

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

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35	15	10/16/1968	Memo	Memo from Bryce Harlow to Bob Haldeman developments in bombing halt. 1pg.
35	15	10/17/1968	Memo	Memo form Ellsworth to DC regarding Bombing Pause. 2pgs.
35	15	10/16/1968	Memo	Memo from Harlow to DC regarding phone call from John Tower concerning bombing moratorium. 1pg.
35	15	10/15/1968	Report	New York Times (Max Frankel) report regarding Humphrey's insistence he can still win. 4pgs.
35	15	10/17/1968	Report	UPI - Detroit summary regarding HHH's view on current campaign status. 1pg.
35	15	10/17/1968	Report	AP (The Boston Globe) summary regarding Brooke urging HH vote pledge. 1pg.

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35	15	10/17/1968	Report	New York Times (Thomas A. Johnson) summary regarding Agnew soliciting Wallace votes. 1pg.
35	15	10/18/1968	Memo	Memo from Bell to Buchanan regarding the Catholic Vote. 5pgs.
35	15	10/18/1968	Memo	Memo from Buchanan to RN regarding Day to Day battle casualties. 1pg.
35	15	10/21/1968	Report	New York Times (Max Frankel) release regarding Humphrey backing House election. 4pgs.
35	15	10/21/1968	Memo	Memo from Jim Keogh to RN regarding pressure to drop statement of RN's views on tobacco industry. 1pg.
35	15	10/21/1968	Report	Statement release from Richard M. Nixon regarding views on tobacco industry. 1pg.
35	15	10/21/1968	Memo	Memo from Price to RN regarding the Chicago Daily News' endorsement of RN. 1pg.

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35	15	10/21/1968	Report	New York Times press report regarding praise for RN's proposal for a tutorial system from the director of the Teacher Corps (Richard A. Graham). 1pg.
35	15	10/21/1968	Memo	Memo from Jim Keogh to RN regarding subjects to cover during train stops. 1pg.
35	15	10/22/1968	Memo	Memo from Buchanan to RN regarding RN presenting himself as a winner and a President throughout last ten days of campaign. 3pgs.
35	15	10/18/1968	Memo	Memo from Buchanan and Ziegler to DC regarding media assertion that RN is inaccessible and that this sort of trouble can be avoided. 4pgs.
35	15	10/22/1968	Newsletter	News Summary from the New York Daily News (Ted Lewis) regarding argument of popular vote versus Electoral College proceedings. 2pgs.
35	15	10/23/1968	Newsletter	Release from the New York Times (Roy Reed) regarding "Humphrey Buoyed by Texas Outlook." 2pgs.
35	15	10/21/1968	Memo	Memo from Ellsworth to DC. RE: Message to surrogate candidates.

10/16

file

MEMO FOR BOB HALDEMAN
FROM BRYCE HARLOW

As of 11:15 this morning the bombing halt developments were still far too confused to make much of them.

The White House flatly asserts there has been "no breakthrough" and that there is "no change." Senator Dirksen talked yesterday with Secretary Rusk who at that point said there has been no change. All we have this morning is indication that the U. S. may have offered a bombing halt for a time, but we still have no evidence that the other side is willing to do anything in return.

I have sent to Dwight Chapin what John Tower suggests RN might say about all of this. However, it presumes a bombing moratorium, and this is not officially known as yet.

If there should be a moratorium, I suggest a RN statement along these lines:

"From my many conversations with the President and Secretary Rusk and from their many previous public statements I must conclude that the bombing halt has come to pass as a result of some specific commitment or specific act by the North Vietnamese. I am not aware of the details of this as yet and am asking for them from the President or Secretary.

"In any case, every citizen prays that this new development will, first, not jeopardize the security of our troops in the DMZ area and, second, will speed progress toward a dependable peace in Vietnam. Certainly that is my own view, and I will maintain my position of withholding any comment that might in some way undermine the progress of the negotiations. I repeat -- in international affairs our nation has only one leader at a time -- the President -- and we must do nothing to impede or undercut his efforts toward peace."

October 17, 1968

TO: DC
FROM: Ellsworth
RE: Bombing Pause

Called Rusk but he had his assistant, Shlaudeman, talk to me. Said Rusk had already talked to Agnew. Said Rusk told Agnew the White House statement spoke for itself. Said Rusk emphasized to Agnew that there are a number of essential matters still under negotiation and discussion at Paris, that it is still up to Hanoi, that they are still working on it, that it is hard to predict, and especially emphasized that the President will be in touch with Mr. Nixon if anything important develops.

