

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
9	25	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Collins and McKee RE: Haldeman's dinner plans with "Alex." 1 pg.
9	25	6/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to McKee and Collins RE: Higby's dinner reservations for Haldeman at Wolf Trap. 1 pg.
9	25	6/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Allin RE: finding recent statements made by McGovern. 1 pg.
9	25	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Political Action Memo" sent out by Haldeman calling for Dent to meet with Wallace in order to further analyze Wallace's desires. 1 pg.

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9	25	6/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Buchanan RE: McGovern's statements on Lincoln and amnesty. Higby quotes Haldeman's earlier action memorandum verbatim. 1 pg.
9	25	6/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memorandum" sent out by Haldeman RE: McGovern's statements on Lincoln and amnesty. 1 pg.
9	25		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Book	Photocopies from "Messages and Paper of the Presidents." The two pages contain passages relating to Lincoln. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
9	25	11/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Buchanan to RN RE: Abraham Lincoln's positions on military deserters and supporters of the Confederate States of America. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
9	25		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Book	Copies from a book describing Lincoln's policy of amnesty to Confederate soldiers and sympathizers during the American Civil War. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 5 pgs.

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9	25		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Higby to Charles Bremicker of the Key Biscayne Hotel RE: room reservations during the Democratic National Convention. 1 pg.
9	25	6/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Buchanan RE: Hallett's review of an attack memo conceived by Buchanan. 1 pg.
9	25	6/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: sending something to Buchanan. 1 pg.
9	25	6/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Hallet to Colson reviewing "Buchanan's McGovern briefing book." Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. Handwritten notes on copy added by Higby and Haldeman. 4 pgs.
9	25	6/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Bachman RE: Higby's absentee ballot. 1 pg.

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9	25	6/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Buchanan RE: a request to draft a response to a question involving debates. 1 pg.
9	25	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: preparing a thank you note for Richard B. Kirsch of Ogden Foods, Inc. for preparing picnic baskets for Haldeman. 1 pg.
9	25	6/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Colson RE: preparing a telephone list for thanking supportive Californians. The first two paragraphs of the memorandum copy an earlier memo from Haldeman verbatim. 1 pg.
9	25	6/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memo" sent out by Haldeman requesting that a phone list of RN supporters in California be created for the purpose of giving them thanks. 1 pg.
9	25	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Colson RE: creating a plan for news releases during RN's California visit. 1 pg.

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9	25	6/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: sending information on the Preservation Hall Jazz Band and Wolf Trap to Haldeman. 1 pg.
9	25	6/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Higby to Mrs. Edward Cox RE: attached documents authored by Buchanan. 1 pg.
9	25		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A list of questions and answers for Mrs. Edward Cox relating to various campaign topics. 8 pgs.
9	25	6/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: new cameras. 1 pg.
9	25	6/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: Haldeman's desire for reservations at the Galley Restaurant in the Kennedy Center. 1 pg.

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9	25	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Colson RE: Haldeman and Buchanan's campaign plans after reading the latter's "assault memorandum." 2 pgs.
9	25	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: Haldeman's request for seats at a performance of "Mass." 1 pg.
9	25	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: requests from Haldeman to see "Ukrainian dancers at Wolftrap" and "Godspell" at Ford's Theatre. 1 pg.
9	25	6/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Colson RE: "the Sperling piece." 1 pg.
9	25		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Copy of the twentieth page of a document relating to the 1972 presidential race. Handwritten notes are added near a section discussing a comment made by Sperling relating to McGovern and the media. 1 pg.

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9	25	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Collins RE: Haldeman's request for four seats in RN's box to see "Mass." 1 pg.
9	25	6/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Cole RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
9	25	6/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	Copy of a memo from Higby to Cole RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
9	25	6/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	Copy of a memo from Garment to Haldeman RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
9	25	6/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Garment to Caspar Weinberger RE: thoughts on the bicentennial, the arts, and the 1972 campaign. 3 pgs.

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9	25	6/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Fredric A. Divel RE: Divel's recent Commencement Exercises. 1 pg.
9	25	6/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Mrs. David Eisenhower RE: a list of documents authored by Buchanan. 1 pg.
9	25		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A list of questions and answers for Mrs. David Eisenhower relating to various campaign topics. 8 pgs.
9	25	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to "Follow-Up" RE: Colson's attempt to track down a McGovern quote. 1 pg.
9	25	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to "Follow-Up" RE: tickets for "Cold Blood" at the Kennedy Center. 1 pg.



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9	25	6/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to "Follow-Up" RE: Chapin and sending a cameraman to the Democratic National Convention. 1 pg.
9	25	6/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby "for the File" RE: villa availability at the upcoming Convention. 1 pg.
9	25	6/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to "Follow Up" RE: Rebozo and the Mitchell house. 1 pg.
9	25	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: dinner arrangements at Wolf Trap. 1 pg.
9	25	6/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: Chapin's recommendations for the First Family's participation at the Republican National Convention. 1 pg.

