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DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD**

| DOCUMENT<br>NUMBER           | DOCUMENT<br>TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS                                                                                     | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| N-1/157                      | Memo             | Bull to Haldeman, re: Presidential Activities and Image Reintegrated from Contested Files 07/10/2006                | 03/08/1972 | C (Nixon)   |
| N-2/158,<br>253, 254         | Memo             | Bull to Snyder, re: non-Political use of Television [3 copies] Reintegrated from Contested Files 07/10/2006         | 03/08/1972 | C (Nixon)   |
| N-3/159,<br>255, 256,<br>257 | Memo             | Bull to Scali, re: non-Political Use of Television [4 copies] Reintegrated from Contested Files 07/10/2006          | 01/21/1972 | C (Nixon)   |
| N-4/160                      | Report           | Development of Scheduling and Advancing Operations for 1972 [2 Copies] Reintegrated from Contested Files 07/10/2006 | n.d.       | C (Nixon)   |
| N-5/161                      | Memo             | Bull to Haldeman, re: Scheduling of Senator Goldwater and other Surrogate Candidates [2 copies]                     | 09/16/1971 | C (Nixon)   |
| N-6/162                      | Memo             | Bull to Chapin, re: Random Thoughts on the RNC Convention                                                           | 07/20/1971 | C (Nixon)   |
| N-7/163                      | Memo             | Bull to Chapin, re: Celebrities Program                                                                             | 07/08/1971 | C (Nixon)   |

COLLECTION TITLE

WHSF: SMOF: Stephen B. Bull

BOX NUMBER

5

FOLDER TITLE

Republican National Convention - 1972

**PRMPA RESTRICTION CODES:**

A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.  
B. National security classified information.  
C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights. (CONTESTED MATERIALS)  
D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.

E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.  
F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.  
G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.  
H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

March 8, 1972  
12:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM: STEPHEN BULL 

RE: Presidential Activities and Image

A meeting was held with the recipients of this memo today to discuss ideas and approaches to Presidential events. The basic premise was that the President is at a high point now and is viewed more as a Statesman than he ever has in the past. For many people, perhaps the undecided voter in particular, they are thinking in terms of "there is President Nixon" versus "there is Richard Nixon". It is important that the President maintain this image of Statesman, particularly since it contrasts so favorably against the Democratic (and two Republican) candidates running in the primaries.

In order to maintain the Statesman image, there are two principal factors with which we must contend:

1. The President's desire to jump into political situations (uncontrollable by us).
2. Structuring of events in a manner commensurate with the Statesman image we want the President to continue projecting (controllable).

It is anticipated that for upcoming trips the President may wish to have large crowds in order to reflect general public support for his China initiatives. The thinking is that we should avoid the standard political crowd-type situation such as groups along motorcades, standard rally setups at airports, etc. We can achieve our goal of showing the President with enthusiastic and supportive crowds, but we can be selective in the manner in which we do it. For example, were the President to visit Indianapolis for a meeting in a Federal office building on the subject of drugs,

there would be no crowds except for the outside of the building. The President's motorcade would arrive, there would be all these people waiting just to see the President, the President would walk through a cordoned-off area, perhaps not even shaking any hands but merely waving, and move into the building. Unlike the candidates who are running through the primary States, and unlike our past practices, the President would not speak from a "hidden" mike nor from a bullhorn. In other words, he would participate in no activities that even smacked of politics.

The evening network news shows have now nearly all gone to a "Campaign '72" or similar spot in the show featuring activities of the candidates. For as long as possible, hopefully through September, we would like to have all Presidential activities separate from the "Campaign '72" portion of the program. The President should not be lumped in with the Muskies, McGoverns and others who are out stumping across the countryside. Rather, the President's activities would be non-political and would be reported on their own merit as Presidential events. In order to avoid having a Presidential activity, particularly one of significance, lumped in with the opponents' political activities, the President must operate in a manner diametrically opposed to that in which the candidates are operating. The Muskies and McGoverns are using our bag of tricks these days, sending sound trucks down the street building up crowds for their candidates to address. Our President enjoys being in crowds, but we can approach it differently. As suggested with the hypothetical drug conference in Indianapolis, there would be just one crowd and the President would not speak with them. The part that would make the news show might be the clip of a number of people who just turned out to see their President, and this would be coupled with a news story on the substance of the event which was the reason for the President visiting that city.

We must recognize the penchant the President has for involving himself in political matters. I hesitate to use the word "condition", but to a certain extent we can structure events so that the President is not put into a situation where he would react in a political manner similar to his opponents. From a scheduling and advancing point, we can avoid the gimmickry and certain rally techniques that we have employed in the past. But to put the President in situations where he can receive a good public reaction to his presence, we can make a more concerted effort when visiting a city to seek out and find those events such as conventions (like the women's group that was meeting at the Airport Marriott in Chicago last year) at which the President

can drop by on a truly spontaneous basis and be well received as the President.

