

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
57	4	10/09/1961	Memo	First general memorandum on 1962 campaign. 6 pages.
57	4	09/28/1961	Memo	Meeting-- 9/28/61-- Statler. 6 pages.
57	4	10/06/1961	Memo	meeting-- Biltmore-- 10227-- 10/6/61. 5 pages.
57	4	10/14/1961	Memo	From: Nixon. To: Finch, Haldeman, St. Johns, Woods. Re: Campaign schedule committee.
57	4	n.d.	Memo	Haldeman Check List.
57	4	n.d.	Memo	Check List (someone-- not assigned). 2 pages.

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57	4	n.d.	Memo	Bob Finch Check List. 2 pages.
57	4	10/10/1961	Memo	From: AW. Re: Organization for the Primary Election. 2 pages.
57	4	n.d.	Memo	Republican Victory in '62 and '64.

Confidential

October 9, 1961

FIRST GENERAL MEMORANDUM ON 1962 CAMPAIGN

The distribution will be limited as far as full copies are concerned to Finch, Haldeman, Rose and Lolo at this time. As far as other specific things that are mentioned in the memorandum, for example - what applies with regard to newspaper clippings, can be distributed to the individuals involved. But the general memorandum is to be closely held and limited to these four.

I will mention a lot of items that I have already covered in conversations and in other memoranda and will not attempt to avoid duplication or to set up any particular order of importance.

The first major requirement is that our whole staff must turn its attention away from national and international affairs to state affairs.

Staff memo

This has many applications. As far as mail is concerned, we no longer will attempt to do anything with mail from outside the state (except where such mail would directly effect the result in the state) except other than to respond to it very briefly. For example, people outside the state - magazines, newspapers, college professors, students, etc., who ask my views on this, that and the other thing, do not need to be replied to. The answers should be signed by a secretary and they should be that our staff is now too occupied with the California campaign to respond to such inquiries.

This also applies to newspapermen, columnists, radio commentators, etc. from outside the state. There will be a few occasions, but very few, where what they will say or write may have a direct effect on the result in California. If, however, what they are to say or write is to primarily effect opinions in New York and Washington I do not want time wasted in replying to their inquiries or giving them time with me.

This instruction also should result in cutting our long distance contact with the East to those minimum occasions which are necessary to keep in touch with those who might be potential contributors to the campaign. As far as getting reactions of party leaders, columnists, etc., to what they see in the Eastern papers about episodes like the Knight attack of last week, we no longer will bother with those matters.

Obviously there are times when a story in the New York Times or the Wall Street Journal or the Christian Science Monitor and the three weekly news magazines may be useful in California but generally they are not nearly as important as even a modest-sized daily in one of our smaller cities.

I want all subscriptions to out of state newspapers cancelled and other out of state publications cancelled except for the three news magazines and the New York Times.

Subscriptions should be initiated with all of the daily papers in the state and with a number of influential weekly papers as well. As a matter of fact, if the cost is not too prohibitive perhaps all should be covered.

Incidentally, insofar as reading these papers is concerned, here is a job which should be under Agnes' general supervision but which, because of the bulk, could be shared by volunteers. There is no reason why Agnes has to go through papers and clip out these things and mark up these items which happen to mention the California campaign. Any number of people, including many of the intelligent women who have applied to do volunteer work could take on this assignment. I want this done, however, carefully and I want to be absolutely sure that in every instance where we have a favorable mention in an editorial any place in the state that notes are prepared or in some instances a suggestion is made to me for a telephone call to the editor and/or publisher involved. The same, incidentally, should apply to some of the by-lines stories where they are particularly good. A call or a note to an individual who writes very fairly and accurately could be very helpful.

vd

Schedule Committee

I would like for Bob Haldeman to act as Chairman of the Schedule Committee in this interim period before our campaign organization is finalized. All requests involving participation by me and/or by Pat should be screened by this committee. This includes not only, therefore, speaking engagements, political and non-political, but requests to appear on radio and television shows, requests that I give special interviews for magazine or newspaper articles or requests that I write such articles under my own name. The make-up of the committee will vary according to the problems to be considered. I would like for Bob Haldeman and Rose to be present at all meetings; for Bob Finch to be present whenever a decision involving an appearance before a political group is concerned and for Dick St. Johns to participate where the requests involve appearances on radio and/or TV or involve my writing an article for newspapers or magazines.

As I have already indicated, my schedule through January 1 is completely committed and unless an extraordinary situation arises, such requests should be turned down without submission to me. But beyond that the groundrules have been pretty well discussed in previous meetings - - no appearances with other candidates, work in non-political forums for the news pegs in those instances where appearances are being made before political groups. And in the period before the primary election, leave the schedule with plenty of time in each place we visit for calls on newspaper publishers, political leaders and informal handshake sessions.

Speakers from Outside State

During the period before the primary we will not be able to control invitations to speakers from outside the state. Therefore, we should make an asset out of what might otherwise be a liability. We have a number of friends - VIP's who would like to come in and who could be counted upon to say the right things at press conferences and in their speeches about me if they are invited into the state. I would like to have somebody take as a special assignment working with the speaker's bureau of the state committee and of the two or three major county committees seeing that invitations are extended to and accepted by people of this type.

*Speakers
bureau*

Master List of California TV/ Radio and News Men

I would like to have one individual assume responsibility for compiling this information. I would like to have a card index with the personal background of every newsman, TV and radio commentator, as well as each publisher and editor whom I may meet during the course of the campaign.

The purpose of this list will be to give me background when I happen to meet such individuals and also will be a list which everybody connected with the campaign will constantly work on in terms of keeping in contact with our friends, attempting to influence the neutrals and working over those who may prove to be irrevocably against us.

The primary responsibility for developing this list should be placed with our fulltime press man once he is employed. However, I want everybody on our staff and volunteers as well, to submit what information they may have which would be helpful in keeping this list up to date. I know of nothing in the campaign that may prove to be more important than this exercise.

