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JULY 29 1972

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Political Matters

1< Xalzbach continues to work for Stans though he has **not increased his commitment** from 10,000 (9,200 "in the arn") to 13,000.

2) K-almbach has contacted and will arrange far <meeting with Connally. connections will >-be checked by Ehrlichman before the Connally meeting.

3) Ral~bach advises against hitting with his aS <promises, no delivery background before November 7. InStead, he suggests a mild freeze be placed on returning Jkas phone calls and that Stans schedule one last meeting with . \_ x

0) **In lisnt of Hugh** Sloan's departure, I have not establLshed a new, totally responsive contact Tmlithin the Finance Committee. -Stans is reportedly (Magruder and Nunn) very nervous about anyone outside his immediate staff - knor~ving anything, If we need anything within the Finance Committee, such as the list ox top contributors Stans refused to give Colson, I can obtain it through Kalzbac'n, with only slight delays 2~ >y

Bill Simmons

Before the July 25 meeting in your office on the Convention Tarpons submitted a memorandum on the possible rules disputdevetoping at the Convention. You reviewed the memorandum an-1 briefly mentioned to Timmons that a larger group should work on this quesLion and that you only wanted to be an obi2rver. Lto decision was reached at the meeting as to Who so owed Eoll O-1-Up. Tir.nm.ons and riacG.regor have Charlie

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52.'you ,0 discuss Tir.mons' narrow v 2:Z of the reform I  
ola c Porter you would rot become involved and therefore  
would no see him. He accepted that explanation.

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,4L chat Tlzmons be designated as the marl respons~bloz-;>r >< q&te  
f<9 chairing the group to review the reFojrms. < z ? 6<j A . Aid

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fen Garment

1) He read the van der Linden book, Wixon's Quest  
for  
in. Deaceo and suggested that pictures be added. The 5^  
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+ zV9Ut~~firaf issue will not have ~;rellroc hale  
nil ~^^^;e;<n 1

Zsues will. Ollie Atkins knows van der Linden and is  
orking with him. \*8~gL4 gXX ~^C2; >g fig>> Am ~ 7' >S\

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2) He has stepped in to fill a void in Malek and 04agruder's  
operation in developing a group of Intellectuals for the  
Presidents Garment is satisfied with his progress so far.  
garment is working closely with the Rinfret economists group  
which will have its first meeting with MacGregor on July 31.

Murray Chotiner

Chotiner has requested and you have approved a meeting  
with him in the near future. One subject he will raise is the  
plan he and Harlow have developed to, counter McGovern's  
attacks on the 10,000 collected by Stans before April i  
Nothing has been subm < d in writing. Basically, the plan  
involves newspaperZa,ds Fi-gned by the Committee for the  
Reelection of thZeX /~eiiWent asking the contributors to  
disclose their Vamtz a4DYamounts voluntarily. Even if the  
contributors din'tXdisclose, Chotiner believes the  
pressure will be takenvoff the President.

Rose Mary

Woods

She sent you a memorandum saying that is concerned \$'t t  
McGovern will promise everyone something and therefore  
triumph as Hitler did in 1930. The information has been given  
to Fred Malek,

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cutting tn2 advertising to 6,20G. iar--uder and Vale' ar-  
nsws re--,70rking a budge, for 1701 thicn will permit ir. reases  
for field operations Without curtailing advertising eipendi-  
tures. Star.s is expected to resist strongly the net increased  
budget;

b. The next presentation of advertising materials for  
your review will be "around" August 14. At that time Dailey  
and,Wis November Group quill have several "finished" nev,zs-  
pa,&er, radwo, and TV ads and commercials. In addition, they  
>-sill present their "media plan" based on several possible  
budget decisions. I curently have a copy of their draft media  
plan which appiaas to have received substantial effort;

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c. Dailey believes the McGgvren decision on Eagleton  
will permit him to develop several positive ads emphasizing  
the President's careful, diligent background work on facts.  
The contrast would be McGovern who did not check his facts }  
on welfare, defense, or Eagleton; 2

d. Magruder is experiencing some "stagfi @ arDo s" Hi \_>v  
fruity Dailey and the November Group. Magruder says this is  
attributable to Dailey's tendency to keep decisions and  
Information close to him rather than advising his staff.  
Magruder and Dailey believe they can resolve the problems;

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e. Chapin will have "rough versions" of the three  
documentaries for your review Tuesday, August 1, In addition  
to Chapin, Moore, and Carruthers, others present would be  
David Wolper, and Peter Dailey and Bill Taylor from the  
November C-roup. With the 15 and 30 minute versions and  
discussion, Chapin estimates that you may need 3 hours to  
complete this project. On Tuesday, the President is meeting  
with Irish Teachers at 3 p.m. and the Congressional  
Photograph Group at 5 p.m. The viewing would be in the  
Roosevelt Room. g Ad Hi\_ .>; /WS ~

Sch ule Tuesday, August 1 at 2 p.m., in  
the Roosevelt Room.