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9	25	6/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman listing restaurants near the White House that the latter might enjoy. 1 pg.
9	25	6/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: formulating strategies to use against McGovern. 2 pgs.
9	25	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: Key Biscayne accomodations during the Republican National Convention. 2 pgs.
9	25	6/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to "Follow-Up" RE: obtaining McGovern tapes from Magruder. 1 pg.
9	25	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: a call from Bebe Rebozo. 1 pg.

June 26, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GEORGE COLLINS  
PAT MCKEE

FROM:

L. HIGBY

Mr. Haldeman is making arrangements to have dinner on Alex's terrace on Thursday evening. I talked to Alex and he said no problem on doing this. Mrs. Haldeman is going to handle the dinner. She is going to bring something in. We should just make sure that the terrace is cleaned up and that there are a couple of extra chairs available on the terrace for use. Don't make a big deal about this.

LH:kmt

June 23, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT MC KEE ✓  
GEORGE COLLINS

FROM: L. HIGBY

I have now made arrangements so Haldeman will have a picnic basket dinner out at Wolf Trap this evening. He plans on arriving at Wolf Trap at about 7:15 p.m. I have made reservations for him in the tent where he will eat at 7:15 p.m. You have his tickets, so let's get the whole thing put together and in to him.

LH:kb

HIGH PRIORITY

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By *B. J. [unclear]* WARS, Date *3-26-82*

June 13, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MORT ALLIN  
FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob heard last evening on the CBS Radio News a speech in which McGovern was quoted as saying he would not move to the center, that he would stand by his ideals, that he felt the center was moving toward him. This doesn't appear anywhere in the News Summary, nor did it appear anywhere yesterday on television, which leads one to believe that the nets have decided to selectively edit these comments out since they would be very damaging to McGovern.

Please see if you can't track down these McGovern statements from a speech he apparently gave yesterday and get them over to me for use in the McGovern/Media complex.

cc: Chuck Colson  
Ken Clawson

*Al Snyder*

LH:kb

POLITICAL ACTION MEMO

Harry Dent should go to see Wallace and we should make sure we're developing a program of maintaining contact with him.

Strom Thurmond perhaps should also go see him.

We need to determine what it is Wallace wants, and what his current position and approach is.

HRH:pm

6/12/72

June 30, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

*Eyes Only*

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

We are still going round and round on the subject of Lincoln amnesty. As you know, McGovern is saying that he is for amnesty, just as Lincoln was or in the Lincoln tradition. The President's view, based on Sandburg's writings is that Lincoln did not in effect provide true amnesty. He permitted the deserters to rejoin their units and serve and thereby escape the penalties of desertion. Would you please check this out completely and find out exactly what Lincoln's policy was? After you've done that, we need a clear-cut statement as to what Lincoln did do and then a plan for use of this to shoot down McGovern's contention.

LH:kb

ACTION MEMORANDUM

Get the Lincoln Amnesty point researched. McGovern is saying that he is for amnesty just as Lincoln was, or in the Lincoln tradition. The President's view, based on Sandburg's report, is that Lincoln did not in effect provide true amnesty. He permitted the deserters to rejoin their units and serve and thereby escape the penalties of desertion. In any event, we need a clear-cut statement as to what Lincoln did do, and then a plan for use of this to shoot down McGovern's contention.

HRH  
June 19, 1972



list, to be a captain in the Navy on the reserved list from the 12th August, 1854, the date when he was entitled to his regular promotion had he not been overslaughed. It is due to this officer to state that he was passed over in consequence of physical disability, this disability having occurred in the discharge of his duties; and prior to his misfortune he bore the reputation of an efficient and correct officer, and subsequently has evinced a willingness to perform whatever duties were assigned him.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, *March 8, 1865.*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

In answer to the Senate's resolution of the 6th instant, requesting the return of a certain joint resolution,\* I transmit a report from the Secretary of State.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

### PROCLAMATIONS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#### A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the twenty-first section of the act of Congress approved on the 3d instant, entitled "An act to amend the several acts heretofore passed to provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces and for other purposes," requires "that, in addition to the other lawful penalties of the crime of desertion from the military or naval service, all persons who have deserted the military or naval service of the United States who shall not return to said service or report themselves to a provost-marshal within sixty days after the proclamation hereinafter mentioned shall be deemed and taken to have voluntarily relinquished and forfeited their rights of citizenship and their rights to become citizens, and such deserters shall be forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof; and all persons who shall hereafter desert the military or naval service, and all persons who, being duly enrolled, shall depart the jurisdiction of the district in which he is enrolled or go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to avoid any draft into the military or naval service duly ordered, shall be liable to the penalties of this section." And the President is hereby authorized and required, forthwith on the passage of this act, to issue his proclamation setting forth the provisions of this section, in which proclamation the President is requested to notify all

\* Entitled "Joint resolution in relation to certain railroads."

deserters returned  
done on condition  
such other organs  
served for a period

Now, therefore,  
the United States,  
ordering and requir  
I do hereby notify  
from the date of  
May, 1865, return  
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[SEAL.] A. D. 1  
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By the Preside  
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the United State  
persons detected  
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the punishment

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Done  
[SEAL.] A. D. 1  
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By the Preside  
WILLI

deserters returning within sixty days as aforesaid that they shall be pardoned on condition of returning to their regiments and companies or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to until they shall have served for a period of time equal to their original term of enlistment."