Advisory Groups

In order to see that as many people as possible who have volunteered to assist us in the campaign get positions of responsibility and feel that they are close to the candidate, I would like to set up a number of advisory groups. Among these, for example, are the following: (1) Public relations advisory group which would consider such items as what the campaign theme should be -- a new approach to TV shorts, etc. (2) An issue advisory group (there would be, of course, a number of sub-groups under this one. (3) A finance advisory group (here again, we might have regional groups as well as one statewide group and several sub-groups as well). (4) A political strategy advisory group.

Each of these groups would have a chairman of the VIP type. It should also have an administrative type closely tied into our campaign office to handle the paper work in setting up the meetings, etc. I am not suggesting that the groups I have just named are in anyway all-inclusive. I want as many groups of this type to be set up with the candidate meeting with each of them from time to time and meeting with the head or chairman of each group forming a quasi-executive committee for consultation with the candidate and the campaign chairman.

Tom Irwin is now a member of the Board of Trustees of Whittier College. Tom Bewley will recall that at the last board meeting he indicated that he would support me against Brown but would not support any other Republican. He is now living in Sacramento and probably still is somewhat influential with some of the Sacramento crowd as well as the farm groups. He also should be a fairly substantial financial contributor. I would suggest that Tom Bewley would be the best one to handle a contact with him.

*press
secy*
*Memo to
all
Abby &
Vols*

*PR
Finan
Issue
Strategy*

?

In the period between now and January 1st, my time can best be used by making telephone calls, writing letters to key people and by having group meetings of VIPs and some key appointments, for example with the Assemblymen, Congressmen, political leaders and newspaper people.

I would like for someone to assume the responsibility of putting together a telephone list, a letter list and an appointment list and a group meeting list so that we can set up some priorities on this score. For example, in addition to the meeting with the officials of the State Committee, Carl Connolly suggested recently that there should be a meeting with the County Chairmen. I do not know whether it would be a good idea to have such a meeting in Los Angeles or whether it might be better, for example, to meet a group of them when I go to San Diego and then have another group of them meet me when I am in San Francisco, on a less formal basis. It would seem to me that the latter plan would be better.

The same is true with Assemblymen and Congressmen. Certainly all of the Assemblymen and Congressmen who have indicated they may be supporting me should receive either calls or letters or have appointments. One group it occurs to me we might see is the group of young Assemblymen Waller Taylor set up a breakfast with some time ago. As far as the Assemblymen and State Senators are concerned, I would think that Waller Taylor and Howard Allen might make some recommendations as to what I should say and do with regard to each of them in the next few weeks.

What is most important is that those who have publicly or even privately indicated support should have acknowledgment of that support as soon as it is brought to my attention.

Issue Task Forces

I have previously discussed this with Bob Finch and believe we should set in motion immediately a number of task forces on issues. One on law enforcement, education, agriculture, are those that come to mind in the first instance. What you might do here is have some conversations with people like Howard Allen and some of the key Assemblymen and Senators and set up a task force on each of the major issues and in addition a task force on minor issues which might mobilize dissident groups against the Brown Administration. It might be well to check the Rockefeller approach on this score. He apparently did quite well with it in New York.

Note to Bob Finch

It might be that Victor Laskey could do a fairly effective job on the Brown record once the materials we were talking about a few days ago were collected - provided he got an early enough start. I would like for you to talk this over with Ray Moley and talk to me about it once you have reached an opinion.

Note to Bob Finch

When I talked to Jim Copley he did not think Arnholdt Smith should be the Chairman of the San Diego Fund-Raising effort for our campaign. You may recall our conversation with him after the Justin Dart dinner. It would seem to me that Smith, who presently is in Europe, might well be used on a

statewide basis rather than in San Diego, under the circumstances. But, in any event, a contact should be made with him as soon as he returns - in the first instance by me and then followed up by our finance chairman.

Special Projects

I would like to have one individual assigned to each of the special projects I have mentioned previously.

1. The statewide mailing to all Republicans.
2. The preparation of a statement on the items likely to be under attack which would be distributed in advance to newspapers and television and radio stations.
3. The January 9 kick-off party.

Re-establishment of Special Committees and Setting up More Groups of this Type.

We had a number of special committees -- lawyers, doctors, celebrities, sports, etc., in California in the 1960 campaign. I would like to have each one of these committees set up again and expanded. One individual should be given the assignment for each of these committees. There must be a separate individual given the responsibility to set up each of these committees - don't give the whole job to one person. In addition, I would like to have this exercise greatly expanded along the line of Feng's plan in Hawaii so that we reach down into the other groups, like barbers, hairdressers, etc., which were not organized during the campaign. *Contact*

I am particularly anxious to have a top scholars group set up in this campaign and a small steering committee might well be organized now so that we could go forward with this operation. The scholars group could be very helpful on the issues study. The celebrities group should go forward at the earliest possible moment because these individuals can be most helpful in meetings in these early stages of the campaign. Also, even though we will not be able to get too much power at this point among these groups, I want at least a start of an organization as far as Democrat's committee is concerned and one covering various racial groups - Negroes, Mexicans, et al. Here again, each of these groups should be an assignment for a separate individual rather than giving the whole responsibility to one person.

Among the meetings that should be set up during this early period is one with key women. This is one of the toughest groups to select and I would suggest that Pat Hitt take the responsibility for it.

A decision must be made soon with regard to whether there will be Nixon Clubs a la 1960 or whether or not we shall just have one overall state organization like the German operation, as Haldeman has urged. I would like to have all of those who have discussed this situation, including Backley and St. Johns, sit down and come up with a recommendation some time this week.

A committee should be set up at the earliest possible time for analyzing the Assembly Districts and the House Districts where we will be wanting to make a fight. One of the major reasons I decided to run was because of my desire to

build up strength in these areas and in view of the fact that we are now receiving a number of requests from would-be-candidates to come in to see me, we had better get a plan developed so that I do not get caught between crossfires.

In mentioning dissident groups a few paragraphs above, I intended to point out that one or two individuals should study this very thoroughly and check it out, particularly with key Assemblymen and Senators as well as newspaper people. Any administration must necessarily make a number of enemies as far as special interest groups are concerned. I would imagine that there are perhaps 25 or 30 such groups, including the Ducks Unlimited and a number of others we have never heard of who are mad as Brown and who only need a contact in order to get mobilized for our side. This is one of the best ways to go across the party line.

