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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

STAFF SCHEDULE FOR SEPTEMBER 8, 1969 - PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO
AMISTAD DAM

- 7:00 a. m. Baggage call. All baggage to be loaded aboard Air Force One must be deposited in the designated area in front of the support building no later than 7:00 A. M. All baggage arriving after 7:00 A. M. but before 9:00 A. M. will be loaded aboard the back-up plane which will proceed directly to Washington, D. C. and will land at approximately 9:00 P. M., EDT.
- 8:25 a. m. All staff going on Air Force One are to be present at the Western White House and aboard assigned helicopters.
- 8:30 a. m. Presidential party departs the Western White House by helicopter for El Toro Marine Base. (See attached manifest.)
- 8:45 a. m. Depart El Toro for Laughlin Air Force Base, Del Rio, Texas. (See attached manifest.)
- (Flying time: 2 hrs. 10 minutes)
(Time change: + 2 hours)
- 12:55 p. m. Arrive Laughlin Air Force Base, Del Rio, Texas.
CDT
- The President and Mrs. Nixon will walk through a military cordon and move directly to their vehicles. Since they will not be stopping to receive military honors, it is necessary that the staff move directly to the helicopters that will be transporting them.

Helicopter No. 1

Located directly opposite the military cordon.

Helicopter No. 2

Located to the right rear of Air Force One.

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The motorcade will proceed across the dam to the Mexican side for the official luncheon.

- 2:35 p. m. Motorcade arrives at El Mirador Camp where the official luncheon will be held. The two Presidents and their families will proceed to a holding room in the guest house. Those who arrived on the VIP bus should proceed directly to the El Mirador House where the official luncheon will be held. For the remainder of the staff not attending the luncheon (those who arrived on anything other than the VIP bus) a staff buffet luncheon will be served under the carport at the east end of El Mirador House. The staff should remain in this area until the time that they board the helicopters for the return trip to the Air Base.
- 2:45 p. m. The President and President Diaz Ordaz depart the holding room - walking to the luncheon site.
- 2:50 p. m. Luncheon hosted by the Mexican Government.
- 4:00 p. m. Luncheon ends. The President moves to a private conference room to meet with President Diaz Ordaz. All luncheon attendees will remain in the luncheon room where there will be entertainment until the conclusion of the meeting between the two Presidents.
- 4:45 p. m. The two Presidents will emerge from their talks and deliver a joint statement to the press. At that time the entire Presidential party should board the same helicopters that carried them from Laughlin Air Force Base to the Amistad Dam (see attached manifests). These helicopters will be located directly in front of the El Mirador House.

The President and staff depart by helicopter for Del Rio Texas (Laughlin Air Force Base).

5:20 p. m. Arrive Laughlin Air Force Base. At this time the following people will depart from the President's party and board the State Department plane for a flight directly to Washington, D. C. :

Secretary and Mrs. W. Rogers
Ambassador and Mrs. E. Mosbacher
Mr. D. P. Vaky
Mrs. M. Hartley
Mr. T. Lake

The remainder of the President's party will board Air Force One.

5:30 p. m. Depart Del Rio, Texas, for Gulfport, Mississippi.

(Flying time: 1:35)

7:05 p. m. Fly over the Gulfport Coast area. It will be dusk with the sun setting at 7:14 p. m.

7:30 p. m. Arrive Gulfport Municipal Airport, Gulfport, Mississippi.

The President will deplane for pictures with the Governor, two Senators, and Congressman.

7:45 p. m. President reboards Air Force One and meets with the Governor, Senators, and Congressman.

8:15 p. m. President deplanes and makes a statement to the Press Corps.

8:25 p. m. President reboards plane.

8:30 p. m. Depart for Washington, D. C.
CDT

(Flying time: 1:55)

(Time change: 1 hour)

11:25 p.m. Arrive Washington, D. C.
EDT

Ground transportation will have been arranged to convey all staff members returning on Air Force One to their residences.

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wed.
Sept 17
1969

Initially Proposed Actions and
The Current Status of Each

I believe we all agree that the traditional staff concept -- that of relatively few people advising the chief (in this case the President) re policy decisions, and to some extent serving as his antennae for keeping abreast of domestic and foreign affairs as well as the moods and attitudes of the people -- is the best concept to adopt in working out a White House Staff reorganization characterized by economy of operation and over-all efficiency. The big, cumbersome "work staff" which generates volumes of material from within its own resources and feels compelled to re-do (rather than simply review and screen) all correspondence inbound to the President is to be avoided. But, I think we agree too that we should not effect an immediate drastic reduction in our personnel strength. We should, instead, reduce our numbers gradually and take great care that competent people are not moved out and away but rather over and up to positions which offer new and at least equal challenges.

✓

cat
down

Proposed actions as forwarded last week for your consideration are listed below ... followed by brief statements as to their status as of noon on September 17th.

- Leave Chapin's office as is.

Okay. No argument. What few changes might occur here will be at Chapin's direction after Bob Haldeman's approval.

- Put Terry Good's office of 3 persons (Presidential Papers) under the Staff Secretary, i. e. within the Secretariat.

Okay. We should do this now. I suggest that Ken Cole (and possibly Butterfield representing Haldeman) talk to Terry Good on Monday morning, September 22, and effect the transfer at that time.

- Eliminate altogether Bud Wilkinson's office, and give serious thought to what other office or offices might absorb the essential portions of his mission and the most competent of his people ... including Bud, himself.

yes

We will combine the offices of Bud Wilkinson, Bob Brown and Len Garment under Garment's supervision ... Garment assuming the title, "Assistant to the President for Human Affairs" or something similar, and reporting to the President through John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs. I see no reason why the three offices mentioned cannot be combined without delay and suggest September 22nd as the effective date.

- Find a way to transfer Stan Blair from the White House payroll to that of the Vice President's office.

This can be done and is being worked out at the present time between Butterfield and Carson Howell.

- Insist that Henry Kissinger appoint a deputy. His role and that of his office -- and their extreme importance to the President -- would seem to me to demand that he name a deputy who can really substitute for him in his absence ... even if that deputy might happen to be a military officer.

We concede to Henry that a deputy should not be appointed or designated ... and that soon-to-be Brigadier General Al Haig corresponds to a deputy in all ways which matter.

- Eliminate the separate office of the Special Assistant to the President for Liaison with Former Presidents ... and allow the Armed Forces Aide to absorb the responsibility.

We will leave this office as is, but keep a sharp lookout for a prospective (civilian) replacement for Brigadier General Schulz.

- Eliminate the office of the Secretary to the Cabinet and allow the Cabinet liaison mission to be absorbed by the offices of Haldeman-Butterfield and Cole.

We will hold off on this action for the time being, retain Whitaker as the office principal and in no way alter current staffing.

- Allow John Whitaker to take over a new office (and job title) -- Assistant to the President for Environmental Affairs, or something similar. In this capacity he would be responsible to the Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs (John Ehrlichman) for all matters concerning environment, natural resources, conservation, agriculture, etc.

For the time being at least, we will hold John Whitaker in his present capacity as Cabinet Secretary. However, we will continue to think of "Environment Affairs" (or something similar) as a third section or office within John Ehrlichman's domestic affairs organizational structure.

- Give Moynihan responsibility for education and manpower, health and welfare, community development, youth, aging, crime, and civil rights. Put Len Garment's operation under Pat and Bob Brown's office under Len. Moynihan's job title would not change ... but he and his entire newly enlarged office would work through Ehrlichman. ✓ yes

All but civil rights will be given to Pat Moynihan. That particular mission will be renamed "human affairs", or something similar, and established as a separate bailiwick under Len Garment as described above. We agree that Moynihan's job title will not change but that his office will work through Ehrlichman.

- Give Flanigan responsibility for commerce and transportation, defense-related items (including space), Vet benefits, government services, Business Council liaison matters, SEC, consumer affairs, etc. Put Virginia Knauer's office under Peter, and extract the entire personnel (Flemming) operation from this purely domestic affairs office. Peter would work through Haldeman when wearing his "personnel" hat ... and through Ehrlichman when wearing his "Government services" hat. -- Begin looking now for a more competent Personnel Chief to replace Fleming (and to preclude the necessity of holding Flanigan to two separate and distinct roles on different staff levels). ✓ yes

Okay. All agree.

- Analyze Klein's staff and its operation in a manner similar to Stuart's recent thorough study of the East Wing operation.

We are holding off on this for now. Chuck Stuart will make an impartial study of Klein's staff and its mission upon his return from vacation.

- Have Keogh analyze his own staff, including the Melencamp addition, with an eye toward strict economy of operation.

Jim Keogh is performing this analysis at the present time and will report his findings and opinions in a memo to Butterfield.

} yes

- Consider Dent's office and where it might best fit into the Executive Office organization.

The problem has been considered and solved. Dent's office will come under Bryce Harlow, with Harry serving as one of Bryce's deputies.