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-) Sur-oc..'es

Jolan rXhitarer has reviewed the July 2L' Su-rosnt2 Attack 2'~>n prepared by Dart Porter end Curt Serge at 1701. I, hitake~ has aggroved an-i as indicated in ,l~ - ,,terorandum to you of rune 24, believes theaT have done a "thorough", excellent job. The basic dispute between 17G1 (Po.ter/TJerge) and Colson's oEric (pat O'Donnell) remains unresolved though a modus v-'-;en-l has developed.

The mos.~~recent ruanifesta,lon of conflict <over who controls the "political line" to be given to tine surrogates. Colson has told Magruder there **will be a planning meeting Weekly** but that decisions on the "linen will come from Colson. This problem may become exacerbated because with §\7hitaker on vacation until Augu-rd 10 t **little arbit~<ation will occur.** <Ha ~~~~~ //

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3) bt-fc~t flail ~d2Sb? z Z <

a. 1701 has substantially revised the **organizational** arrangement for the direct mail program. At an'increased cost of 1,000 the primary responsibility for computer soft¢7are and data base has been shifted Lo University Computing Company (Sam Slyly).

b. The political strategy has also been changed in R light of McGovern's nomination. Previous plans had been if qX to mail only to Republicans, Democrats and Independents rod a-^i who support the President. Now a much broader based mailing - <go to ethnic Democrats, who may be disenchanted with McGovern, Rg~z v will be conducted. Materials are being prepared nones for -H ;2~ a massive series o~ mailings in September. Samples will be  
i submitted for your  
review.

c. Maury Stans has not used the 300,000 white House **Support List for a fundraising letter.** Magruder requests **authority to send a direct mail appeal to them to volunteer to work for the President.** Subject to the same

conditions you imposed -- that is, your express approval of the  
Lo:.. of the letter and absolute security over the source of t;>> .  
-5 names -- I recommend that Magruder receive authority to go)  
recruit volunteers from the White Spouse Support List;

US.

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d. '2fagrud~r was been i-nfo-r~;ed there Quill be no  
Ki--e\_t mail letter over tine .~resident's signature durirs  
the campaign..

t) Youth

Ren Rietz, through MacGregor, has submitted the memorancI^  
-Im on Youth Registrations a copy of which is attached, in response  
to your July 25 memorandum. Rietz points out that the target  
locations for the Young Voters for the President registration effort  
produces 202 who support tne  
President but are not registered. The young voters public relations  
effort will emphasize the President's support among the -total  
youth vote as distinguished from McGovern's college student  
elite.

5) Legal

a. Glenn Sedam, as the Counsel for 1701, reports to  
tSlacGreg~r through Magruder. Sedam has established a  
Task'Force of lanfiryers and accountants to monitor McGovern's  
compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Act. One team  
'will monitor the national filings and another Tvill check the >'  
state filings; ~

b. Sedan also works with Dean and Colson on the  
New, -<ork Times ad by the National Committee for the Impeac'n-  
ment of the President. You have received reports-from Dean,  
<eat should know that' most of the staff work is done by Sedan;

.-~c. Sedam directs Fred Scribner, as Counsel to the RMC,  
i~z't'ne handling of the Common Cause suit against TRW, Inc. f Afar  
illegal contributions;

d. Sedates study ox the college student voter  
registratioS requirements indicates that students  
may legallv vote it their campus communities in California,  
Michigan, Pen Hylvania, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana,  
Massac>tsetts, and Washington. The trend of the cases in  
other  
2tates is toward liberalized voting requirements for college  
students;

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uost~/',or ini r'mationizv various federal

agencies, such as the CRB request for air transportation information, are handled by Sedan.