I have already discussed the necessity for an intelligence unit and a counter-attack unit.

John Phillips seems to be back on the firing line again in view of the long letter he wrote me after my announcement. He could be very helpful in that district, both on the advisory side and also might be helpful with regard to the agriculture issue.

One exercise in the 1960 campaign that was particularly helpful was the organization of teenagers and college Republicans. They, of course, cannot sustain their enthusiasm over a long period of time but I would suggest that we might get some college groups organized at this point and perhaps two or three YR's could be helpful in this respect on a part-time basis beginning now. I would like to have someone take the responsibility for making an analysis of this whole problem and developing an all-out effort in these two areas between now and election day.

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Meeting -- 9/28/61 -- Statler

Participants: RN: Finch: Haldeman: Taylor: St. Johns: Backley: Gaunt: Woods

Bob Finch to call George Hearst re Knight -- re Jud Baker. After this is done
Dick St. Johns to call Bill Hearst, Dick Berlin re same thing -- mishandling of
Herald Express.

LGG-- Nixon for Governor Account -- "My feeling at the present time is to open up
such an account - office over there -- review the trust under which we are
operating with the State Committee. Use that as the office at the present time.
Don't move into a big fancy office at this point. -- Say - shortly we will be
opening up a Nixon staff office -- we are going to open up things shortly.

Assistance -- major need at this point is going to be competent and loyal stenographic
assistance. We don't have time to check them out. Betty McVey should be used
even if she can only come for eight months. She might be better to come in with
rnw in my office.

Might check Dannenhauer's - they are two excellent girls each in their own right.
All that it is going to cost us is to pay their way out here and back and we will
get girls who will be damn good. Salaries -- somewhat ~~sox~~ similar to what we
have previously paid them. 3 top girls -- will be great assistance to us if we
can get them. Load will be pretty big.

PJE - work out salary thing -- we don't have the kind of money Pat Hillings paid
her.

This is going to be a tight campaign.

Volunteers -- LGG -- it is terribly important in that office over there that volunteers
be called in and that they be given things to do -- I don't want them to call and
not be called back.

I want volunteers used -- set up a way to use these things -- terrific spread --
I want the volunteers to work -- we have to have them. They have to feel they
are contributing.

Check Scholars Committee -- see who is around here -- check what of the new
people we can get on the scholar side. (1) I want to get a good intellectual
touch to it -- I want to appeal to Democrats and independents - give them
projects -- state issues, narcotics - mental hospitals, etc. - this is when we set
up these programs -- Nixon recommends - from task force on this and ~~thick~~
this.

It has ~~been~~ to be organized -- there are already groups - George Grassmuck
has a memo on this

RN to Bob Finch -- You might undertake heading up this ~~sex~~ egghead thing -- I just got
a little note from Hornby he said lawyers and businessmen are generally project
workers -- great ~~that~~ you give them a project. Above them you have to have an
administrator who will use them and the like. I want to have a hell of a lot of
people who think that they are captains of the team -- I think on the issue thing -
get our scholars list - check with Grassmuck - get hold of all the people who
are going to have to get along with us.

Bob Haldeman -- Alan Nichols -- he should be contacted right way and absorbed
into this thing -- Nichols/ Weinberger/ Millie Younger.

Clark Millikan - Joe Kaplan - either one would be good to hear it up -- Bob Finch - check this they are to be contacted immediately. Also the other fellow out at UCLA - the economist.

Finch - you will give them a little time?-- RN-- "I will give them lots of time."

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RN schedule -- work on book in morning and afternoon -- from 4:30 to 6:30 we meet with people - call them, etc. - give them therapy.

I will not go with Baus and Ross or Whitaker and Baxter under any circumstances. My thought - was to take Ted Bates - they have an office out here - Haldeman-these their office here is no good. This is the most important campaign of 1962. We could say to them if you want to staff it -- agencies -- ~~nothing~~

Sue Tarrog -- Dick St. Johns to handle -- tell her we have in mind a massive plan for celebrities.

RN -- traditional TV shot ~~is~~ is to put candidate on with some yakity yak statement I think we should put on celebrities - John Wayne/ Randy Scott, etc. - let them just lay it absolutely professional on the line -- of all the candidates they are for ~~the~~ Ronald Reagan, Jack Warner, Mervyn LeRoy, Jerry Lewis -- lists of people -- I want to call each day - 15 or 20 of the key people.

(Haldeman said Pat Boone might be sounded out.

George Murphy - anti-Communist school, etc. -- Waller Taylor to handle.

Don Jackson -- he can work with these people -- and also be a speaker

Murphy - ~~Erax~~ Frawley -- I want these anti-communists in our corner 100%.

Waller Taylor to talk with Murphy and then RN

Dick St. Johns - Sue ~~Q~~ Tarrogg

Clubs ~~is~~ must be reactivated on a massive scale -- because we want to bring new people outside of the hacks (particularly in LA county) who will be our people. ?

We have to attract the Democratic and Independent voter.

Club movement - vital -- we cannot make this appear to be a county and state thing - it has to be Nixon Clubs. ?

Bumper Strips -- California Needs Nixon -- (not if we used it for President)

Bob Haldeman will come up with a task force recommendation.

Club/ Agency/ Volunteer Work Operation (Bob Haldeman's responsibility)

Anyone who calls in ~~mix~~ should be ~~gixax~~ sent a bumper sticker and a check sheet on what they would do to help. Everyone of the people who said run for governor - should get a bumper sticker and a questionnaire.

I appreciate your giving me the benefit of your view on the governorship I am enclosing a copy of the statement (later rejected) of my announcement! I

PJe on immediately if she wants to work with us.

Bessie - ask her if she can come.

Where should the headquarters be -- Finch - Wilshire Blvd or Olympic -- have called Bob Rowan to see what he might have ~~space~~ available.

We can get a couple more in the law office. (rmw - ask Waller Monday to see how soon that could be set up)

rmw - call PJE/ Betty McVey/ Dannenhauer's/ Bessie Newton.