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, as required by said act, ordering and requiring all deserters to return to their proper posts; and I do hereby notify them that all deserters who shall, within sixty days from the date of this proclamation, viz, on or before the 10th day of May, 1865, return to service or report themselves to a provost-marshal shall be pardoned, on condition that they return to their regiments and companies or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to and serve the remainder of their original terms of enlistment and in addition thereto a period equal to the time lost by desertion.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[SEAL.] Done at the city of Washington, this 11th day of March, A. D. 1865, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
*Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas reliable information has been received that hostile Indians within the limits of the United States have been furnished with arms and munitions of war by persons dwelling in coterminous foreign territory, and are thereby enabled to prosecute their savage warfare upon the exposed and sparse settlements of the frontier:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and direct that all persons detected in that nefarious traffic shall be arrested and tried by court-martial at the nearest military post, and if convicted shall receive the punishment due to their deserts.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[SEAL.] Done at the city of Washington, this 17th day of March, A. D. 1865, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
*Secretary of State.*

November 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN (As Requested)

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S POSITIONS ON REBELS/DESERTERS

On December 8, 1863, President Lincoln grant a "full pardon" to those "who have directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion" (i. e. Confederate soldiers and sympathizers) on "condition" that they take an oath of allegiance. He excepted from this group -- high officers in the Confederacy, former Congressmen, former U. S. Judicial officials, those who had given up commissions in the U. S. Army to join the Rebels, and others.

As Lincoln died within a few days of the War's end, we find no record of a general Presidential amnesty declared for all Rebels.

On the question of Deserters, Lincoln on March 11th of 1865 directed that all "deserters" who within 60 days of their desertion returned to their regiments "shall be pardoned".

However, the Congressional Act, on which this Proclamation was based stated explicitly:

"that, in addition to the other lawful penalties of the crime of desertion from the military or naval service, all persons who have deserted the military or naval service of the United States who shall not return to said service or report themselves to a provost-marshal within sixty days after the proclamation hereinafter mentioned shall be deemed and taken to have voluntarily relinquished and forfeited their rights of citizenship and their rights to become citizens, and such deserters shall be forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof;"

In a letter to Erastus Corning and others, June 12, 1863, Lincoln wrote among other things:

"And yet again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a union soldier in battle."

In the same letter:

"Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert."

One further notes that when riots took place in New York City against the National Conscription Act, which Mr. Lincoln had signed on March 3, 1863 (which provided that a draftee could pay \$300 to find a substitute, or find a replacement) the poor called it a "Rich Man's War, a Poor Man's Fight" and rioted. Federal troops came in, and put it down with an estimated 500 dead and 1,000 wounded.

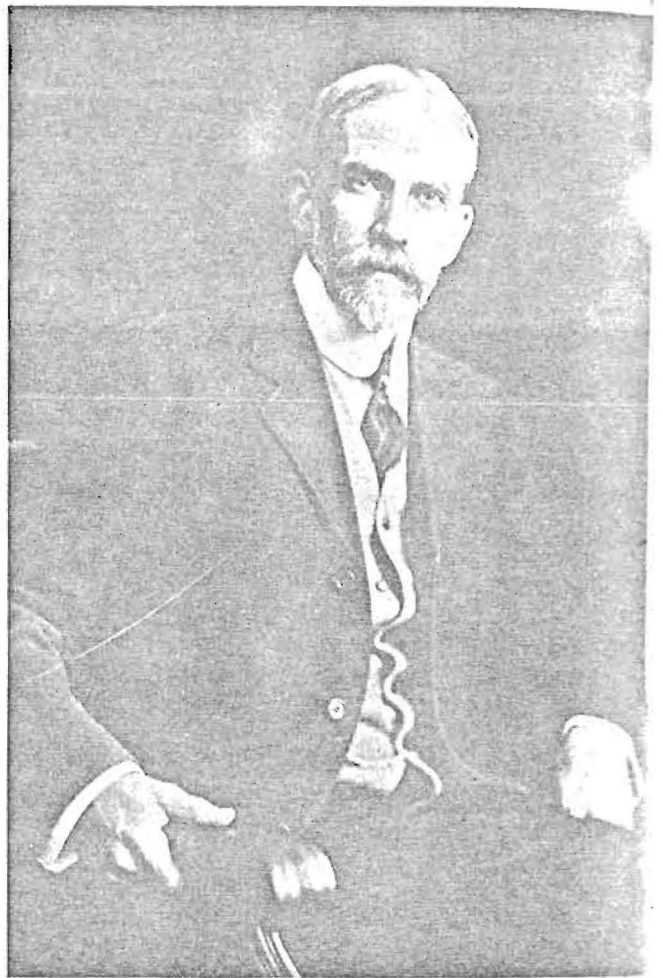
Buchanan

"What will they be likely to want?" asked Dana. The President said, ". . . It makes no difference what they want. Here is the alternative: that we carry this vote, or be compelled to raise another million, and I don't know how many more, men, and fight no one knows how long. It is a question of three votes or new armies." "Well, sir, what shall I say to these gentlemen?" "I don't know, but whatever promise you make to them I will perform."