Cygnus ths something coming - couple days
Rush lacked normal ease
didn't want it known they talked =
Ottenad has told people
McW heard from someone

Byce ths this is all smog -

October 16, 1968

TO: DC

FROM: Harlow

John Tower telephoned. He expects the United States to announce a bombing moratorium until a date certain - say, 2 to 4 weeks - to allow Hanoi an opportunity to respond.

Tower recommends that RN express hope that this move will not jeopardize the security of our own forces in the DMZ, that he hopes the move will be productive and bring real progress in the peace talks, that he will continue to do nothing to upset these talks in any way, and that he is requesting immediate advice in detail on all of this from the President.

HUMPHREY INSISTS HE STILL CAN WIN
HE STARTS BUSY WEEK WITH BITTER GIBES AT NIXON AND A SHOW
OF OPTIMISM

With a new and probably final burst of political energy, Hubert H. Humphrey set out today to prove that his campaign was "coming alive" at last and that Richard M. Nixon could still be overtaken in a tight race over the next three weeks.

Implicitly contradicting the opinion polls, buoyed by an apparent increase in campaign contributions and still convinced that Mr. Nixon is vulnerable on some key issues, Mr. Humphrey let fly some of his sharpest attacks of the campaign.

He demanded that Mr. Nixon join him and George C. Wallace in a televised debate next Sunday and promised a further announcement tomorrow night if they continued to ignore the invitation.

Mr. Wallace said later in California that he would accept Mr. Humphrey's offer to debate if Mr. Nixon agreed to appear, too. Mr. Nixon has said repeatedly, however, that he will not take part in a three-sided debate.

The Vice President also issued a statement on anti-inflation policy, calling for a new attempt to bring management and labor into accord on a "realistic" figure for annual wage increases, thus keeping prices stable without slowing the economy.

...He vowed that if none of the three candidates won a majority in the Electoral College he would refuse to bargain with Mr. Wallace and would try to maneuver Mr. Nixon into letting the House of Representatives choose among them.

*right
left*
...The crucial choice on Nov. 5, Mr. Humphrey said at a news conference, will be between the continuation of "sensible, progressive liberalism" and a "return to reaction."

Mr. Nixon's election, he said, would serve special moneyed interests, would raise a real "threat" to the future composition of the Supreme Court and would stimulate a legislative "conservative-reactionary coalition the likes of which you haven't seen since the 80th Congress 20 years ago.

It is because the choice is so clear, Mr. Humphrey said, that he relished the combat of the next three weeks. He said he planned to work harder, rejecting staff advice that he rest regularly along the way.

It was the prelude to a hectic schedule of campaigning activities this week in Indiana, Missouri, Connecticut, Michigan and New York City.

Tentative plans call for a journey to California and Texas among other places next week and a further effort in the North-eastern quarter of the country during the final week.

...Aides to Mr. Humphrey said funds had become available for a respectable television advertising campaign for the final push - nothing like Mr. Nixon's they emphasized, but enough for a fair showing.

"We're going down to the wire," Mr. Humphrey insisted, pointing to the come-from-behind wizardry of the Detroit Tiger's star world series pitcher: "My name is not Mickey Lolich, but I can pitch."

And pitch he did, high and wide and low and inside, Mr.

Humphrey said it was time for Mr. Nixon to come out from "behind the bushes" or, if he preferred, from "under the covers" where he has been sleeping with Senator Strom Thurmond, the segregationist Republican of South Carolina.

Mr. Thurmond is the "lifeline" between the Nixon and Wallace forces, the Vice President contended, suggesting the the Carolinian would be the intermediary to unite their forces in the Electoral College in case no one achieved the required majority of 270 electoral votes there.

Pointing to statements by Mr. Wallace that he would not in that event let the decision pass to the House of Representatives as stipulated in the Constitution, Mr. Humphrey said this implied a move to "bargain" for the Presidency with one of the major-party contenders.

He would make no deal with Mr. Wallace, Mr. Humphrey said; and he called upon Mr. Nixon to make a similar pledge [The Vice President's apparent preference for a decision in the House] suggested that he and his aides had thought a little more about post-election tactics since he last commented on the subject on Friday.