(How about Mary Costello?)

RN -- we need a full time man who can be the man people call. This is apart from the press man. But who is going to be here full time so that people can call him. The press guys have to have that.

Al Moscow - he is a -----second, he is from NY. He is a Democrat, I am sure. I wouldn't be surprised but what he might have been in a front sometime -- not because he has any leanings that way but that is what happens to some of these people His weaknesses -- he doesn't know California -- of course, he is busy -- ~~he~~ she is going to be until this book is out of the way.

Dick St. Johns -- check ~~up~~ out Dan Burnham - Wall Street ~~Inc~~ Journal

Al Moscow - Bob Finch - you have a chat with Mazo on that on basic loyalties.

--

Bob Finch - assignment for Herbert Klein -- I think I will call Jim Copley and ask him if he will let ~~Mark~~ Herb have a couple of ~~months~~ months to move through the state and talk to the editors and publishers of all the small papers in the state. This requires taking the whole state - seeing Kane in Bakersfield. Letting them know that I am thinking about them - that I want to see them, etc.

Frank Jamison -- Dick St. Johns -- very able man - his tongue is hanging out to do something. The one problem that I see with him is an over-developed ego which can be a hell of an advantage but which can also irritate people. However, we need a hard driving new face on the management side.

rmw -- Call Jimmy James - re Frank Jamison -- what would he be like as campaign manager?

Bob Finch - Stan Hiller -- figure out something for him to do.

Bob Finch -- George Vaughan -- check on him.

Bob Finch -- Bob Reynolds - Jack Drown -- (Drown should see Bob Reynolds re the sports committee)

LGG -- get volunteers to read those files and get these people who want to do things so we can give all of them jobs to do.

Dick - if you were to sit down and do basic thinking for programs - not much for the balance of this year - book comes first -- his articles -- TV etc. rmw -- give Dick St. Johns the file on TV requests. -- All of the so-called pending things.

Warren Brock - head of farmers

Bill Camp -- RN to call him and get him to work among those Democrat farmers.

Negroes/ Catholics, Mexicans/ Jews --

Pat Frawlee -- George Murphy -- Don Jackson

We cannot go with the same old Negroes and the same Mexicans we have used for years.

~~Max~~ Negro -- Finnie Jackson

Mexicans -- Dona Mason's sister -- people at La Golondrino

Japanese -- Pete Pitchess approach (rmw dig out any notes you may have on this)

RN -- call Chief Parker re your statement on announcing

RN Call -- Copley/ Thierot/ Payne/ Knowland/ Hearst/

rmw -- ask RN if he does not plan to call the Chandler's

~~xxxxxxxx~~

ltr has to go to our national mailing list. A letter saying Nixon is doing this. This is a national target of the Democrats - get a couple of quotes -- ~~and~~ Wall Street Journal article and Knight's statement - this looks like a repetition of the Bob Taft campaign in Ohio in 1950. Write ten of your friends in California urging them to work for Nixon -- contribute to this cause.

It can't be delayed beyond two months to send this letter out -- we will have to send a panic letter later on -- you have relatives in California -- this is a democracy -- ~~let's~~ let's work this way.

ltr -- we in California must be ~~ready~~ ready to return this statesman to the field of public service -- Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Answer to those who wrote in - a copy of the statement -- no too expensive and most people have seen it.

LGG -- find a way to answer the letters

Sun Valley -- see about a private plane -- I don't think I should have to go with a lot of people.

Democrat Chairman for our campaign -- Bob checking Ivan Hindrocker -

could we get George MacKinnon to come out and help on research?

Set up:

Squad to take on the fight.

1. A story has got - a report has to put some of our candidates on a story -- ~~from~~ Wxx Squire told me. Brown and Knight are working together -- Brown is sending his releases to Knight ~~before they~~ before they go out. Squire says you ought to check this out. Brown and Knight are working together.

I think it is the labor unions.

Knight is being used -- I think first a newspaper story should be written -- charge that this is the case - that Knight is soft on Brown. Why ~~is~~ he taking Nixon on -- why isn't he taking Brown on?

This should be done by Christopher if he gets in the race. More by newspaper guys on our side -- hatchet guys. In the meantime we have to have this worked out so that members of our own team can do this.

We have to immediately start charging that a dump Brown movement is under way in Washington and in California. This can be fragmented. I can tell somebody that Kennedy told me he thought highly of Mosk but did not think much of Brown. I personally think if they dump Brown it would lick them but just saying that will stir them up. We cannot allow situation to develop where they are stirring up trouble all the time and we are not.

I don't know what can be done on the way of follow through here but we can work on it.

Bob Finch -- will you arrange the Da Silva thing with our friend Edgerton?

We have to get those wires checked -- I think ~~xx~~ our wires are being tapped.

John Di Betta -- do you think you can do anything about the telephones. Brown and Goody seem to know things ahead of any release of things we have to have some of these other candidates tailed and tapped.

Go back to the office and plant some false stories.

Nixon is going to attack Brown -- he has some indecent pictures of Brown. Said Goody Knight tapped, etc.

RN to

Fong Plan (Bob Finch) -- we want that activated. Fong is willing to come out -- and work it out -- I particularly want it activated with regard to the labor groups. Religious groups -- all of them -- get people high in each and have them work with their groups.

Assignment for everybody I want to get a list of all of those in the press corps radio, TV in California who are (1) friendly or (2) potentially friendly. All of those friendly we will treat them nice ---

Read the stories on the announcement -- where they stick the needle in they are on the other list. We need to work on our friends.

Everyone have their lists in to LGG by October 5th.

Waller -- Joe Shell -- Pitchess

- 6 -

Full time soon -- CLUBS -- Ron Collins ?

Strategy Board -- people who will meet every week. Bob Finch -- Bernie-Murray

Bob Finch -- talk to Cap Weinberger and see what he is thinking of -- we surely need his help on the campaign -- but is he wanting to run for office?

Waller -- hold off on Shell conversation -- let's think this over.