- Think about increasing by 2-3 persons the office of Rose Mary Woods ... not now, but later -- after her move to what is now the press area -- and for reasons indicated in my notes on the "Personal Staff".

We have all agreed to discard this idea for now and the near future.

- Eliminate the office of Arthur Burns and give serious thought to what other office or offices might absorb the most competent of his people.

We have eliminated Dr. Burns' office from the latest draft of the organizational chart... and we have moved the names of his staff personnel to the "White House Miscellaneous" category.

- Look for ways to eventually eliminate the separate office of Science and Technology. The functions of this office could well be performed by Flanigan's new office.

Evidently all agree but no action will be taken now or in the near future. This project is being moved to the back burner.

- Use most competent people from "eliminated" offices of Bud Wilkinson, General Schulz, Arthur Burns and the Cabinet Secretary to build Whitaker's new staff, and other offices under Ehrlichman. ✓

Proposed disposition of each office mentioned has been discussed in paragraphs above.

- Move Al Toner now from Whitaker's office to that of Ken Cole.

We have agreed that for the time being we will leave John Whitaker's office intact.

- Move to the office of the Armed Forces Aide the two car washers now working in the White House garage. Under the present set-up they represent a separate support unit which, of course, is ridiculous.

Butterfield has discussed this project with Bill Hopkins and relayed action responsibility to Colonel Hughes. Don sees no problems here and will report back when the transfer has been completed.

- Give serious thought to transferring the Ushers Office from the support staff (under Bill Hopkins) to the personal staff ... within the "East Wing" bailiwick overseen by Chuck Stuart. Newbrand's office might also be transferred from the support staff to Chapin's staff. I mention these possibilities in that both Newbrand and Scouten are responsive on a daily basis to persons on the President's personal staff. ✓

The Ushers Office (under Rex Scouten) and the Reception Desk (under Bob Newbrand) will remain as two separate units on the support staff ... and under the overall supervision of Bill Hopkins.

- Although changes in titles of personnel are not of any immediate importance it is a subject to which some thought might well be given as we implement our re-organization. In the end, if the titles make good sense, it will help considerably toward one's understanding of the organization of the entire Executive Office of the President.

All agree.

- Give thought to the most appropriate procedures for instituting a Domestic Council, to respond to the domestic needs and crises just as the National Security Council responds to national security needs and crises. The President should serve as Chairman and most of its members should be the Cabinet officers concerned with various aspects of domestic affairs. It should have an Executive Secretary who serves as a permanent official ... as does the Executive Secretary of the NSC. The Urban Affairs Council (which happens now to be a separate entity within the Executive Office of the President), the EQC and most other committees and councils now formed should (if still required) become subcommittees of the Domestic Council.
- ✓
✓
last ✓

It is my understanding that all of us, including the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, do want to move ahead toward formation of a Domestic Council. Normally, the creation of such an organization would require legislative action -- i.e. the passage of a special Act prepared in close coordination with the Office of the Attorney General. Congressional approval of an Act such as this can be (and often is) helped along somewhat by earlier publication of an Executive Order putting the substance of the proposed Act in being ... and thereby sort of selling the nation and the Congress on its necessity, and at the same time getting everyone used to its existence and its role in the conduct of governmental affairs. Whereas I believe the domestic (functional) organization under John Ehrlichman should start to take shape right away, I can see merit to delaying action on the Domestic Council at least until Roy Ash's group has elaborated on its earlier views and proposals.

- Give thought to the possible elimination, or absorption into some other department or agency, of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the Office of Science and Technology, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. Admittedly changes such as these will take months (even years) to effect but whatever appears most logical to us now should be incorporated into our over-all reorganization game plan. The National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development was just recently extended to June 30, 1970 ... so, without further action on our part, it will expire at that time.

These projects will receive continued attention.

- Allow John Ehrlichman to retain the prime counsel function and over-all responsibility for security.

We should compromise here. John should continue to serve as the President's personal consultant on legal matters ... and to handle the personal (legal) affairs of the First Family (property transactions, trust funds, etc.). Further, he should keep his current battery of Deputy Counsels to assist him with the staffing of "domestic" papers. However, John should relinquish his responsibility for security matters and allow it to be transferred to Haldeman but placed in the charge of a legal expert on the President's personal staff. While overseeing the security function, this legal expert should serve additionally (actually, primarily) as a "staff counsel" for the Secretariat.

Suggested Revision to Remarks for SST Announcement

The United States has led the world in the great development and progress of aviation. But for several years now this country has wavered or procrastinated in making a final go or no-go decision on whether to develop one of the great aircraft of the future -- the supersonic transport -- SST. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and a British-French combine have been going ahead. We have reached a point where we cannot put off a decision any longer.

If we decide to go ahead with a stretched-out program -- we are inviting far higher cost and far greater competitive risks than can be justified. On the other hand, if we put off our final decision again, the delay will be tantamount to abandoning the project, and consigning to the United States a back seat in aviation history for the next decade ... and quite possibly for the balance of this century.

We simply cannot keep the future at arm's length forever. SSTs are being developed; within a few years they will be flying the inter-oceanic and trans-polar routes. And so, the question is whether the United States will wait ... then later spend hundreds of millions of dollars abroad buying these planes -- or whether we shall be building them ourselves and selling them in other countries. Our balance of payments alone argues convincingly for going ahead.

I intend to ask Congress for \$96 million for this fiscal year to go ahead with a normal program of development of the SST. We are going to build a supersonic transport; we are going to have a prototype flying by the end of 1972; we are going to have a commercial fleet in the air by the end of 1978.

Some of the criticism of the SST comes from the same quarters who think we ought not to be spending money sending men to explore outer space -- that we ought to focus all our resources on the problems at home. As I have stated before, I believe that to argue this is to pose a false choice between meeting the challenges of the world and the challenges at home. I believe we shall meet them both or we shall meet neither. If we turn away from efforts that give us a major role in international progress, it is unlikely that we will muster the spirit and energy to meet the crises of our own society.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Alexander P. Butterfield

Subject: Initial Action Plan to Follow Your SST Announcement

Immediately subsequent to your 9:00 a. m. SST announcement follow-up action will begin. Planned events, in their chronological order, are listed below:

- Volpe 1. At his own press conference in the Roosevelt Room (after your departure to the Oval office) Secretary Volpe will elaborate as is necessary and answer questions put to him by press corps members. 9:05 a. m. Tues.
- Hor 2. Chairman Morton will release a supporting statement from the National Committee Headquarters. 10:00 a. m. Tues.
- Hor 3. Bryce Harlow's staff (Nofziger et al) will deliver to predesignated members of the Congress -- Senator Scott and others -- one, two, and three paragraph statements citing the wisdom of your decision and emphasizing the international leadership aspect, etc. (These statements and fact sheets were prepared last night at the Department of Transportation ... under the personal supervision of Jim Beggs.) 10:00-11:00 a. m. Tues.
- Hor 4. Chairman Morton will back your SST decision, and emphasize its advantages to the nation, during his taping of a "talk show" which is scheduled to be nationally televised later in the week. 11:00 a. m. Tues.

5. An edited transcript of your comments, and those of Secretary Volpe (including the question-answer session) will be forwarded to all major aviation publications, and to editorial writers. Tues.
6. Carlyle Jones, the Washington, D. C. Director of Aerospace magazine, will devote full time to insuring that the transcribed material gets to aerospace industry leaders. Tues.
7. FAA will hold a special backgrounder for aviation writers -- one which enlarges on today's Roosevelt Room session. Tues.
8. FAA will select a briefing team and an itinerary of its planned visits to the media in key aerospace cities for the purpose of providing background information on the SST program. Tues. - Wed.
9. The Department of Transportation will deliver to the National Committee sufficient fact sheet material for circulation by the committee to Republican leaders and Governors throughout the country. Tues. - Wed.
10. Herb Klein will hold a press conference in New York City late Wednesday morning, and speak at noon to the PR Society of America. During both events he will emphasize the benefits to be derived from the SST program and your decision to move forward into Phase III.* Wed.