Asked then whether he might instruct his electors to support Mr. Nixon if the Republican candidate led in popular votes but lacked electoral votes, Mr. Humphrey said that would depend on his own showing in the bigger states. But he was ["prone to think" he added, that whoever obtained the most popular votes should be chosen President.]

If Mr. Humphrey acted on that precept, then he rather than

... Mr. Wallace could be the "kingmaker" in the Electoral College. The Vice President said he would not let selfish interests lead to a "constitutional crisis" and paralysis.

...KEY BISCAYNE, Fla., Oct. 14

Herbert G. Klein, speaking for Mr. Nixon, said today that Mr. Humphrey's call for a pledge against bargaining with Mr. Wallace was "strictly a gimmick."

"As Mr. Humphrey knows," Mr. Klein said, "Dick Nixon was the first candidate to speak out against making a deal with George Wallace, or for that matter with anyone on the electoral college votes."

Press Club Offer Accepted

Mr. Humphrey has accepted an invitation by the Overseas Press Club in New York to debate Mr. Nixon under the club's auspices, the club said last night.

The press club, whose members include 3,400 foreign correspondents and newsmen, telegraphed its invitation to both candidates on October 1. Hal Lebrman, the club's president, said that no response had yet been received from Mr. Nixon.

*Done via the above
do writer.*
*to see that appropriate reply
goes under Klein's
signature Klein will do*

UPI - Detroit
October 17, 1968
(News Summary)

In a TV interview HHH conceded, "we're behind in Illinois. But I intend to fight for it and we're going to go down/fighting." He also admitted Democrats are behind in California, but refused to concede the state to RN. He insisted his private polls and independent polls show him ahead in Ohio, Texas, Pennsylvania, and New York.

"We know we're ahead in Pa.," he said, but admitted New York is "a real battle -- up for grabs." Reaching Detroit after four this morning HHH cancelled a motorcade through a Ford assembly plant, setting back the day's first appearance to a noon rally in JFK Square. He also decided to spend the night in Detroit instead of leaving very late for the next stop, Hartford, Conn.



A handwritten signature, possibly 'Dun', is located at the bottom of the page. It is written in cursive and is connected to the main text by a large, sweeping handwritten line that starts from the bottom of the second paragraph and loops back up to the word 'Pennsylvania' in the first paragraph.

E

BROOKE URGES HH VOTE PLEDGE

Washington - Two Republican Senators urged Hubert H. Humphrey today to match Richard Nixon's declaration that if the House has to elect a President it should be the candidate who receives the largest popular vote.

Senators Edward W. Brooke of Mass. and Charles Goodell of New York., said in a statement that Hubert Humphrey, as the Democratic nominee, should "make his position on this critical issue explicit and unequivocal."

They cited Nixon's declaration Tuesday that "the House of Representatives should elect the man who wins the popular vote."

The election would be thrown into the House if no candidate gets 270 electoral votes, a possibility because of the third-party candidacy of George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Brooke and Goodell urged candidates for the House to pledge themselves to the principle that the winner of the popularity vote should be chosen as President.

H
Tell Brooke, Goodell
+ all others to keep
hammering this.

Buchanan

The New York Times
Thomas A. Johnson
October 18, 1968
Youngstown, Ohio - 10/17/68

AGNEW SOLICITS WALLACE VOTES

In Youngstown, He Attacks 'Supersimplistic Solutions'

Spiro T. Agnew stepped up his campaign to win pro-Wallace votes for Republicans today by mounting the strongest attack so far on the third-party candidate before a noon-time rally of 1,200 supporters here.

Mr. Agnew, the Republican nominee for Vice President, accused the third-party Presidential candidate, George C. Wallace, of pushing "super-simplistic solutions." He said Mr. Wallace and his running mate, Gen. Curtis LeMay, were "frightening" in their statements on the Vietnam war and nuclear warfare.

At one point Mr. Agnew said: "And I would say this about Mr. Wallace, I guess he's alright to some people, but I wouldn't want my daughter to marry him."

Mr. Agnew has often made low-key remarks about the Wallace candidacy, a sort of "by the way" reference that tells voters they would throw their vote away by voting for Mr. Wallace. Then he suggests they vote the Nixon-Agnew ticket.