Dana sent for the men and saw them one by one. Two wanted each an internal-revenue collector's appointment. "You shall have it," said Dana. The third wanted a customhouse appointment in New York at about \$20,000 a year. The Congressman, a Democrat, wanted a Republican appointed. When the Congressman had stated his case, Dana asked, "Do you want that?" "Yes." "Well, you shall have it." "I understand, of course, that you are not saying this on your own authority?" "No. I am saying it on the authority of the President." So the extra votes needed to pass the Nevada bill through the House were gotten. And the Yeas and Nays on the vote in Senate and House were not indexed or recorded in the *Congressional Globe*, whether through clerical inattention or by official arrangement.

Dana believed he and Lincoln knew precisely the fine, thin lines of right, wrong and expediency that wove through this piece of politics. Lincoln had chosen for an intermediary in an intricate operation, a man of delicate methods who had been a terror to fraudulent contractors and get-rich-quick cotton traders, and whose faith in Lincoln had depths. "Lincoln was a supreme politician," wrote Dana. "He understood politics because he understood human nature."

Hay had talked with the President in December about reconstruction in Florida, the possibility of getting one-tenth of the voters in the state to swear Union allegiance and be recorded as U.S. citizens in an oath book. To General Q. A. Gillmore, in whose department Florida lay, Lincoln wrote January 13 that he had commissioned Hay a major in the army and Hay with oath books and blank certificates would arrive and explain to General Gillmore the President's general views on the subject of reconstructing a loyal state government in Florida. "It is desirable for all to cooperate; but if irreconcilable differences of opinion shall arise, you are master. I wish the thing done in the most speedy way possible, so



*Charles Anderson Dana, Lincoln's Assistant Secretary of War and a former newspaperman on the New York Tribune. When he and Horace Greeley could no longer agree on the conduct of the war Dana resigned from the paper.*

that, when done, it lie within the range of the late proclamation on the subject . . ."

Hay sailed to Gillmore's headquarters on the South Carolina coast, assured the General it was not the President's intention to do anything to embarrass his military operations. At Jacksonville, Florida, Hay read the President's proclamation of amnesty to a line-up of prisoners, explained that if they signed the oath book, certificates to that effect would be issued to them and they would be allowed to go home. Otherwise they would be sent North as prisoners of war for exchange. "There is to be neither force nor persuasion used in the matter. You decide for y'selves." They signed, nearly half making their mark. They were tired of the war.

Then came shocking news. General Truman Seymour, a Regular Army officer in charge of

500 men, sought out a Confederate force of the same size at Olustee River in a similar position, welcoming battle. The Union had 1,500, the Confederate half that. Seymour's orders from Gillmore had been to wait. He had plunged and his army was routed. With Union bayonets in disgrace for the moment, Hay had a harder time enrolling loyal volunteers. He went to Fernandina, where he got more names, noted: "Some refused to sign, on the ground that they were not repentant rebels." On March 3 he wrote, "I am sure that we cannot now get the President's 10<sup>th</sup>." His hopes vanished that the required 10 per cent of voters to form a state government could be enrolled.

Returning back to Washington, Hay could read in the New York Herald or World that the President would not hesitate at murder to win political ends, that Hay had joined with the President in a reckless conspiracy to overawe Florida with military power, to elect himself as a Congressman, to deliver a set of Florida delegates for the President at the nominating convention in June. "Price of Three Votes for the Presidency! One thousand Lives!" trumpeted the New York Herald while the World day after day rehearsed the allegations in new phrases.

The written instructions of Lincoln to Hay and Gillmore, along with Gillmore's explicit orders to General Seymour, were made public, and it was seen that a brave general in Florida had taken a chance, risked a battle and lost. This and the hullabaloo of passing weeks came to be regarded as the central fact. In many forms ran accusations that the President had an eye on Southern delegates to help nominate him. The accusers hoped he would wait until after the November elections before taking a hand in reconstruction, out of fear that anything he did might look as though he were favoring delegates. Sardonic and miserable contentions were beginning to whirl around the word "reconstruction." Out of so much death and devastation, what could in the end be reconstructed? In its beginning it was to restore a 10 per cent of oath-bound voters regarded as traitors and outcasts by those whose bayonets and taxes were still keeping the Confederacy alive. The oath itself had lost sanctity in the story of the soldiers who caught a rattlesnake, took it to camp, administered the oath, and let it go.

That wholesale and regimented oath-taking might easily become ridiculous was in Lincoln's mind when he issued the Amnesty Proclamation in December; he had warned that it was only a method, a mode, for re-establishing national authority. He heard in January '64 from General Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, that there were loyal Union people in Louisiana who wished to avoid taking the oath prescribed. The President replied: ". . . it is not even a modification of anything I have heretofore said when I tell you that you are at liberty to adopt any rule which shall admit to vote any unquestionably loyal free-state men and none others. And yet I do wish they would all take the oath."