Magruder continues to schedule MacGregor into the Campaign Strategy Meetings. The most recent, July 26, *sess* attended by MacGregor, Magruder, Malek, Dailey, Teeter, Miller, and LaRue. Teeter gave his general Wave II briefing. The main subject of discussion was whether campaign resources Should be re-allocated in light of the conclusion that blcGovern must move into the Farm and Rocky Mountain states. This conclusion is based on the fact that the total of states leaning to McGovern (Massachusetts, Minnesota, Washington, Rhode Island, Hawaii, and D.C. -- t4 electoral votes) plus the uncertain states (Ne,fi7 York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, molest Virginia, Maine, California, and New Jersey -- 161 electoral votes) total only 205. To this McGovern must try to add Missouri, Wisconsin, Oregon, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Alaska -- 39 electoral votes. He still needs 26 which he probably will try to take from Nevada, Indiana, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Kansas (this group totals 38). This analysis assumes the 147 electoral votes from the South and Border states is irrevocably solid for the President. Magruder argued that additional local advertising and direct mail should be employed. Malek disagreed because the voters in the Farm-and,Rocky Mountain states already share the President's values. Instead, resources should be allocated to develop the organizational strength to defeat McGovern. MacGregor left the meeting to take a call from the President and a second call from you. No decision was reached.

7) Clark MacGregor

a. Malek and Magruder are having problems obtaining decisions from MacGregor. The paper flow and management of his office is very poor. To correct the problem, Bob Reisner, Magruder's aide for the last year, and Gene Roberts, rMaaruderts secretary, will be moved in to MacGregor's office on July 31. Ifaatever the procedural details, P;lalek and Magruder are making many decisions that would normally go to a higher political authority;

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JULY 29, 1972

6) Strategy

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Malek; and Magruder have a variety of reasons for making these comments. nevertheless, in the Ehrlichman political meetings and your discussions with Mitchell, you may want to see; an independent assessment of Malek's performance,

2) Although Malek would be the Number Two man in the Convention Committee, and Posner, he and Magruder have asked MacGregor to take John Mitchell's 1968 command post spot during the two critical Convention times -- Tuesday afternoon when committee reports are adopted and Tuesday evening // when the roll of the States for the nomination of the President will occur. The rest of the time MacGregor will be on the Floor for interviews and Fred LaRue will be in control and will occupy Dick Kleindienst's 1968 spot, as **Number Two in the Command Post;**

3) Malek will travel to California on July 30. I have reviewed orally with him the points in your July 25 Political Action Memorandum in California. Malek will meet with Gordon Luce, Lyn Nofziger, and hopefully, the Governor personally.

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4) Malek's survey of the House Delegates to the convention will add credence to the concern that there is a <sup>1097</sup> percentage of youth and minorities at the Convention. Final percentages are not yet available. MacGregor, Timmons, and Malek are trying to increase the percentages but the realistic expectation is that the failure to have "balanced" selection of delegates is the result of Harry-Flemming's authority and unresponsiveness.

Domestic Council -- Platform

According to Ken Cole, the Platform drafting is

**proceeding**

**under Ehrlichman's personal direction. Questions are being**

**resolved by Ehrlichman directly with the President. On**

**July 28, Ehrlichman cleared the list of those who are to testify at the Platform Hearings with the President.**

The Hearings begin August 13. Scali expects substantial TV coverage. Scali, Clawson, Rhodes, and Timmons comprise Ehrlichman's task Force on the news presentation of the Hearings

(133)

[REDACTED]

JULY 29, 1972

- 10 -

I advised Lyon Cole on July 26 that he, Ehrlichman, and Gardner could be briefed by Bob Teeter on the issue information from the 1972 campaign. On July 26, Cole confirmed that the three had not been able to set a time for Teeter. On July 28, Tod Gullin said he would try to schedule Ehrlichman with Teeter some time this

week. You may want to mention the availability of the Rs in polling information directly to Mr. Ehrlichman as he may want to consider the information as he completes the Platform drafting.

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AUGUST 11, 1972

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FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Finances

A~~gt,t 11, 1972

H. R. HALDE'~!AN

GORDON STRACF--.N T

Political Slatters

t3 Kalzbach met with John Connally and will help / him raise 1!000, thereby raising Kalmbach's quota to Fir 11,000. Tom Watson will help Kalzbach. It

- t} Kalmbaeh hand delivered the Tom Jones, President of Northrop, letter to me on August 9. The request for t'ne President to address the Los angeles World Affairs Council has been sent to Parkers A response for your signature is attached at Tab A.