State Offices ----

Adela Rogers St. Johns to see Knight -- rn -- Knight came in and said I don't know what you want to do. I said I am going to decide on the 15th -- Edgerton was with him. There is no question of a deal with Knight. Tell her to have that in mind.

~~EWEXKM~~

DDT Group -----Vic Lasky -- Bill Price -- Agnes Waldron---mc

RN

October 16 -- anti-commit rally

Thursday ----could you make appointment ~~xx~~ to see Witwer -- Guylay called Taylor to ask about this today.

Vacations -- mm/ AW/ lgg/ Chuck L. ----policy on these -- and it ~~xxxx~~ should be worked out right now.

What about book ---- should we be on the lookout for ~~gx~~ typist just for that?

Hess -- here or in Washington -- couldn't he fill in right now to be the fellow to talk with some of the people???

Comptroller -- Franklin Donnell

Manager -- Frank Jorgensen -- Frank Jamison -- Maury Stans -- Dr.

what about Mary Fenton -- should I call her?

What about Whitaker/ Unger/ Ports/ Dick Miller/ etc.

Spot for Jim Reynolds --- signs and pens should be gotten out immediately.

Mary Costello said she would love to come but does not know whether she could work it out since she works for Hall and Scribner in their Washington office. Waller says we can have this one room here right away.

Meeting -- Biltmore -- 10227 -- 10/6/61
RN/ Finch/ Chotiner/ Haldeman/ Hillings/ lgg/ rmw

Legal thing -- I will from now on do anything I can on my own clients -- the ones who have already paid but no new ones whether it is Irvine, Prudential, or Metropolitan or anyone else. (I will talk with Earl about this).

Schedule next week for all of these meetings and get them over -- I then plan to take a couple of weeks and go away and finish the last section of the book.

Call Jim Bassett and tell him to come in on either Monday or Wednesday at 5:30.

Meetings to be scheduled:

Hitt/ Martin/ Krehbiel/ Weinberger

Krehbiel cocktail party -- it would have to be next week because I am planning to be away for the period immediately following.

I will not take part in any meetings with other candidates.

Finch asked what the line was to be on RN's not being available:

"He has compressed all of his commitments (private) and he is trying to finish all of them by the first of the year so he can be completely free from February 1st to campaign. But up to that time he is completely committed. Very simply -- he has had commitments for these months that we could not break.

"Same line to the press. "

Haldeman -- said I have committed you to the Republican Assembly meeting which you agreed to on December 2, 1961 - Santa Cruz. RN said OK.

M. C. How much intensive campaign do you want to do in the primary as against in the general? I think you have to re-establish your reputation as the old fighting campaigner - intensive campaigning in the rural areas or small towns during the primary and you could skip some of them in the final.

RN -- just to set the general tone. I am willing to do anything that is necessary to produce the most but we would be making a mistake if we were to take the very well-intentioned advice of say Bob Smiley of Idaho who suggests that what I do is simply to go around the state talking to and meeting people just like Brown does it. What is the major asset that I have in this campaign or major advantage over Brown/ Knight et al. It is stature - when I come in there is still a certain degree of respect - what you have to do is to establish interest in California. You have to establish the fact that you are not high-hatting anybody but by the same token you don't want to be in there on the same basis. We can draw people - like when I go to Colorado and Sun Valley -- I can draw good crowds. Rather than get down and be a common Joe Dow - Kennedy disproved that as well as anyone else.

What I want to plan here is to make the best use of my talents - the best use of my advantage - we do want a very intensive campaign from the standpoint of ~~6x~~ geographical coverage - primary - covered by automobile.

Go to Grass Valley - let them put on a civic reception. We shouldn't try to lower myself in order to be like Brown, Knight and the rest.

MC -- Coupled with ~~the~~ what you are talking about be sure that you make phone calls when you are in a town. We need an immense amount of very very highly organized advance work. Phone numbers and the like - call them -- ~~small: call the newspaper: little: call~~

RN -- I will call on every little editor and county editor.

MC - I mean your old chairmen, workers, etc. - 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958 and 1960 managers whenever possible.

RN -- Politicians - newspaper men and radio people. This is why the tour ought to be arranged. I am ~~ex~~ inclined -- I am wondering whether or not I perhaps in December -----I was thinking of hitting some key spots -- I will be in S. F. and San Diego -- both of these should be a full day.

MC - Don't take any political ~~talk~~ tours until after the first of the year - that doesn't mean that you do not do the organization work.

RN -- well we haven't anyone at the present time but we are trying to get Jorgensen.

MC -- A list should be made up - Calls that he should making - letters that should be going out from someone - who is going to do the field work getting in touch with these people.

RN - I want no one in this state called to ask to serve on a committee by a secretary - I want them called either by me or by someone high on the staff or identified as being one of our crowd.

MC -- First they should get a letter from you.

RN -- Next week I will do this political work.

Key party people - finance people - backgrounder - radio / TV and press. Herb will be here for a period of two weeks or so he will be in my office for setting up papers - he wants to get in the daily papers from all over the county.

MC - Don't you put on any party -- let one of the daily paper editors do it. Otherwise anyone who is not there will be angry with you.

~~Ed: x~~

RN -- we will have one for the south, central, north --

MC - there is still an advantage to having some newspaper guy put it on and if anyone is unhappy they are ~~unhappy~~ unhappy with that fellow - at least partly

mc - someone has to put together the assignments for the Harrison McCalls, Roy Days etc.

RN - I want to have all of these people listed and then called.

RN - to mc - if you ~~could~~ could help perhaps Haldeman on some of these schedule problems.

~~MC~~ - look over the lists that we have - ~~see~~ see what they look like.

I want to know who they are - who has pledged support. At the present time I think that what we want to do - what should be done next week - I want people all around this state - I want them called and asked to serve on the steering committee or executive committee on the Nixon for Governor Committee. 10,000 people.

Volunteers - Party types -- I want this group to see that all of the party types at this time should be signed up for us.

MC - well a name comes to mind - John Longinotti -- are you going to have time for this campaign - RN would like to have you in this picture -

RN we don't want this to get started - we may not want him to be the head man. We want to use particularly the new people ~~them~~ that were developed - someone is going to have to go over it and see whether or not you want these people to be out in front.