Far down in that changing patchwork of military and civil governments, Louisiana, Lincoln tried to guide General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, a Democrat, three times governor of Massachusetts. Amid clashing authorities Lincoln wrote him assurance. "I deeply regret to have said or done anything which could give you pain, or uneasiness. I have all the while intended you to be master . . ." While fortunes large and small were being harvested in a thousand shady Gulf Coast traffickings, Banks kept an instinct for what Nicolay and Hay named "honorable poverty" rather than such cash winnings as Ben Butler's brother took out of the Crescent City.

Lincoln tried to steer Banks in the governing of some 17 of the 48 parishes of Louisiana controlled by Union armies, an area holding a fourth of the slaves of Louisiana. He would like to see the state recognize the Emancipation Proclamation. "And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan."

Banks on January 11 proclaimed an election to be held February 22. Free white male voters who had taken the oath of allegiance cast over 11,000 ballots, of which the Banks candidate Michael Hahn received 6,183, J. Q. A. Fellows, a proslavery conservative, 2,996, and B. F. Flanders, 2,232.

In his Louisiana domain Governor Michael Hahn estimated that in three-fourths of the state allegiance lay mainly with the Confederate governor and the legislature in session at the capitol in Shreveport. Hahn was 34 years old. Born in

cian." The Senate approved Lincoln's commissioning him major general.

Then Stanton out of suspicion and dislike of the Blair tribe issued an order relieving General Blair of command, having, the Blairs and their friends said, "the effrontery to declare that he did so by order of the President." Sherman still wanted Blair in the saddle with the 15th corps. So did Grant. And Lincoln called on Stanton to revoke the order relieving Blair.

Blair asked his brother Montgomery in the Cabinet to find out the wishes of the President. He would be guided by those wishes. Lincoln wrote to Montgomery Blair:

Some days ago I understood you to say that your brother, Gen. Frank Blair, desires to be guided by my wishes as to whether he will occupy his seat in congress or remain in the field. My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country, and best for him. And it is, that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him re-take his commission, and return to the Army. For the country this will heal a dangerous schism . . . He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps, by one so competent to judge as Gen. Sherman, proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of congress on the floor. The foregoing is what I would say, if Frank Blair were my brother instead of yours.

Frank Blair was still in rain and sleet among Union fighters in Tennessee while Congress organized and elected Colfax Speaker of the House. On January 12, 1864, however, Frank Blair took his seat in Congress. Those who had hated the sight of him the last time they saw him now hated him all the more. Stanton's relieving him from command was considered personal animus. They were uneasy; Blair outclassed them in the point that he could sit a horse and keep a cool head while handling a corps of 30,000 troops in a style up to the requirements of the terrible Sherman.

Blair defended the President's Amnesty Proclamation as wise statesmanship. He challenged a provision for the lands, estates and properties of the South to be seized and partitioned among freed slaves and Union soldiers. Blair would recall Senator Benton's aphorism, "Our troubles come from the uneasy politicians and our safety from the tranquil masses."

With praise for the President, Blair mingled his plea for slaveholders loyal to the Union to be paid for their slaves made free. In this speech of February 5, 1864, Blair put himself on record with the few Lincoln men in Congress. In doing so he set himself up as an interpreter of the President's mind and took on the tone of a spokesman and a defender, so that those who heard or read his speech might believe that the Blair family and the President were in perfect accord. It was a habit and a method that both Montgomery and Frank Blair had. And Lincoln knew its political folly when he wrote to Montgomery that Frank was "in danger of being permanently separated from those with whom only he can ever have a real sympathy—the sincere opponents of slavery." Lincoln saw Blair tearing wider the split between radicals and moderates in Congress, and therefore was making arrangements with Grant and Sherman for Blair to take again his corps command.

Blair struck at Chase in a resolution calling for a committee of five from Congress to investigate acts of the Treasury Department, "to report whether any frauds have been practiced on the Government," whether any favoritism had been shown, and whether the enemy had been helped. The Chase men struck back.

Blair had bought brandy to the amount of 225 gallons and a scandalously large amount of whisky, claret, Catawba wine, besides 25 half barrels of ale and 225 boxes of canned fruit while he was at Vicksburg in June '63, according to photographic copies of an order signed by Major General Blair and eight staff officers. That order was published in newspapers and photographic copies of it were circulated among members of Congress. The permit of the customs collector at St. Louis invoiced the purchase at \$8,651. The inference of the Chase men and the Missouri radicals seeking Blair's scalp was that Blair and his staff men on duty at Vicksburg could not possibly drink 225 gallons of brandy and a larger amount of other liquors during the war, and the goods had been ordered for special

to pay. One interpretation was that the holders of gold in those months had less hope than ever of the Union Government winning its war.