*Somewhat unlike the Safeguard decision of March 14th, this morning's announcement makes known your decision to move from Phase II to Phase III of an existing (US-SST) program... albeit the previous Administration allowed the program to slip into limbo for an inexcusably long period. (Ph. I -- design competition, Lockheed vs. Boeing, etc; Ph. II -- defining airframe, engine, etc. configurations and specifications; Ph. III -- actually "cutting metal" and manufacturing the hardware; Ph. IV -- aircraft production)

- kp* 11. Press kits, more elaborate than the regular fact sheet material, will be mailed to editors and publishers nationwide ... with particular emphasis being given to the cities and areas identified with the aerospace industry (Washington, Texas, California, etc.). Wed.
- kp* 12. Financial and business editors of the country's leading newspapers will be brought in and given a backgrounder (probably at the White House). Wed.
- kp* 13. Boeing Aircraft Company will furnish Klein's office with samples of supporting literature designed for wide circulation. Wed. - Thurs.
- kp* 14. Herb Klein will devote time to the SST topic during a televised address in Detroit to the Radio and TV News Directors Association. Thurs.
- kp* 15. Secretary Laird will devote time to favorable comment on your SST decision during his address to the National Press Club (Washington, D. C.) Thurs.
- kp* 16. Nofziger will arrange for Congressional praise of your SST decision in newsletters and other media used by Congressmen to inform their constituents of key events. Thurs.
- kp* 17. Either FAA Administrator Shaffer or his Chief Engineer, Charles Blake, (or both) will be scheduled to discuss the meaning and future of the US-SST project on locally and nationally televised programs. Thurs. - Fri.
- kp* 18. Herb Klein will talk about the SST program and its importance to the maintenance of our international leadership during a dinner address to the San Francisco Press Club. Fri.
- kp* 19. Lyn Nofziger will see to it that follow-on statements are provided key Congressmen and that all are kept abreast of SST developments. Fri.

Nov 20. The Republican National Committee's weekly news bulletin, "Monday", will feature your SST announcement (circulation 15,000). Mon.

Blair 21. The Vice President will give solid support to your SST decision during his televised talk to the Executive Club of Chicago. Mon.

NO Because of our purposely delayed notification of your announcement schedule to staff and department personnel - several of whom are being held responsible for completion of the actions outlined above - this plan can be considered only a "starter", a preliminary step to get the ball rolling. A more complete revision will be prepared and forwarded to you on Thursday. It will be based on the news media reactions of Tuesday and Wednesday.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Alexander P. Butterfield

Subject: A Plan to Counter Assertions of An Ineffective
Vietnam Policy

Despite the fact that Senator Kennedy's September 18th dinner speech in Boston constituted a rather sharp attack against Administration efforts to end the Vietnam dilemma, it is significant to note at the outset of this memorandum that except for a few columns in Boston newspapers and a paragraph in Time magazine his comments were given relatively little play by the news media nationwide. This is not to say that we should take the incident lightly for certainly Teddy's theme has widespread support. But I do think that we should avoid, on this occasion, taking aim at Teddy. To do so would reveal our reaction to the particular individual, and thereby lend more than a fair share of substance to his remarks. Besides, it is late.

To my way of thinking it would be more fruitful now to zero in on the questions of "progress made" and "progress being made", and direct our counterattack at that element of the populace which finds it so easy to criticize our solutions while generalizing its own. Simultaneously, of course, we should hammer home the theme that by your series of bold foreign policy initiatives you have seized world leadership and won world respect ... and in the process given us our best chances to date for achieving peace with honor.

Taking this basic approach I recommend the following actions:

1. Jim Keogh's staff, with the assistance of Henry Kissinger's people, should develop a fact sheet similar to that which I have attached at Tab A (Assertions versus The Facts of the Matter).

2. Bryce Harlow's staff should circulate the fact sheet -- along with a number of "one liners" and other material highlighting the "progress" theme -- among predesignated members of the Congress.
3. The Secretary of State (and the Under Secretary) should be scheduled for more national television appearances and speeches. Together, they can serve as a leading factor in the development and sale of our theme. (It seems that each has been used very little for this sort of thing in the past.)
4. The Vice President should develop the theme and use it in near future addresses ... to include those he will be making to Republican fund-raising and other such programs this fall.
5. The National Committee should print, publish and distribute a 4-5 page pamphlet featuring your foreign policy initiatives and elaborating on each. The booklet should bear an appropriate title -- "Leadership Toward Peace" -- or something along that line.
6. Henry Kissinger should be scheduled for a thorough back-grounder, with full press representation, so that he can dovetail this "progress" theme with support for our draft program and Administration efforts to reduce campus unrest.
7. Chairman Morton and Harry Dent should insure that the campaign is carried into the field -- to the governors and the party chairmen -- and White House staffers should be alert to stress key points in conversations with (or announcements to) columnists and commentators. Herb Klein should assume responsibility for the appropriate mailing of printed material.

Meanwhile, not to forget Teddy altogether, I recommend further that an early agreement be reached among the Leadership that Senator Kennedy not be considered sacrosanct for any reason ... and that he be attacked (quickly) whenever he is seen to be vulnerable. Under no circumstances should he be allowed to discuss with impunity the great issues of war and peace ... and of honor and decency.

FACT SHEET

Assertion: Despite Administration rhetoric there has been no change in the Vietnam situation.

Fact: Since January the outlook for a settlement in Vietnam has changed for the better in a number of ways. Among them:

A new flexibility has been created in U.S. policy, a flexibility without compromise of basic principles. This has been done by:

- Explicitly ruling out attempts to impose a purely military solution.
- Taking a new position on mutual withdrawal. (We have proposed that this start simultaneously and that it proceed rapidly through agreement on a mutually acceptable timetable.)
- Proposing an international supervisory body for verifying withdrawals and overseeing elections. (It could participate also in arranging a supervised ceasefire.)
- Beginning a reduction of U.S. troop strength in Vietnam, to include combat troops.
- Reaffirming our willingness to accept any outcome arrived at through free elections. (We have proposed that the elections be supervised by an international body to assure fairness.)

Both sides have exposed their basic negotiating positions in detail.

In South Vietnam, the GVN's political position has been greatly strengthened through pacification gains and a growth in the stability and efficiency of the central government. The GVN not only controls or exercises primary influence over most of the rural populace, but also enjoys increasing support from the countryside.

TAB A

The South Vietnamese army has increased greatly in strength and capability. It can now replace as many as 60,000 U.S. troops.

The GVN irregular forces -- the regional and popular troops which provide the basic security for the rural villages -- have vastly improved.

The enemy force has lost much of its 1968 combat punch. It is no longer able to mount the massive offensives which caused great casualties and losses among the rural and urban populace.

As a result of developments, security in the countryside is substantially improved. More lines of communication are open and commerce and agricultural production are improving.

There are growing signs that the other side is beginning to recognize that the military and political tide has turned. The enemy force is preparing to de-emphasize military action and shift to political competition instead. (This could mean that the level of hostilities will decrease substantially.)

Assertion: Our troop withdrawals are token gestures -- made purely for political benefit.

Fact: By his troop withdrawal decisions, the President has cut U.S. military strength in Vietnam by nearly 20 percent. The reduction in combat forces has been greater than the reduction in support forces.

Assertion: Saigon has refused to allow peace-seeking non-Communist elements to share in governing the South Vietnamese people.

Fact: The GVN has carried out an election in which all parties were free to be represented in the National Assembly. President Thieu has attempted to gain broader representation in his new cabinet from Buddhists and opposition groups, but most of the prospective candidates have demanded unreasonably high prices in terms of policy control as a precondition to their appointments.

Assertion: We have refused to compromise on the question of who might govern South Vietnam during an election.

Fact: The GVN has offered to negotiate the terms of supervision during an election; however, the other side has rejected every plan put forward and demanded not only a share in the administration but a totally new "revolutionary regime" which would not recognize the present government structure in any form whatever.

Assertion: We are still trying to win a military victory in Vietnam.

Fact: The Administration has ruled out military victory as a solution to the Vietnam dilemma. The President made this clear in his speech of May 14th.

Assertion: The high costs of the war are not only cutting severely into domestic programs but are leading us down the path to economic disaster.

Fact: The President's recent troop withdrawal decisions, and other measures, are gradually reducing the total costs of the Vietnam war. Moreover, our GNP rises each year by a greater amount than our annual Vietnam expenditures.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 25, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Alexander P. Butterfield *APB*

Subject: Support for Your September 26th Press Conference

I am writing this memorandum to assure you that your Friday noon press conference will receive full staff and Administration support.

A number of preliminary steps already have been taken. Lyn Nofziger has contacted selected Senators and Congressmen and readied them for fast support. John Whitaker has called Cabinet members in whose areas we anticipate key questions and alerted them to their probable opportunities to assist. Nils Boe is putting through calls to Republican governors as well as to trusted mayors and county officials. Harry Dent, Jim Keogh, Herb Klein's people, et al are likewise at work preparing telephone and mailing lists, lining up resources, and in various other ways spring-loading themselves for follow-on efforts tomorrow afternoon and throughout the weekend.