North - Weinberger - Andy Larios - McCaffery - Al Derre

Since we are concentrating on the state of California I want the mail analyzed - people who wrote in after the campaign -- I want all of this mail analyzed and you pick the ~~simplex~~ people out of that mail and get them signed up to help - some will be good -- many will not be helpful but they will be names.

Old and new chairmen and friends should all be contacted.

St. Johns should be given all requests for articles, radio and TV requests.

Trips abroad - I have decided against the trips abroad.

Column - I have been doing a lot of thinking about that - knock the column off.

One thing we must remember -- we are running against Brown and not Kennedy. Kennedy probably - this can change - the odds are that Kennedy's stock personally will be high for two reasons - the economy will look very very good and (2) he will probably be fortunate enough in the foreign field that any mistake he makes in Berlin will not show by that time.

Letter to all Republicans - and some Democrats - in the state - get it from registered voters lists. Spread it over 60 days.

Jim Reynolds -- No sign should be put up or anything until you are sure you are ready to go to work.

Dick Nixon Club -- anyone who wants to do anything - join the Dick Nixon Club and then go out and get other members. You will get a newsletter as a member of the Dick Nixon Club and at the proper time you will get a notice when we are ready to open up headquarters in your area.

RN - I would like very much for example if four or five fellows could sit down and talk things over.

Completely independent organization for counterattack and counter intelligence. Someone has to be in charge of that who will perhaps be known only to the manager. This covers everything from getting information surreptitiously to heckling - all the various things that have to be done. We have submitted ourselves to such attacks for a long time and I will be submitted to them in this campaign. We don't want to attack our opponents unless it is necessary but if it is necessary I think we have to do it. Damn to basic whispering campaigns -- with all truthful information. This

cannot be handled by volunteer types -- it cannot be handled by chairmen.

Pat - ~~xxx~~ as I said before a unit of this type working outside the organization -- people who are reading all of this stuff and sorting out all of the stuff. How about getting Captain Hamilton of LA Police Department to help us out on a liaison man.

Bob F - I think it is a mistake to couple intelligence with counterattack. Our intelligence ought to be right now.

MC - I wouldn't attack Brown from that angle in the primary. I think you should get someone and have them go to San Francisco and get everything that has been in the paper regarding Brown. There are a lot of things that never hit newspapers but you find out a lot of stuff by going through the morgue - stuff you can use. Pick up from Los Angeles and Sacramento too of course.

George Millas might be good to get the 58 and 60 figures and give us an ~~xxxx~~ analysis ~~xx~~ of the figures - so we will know our strengths and weaknesses and what we must do in each area.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

RN - 2 immediate tasks - you can be a member of the Dick Nixon Club and (2) ~~you~~ Can you come in and help us with the mailing, etc. - ~~there are more to do~~

Bob H - there are a lot of top level people who want to help us - we should be thinking places where we can use them -- last time Hal Brown, President of the Pacific Outdoor Advertising Company offered to help and they asked him to come in and lick envelopes.

Bob Finch - we can use people like this on our task forces. - various issues

RN - two ideas I have been trying to think of for starting the campaign.
1. How to start the campaign. It occurred to me that we ought to have a big gay party. I don't want it to be a \$100 a plate dinner. When I was in Michigan they had a celebrity show that Murphy developed. I don't want Murphy to do this but what I do know is this -- we have one terrific list of celebrities who have spoken to me since the 1960 election campaign. They would be delighted to come. We could put on a volunteer celebrity show that could be a knock out. My view would be to take the Sports Arena on my birthday - January 9th - have 2000 ~~people~~ \$100 seats - some \$50 - some \$10 - kids \$5.00. The speech is at the last and brief - or at the beginning or in the middle as the case might be.

This would start us out with a lot of spirit.

Have demonstrations, ribbons, buttons, flags, etc.

The next idea - I think that the major theme that we want to get in this campaign - "California will be the first state in the Union in ~~ex~~ Population in 1964 and we want to make it the first state in everything."

In 1965 why shouldn't there be an all-Pacific Exhibition -- California First State in the Union - the window ~~xx~~ to the Pacific. I think it has a hell of a possibility.

Pat H - Budget session will start up there. Brown will be trying to make all kinds of hay. We don't know what is going to happen with Shell, Powers and all of these people. We ought to try to establish with the guys who are friendly or people who can work with them. I don't think you can abandon that to Brown. I have seen a lot

of these legislators individually.

Howard Thelan --

Bruce Regan -- did he come out for Shell?

Don Mulford -- tried to make a statement to the press for RN - they didn't carry it.
He had talked with quite a few others and the same thing happened.

Bruce Allan said that each man had to be seen individually.

RN wants to meet with the young fellows (the breakfast meeting which Waller Taylor arranged)

RN to

Bob Finch - when Justin Dart comes back we have to go to work on the program for Assembly and House seats.

Everyone should put down the names of potential people for chairman of this campaign.
Manager -- Finance, etc. Task Force, etc.

All of the committees should be reactivated.

re⁺county organization mc said don't give one individual that job - you are going to get caught in the crossfire - I don't think it makes a damn bit of difference - you ~~arrange~~ can name your man after June.

October 14, 1961

MEMORANDUM

To: Bob Finch, Bob Haldeman, Dick St. Johns, Rose Woods
From: RN
Re: Campaign Schedule Committee

I would like for Bob Haldeman to act as Chairman of the Schedule Committee in this interim period before our campaign organization is finalized.

All requests involving participation by me and/or by Pat should be screened by this committee. This includes not only speaking engagements, political and non-political, but requests to appear on radio and television shows, requests that I give special interviews for magazine or newspaper articles or requests that I write such articles under my own name. The make-up of the committee will vary according to the problems to be considered.

I would like for Bob Haldeman and Rose to be present at all meetings; for Bob Finch to be present whenever a decision involving an appearance before a political group is concerned; and for Dick St. Johns to participate whenever the requests involve appearances on radio and/or TV, or involve my writing an article for a newspaper or magazine.