R2commendatio

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That Kalmbach's request that Jones stay on the Times-  
¢ 9 Mirror Board of Trustees through November 7 not be changed g by  
Haldeman. J w ~ ~ >@

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S) {almbach reports ghat the "mysterious Mr. Inch " -by has asked to see him this weekend in California. Kalmbach~t expects the subject to be money but will decline any ~ te<,uest for assistance.

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4) MacGregor's budget decision memorandum attached at Tab B. No decision had been reached by MacGregor by August 11. A full budget committee meeting will probably be held next week. You may want to review the entire memorandum and discuss it with the Ehrlichman Political Group. The basic dispute concerns a cut in the advertising budget to increase the field operation and still stay within the Stans imposed 40,000 overall limit on the campaign. In addition to field expenses, Magruder and Malek cite several campaign areas where costs have exceeded budget projections. The most substantial items are direct mail (1,000); surrogate advance office (500); and voter bloc advertising (200). Magruder and Malek have included a 90 increase attributable to you (polling/ORC-40 and Chrpin/Walker "Presidential appearance fund" - 50) to bolster their argument to MacGregor.

Spending legislation permits 14,000 in media expenditures, the original budget provided for 12,100, and if the Campaign budget stays at 40,000, the advertising budget would be 6,200.

On a related budget matter, MacGregor has agreed 'w' to permit modest (300) joint advertising by local committees so that local Republican candidates can use the President's name in their advertisements. This authorization is required by the campaign spending legislation.

Advertising gets cut the most. The campaign

Len Garment

You have a copy of the Len Garment/Paul Weaver proposal to recruit 25-30 top Democratic intellectuals with national reputations. These intellectuals would run ads in The New York Times and Washington Post to explain their disagreements with McGovern. The cost would be 25,000 and the decision is pending with MacGregor. 1701 also has a Citizens organization that focuses on the second level types, i.e. teachers and professors without national reputations.

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AUGUST 11 1972

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1) The John Rollins/Tom Evans Lundraising project for Senators, Governors, and Congressmen has been dropped,

2) The undated Dent analyses of Kansas and Iowa indicate the President retains his strength and should carry both states in the election. Dent's analysis of Missouri indicates the president should carry the state by an appreciable margin in light of the Eagleton affair. In Hawaii, the President is getting stronger though Dent does not yet predict a victory (copies of the analyses are attached at Tab C).

### Tom Benham

ORC prepares an electoral vote projection system on their computer each election. The system Benham will establish (at no cost) for 1972 is described in the memorandum attached at Tab D. Basically, the system relies on all available polling data (which I help him obtain), past voting behavior, and Benham's "judgment".

### Bob Ellsworth

You talked with Taft Schreiber about the importance of having a full-time organizational and fundraising man in any the New York City area. You asked me to check who was working with Bob Ellsworth from 1701. Magruder had met Ellsworth and obtained the memorandum attached at Tab A. A check with Magruder on August 10 indicated that Ellsworth is not being as active politically as Olson had been led to believe. Second, there is no fundraising occurring. Ellsworth never planned on doing it, and Stans has specifically directed that no one besides the two he has assigned to New York are to raise money. You will recall that Schreiber characterized Stans' two as very lazy and incapable of raising 1,000 out of a 10,000 potential. If Schreiber's suggestion of using Gus Levy to raise funds in New York is to be implemented, you will probably see the attached Washington Post article asking paper is attached a ~

AUGUST 11,  
1972

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3Xatrwder *psEt 5.fiah* John Connally=wr for 2 1/2 hours with Peter Dailey and *30'D* Morgan on August 8 and-9. They reviewed the Democrats [-or Nixon ads that grill appear next Wednesday, August 16. Magruder and Dailey have Abeen advised that you slant to see the advertisements Xbefore they are submitted to Connally so that you are inot in the position of reviewing materials already approved by Connally.

There will *De* a direct mailing on Monday, August 14 if I the text is approved by Connally. According to M.agruder, Connally become somewhat upset when a "hassle over the budget" for Democrats for Nixon developed with Stans. Connally called Magruder and demanded a memorandum in writing from Stans\_s,tating,\_that,1701 would pay for the / mailing in the approximate amount of 1,000. The sum is large and to be negotiated but is not an increase in the campaign budget. Rather, the mailing will be part of tne revised mailing plan to ethnic Democrats. Magruder obtained' the memorandum, and Connally asked tha~t Magruder be his prime contact at 1701. *god ~*