On July 4 of this gloomy summer Congress adjourned. Among the bills piled on the President's desk for signature was one that would slash the slender supports on which the "Lincoln ten-per-cent plan" rested. Since December '63, when the President had launched his plan, much had happened to it. Then Hay wrote in his diary that all factions in Congress seemed to agree, and on the reading of the President's message, "Men acted as if the millennium had come. Chandler was delighted, Sumner was beaming." Border State men said they were satisfied.

Then slowly had come deepening suspicions of the President's motives, more open claims that the states in secession had committed suicide and that the President was impossible in his plan for a loyal 10 per cent to be authorized to reorganize the governments of those states. Henry Winter Davis led this opposition in the House, and Ben Wade in the Senate. Davis was tall, slender, with wavy hair and a curly mustache, a musical voice, mental caliber, oratorical and theatrical style. Born in a Maryland slaveholding family, he had come to hate slavery as fiercely as any New Englander. In politics first a Whig, then an American or Know-Nothing, he became a Republican. That Monty Blair of Maryland should be named Postmaster General was a stench in his nostrils. He led in Maryland a faction that hated Blair.

Davis brought in a bill intended to block the restoration efforts already started by the President in Louisiana and Tennessee; the measure aimed to stop the spread of the President's policy in other Southern States. In the House Davis was the one radical most often reminded by Thaddeus Stevens that he was going too far and ought to take what he could get now. The one speaker who could draw in more members from the cloakrooms than any other was Davis. He spoke his guess and vision for the Negro with cadence: "The folly of our ancestors and the wisdom of the Almighty, in its inscrutable purpose, having allowed them to come here and planted them here, they have a right to remain here to the latest syllable of recorded time."

The quixotic political artist, Davis, with his ally Ben Wade, saw a wide chasm between them and the President. They nursed suspicions into what they believed were facts. The President

was too slow, too hesitant, too loose w  
pedient, they believed, and Congress w  
more firm. New state governments could  
ferred "to no authority except the judgm  
will of the majority of Congress," said  
behalf of his bill of February 15, 1864  
the bill the President with Senate cons  
appoint for each state in rebellion a pro  
governor to serve until Congress recog  
regular civil government as existing the  
loyal people of the state entitled to d  
gates to re-establish a state governme  
therefore," said Davis, "Congress recog  
State government, organized under its a  
there is no government in the rebel State  
the authority of Congress." Davis reject  
President's Amnesty Proclamation and a  
per-cent plan" as lacking guarantees.

The debate ran long, a festival of  
tional lawyers. How and when does a  
come a state, and under what conditio  
lose its face as a state and again later  
face put back? This question was arg  
down and across. The unconstitutional  
potic acts of the President would be  
and perpetuated by the proposed bill.  
Representative Charles Denison of Penn  
Perry of New Jersey was positive the M  
lian hand of the President was behind  
Nor was Thaddeus Stevens satisfied  
Davis bill. "It does not, in my judgm  
the evil." Its acknowledgment that th  
States have rights under the Constit  
would deny. His chief objection was th  
removed the opportunity of confisca  
property of the disloyal.

By 73 to 59 the Davis bill passed th  
May 4, 1864. In the Senate its course  
guided by Wade, who said: "The  
ought not to be permitted to handle  
question to his own liking." That a  
have self-government originated by  
the population seemed to Wade ab  
republican, anomalous and entirely  
se

In what the President had thus far  
was "equally a usurper with Caesar  
and Bonaparte," said Garrett Davis of  
In exploiting the Peace Democrat  
Garrett Davis spread over the pages  
*Congressional Globe* a diatribe of several  
words on Lincoln's ambition, desire  
election, love of power and money.



## WILL HIS PARTY RENOMINATE LINCOLN?

representatives, Speaker Colfax sitting on her right and Vice-President Hamlin on her left, the President on a bench farther in the foreground, the affair bringing \$1,031 for the Freedmen's Relief Association. "How, to such youthful lips, flowed so easily such stately language!" wrote A. F. Willis. Others called it just another stump speech. She referred to the President as though he should be renominated and re-elected. Said the *Detroit Free Press* one day, "The strong-minded Anna Dickinson has renominated the weak-minded Abraham Lincoln."

Two months later Miss Dickinson, in Metropolitan Hall in Chicago, ran on to say that the President's Amnesty Proclamation was a piece of Northern meanness and a usurpation of the functions of Congress: "The President is a lawyer, and a Western one at that; it is a wonder he does not know that the oaths of such men [reconstructed rebels] are but as idle wind . . . These men must be punished. South Carolina should be cut up into twenty acre lots, and as many negroes settled on them as can be got there."

A month later Miss Dickinson called at the White House, interviewed the President, then went to Boston and in a public lecture satirized the Administration and caricatured Lincoln, his face and his clothes, as she reported her interview. He had said to her: "They tell me you are a radical. I want to know how it is." She told him his emancipation policy was not moving fast enough and pleaded for justice to the Negro.

