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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON  
SUBJECT: Staff Operations

As you requested, I have reviewed the present operations of my office, how it can be more effectively directed to the campaign year ahead and the personnel situation.

The priority activities of this office are at the present time:

1. News Planning and Coordination. This involves not only planning but most importantly ensuring that events are executed as planned.

Essential to this effort has been a major undertaking to politicize and make more effective the departmental PIO/PR operations.

2. Major Administrative PR Initiatives and Political Project Follow Through. The development of major themes and carrying out of the activities to support them -- such as the Man of Peace, the economic issue, etc.
3. Political Liaison and Cultivation of Interest Groups and Key Individuals.
4. The Counter Attack Against our Critics.
5. Maximize Media Coverage for the Political Promotion of the President -- TV Specials, Articles, Columns, etc.
6. Maximize Administration Resources (in support of 1. and 2. above) and Dessiminate Information Throughout the Administration.

The foregoing does not include frequent project assignments which I take on involving specific and generally somewhat political issues. It has been my goal to see that my staff is able to handle much of the day to day operations in the six categories above, leaving me free for more time for specific assignments from you or the President. I have not been as successful in this to date as I would like; it is coming along now, however.

In general, all of these areas are, in my opinion, directed to the President's reelection, so that I would not propose to delete any of these broad areas of effort.

The following is an analysis of each of these activities, how well we are or are not doing, how they can be further limited to activities with a political pay-off next year and how well the present staff meets these requirements.

1. News Planning, Coordination and Execution.

The news planning group consists of Scali, Chapin, Ziegler, Moore, Safire, Buchanan, Barker and myself. Dick Howard acts as the Secretary of the group and maintains the news calendar.

Some meetings have been excellent; others unproductive. We need to constantly improve this process. Although I am not a believer in big meetings, this group has from time to time produced some very good work. We also have frequent meetings in between of smaller groups to keep the news moving. Clearly it has been a useful tool in coordination.

It is Scali's function to see that the planned news events involving Defense and State are properly executed, that the people involved are briefed, that the media is alerted and that the right line is taken. John has been very effective with Laird and Rogers in this role and I think works well with Ziegler programming foreign policy activities that take place here in the White House. Barker has the responsibility for execution on the domestic side. He doesn't have Scali's clout or expertise and he has, therefore, been slower to get things moving. He is getting better by the day. For example, this afternoon he programmed the Cost of Living Council press conference to get maximum mileage out of the Wholesale Price Index figures. He has

worked well with Shumway and Snyder to maximize media coverage of Administration news events. In the domestic area, I have had to deal with the Cabinet officers myself, but Barker has done a very professional job of following through with the staffs. In this area, he has a mammoth undertaking as you can surmise from my memo to you regarding tomorrow's Cabinet meeting (copy attached) and by definition progress in this area will be slow because we just have to keep chipping away piece by piece.

In summary, the major object of the news planning and coordination process has been to provide Administration news on days when flow from the White House is light, to maximize the coverage, to guide the agencies or individuals responsible and to ensure that the news is properly covered. The latter point is terribly important and it is in this area that we rely heavily on Snyder and Shumway. Many times we have averted or turned around a bad story and/or maximized the impact of a good one.

## 2. Major Administrative Political Initiatives.

Through use of the news planning group or by individual assignment, we constantly develop plans for handling specific projects ranging from general economic plans to specific hot issues like the foreign aid bill. Our task is to develop the strategy, the major themes and then to see that they are carried out. It's in this area that we can do considerable streamlining over the next 12 months. Bill Rhatican is the principal project man for follow through. A good half of his time over the past year has been spent working on projects that may not have a major political impact next year, revenue sharing, reorganization and environment. I have been gradually weaning Bill away from these, concentrating his efforts on the economy and to a lesser extent on drugs and crime. Bill is able, has handled all of the Administration road shows, coordinating with Pat O'Donnell for speakers, Snyder for local TV and Shumway for local press. He also, for example, handled the NAM closed circuit TV, the Advertising Council activities in support of the Cost of Living Council and the Citizens Committee.

We need to identify the gut issues for next year and then not permit this phase of our operation to be side tracked into things that are not politically profitable.

We have tried to develop major strategy plans involving major issues and then fit them into our news planning meetings to ensure that in our planning process, we take into account the major strategic political goals. In short, we try to mesh this activity with that described in Number 1 above.

### 3. Political Cultivation of Interest Groups and Individuals.

I have finally succeeded in delegating almost all of this area to George Bell who concentrates on individuals and Henry Cashen who concentrates on groups. This operation is in part election-oriented and in part a service function to the rest of the White House. For example, Timmons acknowledges that Henry Cashen's effort with organized groups was critical in the recent federal pay deferral veto issue.