As Attic<+ ~ t

Committee for t'ne Re-Rlection of the Presi *dent*

Jeb Magruder's Projects

It Advertising

(a) Peter Dailey requests an opportunity to present the bulk of the "finished" newspaper, radio, and TV ads and commercials for'the campaign. This presentation ~P/~would also cover the November Groups "media plan" based *f yE* on several possible budget decisions. Dailey will undoubtedly V' Bask for your help in increasing the advertising budget within the campaign. The entire presentation would take two hours, / with Peter Dailey, Phil Joanou, and Bill Taylor. On Tuesday, ' August 15 the Presid\$nt is tentatively scheduled to meet with the CIEP at *A 4\yX* a.m. for 45 minutes and other miscellaneous appoint ~ szuntil 12:30 p.m. The presentation would be given in youfi office or in the Roosevelt Room.



**Recommendatio**

**n:**

,2~ { ScaLi-dule Tuesday, August 15 at 11.15 a.m in:

HaldemanIs Office

Re-schedule

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lb) Before you see the presentation, Stapin recommends a preview with comments by himself Buchanan, filavr-, 59arment, zrice, and tent. ~ .MWT a7urmus, wants to attend but was not suggested by Chapin. The preview would be Monday night, August 14.

g ? 4 Recommendation:

\$I~ t preview with suasested lice

' Aid

Approve ~ L

Disapprove

Other

(c) You indicated after the last Dailey meeting on June 2 that you only wanted to have the advertising materials presented to the Ehrlichman Political Group just before everything became final to prevent against any overlooked mistake. Dailey's Finished" advertising presentation is probably what you want Ehrlichman's Political Crou ~ ee. A ~ ~ ~ X

Z As ~ Sched4te Daile-v's advertlsi \* presentation for v % REV (/ f  
Ehrlichman's Political Group, Thursday, August 17.

%> Anal Ehrlichman's Political Group need not sea eha

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Other.

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AUGUST 11, 1972

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Roosevelt Room

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10/11/72*

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*11/17/72*

AUGUST 11, 1972

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## 2, Youth

inks'

On August 8 MacGregor signed off on two Rietz reports to the President on the Young Voters Campaign and Convention Program. They are attached at Tab G and have not been resubmitted to Kehrli for the President because of the one hour meeting of Rietz group with the President on August 4. According to Rietz, many of the subjects were covered personally with the President. 4 @ - ~ J

## 3) Strategy

Bob Marik, who heads the research and planning division at 1701, has prepared three documents outlining the campaign strategy on a priority state basis. Marik was recruited by Staiek 18 months ago and has been involved in all the major planning and decisions at 1701.

You are familiar with the Key State determinations, the resource allocations, and Malek's field organization. In spite of their length, they are attached for your review because they will be implemented by Magruder and Malek unless you object. If you do not want to review all three, I strongly recommend you read the five page Summary of Overall Campaign Strategy". All of this material is attached at Tab H.

## 4) Clark MacGregor g+ ~ X a

~ r, Magruder's aide for the last year, >dh ~ t>7is ~ managing MacGregor's office and discovering "lost" y§532 memoranda. I reviewed with him all pending items and a ; ~ report to you has been submitted.

An'

(b) On August 1, MacGregor informed Malek, Magruder, Shumway, and Abrams that "no one but I (MacGregor) will talk to any hostile reporter or any reporter from a historically hostile newspaper or magazine". However, MacGregor directed the four to "do all that is reasonably possible to give background ~ reporters". This directive \g \_> ::S~~D n extended to Bob Teeter wh ~ be interviewed by a ,< E~- - L'fe reporter in the near future. J

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## ST 11

### 1972

#### 5) Executive Activities

a) Ed Failor has submitted a proposal to IwlaGregor establishing a Truth Squad for the campaign Participants are not suggested, but in light of the President's interest in Truth Squads you may want to review the proposal attached at Tab I. Ayt:HS

(b) You have asked Higby to obtain better (i.e. non-public) intelligence on McGovern's schedule. Higby has asked Magruder to have any derogatory information on Shriver in Chicago uncovered. The question is what level of pursuit you want placed on these projects. Ed Failor, who developed the eventually cancelled plans for the Democratic Convention and Telethon problems, has investigator and reporter contacts, who can obtain information reliably and legally, for reasonable amounts of money. The question is whether this avenue should be pursued. If so, the details should be covered orally.

#### Recommendation

> project.

, over Discuss with Strachan.

#### Fred Malek's Projects

-lo Malek travelled with MacGregor to California this week.