Immediately after your press conference and the televised analyses of your remarks (i.e. promptly at 1:00 p.m.), I will meet in the Roosevelt Room with Klein, Ziegler, Chapin, Dent, Nofziger, Whitaker, and Keogh. Each attendee will state the actions which he believes to be most appropriate and which his office is prepared to take in order to accentuate the positive and, if necessary, eliminate the negative. I will have drawn up a game plan outline. After the group has discussed each proposal -- and scheduled it into the overall plan so as to achieve maximum (PR) effectiveness -- I will put the outline in final form and get it to you before your 5:00 p.m. departure for Camp David.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1969

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FORMAT -- PRESIDENTIAL MEETING BRIEF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Meeting with (Name of Individual or Group)
September 26, 1969 (Date)
10:00 a.m. (20 minutes)
(Time meeting to start and, in parenthesis,
time allotted for President's participation)

I. PURPOSE

State concisely (in one or two sentences) the true purpose or purposes of the meeting.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Pertinent general background information which you feel the President should be aware of before the meeting ... if any. But include here at least a short statement telling who requested the meeting. If necessary to submit more than 3-4 sentences of background information, attach other than the most essential details at a Tab, and so indicate.

B. Participants: A listing of all programmed participants and a very brief identification of each. List too the name(s) of the staff member(s) who will sit in. (Always confirm these names with Mr. Chapin's office during final preparation of the paper.)

If there are to be more than 5 total participants, attach the list of names at a Tab, and so indicate.

When the President should know of particular personal matters relevant to one or more of the participants, such information should be included in this section.

C. Press Plan: State very simply the press plan which has been coordinated and approved; for example -- "There will be a brief photo opportunity at the beginning of the meeting, and Messrs. Shultz and Ehrlichman will brief the press afterward" or "Ollie Atkins will take 2-3 quick photos" or "After a mid-meeting photo opportunity you will state to the press the purpose of the conference and the goals of the two task forces" or "No photos; no press involvement." (Always confirm the "press plan" with Mr. Ziegler, Mr. Warren or Mr. White during final preparation of the paper.)

NOTE: Continue numbering in order, but beyond this point include only the appropriate sections.

III.
(optional)

ACTION SEQUENCE

This section is applicable when the designated meeting place is other than the President's Oval Office or when a programmed Oval Office meeting is to involve actions which vary significantly from those which are considered "standard". When including this section, you should strive to make the President fully aware of the precise chronology of planned major and minor events -- with the emphasis, of course, on his actions.

IV.
(optional)

PROBABLE TALKING POINTS (or POINTS OF DISCUSSION) OF VISITOR(S), AND RECOMMENDED RESPONSES (RR)

- A. A major talking point or point of discussion which you expect the visitor to bring up.

RR: State concisely the response recommended for the President.

- B. A second major topic, talking point or point of discussion. If you think it essential that the President have more information on these items than the basic briefing paper will permit, attach the material at a Tab, and so indicate.

RR: It will be the responsibility of the person preparing the brief to insure that recommended responses are well-staffed, i.e. that they reflect the judgments of appropriate staff and Cabinet members.

V.
(optional)

RECOMMENDED TALKING POINTS (or POINTS OF DISCUSSION)

- A. Identify a recommended talking point or point of discussion preferably in words sufficient only to convey the thought or idea.
- B. Identify the next topic or talking point.

VI.
(optional)

OTHER POINTS YOU MAY WISH TO RAISE

- A. A statement relative perhaps to a personal matter if the President's mentioning the subject will serve a worthwhile purpose.
- B. A word or two about a particular administration program or policy, or about a legislative matter, when doing so will be beneficial.

VII.
(optional)

ISSUES (TOPICS, POINTS, ITEMS, etc.) TO AVOID

- A. Cite only those subjects which should not be discussed ... (or mentioned).
- B. State the reason(s) for your word of caution if you believe that information will be important to the President.

VIII.
(optional)

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

This section should be used only when it becomes necessary, or appears prudent, to add something (a point of discussion, a reminder, an important information item, etc.) to the paper after its final preparation and typing.

Third Draft
FRB

13 November 1969

I -- POSSIBLE NAMES FOR THE COUNCIL OR COMMITTEE

(Note: The name should suggest continuity and bi-partisan-ship in foreign policy. The following names are offered merely to elicit better suggestions.)

1. Council for the Continuity of the American Purpose
2. Committee to Assess National Priorities Abroad
3. Council for International Security Affairs
4. Institute for America's Vital Interests

II -- GENERAL PURPOSE

To present to the American people, under the aegis of bi-partisan sponsorship, the geopolitical, economic and military rationale for a continuing and effective U.S. presence in the world arena.

To articulate the reasons which have impelled Presidents and Secretaries of State and Defense of both major Parties to shape such instruments as the Marshall Plan, NATO, Point IV, SEATO, The World Bank, the Alliance for Progress, etc., and to provide also a military shield required to safeguard the vital interests of the U.S. and our Allies.

To explain -- through mass media and via campus and civic forums -- the historical and strategic reasons why the U.S. cannot allow any totalitarian empire to consolidate either all of Europe or the heartland of Asia against the "free world island."

To analyze the diplomatic, military and ideological strategies of both Moscow and Peking and compare these (for youth born after the end of WW II) with the strategies of Nazi Germany and the Warlords of Japan, so that the lessons learned from past struggles between Democracy and 20th century Dictatorship can be transmitted across the generation gap.

To educate, motivate and ennoble the American People -- on the eve of the 200th anniversary of their own Revolution -- to sustain prudent commitments to human freedom and social progress under law overseas as well as at home.

(Note: Almost certainly, the Council or Committee should not be organized as a short-term or "single issue" operation. The informal coalition of the New Left Isolationists and Pacifists is not opposed simply to the Vietnam War or the President's ABM proposal or to ROTC; it is agitating extensively against the whole complex of U.S. foreign and defense policy. The New Left Coalition can only be offset by a persistent, sustained, multi-faceted and sophisticated program of National Security Education.)

III -- ASSETS IN BEING

Background

For twelve years, a small group of Republicans and Democrats interested in U.S. foreign and defense policy have worked together to create a "liberal-conservative confederation" of approximately 5,000 key men in all parts of the country: scholars, educators, lawyers, editors, businessmen, foundation officials.

The loose confederation described above has been put together in large part through the work of a Committee of the American Bar Association in cooperation with 30 universities, a number of city school systems, officials in the National Education Association and members of Congress from both Parties. In parallel programs, the members of this same confederation have scheduled several hundred seminars on foreign policy and national defense problems for Methodist clergymen, the ETV system of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York and more than 100 editorial writers -- under the sponsorship of Schools of Journalism. Another 100,000 opinion-leaders have been educated in "briefing sessions" organized by the Interprofessional Council of the National Strategy Information Center and key men in the Young Presidents' Organization, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the Steel Service Center Institute, the International Association of Insurance Counsel, the Jaycees, the California and Virginia Bankers Associations, Freedom House in New York City and the Military-Industrial Conference in Chicago (1956-61).

The planning group of the "liberal-conservative confederation" includes: William J. Casey, Morris I. Leibman, Louis B. Nichols, Congressman John O. Marsh, Howard H. Callaway, William C. Mott, Dr. Frank N. Trager, Dr. William R. Kintner, Dr. Richard L. Walker, Charles West, Gene E. Bradley, Peter White, R. Daniel McMichael, Walter B. Petravage, Robert R. Richardson and Frank R. Barnett.

The Components of a Public Opinion Network

First Asset: AT THE GRASS ROOTS -- In every city in America, there are effective Reserve and National Guard officers trained in foreign and defense policy at the summer school of the National War College.

Since 1959 -- when this program was launched by a Republican Administration -- more than 2500 lawyers, editors, businessmen and teachers (Reserve officers all) have spent two weeks at the War College considering the problems of Vietnam, NATO, Communist insurgency, the Soviet missile threat, etc. They have listened to lectures by such scholars as Henry Kissinger, Warren Nutter, Bill Kintner, and Frank Trager. (Among the alumni of the course are Senator Jack Miller, Senator Cale Boggs, Congressman Richard Bolling, Congressman Jack Marsh, District Attorney Ev Younger of Los Angeles, Publisher Charles Gould of the San Francisco Examiner, Dr. Edgar Shannon, President of the University of Virginia.)

Well-trained Reserve officers -- armed with Fact Sheets prepared by scholars and government agencies -- can speak up in literally thousands of forums across the Land.

Second Asset: REACHING THE NATION'S YOUTH -- (a) For over six years, under the aegis of the American Bar Association, thirty universities have trained 10,000 HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS in a summer course called "Democracy vs. Communism." Armed with Fact Sheets, these teachers can reach several million high school youth BEFORE they are disoriented by SDS cadres. The Chairman of the relevant ABA Committee is Rear Admiral William C. Mott (Ret.) who is known to President Nixon. (The former Chairman, Morris I. Leibman, is a liberal Democrat who publicly supports U.S. policy in Vietnam and President Nixon's ABM decision.)

(b) Each year, more than 30,000 carefully selected high school student leaders attend Boy's State and Girl's State training programs under the auspices of the American Legion. Today, many of the alumni of these programs are a part of the Silent Center on hundreds of American college campuses. Armed with Fact Sheets, these dynamic young leaders could speak up effectively.