As I have already indicated, my schedule through January 1 is completely committed and unless an extraordinary situation arises, such requests should be turned down without submission to me.

But beyond that the ground rules have been pretty well discussed in previous meetings:

no appearances with other candidates

work in non-political forums for the news pegs, in those instances where appearances are being made before political groups.

And in the period before the primary election, leave the schedule with plenty of time in each place we visit for calls on newspaper publishers, political leaders and informal handshake sessions.

CHECK LIST (Haldeman)

DONE NOT DONE

- 9/28 Alan Nichols should be contacted right away
 and absorbed into this thing
- 9/28 Come up with task force recommendation
- 9/28 Club -- agency -- volunteer work operation
 (Haldeman's responsibility)
- 9/28 everyone to list press corps, radio, tv
 in Calif. who are friendly or potentially
 friendly - read stories etc. -- get lists
 into lgg by 10/5
- 10/2 Look for top P. R. man -- RN mentioned
 brains in S. C. area - someone he sat
 by at Lang's party etc.

MEETINGS

Bob H.

CHECK LIST (SOME ONE -- NOT ASSIGNED)

- 9/28 Don Jackson -- he can work with anti-Communists and speak
- 9/28 Clubs to be reactivated on a massive scale
- 9/28 We need full time man - someone people can call -- who is looking? (This is apart from the press man)
- 9/28 We need new people for the Mexicans, Negroes, etc.
- 9/28 Letter has to go out national mailing list. (probably to be signed by Herbert Hoover)
- 9/28 Democrat Chairman for our Campaign
- 9/28 Squad to take on the fight -- Brown & Knight working together
- 9/28 DDT Group (who is going to get them?)
- 10/2 One fulltime man -- RN said "I want him to be a public relations guy who can set up the advertising task force. RN wants a P. R. guy is the type who will be head of a group and who will tap all of the high-priced help we will not have to pay.
- 10/2 Someone to find out young director was at Lang's party.
- 10/2 Woman on the ballot in California - Mrs. Brown ~~was~~ mentioned but no one assigned to discuss it further
- 10/2 Reactivating Clubs
- 10/2 Precinct Organization for the primary -- you have to get those phone lists.
- 10/2 Two statewide mailings -- one now and one shortly before election this is thrilling announcement - will you pledge your support, etc. There was talk of having Ronald Reagan/ John Wayne, Randy Scott, etc. sign the letter but no one was assigned to talk to them about it.
- 10/2 Jobs for our people -- but no further talk about Haldeman being in charge of volunteers: Radio and TV shows to be monitored - a real letter-to-editor program should be started -- operation heckle - against Brown and Knight.
- 10/2 Said you would fly to S. F. to set up their finance group -- who is handling this with Esberg?
- 10/2 RN said we need a finance chairman for Orange County/ Movie Colony, etc. Conrad Hilden - Jack Warner -- who is working on this?
- 10/2 Telephone Lists -- Appointment Lists -- Meetings ----- where are they to come from
- 10/3 RN said -- I will have all of the Assemblymen who are not committed to Brown -- this was re party or parties -- WHO is working on that -- finding out who is committed and setting up the parties?

Copy for Bob Haldeman

CHECK LIST (Bob Finch)

DONE NOT DONE

- 9/29 Call Tom Bewley -- re Arditte - Bautzer
- 9/13 Call Ray Wiley - Long Beach
- Report on conversation with Ray Moley to RN
- Monterey-Peninsula Herald editorial by Kennedy was it mailed out - or prepared for mailing
- 9/28 Call to George Hearst re Knight - re Jud Baker
- 9/28 Head up egghead thing -check Scholars Committee see which ones around here
- 9/28 Headquarters - acquire and have someone handle
- 9/28 Have a chat with Mase re Al Moscow - basic loyalty
- 9/28 Check with George Vaughan
- 9/28 Check with Stan Hiller
- 9/28 Check with Jack Drown re Bob Reynolds - sports
- 9/28 Check Ivan Hindrocker (re Democrat Chairman for our campaign)
- 9/28 Da Silva thing - with Edgerton
- 9/28 Feng Plan - we want that activated - Feng willing to come out and work it out
- 9/28 Press/ Radio/ TV people you know who are friendly everyone to have their lists to LGG by 10/5
- 9/28 Strategy Board - people to meet every week (Bernie Brennan - Murray)
- 9/28 Talk to Cap Weinberger - what is he thinking of -- need his help -- or is he planning to run?
- 9/28 Party officials - assemblymen - congressmen et al re Knight attack
- 10/2 Sandy Quinn -- give him a little more than he is making now.
- 10/2 Get in touch with Bob Lindsay - he should come out in support - tell him to whack Knight
- 10/2 Call Jim Reynolds - get hqtrs set up
- 10/3 Ask Ed Valentine whether good idea to have Hoover as Finance Chairman or Treasurer (clear it with him in a way that won't offend Ed)

CHECK LIST (Finch)

DONE NOT DONE

- 10/3 Talk to Otis - while Knight flap is on don't want to go in and talk will when over - note they gave it a bit more play than Hearst papers - everyone knows Edgerton is Knight's friend - not Nixon's
- Tell him available whenever he wants to see me when this thing is over.
- 10/3 Prepare a list of people - groups - meetings that we should work in now
- 10/3 Discuss with Bautzer having an offer on hand, etc.
- 10/3 Call to Trousdale - and RN said what to say
- 10/3 Call Harvey - we are short on dough - ask whether RN should call Sam Pryor
- 10/3 Woman on ticket - any candidates?
- 10/3 Call Elmo Roper - re Field, etc.
- 10/3 Talk with Valentine, Minckler et al on what RN should do on req. from Leetham for appt.
- 10/3 When Justin Dart comes back we must go to work on assembly and house seats.
- 10/3 Everyone should put down names of potential people for chairman of this campaign - manager, finance, task force, people, etc.