*Buchanan -
Joy of the personal
attack at on C.W.
particularly in
north*

RN
bkgrd

October 18, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: BUCHANAN

FROM: BELL

RE: Catholic Vote

file

School Statement

I recommend that we go with the attached statement of sympathetic consideration for the parochial schools -- in effect, a hand signal that they will get a better break from us -- for the following reasons:

1) It is right. At a time when massive new funds seem necessary to keep any school system afloat, a denial of relief to Catholic schools is little short of a death warrant to the second largest school system in this country. This would be a disservice to American education as well as to the Catholic taxpayer who has to pay more and more to get the same educational benefit for his children -- little or nothing.

2) If properly publicized, this can have a significant and possibly decisive effect on the Catholic vote, without antagonizing very many Protestants. While a public opinion poll might still show a plurality against aid to parochial schools, it is well known that most Catholics will change their vote on this issue, while most Protestants will not. The gun-control analogy is apt -- the anti-control minority is willing to shift votes, while the lukewarm majority

is not. The election of Kennedy largely defused this as a big issue among Protestants -- remember, ten years ago intelligent people were asking whether a Catholic President might have to take orders from the Pope -- and the textbook provision of the school-aid bill, together with the Supreme Court decision which upheld it, have at least partially removed the "constitutional" issue.

3) Those Protestants who would tend to react negatively are for the most part in states (e.g. Kansas and Oklahoma) where RN is safely ahead. Moreover, the Bible Belt-Fundamentalist types who would react most negatively are the least likely to hear of RN's statement.

4) The states where this statement is likely to have a net favorable impact tend to include the large industrial states regarded as marginal. The statement, properly publicized, could help substantially in Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut. These 1960 Kennedy states, close this year, have a total of 75 electoral votes.

5) The statement could move Massachusetts from the Humphrey to the Marginal column.

6) In New York -- which, I admit, is the big problem because it is the only state with a heavy Jewish vote -- I believe the gains among Catholics would outweigh the losses among Jews. At the outset, it should be remembered that about

one-third of the Jewish community -- the Orthodox Jews heavily concentrated in Brooklyn -- have long been in favor of religious schools, and RN's stand would not only not hurt, but ought to be publicized in these areas. These also tend to be the "law and order" Jews among whom Humphrey has suffered the greatest RN inroads to date.

7) Because of a number of events, Jewish faith in the public school system, and in the rigidly secularist approach to church-state relations, has been eroded. In a long Commentary article last year, Milton Himmelfarb chided his fellow Jewish intellectuals for practicing secularist anti-Catholicism in the name of constitutionalism.

Furthermore, the present New York school crisis has caused many of the non-Orthodox Jews to re-evaluate their support of the public schools, and their opposition to private religious-affiliated schools. My information is that even some Reform congregations are considering starting schools to avoid the current chaos. From the point of view of potential New York Jewish backlash, the present is the most propitious opportunity in quite a while to chance it.

8) This is a direct thrust at Humphrey's most important strength. Gallup (38-36-20) and Harris (43-33-15) agree in giving Humphrey the edge among Catholics. If Humphrey cannot maintain or increase his present lead among

Catholics, he cannot carry Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, or Connecticut.

9) This diverts some attention from the debate issue and tends to defuse the "Nixon won't speak out" issue.

10) It puts Humphrey profoundly on the defensive. What can he say? He can't attack the statement as irresponsible, since all it really does is call for a new look. He can't come out against parochial schools, or he is dead among Catholics. And yet if he does not, he will alienate the liberal ideologues he has been trying to woo with a softer Vietnam line. He would probably wind up either me-tooing (which interrupts his self-righteous posturing as the "issues candidate") or making a serious political mistake.

11) The injection of an important new domestic issue into the campaign diverts attention to some extent from Vietnam. Given the present peace offensive, the less the campaign is preoccupied with Vietnam, the less the Democrats will tend to be helped.

The genesis of this draft is as follows: it was drafted by Thomas Patrick Melady, passed on for approval by Chotiner, seen and/or edited by Anderson, Bell, Buchanan, Gavin and Price.

Chotiner's feeling is that this should be secretly

prepared, and dropped at the parish level the Sunday before election.

I disagree, and think it should be dropped as soon as possible for the following reasons.

1) The New York school strike -- and difficulties in other school systems across the country -- defuse to some extent the state-school partisans. Some of these disruptions may be settled by November 3.

2) Dropping at the parish level on November 3 allows HHH to attack RN via the "sneakiness" issue, a la the securities statement.

3) Few voters change their minds in the last two or three days of the election. Most will have decided by then.

4) Humphrey might get to this one first. If so, any political advantage RN would reap as the pioneer on this issue would be gone, and it is we who would be awkwardly on the defensive.