It is felt that substance is really the key to keeping the President on the Presidential level, and that we must condition ourselves to keep this aspect of any event foremost in our minds.

We will have to work on new approaches to Presidential events which will require new responsibilities for scheduling and advance people. The purpose of our meeting was to begin thinking of how we should approach Presidential events, and to recognize that the President's present image is a terrific asset that should be perpetuated as long as possible, and that there are certain things that we can do to maintain this image in the minds of the public.

cc: M. Goode  
D. Parker  
R. Walker

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

March 8, 1972

FOR: ALVIN SNYDER  
FROM: STEPHEN BULL   
RE: Non-Political Use of Television

Please refer to my memorandum to you of January 21, 1972, in which you were requested to give some thought to this subject. Now that the China trip has passed, and before we get deeply involved in other matters, perhaps you could turn your attention to this subject.

Thank you.

cc: D. Chapin

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FOR: JOHN SCALI  
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*  
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January 21, 1972

FOR: JOHN SCALI

FROM: STEPHEN BULL 

RE: Non-Political Use of Television

Over the next 10 months, the use of TV, both nationally and regionally, will be of extreme importance to the President. Because of your background and knowledge of this subject, you undoubtedly have some specific ideas, or could formulate some, on the use of television that would best benefit the President. Such considerations would take into account not only the formats provided by the medium of television, but the timing based on the substance of the material the President would discuss. For example, what would be the most appropriate time, and format, for the President to report on his trip to China? Should he wait until after the USSR trip and report on both trips as a package, or hold a press conference between each, etc.?

Now that we are just about in the full swing of the campaign, the Democrats are apparently entitled to equal time on television when the President makes some sort of major address, statement, or has a news conference. There are obviously ways around this equal time provision with the White House and the institution of the Presidency being used as a base. What they are, I am not sure, but perhaps you have some thoughts on this.

Would it be advisable, at some point in the near or the distant future, for John Scali to discard his low profile status and become a public spokesman on television for the Administration?

The above are just a few areas to which you are requested to address yourself on the subject of how TV can and should be used over the next 10 months. It would be appreciated if you would give some thought to this matter and then submit your ideas in memo to me and, at a later time, you might meet with Dwight Chapin and a few others whose ideas are also being solicited independently. Hopefully, the independent thought will result in a wide-ranging spectrum of suggestions and ideas that will provide the basis for a good 1972 TV plan.

I would appreciate having your thoughts prior to the last Friday in January.

Thank you.

cc: D. Chapin



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR: MARK GOODE  
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *AB*  
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DEVELOPMENT OF  
SCHEDULING AND ADVANCING OPERATIONS  
FOR 1972

General Assumptions

1. The active campaign activity will not commence until after the Convention.
2. The 1972 campaign will involve considerably less travel than 1968 and will utilize regional and national television to its fullest.
3. Although there is insistence that 1968 and 1970-type travel will be kept to a minimum, there will be last-minute requirements that may have the President travel more than is currently envisioned. Consequently, structuring of the advance and scheduling offices should be in preparation for maximum travel.
4. Ultimately, the White House will schedule, and provide advance support for, the First Family as well as the President.

General Discussion

This paper is not intended to discuss campaign strategy, for that will be determined by the Committee. However, scheduling decisions will ultimately be made by the President, the Attorney General, Mr. Haldeman and Dwight Chapin. Essentially, the same scheduling procedure will be followed for the campaign as is followed now for the President's non-political activities.

In 1968 the President was merely concerned with being the candidate. In 1972 he must be the President and the candidate, and must maintain a Presidential posture at all times. Therefore, scheduling planning must be two-fold: strategic campaign activities and Presidential activities. These need not necessarily be two separate entities and, with proper planning, the President can be just as effective on the evening news participating in a meeting in the Cabinet Room as his Democratic opponent addressing an airport crowd at some country airport.

The President and Mr. Haldeman have a working relationship that enables them to conduct business efficiently in a rather short period of time. Similarly, Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Chapin have a similar working relationship that produces the same results. Consequently, it is recommended that the structure that is ultimately put together key off the working relationships and the experience of Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Chapin, and their familiarity with the President, his needs and desires.

Right now, the structure of operations works through Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Chapin. The advance office receives instructions from Mr. Chapin and implements the plans accordingly. The final plans are channeled back through Mr. Chapin to Mr. Haldeman. Others reporting to Mr. Chapin are David Parker, who does the staffing and preliminary work on schedule proposals, and Stephen Bull, who assists Mr. Chapin and works in the execution of Presidential events.

#### Proposed Structure

The next 12 months break down into four important periods which will be referred to throughout this paper. The periods are as follows:

Period I - Present through January 1st - Non-Political Presidential Activity.