Henry has developed a good working relationship with most of the groups that I had cultivated in my first year and has used them frequently and effectively. We have a very good handle on where our strengths and weaknesses are with organized groups and have penetrated almost all that can have political impact next year. In one way or another, we have also engineered initiatives which have been important to many of the most powerful groups and the follow up has been very good. We have the techniques well established for getting extensive coverage in trade associations, veterans, aging and other journals and publications.

George Bell's contact program has been perfected probably as well as we can expect. He presently has several thousand names categorized. Almost all of the key people have had White House invitations of one kind or another (all major contributors have been to major functions). We make frequent use of the list for mailings and for the phone call program. In short, the major movers and shakers across the country have felt some kind of continuous contact with the White House. This is an ongoing program that we will want to intensify next year.

The youth effort is, of course, a key part of our interest group cultivation. McLane, with a lot of very able help from Hallett, has this finally off the ground. I am by no means fully satisfied with McLane's performance and I am riding him extremely hard. The biggest limitation here is his own deficiency in not sensing political priorities. His attitude problem is coming around slowly. Hallett on the other hand, has been exceptionally good.

If anything, our efforts with the aging should be expanded rather than cut back. We are now doing a fair job of cultivating the organized aging groups, initiating PR efforts with senior citizens and ramming through some of the policy moves that are necessary to get to this key group. It's been handled, however, by George in a part time effort with some assistance from McLane on the policy side and with the help of a young detailee who will soon be leaving us. I personally feel that there is more political potential here than with the youth but we can probably continue to do the job necessary even though it's a part time effort.

Another critical area is labor. As you know, I recommended a year ago that we bring a labor specialist and liaison man on to the staff. Labor should not be written off. Anything can happen, George Meany might die, the Democrats might nominate McGovern, even Kennedy could be vulnerable with labor. But most importantly we need an effort with the second tier of labor leadership, the Brennans of New York, the DeLucas of Pennsylvania, etc. George Bell has done a very good job in this area but once again, it's but one of several responsibilities he has. Also, except when I can find time, no one really battles within the White House staff the policy issues that can be critically important to gaining rank and file support.

Catholics are another special case. Cashen, Buchanan and I have done a lot of work in this area. There is a good deal of political potential. In fact, it's probably our area of greatest possible gain over 1968. Cashen is handling this effectively and if we make our move on aid to parochial schools, we probably do not need any beefing up here.

As to the ethnic groups, Bell, myself to a lesser extent, and John Volpe have identified and have established good contact with most of the ethnic organizations. While we have done some of the obvious stroking, we need to do much more in the PR exploitation.

As to celebrities, you are aware of the present situation which will not improve until someone at 1701 actively steps in.

4. Counter Attack Against our Critics. This is one area that I simply have not been able to delegate or get effective help from MacGregor's shop. Almost every major counter attack on the Hill has required extensive personal involvement on my part and I have had to, of course, talk to Cabinet members who have thus far been responsive

(for your information, principally Bush, Laird, Richardson, Volpe and Stans). Karalekas writes most of the material with some help from Hallett. He does it very well, but simply doesn't have the stature to line up spokesmen, coordinate the press arrangements and handle it as a full time project assignment. He is also very busy writing talking papers, speech inserts and fact sheets. As you well know, I believe that we need one man to replace Nofziger, not to do what Nofziger was doing, that is, write speeches for the Congressional Record, but rather to organize well publicized counter attacks. Unless MacGregor can make Korologos available, we should recruit someone in this area. I assume Buchanan and Khachigian will be watching daily for attacks of the opposition. One man should be available to be alerted by Buchanan, to write the replies for use either on the Hill or within the Administration and then to fully orchestrate the counter attack. Needless to say, I can continue to do it myself, but this is another effort that should increase rather than decrease over the coming year. The way Ted Kennedy has been going of late, we could almost use a full time man plugging in daily replies to him.

5. Maximizing Media Coverage for the Political Promotion of the President.

This again is a function which should not be curtailed in scope. Snyder spends full time placing Administration speakers, arranging local coverage when they go on the road and working on various TV specials. We have developed plans for several TV specials over the next several months and we will push to accomplish as many of these as possible. Shumway devotes full time to pumping our line out to columnists, arranging local press coverage for Administration spokesmen on the road, handling background briefings out of Klein's office for various White House and Administration officials and shepherding through articles like those under way for the Digest, the one Wilson is doing (for someone now that Look has folded) and the one Thimmesch is doing. Shumway is good but he is by no means able to do all the things I have assigned him. For example, we still don't have an adequate distribution system for the ethnic press or the various special interest groups. Barker is taking most of this over trying to engineer it through the agencies and has made some progress although we need more cooperation from the agencies in politicizing the stuff that they distribute to the special interest press that they serve.