#

LB

MEMO TO RN

From Buchanan

October 18, 1968

Day to Day battle casualties is not a good figure. A big battle one day might send them up and the next day there might be next to none. I am having Agnes telecopy the weekly casualties since January, which would include Tet and the Bombing Pause, and Post Bombing Pause.

Also, daily figures are unavailable unless we want to try to get them out of the Pentagon with a direct call in.

Buchanan

What I want
is not the post figures
But if there is a
- 6-emb pause or cease fire
I want some current figures
on new casualties - to
show the war is not over.

Done
get all
Christie Elliott et al.
Surrogate to deal
to hammer his hard
on denying popular vote
man to

New York Times
October 21, 1968
Max Frankel
Washington - 10/20/68

HUMPHREY BACKS HOUSE ELECTION

Contends He Could Govern Well Even if He Failed to Capture Popular Vote

File

Hubert H. Humphrey said this evening that he thought he could govern effectively, if elected President by the House of Representatives, even if he did not obtain the largest number of votes in the election Nov. 5.

Asked whether he shared the view of Richard M. Nixon, his Republican rival, that the man who got the most popular votes ought to be President, Mr. Humphrey said not necessarily.

If none of the three candidates gets 270⁹ electoral votes as a result of the election, the Constitution stipulates that one of them be chosen President by the House of Representatives, with each state delegation in the House casting a single vote.

A majority of 26 votes in the House is needed for election.

Mr. Humphrey, appearing on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Face the Nation," said that he was going to "stand by constitutional processes" and not rule out his election in this manner, even if he trailed Mr. Nixon in the popular vote.

Humphrey Backs House Election - continued

He said that there should be no deals in the way the electors vote, and if no one got a majority of the electors then the members of the House should sit, not as representatives of their districts but as free-thinking citizens selecting the man they regarded as the best President.

He said that he thought he could govern effectively, even if Mr. Nixon received more popular votes, because of his good connections with both business and labor, because of the "rapport" that he enjoyed in the nation's Negro community and because of his "rapport" with Congress and with young people.

Mr. Humphrey also used his appearance on the television interview show to taunt Mr. Nixon once again for refusing to appear on such shows or in direct debate with his rivals.

He said that the Republican candidate "is playing games by hiding behind balloons and confetti and not engaging in the kind of debate that he once said was the "duty of Presidential candidates."

The Vice President went on the show after having spent the afternoon arranging for a one-hour television program seen later this evening, also on the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Humphrey Backs House Election - continued

This was the hour that he had reserved for a debate with Mr. Nixon and the third-party challenger, George C. Wallace. Mr. Nixon never answered the invitation, and Mr. Wallace agreed to appear only if the Republican candidate joined him.

As a result the Humphrey entourage spent the entire week debating how to use the hour -- possibly to stage its own mock debate against the other two candidates.

But in the end, it was decided to bring together several elements -- a half-hour documentary film on the Democratic party, with which Mr. Humphrey seeks to appeal to traditional loyalties among the electorate.

A brief appearance by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, was also arranged. The Senator has endorsed Mr. Humphrey but not moved out of his home state on his behalf.

One section is devoted to a brief appearance by Mr. Humphrey's running mate, Senator Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine; another shows Mr. Humphrey answering the questions of several citizens recruited for the paid political broadcast.

The Vice President also spoke briefly about what he called the current "sensitive" negotiations with North Vietnam for a possible halt in the bombing and other moves toward a settlement.

Humphrey Backs House Election - continued

He said that President Nguyen Van Thieu, of South Vietnam, while obviously concerned with the issues, should not be given a "veto" over the American decision of whether and when to halt the bombing.

The bombing was in any case a peculiarly American tactic in the war, Mr. Humphrey said.

He also said that all leaders and groups should realize that the Americans have borne the "heavy burden" for a long time, and that the American people "have been faithful to the point of pain."