Period II - January 1st through May 31st - Presidential Activity with heavy emphasis on international travel.

Period III - June 1st through August 21st - Pre-Convention Period.

Period IV - September through November 8th - Election Period.

The purpose of listing these periods will be to show how we will develop, using these periods as landmarks, into the ultimate structure and framework which will be most workable, efficient and effective. The final structure envisioned centers around Dwight Chapin as Tour Director and Scheduler. Dwight is selected for this two-fold duty for a number of reasons, including his familiarity with the President, his relationship with the President and Mr. Haldeman, past experience in the campaigns, and experience as Tour Director for Presidential trips and as Appointments Secretary during the first term of this Administration.

Reporting to the Tour Director/Scheduler would be the following:

1. Ron Walker - All advance operations.
2. David Parker - Scheduling planning for Presidential, non-political events.
3. Stephen Bull - Execution of Presidential events and assistant to Dwight Chapin.

Following is a discussion of the principal responsibilities and activities of the above-mentioned individuals. Separate plans for development are submitted separately by Walker, Goode and Parker.

1. Ron Walker

It is envisioned that Ron be responsible for all advance operations. He would fill a function somewhat similar to that performed by John Whitaker during the 1968 campaign. Ron would oversee all advance activities, including the advancing of the First Family as well as the President. He would be based in the advance office and do very little travel. By telephone and by review of the schedules, plans and programs submitted by the advancement man to the Tour Desk, and by telephonic communication with the advancement man when the situation warrants, Ron can monitor and assist the advancement men in the conduct of their activities.

Ron would be the individual who would take the raw scheduling direction from Dwight Chapin and direct the formulation of the specific plan that would ultimately be sent back up to Mr. Haldeman through Dwight Chapin for review and approval. For example, should a political scheduling decision be made that the President should go to southern New Jersey for a regionally televised speech, Ron would select the appropriate area and sites, and develop a specific program for approval by Dwight Chapin and Bob Haldeman. Upon receipt of approval, Ron would instruct the Tour Desk man who would subsequently assign an advancement man, give specific instructions for the event, and implement. Ron would continue to monitor the event, as well as other events, from his position here in Washington.

Ron's function would be to relieve Dwight Chapin of the burdens of coming up with specific plans, thus freeing Dwight to act as Tour Director and work more in conceptual planning rather than specific event planning.

An additional function would be for Ron to field questions that the Desk man cannot answer, or speak to political figures in the field who would not be willing to speak to the advancement man or the Desk man. Ron is familiar with many political types throughout the United States, and is viewed as being an individual who has the expertise in implementing a Presidential event, and has access to the President through the appropriate channels.

Ron Walker would oversee the Tour Desks of the President and the First Family, and all plans would go through Ron before being submitted to Dwight Chapin for approval. For coordination purposes, the television advancement man and the Press advancement man might be scheduled through Ron Walker's advance operation, but TV and Press would remain functionally independent.

## 2. David Parker

Once into the campaign (Period IV), David Parker would be responsible for the preparation of all non-political Presidential activities. The non-political activities will be of extreme importance, particularly if the President does a minimum amount of travel. When the campaign gets going, the evening news will have a daily feature of "Campaign '72" which will show the activities of each candidate. We can assume that the Democratic contender will be on every night addressing some airport crowd or street corner rally. In order to insure that the President is also on that evening news shows, although not necessarily under the "Campaign '72" portion, it will be necessary that Dave come up with sound, newsworthy Presidential activities that will warrant network coverage. Dave will have to be highly selective and place a special effort to insure that the non-political Presidential events he comes up with are good ones.

Dave will be relieving Dwight Chapin of the day-to-day Presidential activity planning. This will free Dwight to turn his attention to conceptual schedule planning and directing the Tour. Dave may find himself involved to a certain extent with Ron Walker and with certain political activities, but he should concentrate on the non-political events. He would function in a relationship to Dwight Chapin and perhaps to Bob Haldeman in the same manner as he did when Dwight was absent on the China trip.

3. Stephen Bull

Bull's primary duties will be the execution of Presidential events, and acting as an aide to the President. He will continue to move the President through political situations, do the President's schedule, and work in coordination with the Tour Desk.

In addition to the aforementioned duties, he will act as an assistant to Dwight Chapin since he will be on the Tour, and perform some of the "odd job" duties. Steve has had some experience in nearly all of the aspects of political and non-political events, including staff and Presidential scheduling, staffing of non-political events, and advancing. This background, and the assumption of this "odd job" posture, provides a flexibility that will be needed as we move in and out of political activities.

Development by Stages

Period I (Current through January 1972)

The organization will continue as it is currently structured with Dwight paying some attention to preparations for the China trip, Parker continuing to work on non-political Presidential activities, Bull working on the execution of those activities, and Walker continuing to develop the advance office and operation through recruiting and training of advancement.

