

Key Role of White House In Campaign Is Described

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

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WASHINGTON, July 18 — Two confidential memorandums written in the fall of 1971 demonstrate that the White House was intimately involved in the smallest details of President Nixon's re-election campaign from its start.

The memorandums, made public today by the House Judiciary Committee, show that H. R. Haldeman, then Mr. Nixon's chief of staff, was kept informed of the most minute details—down to such questions as who from the Committee to Re-Elect the President could eat at the White House.

Drafted by Gordon C. Strachan, then Mr. Haldeman's assistant, the memorandums conflict with statements then and since by White House spokesmen, who have tried to show that the re-election committee operated largely autonomously.

In addition, the memorandum—dated Sept. 24 and Oct. 7, 1971, and addressed to Mr. Haldeman—indicate that John N. Mitchell was making key campaign decision and controlling most of the funds at that time, even though he later insisted that he took no role in the campaign until his resignation as Attorney General took effect the following March 1.

Under the heading "press policy," Mr. Strachan wrote that "any involvement by the Attorney General is denied." Anticipating questions about Mr. Mitchell's wife, who was already active in the campaign, Mr. Strachan added:

"Martha Mitchell receives help from the committee because the committee would 'help any key Republican.'"

The memorandums give a detailed picture of the kinds of questions that preoccupied Mr. Haldeman as the re-election effort began to take shape.

Money was one of the prime concerns. Mr. Haldeman was

concerned with individual contributors, with finding a financial chairman, with promises of ambassadorships to financial supporters and with how the funds should be spent.

When Mr. Strachan reported that some thought had been given to diverting some Nixon campaign funds to the 1971 Republican candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, Harold Dobbs, Mr. Haldeman scrawled across the bottom of the memorandum:

"We are to give no money to no one never!"

A Future For Stans

When Mr. Strachan reported that Maurice H. Stans, who had been asked to resign as Secretary of Commerce to head campaign fund-raising, would later expect a job "of the calibre of the World Bank [presidency]," Mr. Haldeman wrote, "It will not be World Bank."

Reviewing a meeting Mr. Haldeman had had with Herbert W. Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's lawyer and fund-raiser, Mr. Strachan said, among other things:

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

The reference apparently was to Michigan contributors, an area in which Mr. Kalmbach was working. "Ford" presumably was Henry Ford 2d, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, who ultimately contributed \$50,000, with his mother adding \$50,000.

"Fisher" presumably was Max M. Fisher, a Detroit oil-company executive who has supported many Republican candidates financially. Records that have come to light in the Watergate investigation indicate that Mr. Fisher gave at least \$125,000 early in 1973—but it is not known what his "price" was, or whether he cut back from \$250,000 to \$125,000



Associated Press

H. R. Haldeman

because his "price" was not met.

Mr. Fisher did not return telephone calls seeking clarification this afternoon.

Mr. Mitchell, the Oct. 7 memorandum states, "is currently retaining complete financial control" of the campaign pending the selection of a full-time finance chairman. But Mr. Strachan, citing complaints from other staff members, complains that "the Attorney General is too busy and has not been able to focus on the accumulating campaign decisions."

Mr. Strachan apparently was pleased with Mr. Mitchell's activities, reporting that a committee ghost-writer had been assigned to prepare a syndicated column for King Features under her name.

Perhaps the smallest detail with which Mr. Haldeman concerned himself at that period was the White House meals. A man named Al Kaupinen was moving from the White House to the committee, Mr. Strachan reported on Oct. 7, and wanted access to White House meals, like Jeb Stuart Magruder and Hugh Sloan.

"No," wrote Mr. Haldeman. Of the other two men's privileges, he added curtly: "Cancel them."

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