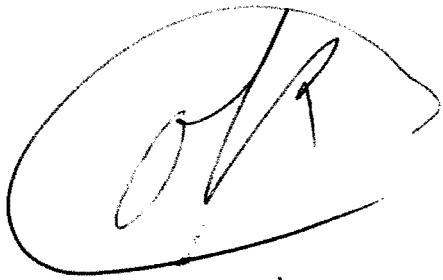
October 21, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN
FROM: Jim Keogh

We are under pressure to drop this statement while in this area. It comes from Senator Baker's office with the approval of Key Issues and Hyde Murray.

hold



DRAFT

Statement of
RICHARD M. NIXON

Covington, Kentucky
October 21, 1968

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

In connection with my visit to this area, a number of members of Congress -- including Senators Cooper and Morton of Kentucky, Senator Baker of Tennessee, Congressman Broyhill of North Carolina and Congressman Wampler of Virginia -- have asked me to express my views on the tobacco industry. I know that in these states, with their diversified agricultural economy, thousands of farm families count heavily on the annual sale of their tobacco crop for their livelihood. It is a major factor in the economy of the region, and years ago, in 1960, I expressed my support for the farm program which brings fair prices to the tobacco farmers.

~~I ^{also} know that questions have ~~also~~ been raised about the report of the Surgeon General on Smoking and Health. I would support an objective program of research, utilizing the joint efforts of government, eminent private scientists, and of industry itself, which I believe can determine the facts and lead to a solution. I am sure that this is what everyone, and certainly the farmer, wants.~~

~~I am anxious to see that the people of this region share fully in the fruits of an accelerated farm economy.~~

#####

10/21/68

MEMORANDUM

From: Price

To: RN

Subj: Endorsement

1. Pete Lisagor tells me the Chicago Daily News is endorsing RN today. This I think is a really significant one -- Bailey Howard (pres and chief exec officer of the Field company) is a Democrat, as are most of the top editorial brass of the two papers.

rp

October 21, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC
FROM: Ellsworth

Handwritten initials/signature
File

717
238 1059

fyi

Here is a copy of the message which is being sent to the Surrogate Candidates:

"Now is the time to launch an all-out attack on HHH, reminding the American people of the fact that HHH is too weak and emotional to lead this nation, that he would only be a weak "yes-man" under the pressures of the Presidency, reminding them that he has yet to specify exactly where he differs from LBJ's programs or from the bankrupt programs of the past. He has yet to state whether he would continue Attorney General Clark or Agriculture Secretary Freeman in his Cabinet. Keep reminding people that he is so weak that he has been unable to unify his own party. Hit him hard every day, tying the events of the day into one of the foregoing themes."

H
(1) spot for K's signature ← *No*
(2) why not hit the popular vote idea - after his year refusal to submit his case to people in primary & now in general election same ←

Ellsworth

NEW YORK TIMES

October 21, 1968

*Summanta
(Hartfield)
should pick the
up*

file

Re

TEACHER PROPOSAL PRAISED

Washington, October 20 - Richard A. Graham, director of the Teacher Corps, said tonight that there was a "great deal of merit" in Richard M. Nixon's proposal for a tutorial system in which high school and college students would assist youngsters in disadvantaged areas.

"There are similar tutorial programs now under way," Mr. Graham said, "but the idea of banding the participants together in a corps has definite advantages. If the kids are working in a corps, a kind of esprit is formed which encourages them and improves their work. The Peace Corps and our own program have shown this."

Under the present program, a team of experienced teachers and young graduates teach for a two-year tour of duty in an urban ghetto or a rural poverty area. There are now about 2,000 volunteers working in about 200 school districts around the country.

October 21, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN
FROM: Jim Keogh

The nine subjects we propose to cover for the train stops on Tuesday are:

- (1) Jobs (Safire)
- (2) Cost-of-living (Safire)
- (3) Respect for America (Safire)
- (4) Spending (Buchanan)
- (5) Law and Order (Buchanan)
- (6) Supreme Court (Buchanan)
- (7) Peace (Harlow)
- (8) Surtax (Harlow)
- (9) Power in Washington (Harlow)

Confidential file

MEMO TO RN

From Buchanan

October 22, 1968

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1
By RJP NARS, Date 4/6/87

In these last ten days I would argue strongly for RN presenting the image of both a winner and a President. I would recommend a easing off in the number of the cheer lines, an easing back of the shouted lines at rallies. I would recommend an increase in the depth and substance of the speech--something like Cincinnati, which I did not see but which I heard was extremely effective.

Also, we ought not again I think to have the next President talking about how many rapes occurred in the last five minutes. I think that continued use of the broad figures, said not in a shrill but in a serious fashion are fully adequate.