Period II (January through May 31st)

Dwight Chapin's time will be increasingly consumed with China, and later with the Soviet Union. When Dwight is away from the White House, David Parker should assume Dwight's duties as he did during Dwight's last absence, and work directly with Bob Haldeman on non-political Presidential events. Bull would continue functioning as before, working with Parker as he would with Chapin. Ron Walker, when he is present, will continue the training, recruiting and refinement of the advance operations.

Period III (Pre-Convention)

Dwight will begin heavy preparations for the Convention, again detaching himself increasingly from the non-political Presidential events. Walker and his principal permanent advancement men will devote most of their time on the Convention, using the Convention as a training ground for some of the newer advancement men who were formally schooled during Period II. Bull continues as before, working the execution of Presidential activities in the White House, on the road, and assisting in an increasingly "floating" capacity.



#### Period IV (Campaign)

The structure assumes its campaign posture with Chapin almost totally out of non-political events, and Ron Walker and David Parker positioned at the White House carrying out the functions outlined earlier.

#### Television Advance

Mark Goode and Bill Carruthers (separate plan enclosed) develop a television operation which will include recruitment and training of additional producers and technical supervisory personnel who will operate as part of the advance team in the field.

#### Summary

Flexibility, and the full utilization of the resources at hand, will have to be the key to an effective and efficient scheduling, advance and campaign operation. Existing professional relationships that have been proven workable should be capitalized upon. The structure that has been outlined is flexible enough for Ron Walker to break away for a few days for a major event, but the temptation to use Ron Walker in a pinch should be resisted because he can be more effective at maintaining control over the advance operation by staying put in the advance office in Washington. There can be only one Tour Director, and Dwight Chapin has assumed that role and should continue in it. He and Ron will be in daily communication with questions flowing up to Dwight and with answers and directions flowing down to Ron. In order for the instructions to be properly implemented, Ron has to be in a physical location where he can perform the job properly, and that location is in the tour office.

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3. Stephen Bull

Bull's primary duties will be the execution of Presidential events, and acting as an aide to the President. He will continue to move the President through political situations, do the President's schedule, and work in coordination with the Tour Desk.

In addition to the aforementioned duties, he will act as an assistant to Dwight Chapin since he will be on the Tour, and perform some of the "odd job" duties. Steve has had some experience in nearly all of the aspects of political and non-political events, including staff and Presidential scheduling, staffing of non-political events, and advancing. This background, and the assumption of this "odd job" posture, provides a flexibility that will be needed as we move in and out of political activities.

Development by Stages

Period I (Current through January 1972)

The organization will continue as it is currently structured with Dwight paying some attention to preparations for the China trip, Parker continuing to work on non-political Presidential activities, Bull working on the execution of those activities, and Walker continuing to develop the advance office and operation through recruiting and training of advancement.

Period II (January through May 31st)

Dwight Chapin's time will be increasingly consumed with China, and later with the Soviet Union. When Dwight is away from the White House, David Parker should assume Dwight's duties as he did during Dwight's last absence, and work directly with Bob Haldeman on non-political Presidential events. Bull would continue functioning as before, working with Parker as he would with Chapin. Ron Walker, when he is present, will continue the training, recruiting and refinement of the advance operations.

Period III (Pre-Convention)

Dwight will begin heavy preparations for the Convention, again detaching himself increasingly from the non-political Presidential events. Walker and his principal permanent advancement will devote most of their time on the Convention, using the Convention as a training ground for some of the newer advancement who were formally schooled during Period II. Bull continues as before, working the execution of Presidential activities in the White House, on the road, and assisting in an increasingly "floating" capacity.

#### Period IV (Campaign)

The structure assumes its campaign posture with Chapin almost totally out of non-political events, and Ron Walker and David Parker positioned at the White House carrying out the functions outlined earlier.

#### Television Advance

Mark Goode and Bill Carruthers (separate plan enclosed) develop a television operation which will include recruitment and training of additional producers and technical supervisory personnel who will operate as part of the advance team in the field.

#### Summary

Flexibility, and the full utilization of the resources at hand, will have to be the key to an effective and efficient scheduling, advance and campaign operation. Existing professional relationships that have been proven workable should be capitalized upon. The structure that has been outlined is flexible enough for Ron Walker to break away for a few days for a major event, but the temptation to use Ron Walker in a pinch should be resisted because he can be more effective at maintaining control over the advance operation by staying put in the advance office in Washington. There can be only one Tour Director, and Dwight Chapin has assumed that role and should continue in it. He and Ron will be in daily communication with questions flowing up to Dwight and with answers and directions flowing down to Ron. In order for the instructions to be properly implemented, Ron has to be in a physical location where he can perform the job properly, and that location is in the tour office.

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