

Texts of 2 Memos From Strachan to

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 18 — Following are the texts of two internal White House memorandums by Gordon C. Strachan to H. R. Haldeman concerning the 1972 election campaign. They were released today as part of the evidence of campaign practices gathered by the House impeachment inquiry staff.

Sept. 29, 1971 Memo

Recent developments that you may find of interest are:

[1]

Finances—Kalmbach told me he appreciated the opportunity to meet with you on September 21. A review of decisions and subsequent developments includes:

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;

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";

c) 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. Kalm-

bach will not attend as he wishes to retain his role of reporting directly to you. The Stans meeting will review the current financial situation (1,400 received, 400 spent), the Campaign budget, 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;

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 C. V. Whitney move to Spain was not covered, and since DeRoulet wants to meet with you while he is in the U.S. for the next ten days, Kalmbach believes you should cover the C.V. Whitney/Spain matter. DeRoulet will see Flanigan on September 24, and Kalmbach expects Flanigan to be "hamhanded" in emphasizing to DeRoulet that a European post is out. Kalmbach hopes that either Malta or Mexico may 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;

i) The only commitment that Kalm-

bach is aware of at this time is Farcas for Costa Rica;

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

k) I 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;

l) You were going to check with the President whether or not the San Clemente maintenance should be changed from Lynch to Gavin Herbert;

m) Ford is in for 100; Fisher may be in for 250, but you weren't sure "we could pay his price";

n) Tricia not Eddie is to receive the information on her assets from Kalmbach;

o) The site selection projects 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 live coverage can begin at 7:30 EDT. ABC will begin at 9:30 EDT and continue to the close of the session. CBS and ABC have scheduled "specials" for Sunday, August 20, 1972;

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 per your request;

d) The Ehrlichman and Timmons recommendations for Convention Ap-

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pointments is attached with a talking paper for the Attorney General at Tab B.

[3]

Magruder's Projects—

a) 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 General's 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—

a) 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 hite House support in his attempt to replace Jordan of Idaho in 1972. The Vice President's office (Art Sohmer) has been advised;

c) He is increasingly concerned that the Attorney General is not spending enough time on the hard organizational decisions: Harry Flemming 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, 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 hte primaries.

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

Oct. 7, 1971 Memo

FINANCES

[1]

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:

a) The Budget Committee will have

representatives from the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President, but the Campaign Chairman makes the final decisions; b) Outside groups (e.g. Businessmen for Nixon) will be self-sustaining; c) Any 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 fund raising activities until after the November 9 RNC dinners. The RNFC 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;

e) 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;

f) 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 for the Committee for the Re-Election of 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.

[2]

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

[3]

Lee Nunn reports a complete impasse in his attempts to collect \$25,000 from Secretary Morton, who borrowed the money from you and the Attorney General in May for the Bill Mills Congressional Campaign. The Attorney General has raised the subject with Morton twice but only an acknowledgement of the commitment with no date for payment has developed. Either you or the Attorney General will have to come down very hard on Morton to get him to stand by his pledge. A talking paper for Secretary Morton is attached, and the subject is raised in paragraph one of the talking paper for the Attorney General.

[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 netw merger of milk producers and what type of control is to be exerted.

The subject is covered in paragraph 2 of the talking paper for the Attorney General.

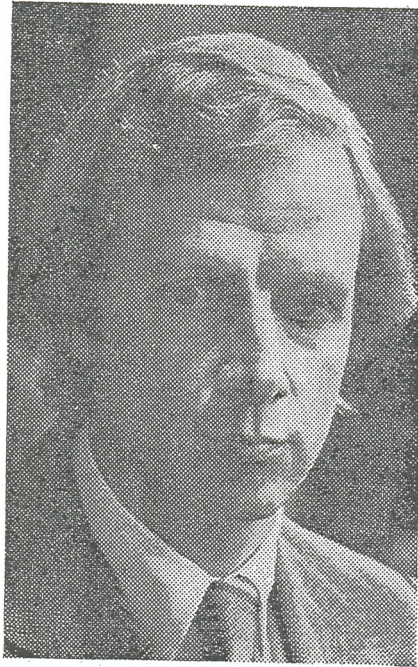
HARRY DENT MATTERS

[1]

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 Attorney General doubts whether any key state dinners can be held before January 1, 1972. Dave Parker is preparing a memorandum tracing the Presidential request for those dinners back to February, 1971.