2) Bill Clements has been designated as the new Texas co-Chairman of the President's reselection. C1 is President and Chief Executive Officer and is chairman of the Board of Regents of Southern Methodist University.

3)

Al Haig called Reagan during the meeting to say that the review of Reagan's trip abroad with the President had been tentatively scheduled for August 18. After a brief review of the trip, Reagan will

want to discuss the CDXI ifoania political situation. He admits the problems in Orange and San Diego counties but is not as discouraged as Malek and Zlatogor.

g t4) Malek reports that John Mitchell checked the Summary story about the New York Conservative Party Problem.s and there is no problem there.

5) Malek remains undeterred by your comments of his dispute with Colson over the advisability of registering military voters. Malek adamantly claims he is right.

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AUGUST 11, 1972

SEPTEMBER 18 19 72

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H. R. HALDE~EN

GORDON STRACH~KS 3

Political Matters

The Budget Committee (MacGregor, Stans, Evans, Magruder, Malek, Odlez LaRue, Barrickl and Reisner) met September 6 and 14 to review campaign expenditures. Stans' analysis was rather pessimistic, noting several of the expenditures exceeded budget allocations. The group decided to establish a hiring freeze at 1701, with a total of 422, of which approximately 40t are professional and 60% are support.

Stans noted that receipts were not coming in as quickly as expected. He attributed this to the substantial amount oLtime he has had to spend on the Watergate Caper. Stans said he could not personally contact\_all the people who have committed but not delivered Only Kalmbach could help him out successfully MacGregor talked with Kalmbach, who is beginning to help more, according to Tom Evans.

MacGregor will try to increase the states' contributions by use of a Stans prepared quota chart. The states that are a real problem are Ohio where Spence Shore, the State Republican Finance Chairman, has incurred Stans' vengeful wrat'n; Indiana - where nothing has been raised; and Pennsvlvania - which had been bogged down by initial organizational problems.

The advertising budget remains the main point of contention between Stans and the rest of 1701. Stans approved the minimal budget of 3,406, indicating he might eventually approve 6,300. Dailey had requested 11,200.

The summary of the campaign budget is at Tab As

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1) The State Republican and Nixon organization are on "cloud 119" as a result of the briefings and Presidential request. They will need no more "a tension" before November, according to Dent,

2) The RSC is "in better shape today" than it has been in a long time. Tom Evans and Barry Mountain have established tight financial controls. The RSC does a substantial amount of high quality research and back-up work for 1701, according to Dent. Dent admits Tom Evans still has ego problems, but he is basically doing a good managerial job.

3) While talking with the President, Dent raised the question of audio and visual endorsements by the President for local candidates. According to Dent, the President indicated he would consider these in the last three weeks of the campaign. Dent believes the President's coattails will not be that helpful in Senate and House races. He urges a careful use of money in the races selected in his September 5 memorandum, which you reviewed and said "hold".

4) Dent recommends we do "something" with Stans. He believes the latest disclosures damage Stans beyond repair as a fundraiser. To pick up the slack in fundraising, Dent again urges use of Lee Nunn and John Rollins, who has left for Europe to sit out the election because he has been given no assignment. Stans' wife is ill and could be used as an excuse for his departure.

-5) The Brad Hainsworth analyses of Nevada, Georgia, Wyoming, and Oklahoma indicate the President will carry all four states handily.

John Connally

Magruder continues to be Connally's prime staff contact at 1701. He reviews advertising, direct mail, and general matters with Connally about twice a week. On September 14 he reviewed the DFN spots and Connally 5-minute tapes. Magruder says his relationship with Connally is excellent. Magruder mainly tries to keep Stans away from him and works with Leonard Marx on financial details.

However, as indicated by the confusion surrounding the Connally 5-minute spot and the Mutual Broadcasting radio response, you should talk to Magruder about Connally and the best way to handle staffing matters. To facilitate



SEPTEMBER 18, 1972

follow-up it would be helpful if I were to make a call. A talking paper is attached, Tan B.

Murray

Chotiner

1) His primary responsibility in the campaign continues to be ballot security (protection against vote fraud). He works with his gull and parttime field men independently and does not report to MacGregor through Malek or Magruder. Malek says that the problem areas are budgets, Texas, Indiana, and Illinois. The subject will not become critical for another three weeks according to Malek. At that time Malek expects Chotiner to be cooperative and responsive,

2) Chotiner is occasionally quite critical of 1701 activities. Most recently he lectured me on the poor messenger service when he wanted to deliver Chapman's Friend reports. Rob Odle, who is in charge of administration at 1701, has directed the staff to provide priority treatment to Chotiner.