(c) Several responsible youth groups are now in formation and in touch with the "confederation" of adults described above: the Association of Student Governments (now on 200 campuses) and the Freedom Leadership Foundation. In addition, Young Republican Clubs, some Young Democratic Clubs, some elements of the Interfraternity Council, Honor Societies of ROTC, etc. have expressed an interest in participation. (In addition, Young Americans for Freedom -- if they will moderate their rhetoric and do some serious homework -- could energize certain segments of the populace.)

Third Asset: ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS -- There are at least 100 civilian professors who have served on the faculty of the various War Colleges and are now back on their own campuses. Already, many of these men have volunteered to help preserve and improve ROTC by giving special lectures on politico-military affairs and geopolitics that serve to upgrade the ROTC curriculum and make it more intellectually "respectable." (This program is under way on 80 campuses.) In addition to their ROTC lectures, these former War College professors can introduce courses in National Security Policy on scores of campuses, in the format of the Harvard Defense Seminar once taught by Dr. Henry Kissinger.

Fourth Asset: KEY OPINION MAKERS -- Another 1,000 outstanding lawyers, businessmen and educators have taken the ten-day Defense Orientation Course sponsored for over a decade by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. These men now belong to an "alumni society" called the Defense Orientation Conference Association (DOCA) with Headquarters in Washington. The members are well informed on defense and foreign policy issues. DOCA itself, as an organization, does not take positions; but its members, as individuals, could volunteer to speak to Rotary, the YMCA, women's clubs, the local school, etc.

Fifth Asset: INTELLECTUAL SUPPORT -- Among others, the following institutions are turning out relevant foreign policy and national security research which could be abstracted, digested and used as background materials for local speakers, editorials and TV panel discussions: (1) the Institute for Strategic Studies in London; (2) Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University; (3) the Council on Foreign Relations of New York City; (4) Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; (5) Russian and Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington; (6) Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina; (7) the

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University; (8) Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; (9) Research Institute on Communist Affairs, Columbia University; (10) the Sino-Soviet Institute of George Washington University; (11) the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich; (12) Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, University of Southern California.

Sixth Asset: WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCILS in 40 cities. The executive director of the Pittsburgh World Affairs Council, Ambassador Max W. Bishop, has created a "consortium" of approximately 40 other similar groups. The purpose is to upgrade community education with a greater input of "politico-military-strategic" information. (Ambassador Bishop served several years on the faculty of the Naval War College and is a friend of Senator Richard Russell; hence part of his own interest in realistic foreign and defense policies.)

Seventh Asset: NATIONALITY GROUPS. Chinese-Americans in New York City and San Francisco are intelligently anti-Communist and understand the dangers posed by the Maoist doctrine of guerrilla wars. They are eager to help support a resolute U.S. foreign policy. Members of the "confederation" could help find leaders in this group. Similarly, Dr. Walter Judd knows literally thousands of leaders among the millions of Americans who are of Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Baltic and White Russian origin. These people have consistently looked to President Nixon as one of the relatively few American leaders who understands the nature of Communist aggression. They could provide "mass support" for a movement designed to offset the "shock tactics" of the New Left Coalition.

IV -- MARSHALING THE ASSETS

Grass roots talent is trained and in place. Lawyers, labor leaders, teachers and businessmen can speak and write letters. Scholars can take part in TV debates and fill campus forums. Twelve major university research centers can provide intellectual support. The efficacy of the Committee on Education About Communism of the American Bar Association can assist the purpose. Committees of the U.S. Chamber and the Jaycees could help. Union officials are known to be ready to help.

V -- WHAT IS LACKING?

What is needed, however, to cement the pieces together is a PRESTIGE COMMITTEE. Ideally, it should be headed by two or three co-chairmen of the stature of Neil McElroy, Dean Acheson, George Meany, Eugene Black, John McCloy, Alfred Gruenther, George Champion, David Rockefeller.

(The committee might be comprised of such Republicans and Democrats as Robert Murphy, Gordon Gray, Tom Gates, Mary Lord, Paul Douglas, Joe Alsop, Roscoe Drummond, Hobart Lewis, Tom Connelly, Claire Booth Luce, Peter Dominick, Scoop Jackson, Lewis Powell, Gen. Lucius Clay, James S. Copley, Eugene Rostow, Tom Dewey, George Gallup, et al.)

VI -- TELL IT TO HANOI, ETC.

The sponsors of the TELL IT TO HANOI ad, the Dean Acheson/Paul Nitze committee, and the William J. Casey Citizens Committee for Peace With Security indicate that there are those willing to speak out. Such persons and groups might collectively be a talent pool for a National blue ribbon committee.

VII -- CAVEATS

1. Why A "Crash Program" Won't Work: The New Left students (plus adult pacifists) have so saturated America with anti-war and anti-Establishment propaganda that the "old rules" of American politics no longer apply; i.e., a State Department White Paper or even a Presidential Address cannot by itself turn public opinion around completely. A speech by the President should be reinforced -- over a three months' period -- by literally hundreds of petitions, ads and talks by grass roots leaders who reiterate the theme. Otherwise, the effect of a President's speech can be undercut by a network "documentary" -- or a Senate Foreign Relations TV hearing -- plus 500 rallies and "teach-ins" sponsored by the scores of groups who have banded together in the "New Mobilization."
2. Moreover, the New Left (which numbers not a few professors and mass media experts in its ranks) has a long "lead time" over the SILENT MAJORITY. The left intelligentsia has access to many academic journals, educational TV programs, the influential "little"

magazines, and key book review pages -- not to mention control of the only College Press Service which is received by 450 college newspapers and the Liberation News Service which feeds some 200 separate publications of the Underground Press, with a readership of one million college and high school students.

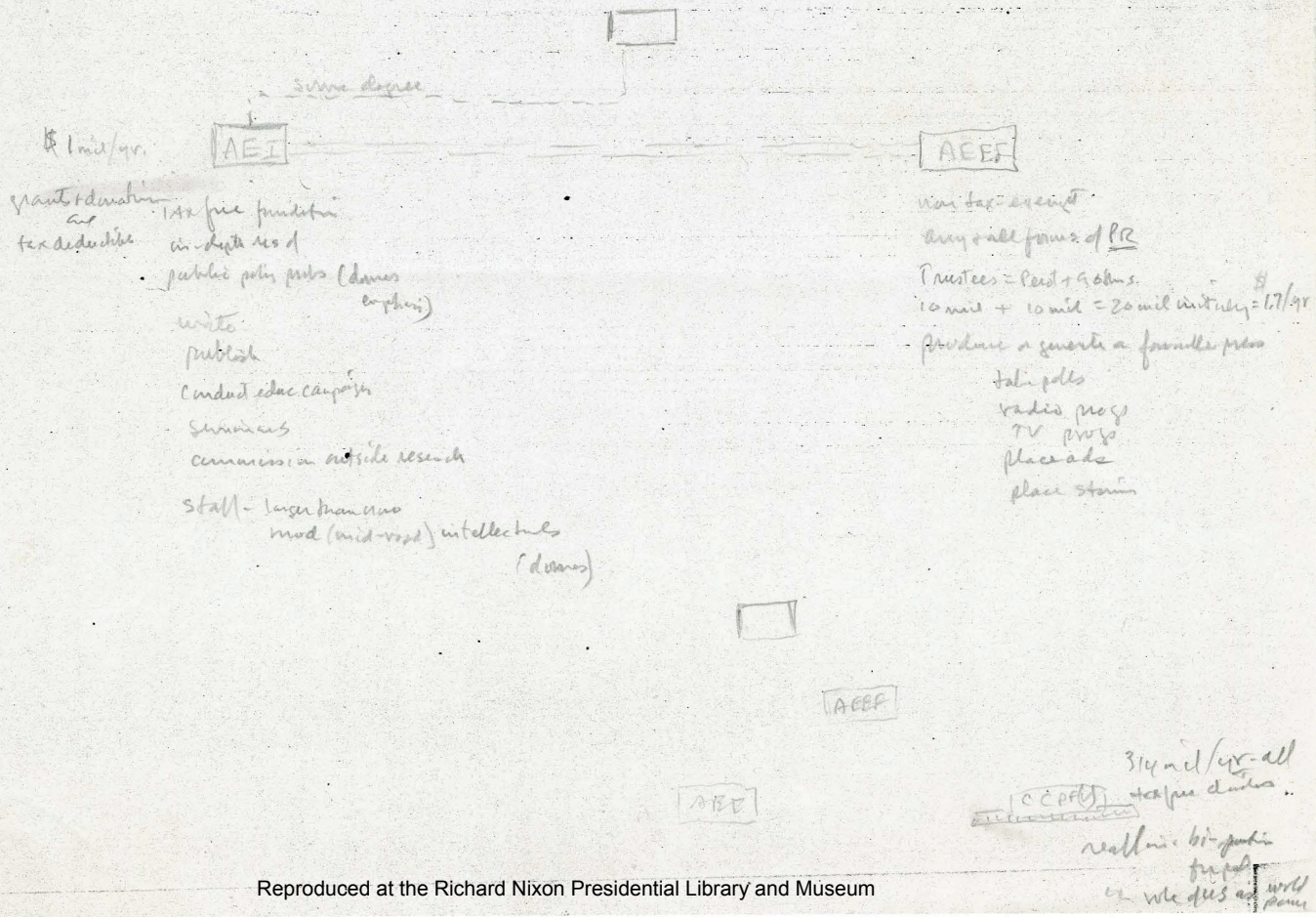
3. If anyone thinks the POLITICAL AUDACITY, FINESSE and AGITATIONAL SKILL of the New Left/Isolationist/Pacifist Coalition can be put down with one "Veterans Rally" or one "Patriotic Ad," he is gravely underestimating the power of Lenin's injunction to "organize, organize, organize!"
4. THE RESPONSIBLE MIDDLE SECTOR -- perplexed, well-mannered, and normally fearful of "controversy" -- must now shed its inhibitions and move its battalions onto the terrain of public opinion. Otherwise, those who have studied Mao, "Che," Lenin and Dr. Goebbels will almost certainly succeed in polarizing the country and thereby paralyzing National Will.