[2]

Also the Attorney General advises that any Presidential reception for members of the RNC should be delayed until the spring.



The New York Times

Gordon C. Strachan

[3]

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 funding of the black candidate project that the President discussed with you on the Spirit of '76 while returning from Alaska.

Arrange meeting for Haldeman, the Attorney General and John Rollins

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

JOHN DEAN

Father McLaughlin will hold a fund raising dinner in Rhode Island on November 4. When you asked John Dean to turn off the project, it was too far along—letters of invitation had already been sent. 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."

MURRAY CHOTINER

Magruder reports that the Attorney General informed Chotiner that the \$1,500 per month services of "Chapman's Friend" 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". Although Chotiner says this is not a reflection on anyone, the implication is that Harry Flemming is neither old enough nor known for past endeavors.

Magruder's Projects

[1]

Martha Mitchell will not do a TV talk show but will begin doing a syndicated column, probably for King Features. A 1701 staff writer will prepare the material;

[2]

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

[3]

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 GO P 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. There will be no direct connection with the national Committee for the Re-Election of the President, and the press policy will be the same: no Presidential or White House involvement but occasional discussion with the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President;

[6]

Although the Attorney General has not reviewed Ken Rietz' 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 Nov 1. The drive will conclude November 20, to be followed with appropriate publicity;

[7]

Representatives of Harold Dobbs, the Republican challenging Aliotoin San Francisco's mayoralty race, approached Magruder for \$150,000. Political sources in California informed Magruder that Dobbs cannot win, and so if any money were to be given, "it would be basically for public relations purposes". The Attorney General has not made a decision;

[8]

Bob Marik, who prepared the Computers, Polling, and Research Planning Study for Flanigan's signature, went to

New York to assess the reapportionment project in New York. The Attorney General directed Magruder and Marik to work with Dick Scolaro on the reapportionment project but with (Chuck) Lanigan for political matters such as strengthening the RNC—NY Republican party cooperation;

[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 reaffirm his support for the President's dialogue with China. The 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;

[10]

After 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 conflicts between your decisions and the Attorney General's views. The only minor divergence concerned the role of the White House Speakers Bureau. You decided that "official spokesmen from official non-political functions up through the Convention" should be handled by Colson's operation. The Attorney General gave a tentative approval "pending further consideration."

[11]

Al Kaupinen will join Harry Flemming at the Committee to work with State Nixon organizations on November 1. Kaupinen requests continuation of White House mess privileges. Only Jeb Magruder and Hugh Sloan at the Committee currently have mess privileges.

Recommendation:

That Kaupinen not retain White House mess privileges.

Approve—H

[12]

After the YAF Convention debacle, Buchanan was asked to comment on suggested methods of courting Conser-

vatives. Buchanan urged extreme caution on all the suggestions including the NSC talking paper on China (a Kilpatrick column would be better); post-Presidential speech telephone calls (several might not even accept the call); assistance getting Administration explanations in Battle Line, etc. (the key editors and writers have already broken with the Administration so extraordinary assistance would be of no value); only Presidential Commissions and invitations might be accepted, but Buchanan or Dave Keene of the Vice President's office will see that these are handled correctly.

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 and useable 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 harrassing 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 whether the attack shouldn't be shifted to "Kennedy, whom some consider (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 "planning studies" have been completed: these areas, for which the Task Force

- 1) Young Voters for Nixon—Rietz proposal;
- 2) Polling, computers, and research—Flanigan recommendation;
- 3) Democratic Contenders Strategy—Buchanan memoranda;
- 4) RNC Convention Appointments—Timmons suggestions;
- 5) Voter Block Staff Requirements—Magruder;
- 6) 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.; Sandwedge 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 1973.

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.