The President answered, "That reminds me of your story." She had to reply: "I did not come here to hear stories. I can read better ones in the papers any day than you can tell me." He showed her his correspondence with officials in Louisiana and asked her what she thought of his plan of reconstruction there. She replied, "Sir, I think it is all wrong; as radically bad as can be." The President then "sugar-plummed" her, as Miss Dickinson phrased it. He told her she could talk better than he, and so forth. Ending their conversation, he remarked, "All I can say is, if the radicals want me to lead, let them get out of the way and let me lead." And, said Miss Dickinson to her Boston audience, "When he said that, I came out and remarked to a friend, 'I have spoken my last word to President Lincoln.'"

From speech to speech Wendell Phillips went on, graphic and simple, and however mistaken and however heady, with a peculiar joy in being temperamentally stubborn. He debonairly justifi-

fied himself: "Mr. Lincoln is a growing man. And why does he grow? Because we water him."

The bland, bald, large-mouthed William Lloyd Garrison stood up. He had helped nurse the abolition movement, had gone to jail for it, had in one hour stood with a rope around his neck while a mob howled around him—all before young Phillips had enlisted in the cause. "Has not the President," asked the old war horse, "gone as fast and as far as the people would sustain him? ('No, no.') Mr. Lincoln has travelled as fast toward the negro as popular sentiment would warrant him. Butler and Grant have sustained the President's policy. ('No, no, no.') And what about Frémont? Events have occurred within a year greatly to diminish my faith in Frémont. Not a word from him in reference to the President's proclamation of amnesty. What a glorious opportunity was there lost! Then we have had the arming of one hundred thousand blacks, and still not one word of encouragement from Frémont."

Plainly, to the upper circles of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, the answer was Frémont and nobody else. And it was nothing to talk about in Plymouth Church circles that a son of Henry Ward Beecher, not yet of age, had been commissioned an officer in the Army of the Potomac and, caught in conduct unbecoming to an officer, had been forced to resign. In anxiety and shame Beecher had gone to his handsome young friend, Théodore Tilton, who in turn went straight to the then Secretary of War Cameron and begged for a commission in the Regular Army for young Beecher. From Cameron, Tilton went to the White House and Lincoln signed the appointment of young Harry Beecher, lieutenant of artillery, Regulars.

Wrote Beecher to Chase of the President: "His mind works in the right *directions*, but seldom works clearly and cleanly. His bread is of unbolted flour, & much straw, too, mixes in the bran, & sometimes gravel stones." Beecher had written in the *Independent*: "The President seems to be a man without any sense of the value of time . . . Our armies have been managed as if they were a body of nurses in a foundling hospital."

Early in '64 the *New York World* presented General McClellan as the one man of worth, dignity and patriotism for nomination by the Democratic party to overwhelm Lincoln. In this effort the *World* served financial, industrial and

TELEGRAM TO BE SENT TO:

Mr. Charles Bremicker  
Key Biscayne Hotel  
701 Ocean Drive  
Key Biscayne, Florida

Chuck:

Please make all efforts to rent Villas 18A and B between June 22 and July 26. Smathers has details on use of Villa 18B during the Democratic National Convention. Villa 18A will also be rented July 8-13.

L. Higby

NOTE: Do not sent on White House stationery -- send regular Western Union form.

LH:kb

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

June 21, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By A. Joyner NARS, Date 3-26-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY

As we discussed, Doug Hallett was going to review your "Attack" memorandum regarding McGovern and point out any comments or ideas that he had. I have attached a memo he did to Colson a few days ago, plus some additional comments. The comments in the left hand margin in xerox are primarily from Colson. The comments in blue pen are Higby's. The comments in red pen are Haldeman's. In addition, he agrees with my comments.

I trust this will be helpful.

LH:kb

cc: *Chuck Colson*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/19/72

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

Several of these are good -  
I'd like to send the ones  
to Buchanan that you  
improve - Please note  
your reactions. in red

L.

cc to West

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES W. COLSON  
FROM: DOUG HALLETT  
SUBJECT: McGovern Briefing Book

I have reviewed Pat Buchanan's McGovern briefing book and his suggested assault tactics memorandum. While I would generally concur with his recommendations, I would make the following random recommendations:

1. McGovern's labor record is not mentioned. There is the 14-b vote, and if there is that, there must be something else. Somebody should thoroughly research McGovern's positions on labor, and labor-related issues. I have a feeling he can be made to look worse than us in this area.
2. McGovern's attendance record is not mentioned.
3. When I worked on the Hill, McGovern had a reputation as a not very effective legislator -- he hasn't got much legislation through, he didn't work on his committees, he was a kind of dreamy, high-sounding and hyper-idealistic character. This, I think, can be effectively used against him if we can get more facts on what kinds of legislation he personally has sponsored, what it cost, what's happened to it, etc.
4. We should begin now undermining McGovern's Vietnam image -- right from the start. This, really, is the key to his image as a credible, conscientious, non-political senator -- but to undermine it will take hard work beginning now. For starters, I would suggest a Hugh Scott or Gerry Ford op ed for the major dailies and an RNC pamphlet. This stuff should be particularly useful with youthful types.

Have Hallett do a draft.