## 6. Maximizing Administration Resources.

The speaker operation which Pat O'Donnell handles is a full time task and then some. Pat fully understands the priorities. The Chamber of Commerce in Vermont is very low on his scale; a key labor group in Ohio is very high. Pat not only responds to invitations and Presidential "rejects", but also seeks out important forums which he monitors. He then ties the speaker in with Snyder and Shumway to maximize coverage, particularly when we are relying on a speech to give us the Administration news story of the day. We are concentrating entirely on important groups and key states.

We have a major youth speakers program which Allen Hall handles, working with Doug Hallett and Pat O'Donnell. This is just now getting rolling but has considerable promise.

You are familiar with the mailing operation and have expressed some doubts about its effectiveness. We know that the Klein mailings to editors are productive because we see the results in the news clips. Most of the other mailings we look at with a very hard political eye. Believe me, we do not mail much about revenue sharing, but we have had some damn good mailings on busing, the President's peace initiatives, the Efron book and under cover names, material adverse to potential Democratic opponents. Kathleen Balsdon handles the mailing operation in coordination with the National Committee and has the mailing lists in outstanding condition. We can, by pressing a button, get to 50,000 key people almost over night and the categories are very well structured politically.

The distribution of fact sheets and material to the Cabinet and key Administration spokesmen is, in my opinion, an important service both in keeping them informed and in ensuring that we are taking a coordinated line. As noted above, Karalekas does most of the writing for the mailings, the fact sheets and speech inserts.

### The Present Staff

Dick Howard doubles as my number two and as staff coordinator and manager of all administrative operations, mailings, fact sheets, etc. He also supervises the day to day work of O'Donnell, Karalekas, Rhatican, Hallett, Hall and Balsdon. Dick is very solid, efficient and dependable -- also, fully occupied.

Barker and Scali, if they do their jobs right, are also well occupied. Scali has an occasional tendency to drift over into the more ethereal activities of the Kissinger shop but has been worth his weight in gold in handling the operational side discussed above and has a very considerable capacity for work; he can do more in certain areas.

(He should be used more in terms of planning the strategy of our foreign policy initiatives from a PR standpoint. This depends, of course, completely on the extent to which Kissinger or the President want to involve him.) I feel his instincts are good, his knowledge of media excellent, his anticipation of media reaction excellent, his creativity very good and his judgment normally excellent except when he gets overly emotional.

Obviously O'Donnell, Cashen, Bell, Karalekas and McLane cannot be expected to take on any more than they are handling. Each has the kind of job that is infinite, that is, there is always more to do than time to do it in. Rhatican has been, on the other hand, underutilized by the standard of what is election oriented. I have over the past few months begun to reorient his efforts and will do more of it soon and he may be able, therefore, to take on more of the assignments discussed above which are not now being adequately covered.

Allen Hall is a willing, but inexperienced young man who has been handling certain non-priority project assignments, assisting in the youth project and helping on scheduling. We could probably do without him if he could be replaced with someone of more experience and expertise who might be available to take on the counter attack function.

Hallett is a real sleeper, extraordinarily bright and creative. He is also abrasive and tough to handle, although I personally enjoy him. He has an almost insatiable capacity for work and is eager and willing. He has literally come up with as many good creative ideas as either Moore or Safire. For a young man, he has remarkably good political instincts though no political judgment. I think the people at 1701 agree that he did a superb job in putting together the Middle America, labor, ethnic, Spanish-American and veterans campaign strategy plans. Hallett should not have an operational responsibility. I intend to continue to use him in his present role to make the most of his creativity, ability in writing and development of plans which others execute.



Summary

In my judgment, very few of the foregoing activities should be curtailed in an election year although as you review this you might judge otherwise. In one area we can and should cut back, that is, some of the domestic initiatives which simply are not going to be gut issues in the election (I hasten to add there may be new ones like the tax and school proposal which will require major PR efforts in the next year). In fact, I think that some of the activities need more emphasis particularly in the counter attack department and in the cultivation of key voting blocs, specifically labor, aging and ethnics. The cultivation of these groups will become particularly significant as the campaign organization is structured. If it is to try to reach these groups, it will need a major effort here in cooperation.