CHECK LIST

(SOME ONE -- NOT ASSIGNED)

- 10/3 Statewide Mailing -- RN's signature -- celebrity signature?
- 10/3 CLUBS or (Nixon Clubs or German like operation???)
- 10/6/61 Phone Calls -- to chairmen from all of RN's campaigns
politicians - newspapermen and radio and television
people ANYONE MAKING UP LISTS
- 10/6 NEX NAMES for calling -- who is to make up list to ask Harrison McCall, etc
to call
- Who is getting list of old and new chairmen' friends -- etc who are to be
contacted this week???
- 10/6 Who is in charge of intelligence outfit?
- 10/6 Who is in charge of counter-attack outfit
- 10/6 Who will get people for both of above outfits?
- (Typical example was at meeting on 10/6 RN said - "No sign should be put or
anything until you are sure you are ready to go to work." Rather RN agreed
with this statement when MC made it. However, no one was told to getik
tell Jim Reynolds this.
- 10/6x
- 10/6 Some one is to go to San Francisco and comb the library of the paper for
all the news articles about Brown -- who?
- 10/6 Same to be done in L. A. and in Sacramento - who is in charge?
- 10/6 Pat Hillings mentioned the budget session would be starting in Sacramento -- thinks
we ought to establish with the guys who are friendly and try to work with them
no action was taken on it.

October 10, 1961

Bob H.
Fey

MEMO from AW

re: organization for the Primary Election

In my opinion, the basic activity that should begin as soon as possible is research. We have in the past, to our sorrow, given short shrift to this aspect of campaigning and I am convinced that was a major factor contributing to our defeat last year. We also tend to confine research to checking quotations. Even this was poorly done in 1960 on at least two occasions. This time we have to conduct a massive research program in three areas

- (1) opposition candidates
- (2) state and local issues and problems
- (3) mechanics of elections

For this reason I hope that a top-notch research director, who is experienced in politics, will soon be appointed and arrive on the scene. While speech making and writing are of unquestioned importance, they represent only the visible part of the iceberg.

Research on our opponents' records, statements, etc., state and local issues should be going on right now. Both of these activities represent the foundation for RN speeches, tactics, propaganda and counter-propaganda. They have to be determined early, especially if we want to use the Kennedy technique of feeding everything into a computer before deciding on strategy, campaign theme and issues.

Secondly, we had virtually no effective counter-propaganda in 1960 and only in the last few days did we inject any "negatives" into the campaign against Kennedy. Most of this was too little and too late. Yet even at that, some of it was effective, if it did nothing more than persuade some usually Democratic voters to stay home. Had this material been widely distributed and in the hands of voters by October 8 the results might have been different.

For both the primary and the election we need a great deal of research in the area of mechanics.

For example, simply in connection with registration we need basic information with regard to the law. Since the last Legislature enacted more liberal literacy requirements, as providing that this matter can be challenged only at registration time, and NOT at the polls on election day, it is of the utmost importance that our workers understand the law in this regard, and also that they understand the how's and when's of challenging, as well as the best and most useful, tactful techniques.

In addition, simplified material needs to be prepared with regard to other aspects of elections; i.e., for the benefit of those serving on finance committees, poll watchers, etc., the regulations with regard to tallying ballots -- the whole gamut of regulations covering primaries and elections. Not only do the workers need this information, but they will also need training before being asked to perform.

Also, in addition to the legal aspects, research must be carried out to determine who is registered and how they are registered. Equally important is determining who and where the new voters are; i.e., those who have turned 21 recently, new arrivals in California, and naturalized citizens. This information is vital if those who are going to work as canvassers, distributors of literature, persuaders of one sort or another are going to function effectively.

Again, these last three groups will need basic orientation and some kind of training which should be prepared by the ~~xxx~~ research section.

Based on the findings with regard to ~~xxx~~ registration, other committees can be established to perform certain functions with regard to shut-ins -- absentee voters, telephoning, transportation, etc.

I know I am obsessed on this subject, but I have given the matter a great deal of thought. The glory may be in the grand strategy and all that, but the votes are in organization. This, of course, has to be done largely through volunteers, but before we recruit them, we must know:

- (1) what must be done
- (2) and we must have a structure and system for doing it.

REPUBLICAN VICTORY IN '62 AND '64

UNIONISM

It is my belief, and I am a union member, that the philosophy of the Republican party can be sold to responsible union workers plus secondary and lower union leaders with an approach of truth, logic and progressiveness - 99% are good fighting Americans

We must teach the following:

Industrial peace and control of inflation are a necessity - history shows lack of either one leads to Nazism or Communism - no unions under either system

Two strong political parties vs Communism vs splinter parties

It can be sold that it's not smart to put all the ^{union} eggs in the Democratic basket

Must sell party as way of life in the beginning and not candidates

Growth of union pension trusts rely on profits of business - partners anyway

Must systematically show that the Democrats philosophy of constant irresponsible compromises with any problem will lead to confusion, inflation, loss of liberty and finally Godless Communism. Church will be on Republican side

Free capitalistic system is a necessity for free union growth

REPUBLICAN PARTY

The second echelon union leaders and members go along with the Democrats because the Republican party, generally, has offered nothing but lack of dignity - ~~to help with~~ ^{2nd} ~~the union sons of bitches~~ - not man to man basis ^{class} ^{city}

We must get manufacturing association groups and labor leaders together privately without government intervention. (preventive maintenance) ^{economic education}

Set up basic cell or unit operations in factories to sell Republicanism

Must put our basic philosophy and issues in 7th grade human language. (democratic means democrats) inflation in terms of loaves of bread, milk cost, etc.)

We must use party discipline where feasible to get our professional politicians to spend 50% of their time other than Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, B.N.W., etc., because we are just talking to ourselves. Let's convert new people

Let's keep amateur group alive but with liaison with County, State and National headquarters

Let's adapt the Green program in Philadelphia to Republican needs nationally

Capitalize with hard hitting truth the inevitable mistakes of the Kennedy administration

We must get Governor Rockefeller, Vice President Nixon and Senator Goldwater to agree on above procedure - now have three Republican parties - decide at National Convention

ACTION

Bring together now, through the Republican leadership at the local and state levels, the top employer and union people to establish direct communication, air their opinion differences and solidify those areas in which there can be common agreement and mutual trust.

Fred Nichols
Hafferman Bldg.
Syosset, N. Y.