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: OUTSIDE GROUPS

There should be four areas of outside concentration. All of these are complementary, inter-related, and hopefully non-duplicative. Each would be expected to work with the other as its respective talents and capabilities dictate.



I. AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE

The present structure of AEI should not be changed, except that its political complexion might be brought more to the center by attracting distinguished intellectual moderates to serve either on the board or in advisory capacities. Its staff should be greatly expanded.

AEI's functions should be directed to in-depth research of public policy problems, with an obvious emphasis on the domestic sector. It would be encouraged to publish its research, conduct educational campaigns generally (providing they are not intended to influence legislation), run seminars for intellectuals from the campuses and from leading publications, provide a lecture service and maintain data and background material on major policy questions.

AEI is presently a tax free foundation and, therefore, donations and grants to AEI are tax deductible to the donor within limitations of the present law. I will provide by separate memorandum an analysis of the strictures placed on tax free foundations by the Internal Revenue Code. The tax free status of AEI must be carefully protected because the financing effort will be relatively simple.

With an increased budget AEI can significantly expand its staff to have a number of resident intellectuals, as well as commissioning outside work. The latter is important; AEI should pay writers and academicians to produce studies and in-depth research analyses for the use of AEI and for AEI's subsequent dissemination. This is a most effective way to cultivate sympathetic intellectuals who can continue to work for us as interested disciples in their own academic or intellectual communities.

AEI would, of course, make its material available to us and we would have some degree of control over what it publishes. Most importantly, it would make its data available to the foundation described in the subsequent section.

Something in the nature of \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 a year would very adequately support the level of effort contemplated.

II. AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL AND EDITORIAL FOUNDATION

It is proposed that the Ross Perot effort be channeled through a non tax-exempt foundation here in Washington. The organization would be free to engage in any form of public relations activity and/or legislative effort since it would not be dependent upon a tax ruling from the Treasury Department.

It should be staffed by first rate public relations personnel. It would draw from the resources of the Douglas Committee, AEI, and other sources which we might provide for its substantive support. We would maintain close liaison and would, of course, make available material generated both within and without the Administration.

The trustees would include Ross Perot and perhaps nine other administration friends. We must strike a balance between having tight control and yet not appear to be Ross Perot's own personal operation.

The function of the foundation would be to generate a favorable press, to produce and distribute public service type television and radio programs, to place advertisements, to take polls, to educate both the public generally and specific intellectual targets, and to provide in-depth public relations support on the outside for Administration programs.

To finance the foundation consideration should be given to the establishment of a series of trusts, the proceeds of which would be paid into the foundation to support its annual operations. An individual could create a trust of at least ten years and one day duration, irrevocable for its term but with the corpus reverting to the donor at the termination of the trust. The income from the trust would be paid each year to the foundation to support its operating activities. Desirably there should be several such trusts created. For example, if Ross Perot were to place in a trust \$10,000,000, irrevocable for ten years and one day, with the income paid to the foundation, he would in effect be loaning the money interest free and would have the right at the end of ten years and a day to take the money back. We could agree, if he would place 10 million in trust for this purpose, to match an equal amount from other sources. 20 million dollars in trust, invested at 8 1/2% per annum would produce \$1,700,000 a year to support the operating budget.

...

This procedure affords the additional advantage of acting as an endowment, that is, money given by donors would not be expended as given, but rather the earnings from their gifts and donations would be used. It has the additional advantage of removing the donor from a position of direct control over the use of the money and would alleviate a number of the political and potential conflict problems that might arise if Ross Perot simply were to give \$10 million directly to a foundation for the support of the President.

The income from the trust would, of course, be exempt from taxation insofar as the donor is concerned. The profits of the foundation, if any, would in turn be taxed like any other business. The consequence to Perot for example, would be minimal. He would ultimately get his \$10 million back if he wanted it. All he would lose in the interim would be the use of the money. Were he to invest it himself at 8 1/2% he would pay almost 80% of the earnings out in taxes. Effectively, then the cost of the trust to Perot would be less than \$150,000 a year.

III. EXPANDING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DOUGLAS COMMITTEE

We have considered the original proposal made by Frank Barnett, Senator Mundt and others to create a latter-day "William Allen White Committee," that is, a large, broadly-based blue ribbon group, whose purpose would be to support the President in reaffirming a bi-partisan foreign policy and reaffirming the role of the U.S. as a world power.

There are certain advantages to using the existing Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam for this purpose -- popularly known as the "Douglas Committee." The principal advantages are two-fold: first, the organization is a tax exempt foundation; second, its founding membership is an outstanding and broadly based blue ribbon group, perhaps an even better group than we could assemble today starting from scratch.

The major disadvantage is that the Douglas Committee is oriented entirely to support of the President in the Vietnam controversy, whereas what we ultimately envision is much broader in scope and purpose. This broader mission can be accomplished, however, in an evolutionary process. The "In Vietnam" portion of the name would be dropped in due course.

All that is required is a limited amount of financing - perhaps, a half to three quarters of a million dollars per year (all tax free donations). We believe that we can keep complete control over the functions of the committee by providing the financing from our friends and by selecting the staff. It is presently run completely by its Director and Deputy Director, both of whom we presently control.

The proposal would be to staff the committee principally with respected intellectuals in the foreign policy field. Public relations support would be provided by the foundation described in the preceding section. The committee's functions would be very similar to those of AEI in the domestic field.

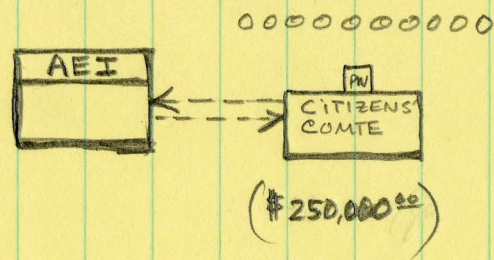
The enclosed brochure lists the 130 founding members of the Citizens Committee. The enclosed memorandum prepared by Frank Barnett describes in depth the purposes, functions and most importantly, the assets available for the committee's operation. Barnett's memo was drafted with a view to establishing a new committee but it is readily adaptable to the contemplated activities of the Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam.

...

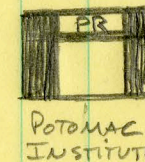
This proposal has been discussed with Morrie Leibman, Hobart Lewis, Admiral Bill Mott, with Tyroler and Washburn of the Citizens Committee and with Barnett. There is unanimous accord that this would be the most effective way in which to proceed.

IV. EFFORTS OF THE UNITED WE STAND, TELL IT TO HANOI

It is contemplated that the United We Stand effort will continue in being but with policy direction perhaps funnelled through the foundation or the Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom. United We Stand is intended to be a grass roots organization which develops support from the "silent majority" for the President's position with respect to the Vietnam War. Some of the efforts that have been undertaken by these grass roots groups could better be handled by the Foundation or the Citizens Committee, but basically United We Stand will continue to serve a valuable purpose in organizing and soliciting individual response across the country as particular issues and needs arise.



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UNITED WE STAND

AMER HORIZONS INC

Agenda to Institute for an Informed America

It should be noted that methods of setting up the Institute and financing of it have not been mentioned. That is someone else's area.

The name "Institute for an Informed America" is flexible. However, I continue to oppose the use of the word "Responsible" in a name because it implies an Irresponsible America.

The idea of an "Institute" is relatively new, but seems to have the advantage of being more encompassing and therefore more flexible than a P.R. firm.