3) Chotiner sends periodic suggestions for attack, which I usually raise in the Colson 9:15 attack meeting without indicating the source of the suggestion.

4) Chotiner has heard that certain Senatorial candidates are saying that the Administration is not concerned with their elections. They are complaining that money is not being sent to their campaigns, I did not tell Chotiner of the current project recommending assistance to certain Senate campaigns.

Tom Evans

He believes the briefings and reception last week had a very positive effect on the RNC. He said the DFN TV commercials were particularly well received. The briefings by Haig and Ehrlichman were "terrific". He is also now quite pleased with Malek's activities in bridging the RNC 1701 breach.

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is elaborately described in Patrick's memo. Attached is a copy of the memo, which is attached at Tab C. To summarize, Garment has 12-20 live intellectuals and academic advisors. The few who will be 40-50. The purpose is to achieve press coverage similar to the Carter article and release documents showing support for the President. There is no ambitious plan to get "hundreds of academics for the President because there is no money in Chucks

Citizen budgets and Icecaps Garment, doesn't believe a large organization would be very productive. The 40-50 prominent academics will sponsor a newspaper ad in mid-October which fits within the \$170,000 advertising budget.

In addition, the group is seeking a closer relationship with the Administration both personally and politically in anticipation of being more helpful during the Second Nixon Administration.

Committee for the Re-Election of the President

Jeb Magruder's Projects

1) Advertising - Clark Magruder sent the formal letters to the Nixon State Chairmen authorizing local candidate use of 300 of the President's media expenditure permitted by the campaign spending legislation. Because of the probable decrease in the President's expected media expenditures, the question on whether the local candidates should be authorized more is being discussed within 1701 of the candidates for the Senate will undoubtedly seek additional "joint advertising" in order to be more closely identified with the President. Currently, the "media certificates" are sent to the Nixon State Chairmen. Malek has been advised that it

may become necessary to authorize Senate candidates directly. Dailey is prepared to work with the Senate candidates' media advisers, MacGregor will meet Friday, September 22 to review the Senate and House races with Timmons, Anderson, Dents Teeter, and Plemming.

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The Professors for the Re-Election of the President project  
ck. Shaarer's

Toe Vice <sup>President</sup> has neither been Briefed on the advertising strategy by Dailey nor reviewed all the materials, Dailey mentioned that in his meeting Friday with the President and Lou that the subject of the Vice president and advertising was raised. The question is Whether Dailey should note review the advertising with the President

; Yes, Swice President see ads. X4 -

\_ No, Vice President see ads later.

2) Direct flail

(a) The 5,000 budget has been reduced 10%. The reduction will be implemented by sending 500,000 of the 3,200,000 mailing to Democrats in California out through unions which want to urge their membership to vote for Nixon. Also, the planned mailing to 560,000 high and middle income voters in Cook County has been dropped in favor of an expanded mailing in Michigan.

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tb) MacGregor decided that in spite of your 5 e reservations, Senator Percy should sign some of the 1701 ~g;< mailings in Illinois. In exchange, MacGregor has sent 2 < letter to 1,200 Illinois County officials supporting Percy. , ~-f--i

9t (c) 1701 will send-a letter to all Republicans '! in California and New Jersey shortly after October 1.

a\_ Governor Reagan will sign the California letter, but god~ r< as '^\*9 Senator Case and Governor Cahill wn11 not sign the New a ~ < b Jersey letter. MacGregor will-sig ~ he 7 ew Jersey letters >l s Add A Contributions are solicited in both letters.

~ (d) Max Fisher has convinced MacGregor to send letters to the Jewish communities in Cook County, Illinois; California; New Jersey; and Pennsylvania under the pseudonym Concerned Citizens for the Re-Election of the President". Funds are solicited and a variety of signatures will be used, They will be mailed after October 1,

(e) Jen0 Paulucci is sending 6,000 very strong personal letters to the food industry pointing out McGovern's inconsistencies, After October 1- 25,000 DFN letters will be sent by Paulucci, ~

3) LeJal

(a) Glenn Sedam has updated the analysis of the Presidential ballot in each state. The state by state summary is at ml ad D. Schmitz is not on the ballot in D,C,, Hawaii, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, South Dakota, and West Virginia, He will probably not be on the ballot in Georgia, Missouri, and New York, Schmitz may take Wallace's place on the New Jersey ballot if Wallace declines by September 28. You may want to have the high level Wallace contact advise Wallace that he must decline ballot position in New Jersey in writing.