In hitting Humphrey, Muskie and Clark, RN ought I think to do this more as a winner and a President, as we did in new Hampshire with Governor Romney. We needèd him, made several jokes about him, but were never bitter, because we knew wè would need his support. RN might treat Humphrey in the same manner. We can still stick it in him, about Obedience School, etc. but do it in such a way as to leave no impression he has stung us, no impression we are angry or bitter, but rather jab him a few times as though he were a bumbling and ineffective boxer who had been unable to lay a glove on us.

Further recommendation is that RN showed a relaxed and confident modd----which could not be better exemplifeid than a trip through the plane or somethingk like that to needle some of the press people. The little things do more than anything else to show that RN feels confident and thinks things are going well.

As for the stump speeches yesterday, I think they are when RN talks at the audience, or discusses some things with rather than sort of shouting the cheer lines to them. ~~XXXXXX~~ Price points out, the cool as opposed to the "hot" comes over. Also, our campaign is judged not by what is seen of it in person but by how cool the press judges it to be.

Thus, the presidential impressions. The aloof but friendly for Hubert the well-meaning clown, the more serious moments, the call for support, ~~and~~ a cutting back on anything that smacks of ~~braggadocio~~ braggadocio, and the call for people to join in a common cause. rule out things like a vote for me is a vote for peace, and a vote for Humphrey is a vote for failure. The over-simplistic things we can do without.

Again, a final note. The thing to maintain these last few days I think is "our cool" and our "flexibility." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We can get on the offensive without being offensive.

I don't know if RN feels comfortable with it, but if he uses it on one of these many occasions, just to get up before the crowd and start talking about the kind of country he wanted to build, the kind of nation we want to see, and we are going to need Democrats; we know there are difficult times ahead. Sort of Wilsonian. If it doesn't come off, we haven't lost anything but a single rally.

One last thought----I think that we ought to be now campaigning like the President of the United States campaigning for election. Above the madding crowd, above Hubert and George.

##\$

ADD AT END

On the cheer lines and on the criticism suggest that RN talk them or speak them into the microphone, and let the microphone do the amplification, rather than shouting them into the mike. Often times, ~~ixxxx~~ RN can say the same thing----but if shouted it sounds like a more bitter attack than if simply said, with the kind of ~~xxxxxxx~~ disdain for HHH that ~~xxx~~ he merits and that we should ~~xxxxxxx~~ practice

..

File

~~14~~
H. H. H.
w/ H.

October 18, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC

FROM: Buchanan and Ziegler

Our early warning system is picking up signs of real trouble in these last 18 days, trouble that can be avoided, as it can be foreseen easily.

We talked with Mike Wallace the other day. He says a consensus is developing in the press corps that RN is inaccessible, that his campaign is super effâcient but bland, that we are programmed perfectly, but that we are sort of avoiding controversy and coasting to victory. The press, bored with the rally speech and paying little attention to radio speeches which have been committee-prepared, and are sinking without a trace, is now looking for new angles -- and finding them. They are going out and they are going to find it and it is going to be damaging to us -- seriously damaging unless we counteract it. We have treated these guys with the best of care -- but we have fed the stomach and starved the soul -- as someone once said.

So, our thinking is this. If our controlled and expected and programmed appearances have lost their news value -- as they have -- then we must find some controlled and "unexpected" appearances to get our news -- and we can do that job.

It is time for a return to the Spirit of New Hampshire, which was one of RN openness and even occasional camaraderie with the press, which was one of the unexpected and the surprising. We can still do it, even with 125 reporters along as opposed to 25.

Possible suggestions:

The unexpected and the unscheduled appearance, at a school anywhere that surprises the press and makes them act as reporters and write it.

The unscheduled RN drop by in the plane to talk to some reporter and too for RN to start ranging off -- on his own -- into some subject that is of intense interest like the New Majority that RN intends to build or the Successor to the Roosevelt Coalition, how RN hopes to pull together these elements of the old Democratic establishment and put them together with the GOP for a coalition to govern for a decade.

The point in both cases is that the press is rightly tired and bored with rewriting our releases. RN can make them into reporters again at the same time that he gives his own advance thought and care and preparation to his materials and then goes back in the plane, or finds some surprise occasion, to deliver it "extemporaneously."

RN has already demonstrated with Johnny Apple that it can be done. He was reportedly moaning and groaning until his conversation with RN -- after which he was genuinely elated, which report came from Wallace -- after we had had our conversation.

If RN walks in and controls a situation -- then it is not a press conference -- and RN can talk about any particular subject that interests him and that is newsworthy.