THE INSTITUTE FOR AN INFORMED AMERICA

- PURPOSE:** To insure that the American people have access to all sides of significant issues. Implicit here is the understanding that the media already gives emphasis to one side.
- METHOD:** Full utilization of existing media--printed, spoken, visual.
Utilization of authoritative spokesmen and writers--academic, political, business, professional. Speeches, articles, seminars, debates.
Wide dissemination of articles, treatises, research.
Use of radio tapes, film and video tape.
Production and dissemination of educational materials for colleges and high schools.
Mobilization of silent majority through new and existing organizations.
- LOCATION:** Washington, D. C.
- STAFF:** Managing director and such staff as needed, but to include:
Writers having professional experience
A TV/radio expert
A researcher
A researcher/librarian
A public relations expert
An artist with expertise in graphics
- In addition, the Institute will utilize the services of free-lance photographers, TV and film crews, writers and other specialists as needed.
- This is to be a highly professional staff, with emphasis on competence.
- OPERATIONS:** Members will work on assignment from the managing director.
- They will deal with current issues and medium and long-range projects.

For example: Today's issue--support for the President in Vietnam.
Medium range--support for the President's new Asian policy.
Long range--support for America's world role and the theory that politics should stop at the water's edge.

Or, Short range--support for the President's crime bills.
Medium range--overall war on crime.
Long range--reversing the permissive attitude of today's society.

The Institute will work closely, but unofficially, with the White House. It will also work closely and in conjunction with the AEI. It will utilize other organizations as necessary.

Here is the way a project might work:

Drug abuse (short term). The President's message and legislation go to the Hill.

The White House distributes the message, sends statements to Congressmen, holds briefings, etc.

At the same time, IIA produces a series of editorials and columns outlining the need for such legislation. These would be distributed free to non-metropolitan dailies and weeklies at frequent intervals.

Administration spokesmen would be interviewed (including Congressmen) for hard news quotes on radio tape and film. These would be distributed as news to radio and TV stations in major areas, at least two or three times a week. Groups such as police chiefs, district attorneys, etc. would be mobilized to support the legislation publicly, via press releases, press conferences, etc.

Experts in the field would be utilized to write features, for use by Sunday supplements. Interviews would also be distributed.

Information would be fed to IIA by the White House to insure that IIA would be able to distribute exclusive information.

Sources of opposition would be carefully noted and efforts would be made to counteract it, using the same methods discussed above.

Regardless of the passage or failure of the legislation, IIA would continue to pound away at the problem of drug abuse and the reasons behind such abuse.

The purpose would be to set a climate of public opinion that would ease the passage of future legislation, help elect supporters and defeat opponents, and in general, build a stronger (internally) America.

For another issue, it might well be that IIA in conjunction with AEI could produce and publicize the facts and figures that would stir public demand for legislation, which the Administration could then introduce.

This, of course, is what has happened with the peace movement and the pot movement.

COST: \$1,000,000 a year minimum.

Attached are three columns, all of which are anti-SAM.

Also kicks us around on the voting bill

E & N kick us around on OEO

Von Hoffman's is a blatant bid to win sympathy for criminals on the grounds that they are Negro and is completely anti-police and anti-establishment.

Columns and editorials should be written to counteract each of these.

I have heard or seen nothing.

A conservative reporter could get Rumsfeld to deny he's bitter.

Properly liberal Congressmen could be found to say why they supported our voting rights bill.

I am getting the material needed to do a major speech on the Panthers but the information on them should be made available in several places on the Hill, and to media.

These are the kinds of things that not only could be offset, but also, imaginative thinking could have our side out before the other side was even written.

An IIA could be instrumental in this.

The Great Panther Hunt

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

Post
12/15/69

We Americans are mixed up in so many killings, it's not easy to separate out the routine hits from the important ones. Anybody with half a brain, however, can see the offing of Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party by the forces of lawncorder was the most significant rub-out of 1969, a year that is making a late calendar effort to equal the carnage of 1968.

Until the gunsels gave it to Hampton in his bed, there had been two liberation movements in the black American world. There had been the one we liberal white people called "responsible" and "moderate" and the other which we spoke of as "militant," "radical" and "irresponsible." That's over.

Once Ralph David Abernathy wouldn't have been caught within miles of a Black Panther. The other day he went to Fred Hampton's funeral and spoke words of consolation over the man's body. Black Congressmen of the stripe who'd fidget and look quiet when Rap Brown's name came up are demanding the Great Panther Hunt be called off.

This is going to confuse white people who've been told that the Panther is a predatory carnivore in a land of herbivorous ungulates. To us whites, Panthers are gangsters, Communists, murderers and racists; we believe Panthers are very dangerous people who must be disarmed immediately at all costs.

But the situation created by the latest shooting and killing in Chicago and Los Angeles is so bad we must make an effort to drop our ethnocentrism and try to imagine how a black person might look at what's happening. We look at each of these police attacks as a unique case, just as we look at Mylai as an "isolated incident." It doesn't occur to us that a black man might see a pattern in what's going on.

He will remember the Marcus Garvey liberation movement of the 1920s and the Black Muslim movement of the 1950s, both important and promising efforts at the political organization of the urban black poor by blacks themselves without hidden white financial support and control. Both movements were smashed by the white government.

We whites buy the Los Angeles police department's explanation of the attack the other day on the grounds the Panthers in the apartment had guns and fought back. A black person might remember the infantry attack launched by the L.A.P.D. in 1965 against The Honorable Elijah Muhammad's temple there. The assault, also near dawn, included firing nobody knows how many rounds of machine gun ammunition in the place. When it was over no guns were found.

You don't have to be a fanatic or a Communist or an irresponsible militant to conclude that, if the police are going to attack you with machine guns when you're unarmed, you'd do as well to try to defend yourself. In fact, a nonwhite person might decide, after comparing Chicago with Los Angeles, that it was the guns that saved the people's lives.

Consider that in Chicago there is serious reason to doubt that Hampton was armed or ready to shoot back. (The police contend he was, but police testimony about killing black radicals ought not to be given too much weight.) So Hampton—possibly unarmed—may have been burst in on and slaughtered in his bed, while in Los Angeles, where the Panthers fought, that battle went on till daylight and enough people had gathered to see and be witnesses to any murdering of unarmed men.

Some people will read this and say the writer is encouraging people to pick up guns and shoot policemen. He is not. He is as absolutely against citizens murdering policemen as he is against policemen murdering citizens. It's wrong, unlawful, insane and tragic. What we are discussing here is how it can come to pass that men would do such things.

We well-to-do white people, when we're in a serious jam, we get ourselves a lawyer, we go to court and we sue. Black people don't have money for that and if they did, getting justice or protection from these white courts is a very iffy proposition. The white-controlled mechanisms of protection have been notably ineffective in keeping lower-class black leaders alive and well: Dr. Martin Luther King (murdered), Medgar Evers (murdered), Malcolm X (murdered), Eldridge Cleaver

See COMMENT, C10, Col. 1

The Great Panther Hunt

COMMENT, From C1

(exiled), Stokely Carmichael (exiled), Robert Williams (exiled, returned and now jailed), Bobby Seale (jailed). The Panthers alone claim that 28 of their top people have been murdered in the last couple of years and there's no strong prima facie reason to disbelieve them, but these are the big famous names or the members of relatively large and well-known organizations. There are countless episodes of repression and violence that either go unreported or only get a couple of lines in the back of the paper. For example in September in Camden, N. J., the cops raided a garment factory run by the Black People's Unity Movement, smashed their sewing machines and put their leader in jail.

The best thing that could happen is that Attorney General Mitchell would get his mojo going and do what he's paid for instead of the opposite. Fat chance. So how are black politicals going to get protection? Perhaps the best thing would be for rich, white kids to bed down in every Panther apartment and headquarters so that the cops will have to shoot through them to get at the black cats. This was what was done in the South during the Civil Rights Movement era and it unquestionably saved a lot of black lives. Even a cracker from the Justice Department is going to think a little before he messes with a young Dupont or Rockefeller.

If this killing and jailing and beating doesn't stop, the blacks are going to shoot back. If their lower-class political organizations are smashed, they'll do it under the guise of conventional crime. This is already happening. The urban crime that the government is unable to prevent is actually an individualized, unorganized form of guerilla warfare conducted by people with little political consciousness but an overwhelming hatred for the circumstances under which they must live.

Hundreds of thousands of young black men are grow-

ing up in the cities without the Southern tradition of subservience which bred a self-hatred that caused black men to kill each other. They will fight lawnorder and they will be joined by a certain number of whites. The results will be catastrophic for everyone. Such will surely happen unless we white men learn that how we see ourselves isn't necessarily how we are. We've been told the truth about ourselves often enough but we never listen. Nearly a hundred years ago, Sitting Bull, the great Indian chief, said it right and said it straight at the Powder River Council:

"Behold, my brothers, the spring has come; the earth has received the embraces of the sun and we shall soon see the results of that love.