(b) Sedan did most of the legal work for Senator Dole's charges of McGovern fundraising violations, CAB controversies, and the Common Cause suit against the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President

(c) Sedan has also done the basic legal work on the filings with GAO by our committees. He has been unfairly criticized for delay by Colson. The sheer volume of materials is enough to inundate anyone. In addition, Sedan has prepared an analysis of the McGovern filing errors which will form the basis of a MacGregor/ Dole attack.

(d) Colson, through Bill Rhatigan, asked Glenn Sedan to form front committees for Veterans and Labor use. Sedan gave MacGregor a legal opinion indicating these would be in violation of the new law if more than \$1,000 were expended. MacGregor advised Colson by memorandum.

(e)- Sedan has advised MacGregor that the Youth Against McGovern materials and activities must be disowned by 1701 to avoid violating the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Sedan did this, by letter to Youth Against McGovern and Phillip Hughes of GAO.

(f) Timmons sought a legal opinion on the use by a Senate candidate of a film clip of himself with the President. Sedan advised him of the joint advertising

budget and the current practice of relying on the decision of local media offer.

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4) Attack - Ed Failer prepares weekly a series of press releases for Republican candidates for the House and Senate. Each of the statements is tailored in three forms

- (a) The opponent has not taken a stand on - whether he supports McGovern;
- (b) The opponent has endorsed McGovern; and
- (c) The opponent has announced against McGovern.

The response has been very favorable and Failer will increase the mailings to two per week Also, resource research information on McGovern statements and positions will be included.

5) Clark MacGregor has approved Ed Nixon's endorsement of certain State candidates and certain fundraising events. - rp 2 ~ tp\_>~>~ \* S age ~

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6) MacGregor forwarded a John Bucci & Associates survey which shows the President leading McGovern 55-45 / 9 in Philadelphia. The survey has been sent to Benham. 4ai Xf

7) Bob Teeter prepared an analysis of the Older Voters with suggested Presidential appearances for MacGregor. It is attached at Tab F ZE ~-p~- ->-S nag WAS sent to Chapin.

Fred Malek's Projects

1) Field Operations - Malek made a field trip last week into the two biggest problem states -- New York and Pennsylvania. He estimates that in New York there will only be 40% performance and in Pennsylvania only 60% with Ohio as the 100% performance example. Al Kaupinen is Malek's field man in Illinois and Malek is confident he is performing well. Kaupinen warns against over-confidence on Illinois though because Mayor Daley must elect Hanrahan as State Attorney to protect against a thorough investigation of Chicago. This will force Daley to turn out his organization which is not sophisticated enough to vote for Nixon and Hanrahan. He will continue to push the organizations and will add field people in New York and Pennsylvania, but the basic split between the Rockefeller

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and Republican organiza~\_ions in mesa Yor?~will continue to hamper success Texas is also a major proldlem state and M'aleh nas no. succeeded in working out solll-'ions. Ca'iforLia and "Jew te~se\~J are doing Quell. 'vlalek will submit an updzad analysis of progress in the \_

2) The Voter Canvass on Saturday, September 16 was directed by Jerry Jones and Fred Karam, l'valek is quite pleased with their performance as well as the field organization in general. A report updating with detailed figures the Saturday, September 16 report will be submitted by Malek.

3) Fred LaRue advises 1'4aleX on political matters and occasionally attends meetings with 24alek. LaRue is in the role of observer for Mitchell. LaRue reports that Mitchell has no detail or procedural problems at 1701. LaRue also notes that the relations between 1701 and the White House are considerably better though he doubts the effectiveness of the Colson 9:15 meeting. LaRue believes the telephone operation will be the most effective get-out-the-vote method and is budget cuts are made they should not be made in this area. LaMue would not comment on the Blount race in Alabama.

4) The Citizens Groups are not as efi

tlalek



had hopedX The National Executive Director, Charles  
~~L~a~e>, has The

submitted a report to MacGregor (attached at Tab F).  
structure is organizationally oriented with names and  
numbers but little actual works according to Malek.

5) Malek is pleased with the resolution of the  
Ehrlichman, Morgan, ivEitaker, Dent field operation. He  
is not-gloating-; but is-not-as negative about the  
poor initial handling as he was two weeks ago.

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