My point here is that it requires nothing on our parts, but to start using our imagination a bit -- and to cease running this show like a Prussian Fire Drill. Unless we get a little of the unexpected and new, and hence newsworthy, in this thing toward the last two weeks -- then we are going to find these guys out searching for new and different leads, like "Is Nixon Aloof," "Where is this Campaign's Achilles Heel?"

The old adage about an idle mind being the devil's workshop is especially true of the press corp, where the devil is always close at hand. So, what I suggest and Ron suggests, is a simple return to the philosophy of the primaries -- controlling the news by providing new and different and exciting and newsworthy events which force these guys to cover them -- in order to cover themselves with their competition.

The point we make is that radio speeches and rallies are old hat. They are not going to be reported any more unless they are dramatic and unless we use our collective imagination to find some new and different and newsworthy thing to force them to cover -- they are going to write their own stories and, as JFK used to say, "we don't want that."

Bill Jones

New York Daily News
Ted Lewis
October 22, 1968
(News Summary)

Chart
A
100

"... The agreement would almost have to be, as RN has suggested, that the candidate with the largest popular vote should be the next President. It would then follow that the Electoral College proceedings would be perfunctory. If RN had the popular vote edge, he would be assured of sufficient Democratic electors in advance.

"On that basis the 'transitional period' in the Presidency would be protected. What has been overlooked too long in connection with RN's proposal is that he similarly rose above partisan politics in 1960. He refused to be party to challenges of the questionable Texas and Illinois votes, which gave JFK his narrow Elector vote victory.

"RN took that stand 8 years ago, explaining to his friends that he wanted no part in provoking 'a constitutional crisis' which could delay for months the filling of the Presidency. And despite his present vacillation, HHH may be expected to follow suit this time, if this election isn't clear cut, rather than let George Wallace throw his weight around while a nation shudders."

H
① Hit this harder
② Have any of our guys broken through on it?
③ get agreement to hit it

file

ke

PRESS SUMMARY
October 22, 1968

KL will do.

From combined sources (AP, UPI, WASH POST, and BALTIMORE SUN)

In Minneapolis, Oklahoma's Fred Harris predicted HHH will win the election in the campaign's last week, and that HHH is not disappointed by the part LBJ has played in the campaign so far. The Senator said that the Harris survey within the next few days will show a "significant increase in HHH's strength." He maintained that the margin is even closer in the major states than indicated in the last Harris Poll, but was not specific.

*H - et al
Someone should
attach this
as indicating
Harris is in
H.H.H. camp
get Counter with
our own
results.*

NEW YORK TIMES
By Roy Reed
October 25, 1968
Fort Worth, Texas Oct. 22

"HUMPHREY BUOYED BY TEXAS OUTLOOK"

"Sees Long-Feuding Leaders in Apparent Harmony and Crowd at Rally Warm"

Leaving the soot and uncertainty of New York, Vice President Humphrey flew to Texas today and found what he wanted: a state party united behind his banner and an increasing chance of winning the nation's sixth largest electoral prize.

He stepped off his campaign plane at Carswell Air Force Base into a fresh Texas breeze and blinked joyfully at the sight awaiting him.

On the runway, standing shoulder to shoulder and smiling peacefully, were the two antagonists in one of the nation's oldest and bitterest political feuds, Gov. John B. Connally, Jr. and Senator Ralph W. Yarborough.

. . . If Texas goes to Mr. Humphrey, some of the credit probably should go to George C. Wallace, the American Independent party candidate.

Mr. Wallace is very popular in many parts of Texas and is believed to have 20 to 25 percent of the state's vote.

He drew a slightly larger crowd than Mr. Humphrey at the same downtown Fort Worth park at noon last Thursday.

H
Does this change
our gg at Texas?
abeh O'Donnell
Towner

"HUMPHREY BUOYED BY TEXAS OUTLOOK" (Continued)

Mr. Connally obliquely pointed out at a brief airport news conference the significance of the Wallace vote.

Mr. Wallace has "substantial support" in the state, he said, and many of the Wallace supporters would vote for Mr. Nixon if the third-party candidate were not on the ballot.

Mr. Humphrey evidently got the message. He criticized Mr. Nixon at length in his rally speech but said not a word about Mr. Wallace.

OMITS ATTACK ON WALLACE

That meant deleting from his prepared text a long section denouncing the former Alabama Governor for his stand on law and order and for his assertion that he is a friend of the working man.

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