"Every seed is awakened and so has all animal life. It is through this mysterious power that we too have our being, and therefore we yield to our neighbors, even our animal neighbors, the same right as ourselves, to inhabit this land.

"Yet, hear me, people, we have now to deal with another race—small and feeble when our fathers first met them but now great and overbearing. Strangely enough they have a mind to till the soil and the love of possession is a disease with them. These people have made many rules that the rich may break but the poor may not. They take tithes from the poor and weak to support the rich and those who rule. They claim this mother of ours, the earth, for their own and fence their neighbors away; they deface her with their buildings and their refuse. That nation is like a spring freshet that overruns its banks and destroys all who are in its path.

"We cannot dwell side by side. Only seven years ago we made a treaty by which we were assured that the buffalo country should be left to us forever. Now they threaten to take that away from us. My brothers, shall we submit or shall we say to them: 'First kill me before you take possession of my Fatherland . . .'"

Post - 12/15/69



Joseph Alsop

Nixon's Stand on Voting Bill Reveals Bid to Angry Whites

FAR MORE than Judge Haynsworth's nomination, or the matter of the desegregation guidelines, or indeed anything else that has been done or said, the new voting rights bill has now quite starkly revealed the real political strategy of the Nixon administration.

As everyone knows by now, the bill was carried in the House by a maximum White House effort, and by a very narrow majority. As everyone also knows, the new bill is a pale substitute for the existing but soon-expiring statute, which has literally put about a million formerly disfranchised Southern Negroes on the voting rolls.

There was an argument, perhaps, for altering the rather nakedly sectional character of the expiring statute. There was no argument at all, however, for greatly diluting the expiring statute's effectiveness, under the guise of making the replacement "nationally applicable."

In consequence, this is mighty unpalatable medicine for old-fashioned Americans, who still believe in every citizen's right to cast his vote and say his say, without regard to race or creed or color. And just for that reason — because this really is so much more unpalatable medicine than the Haynsworth nomination, for instance — it is the final demonstration of this administration's firm adoption of the so-called Southern strategy.

AFTER the new bill carried the House by a majority of five, with 129 dragooned Republicans composing almost two-thirds of its supporters, someone remarked to Democratic Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia that he might soon have

to change his registration. The ablest of the Southern senators gave a short, not exactly amused bark of laughter, and replied briefly: "Anything can happen nowadays."

But what pleases Sen. Talmadge does not please a good many members of the President's own party; and here, of course, is the real rub for the President. His leader in the Senate, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, is making no secret of his firm determination to fight for renewal of the existing statute, and therefore against the President and the Department of Justice.

Sen. Scott, who has a fine civil rights record, gets a lot of votes from Pennsylvania's large Negro population; so conviction and convenience coincide in his case. You find the same pattern in the two members of the House Republican leadership group, who went their own way despite the normally persuasive pleas of Rep. Gerald Ford.

These were young Rep. Robert Taft, from Ohio, and Rep. John Anderson, from Illinois. Naturally, they were joined by the doughty William McCulloch, also from Ohio, the senior member of the House Judiciary Committee, whose contributions to the cause of equal rights and equal opportunity have put all thinking Americans in his debt.

If you glance down the list of House Republicans who refused to vote with the administration, like the three above-listed, you find that they are almost uniformly from northern industrial states. By the same token, the Democrats voting the other way were almost all Southerners. Yet there were one or two portents, like the unique pro-

administration vote of a New York City Democrat, Rep. James Delaney, who comes from a district full of worried middle-class working people in Queens.

ONE DELANEY hardly makes a trend, yet the portent is worth weighing, all the same. The blunt fact of the matter is that the administration's political strategists are not just hoping to win Southern white votes. They are hoping to win worried, formerly Democratic Northern middle-class votes, too. It is balderdash that the White House advocates of the Southern strategy have really "written off" Northern industrial states like Pennsylvania and Ohio. They are not such fools as that.

They are counting, rather, on more and more middling white voters feeling the kinds of emotion that prevail in Delaney's Queens district. And the further ghastly fact is that their calculations may perhaps be justified.

All you need to do is figure out the reactions of the average Italian, or Polish, or even Jewish workingman, when he reads the recent news from Harvard. He has no chance on earth of Harvard coming out into the highways and byways, to choose out his son as a matter of social duty. And he grows furious when he reads about the goings-on of the black undergraduates who have been chosen out in just this manner.

In sum, the follies of black extremists can perhaps make the Southern strategy practical politics, even in the North. But nothing on earth can make it moral politics.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Nixon's Treatment of Rumsfeld A Symbol of Party Polarization

THE DEGREE to which President Nixon has undercut his own antipoverty chief, Donald Rumsfeld, was revealed last Thursday in a remarkable conversation between a senior Republican congressman and a top White House aide.

The congressman was complaining about Rumsfeld's quiet quest for a presidential letter to House leaders of both parties forthrightly opposing an amendment which would have turned control of the poverty program over to state governors. The congressman was informed by the White House that not only would no such letter be written but that Rumsfeld had been instructed to stop such lobbying efforts immediately. In fact, that amendment was beaten in an amazing upset on the House floor Friday night. But on Thursday, the President's coolness appeared to remove Rumsfeld's last hope of defeating it.

Thus, Mr. Nixon's attitude toward Rumsfeld in the House poverty fight was not hostile neutrality, so apparent on the surface, but outright hostility. That reflects not only the idiosyncratic manner in which the Nixon White House handles congressional relations but also symbolizes deepening polarization in the Republican Party.

AT ONE POLE on this issue are Rumsfeld and a few progressive Republican congressmen who still believe their party can expand its base among the poor and the black. At the other pole is the House Republican leadership, dedicated to capturing the 1968 Wallace vote. On this and other issues, Mr. Nixon hesitated between the two poles, then allowed himself to be drawn, irresistibly to the conservative pole along with most Republicans.

Actually, during the interregnum a year ago President-elect Nixon all but decided to eliminate the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the LBJ-created poverty agency. That was welcome news to Republican congressmen who had spent four years crusading against OEO.

Once in the White House, however, Mr. Nixon had second thoughts. Prominent advisers—particularly, Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare—persuaded him to preserve OEO under a top-flight director with Cabinet status. Rumsfeld, one of the most promising young Republicans in Congress, was talked into surrendering his safe House seat from Illinois. Nevertheless, Mr. Nixon's commitment to the poverty program remained doubtful.

The President's attitude became vitally significant because Rumsfeld at OEO



Evans

Novak

quickly embarked on a collision course with the House Republican leadership. Reversing his old congressional position, he fought against a takeover of OEO functions by governors (who, in major industrial states, are Republicans answerable to suburban and rural constituencies). Rumsfeld warned that they would destroy the program, but most Republican House members (and their Southern Democratic allies) couldn't care less.

AN ADDED complication was Rumsfeld's sour relations with many old colleagues. Conservative Republicans had not forgotten the night when Rumsfeld and other young congressmen (dubbed "Rumsfeld's raiders") kept the House in session attempting to force congressional reforms. Moreover, Rumsfeld's privately expressed low opinion of congressional ability had filtered into the Republican cloakrooms.

The point of no return for accommodation between Rumsfeld and the House old guard came late in November when he asked Rep. John Anderson of Illinois, Republican caucus chairman and the most liberal of the party's House leaders, for a telephone whip check of Republican sentiment about OEO. Republican Les Arends of Illinois, the 75-year-old whip, was enraged at what he regarded as an encroachment on his domain. Stomping about the House floor, Arends snapped that he was making whip checks

when Anderson and Rumsfeld were "in diapers."

Although Democratic congressmen saved Rumsfeld in Friday night's vote, in early December it had seemed that only White House intervention could prevent his humiliation. But when Rumsfeld met with key House Republicans Nov. 29 on Capitol Hill he got no help from White House aides present. Rather, in urging Rumsfeld to bend, they clearly sided with the House Republicans. The story was identical at a second meeting a few days later in the White House.

ACCORDINGLY, nobody expected Mr. Nixon to come to his beleaguered poverty czar's assistance. When Rep. Albert Quie of Minnesota, on Dec. 3, unveiled his amendment to turn the program over to the governors, House Republican leader Gerald Ford of Michigan promptly embraced it without checking the White House.

Far from hostility toward Ford, the climate at the White House was against Rumsfeld for being so stiff-necked. In his grudging "support" for Rumsfeld at his Dec. 8 press conference, Mr. Nixon indicated he wished his poverty director would come to his senses. No presidential aide tried to dissuade a single congressman from supporting the Quie amendment.

Even though the amendment was killed in the spectacular surprise on the House floor Friday night, bitterness among House Republicans will live on. To the minority of Republican congressmen who follow the leadership of John Anderson on this and other issues, the President's treatment of Rumsfeld is the worst kind of news. It is another link in a political grand strategy taking the Republican Party in directions they fear and mistrust.