Colson relation.  
↓

Very important  
connect

of all  
time.

connect

good pt do it

good

5. ✓ The Spanish-speaking sector, like the labor sector, is an area where I suspect McGovern has done nothing. Again, we should begin working now to undermine him there.
6. ✓ McGovern talks a lot about including women in his government and he has made pledges of certain appointments, but his campaign organization is all male. It is also virtually completely WASP. This point should be made to women -- and to blacks, Spanish-speaking, etc. *good pt. do it.*
- Forget it: George McGovern is unconvincing as a war hero. Has anybody gone through Pentagon files to find out what he really did in the war?
8. *good points* We need some work on McGovern's personal finances. He wears \$300 suits, \$15 ties, has a \$110,000 home, vacations in the Caribbean, and pays to send his kids to school -- the son of a preacher who has never made more than \$42,500 per year? Somebody's got to be bank-rolling this guy and we ought to find out who and use it to undermine his credibility image. *right.*
9. *correct* We have to be more careful with the Chicago demonstrations, Ellsberg, McGovern's friends, etc. material that Pat suggests, I think. A national ad identifying Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin as future White House dinner guests would be, in my view, disastrous. *why?* This kind of material must be carefully targeted, used by non-national speakers in particular communities, and distributed through mailings, ethnic press advertising, etc. *right. wrong - hit him + let him defend it.*
10. *Excellent* On foreign policy, we should develop the idea that McGovern is a radical in the American prairie isolationist tradition -- a tradition Americans have accepted only at their peril. Somebody should do a quality piece on McGovern as the successor to the isolationist tradition -- Lindberg before World War II, the obstructionist Republicans after Versailles, etc., and, of course, the nineteenth century Populists. This will assist us on the domestic side, too. Quoting McGovern and calling him a wild-eye radical nationally will hurt as much as it helps, but thoughtfully, systematically identifying him with an isolationist and radical strain in American history -- a strain which has been destructive -- will allow us to get at him, and get his positions out, without making ourselves the issue.

Another quasi-historical idea that we should develop is that there is an historical anomaly in prairie isolationist-populist McGovern's acceptance among the Eastern Establishment elite which has traditionally been our most internationally-oriented community. Again, a thoughtful piece can be done on the decline of the eastern elite -- its failure in Vietnam, the degradation of its universities, the collapse of the WASP churches, the failure of the elite to raise decent kids, etc. -- and how in its decline, in its exhaustion, it has accepted the viewpoint of its traditional opposition. Conversely, The Republican Party of Richard Nixon is moving away from its obstructionist role, is developing a new internationalism, is incorporating the white, ethnic, Catholic middle-class working population, is proposing energetic -- instead of tired retreat-- solutions to domestic problems, and will produce the new elite for the final third of the century. At your request, I did something along these lines last summer, but nothing ever came of it -- it is a theme we should now revive and get circulated.

*Good.  
Pick up  
Sheeley*

*agree*

*This could be a  
good speech to the  
right group.*

The idea is that the Eastern Establishment has gotten soft and flabby. It is unable and unwilling to see it through -- to find new ways to solve domestic ills; to take the hard, tough steps necessary to bring peace to the world. The Eastern Establishment has turned to wishful thinking, to imagining that something can be accomplished by wishing it. President Nixon, in contrast, is tough, hard and realistic. He realizes that it takes time and patience and courage to solve our international problems. Similarly, he recognizes that we have to remove the crutch of a patronizing government and free peoples' individual wills if we are not to smother over our people and their ability, their willingness, their courage to solve their own problems here at home. Indeed, RN is even closer to the best thinking among blacks, browns, etc. than is George.

11. Presidential anger at some kind of business price-gouging is not enough to shed the "in bed with business" image. In my view, it is too bad we don't have a stronger anti-trust program with legislation if necessary. But if we can't do that now -- at least until the second term, I will bet, though I'm not yet a lawyer, that we could go after one or two major, publicly-identifiable corporations with existing anti-trust laws -- or with something. Business has no place else to go -- we ought to be on their asses.

*We did do  
Networks  
+  
air do  
companies --  
Ine but  
anyone left  
to see*

12. It would be a mistake to leak polls showing us weaker than we are. Our whole campaign must be based on the idea that McGovern is an anomaly -- a Goldwater type -- something out of the ordinary and something out of step with mid-twentieth century America. Showing him to be stronger than he is can only give credence to his view that America is ready for a change, etc. etc. *good.*
13. If McGovern is nominated, responsible foreign policy types like George Ball might not be able to support him. These guys should be lined up for us -- some kind of Foreign Policy Advisory Board to the Committee for the Re-election. If they don't line up with us and try to sit it out, we should do an op ed or something on that fact, blasting them for cowardice, etc. If they support McGovern, we should blast them for selling out. Like it or not, these guys do have a certain credibility and however we smoke them out can help us by getting them on our side or showing them to be shams. *to handle.*
14. Somebody should do a piece on "McGovern Isn't a Politician?" citing the change in his voting stance in election years, his weaving all over the place this time, his compromises with Daley, his tenure as executive secretary of the South Dakota Democratic Party, etc., etc.
15. Somebody should do a piece comparing RN's and George's foreign policies. George, actually, has no foreign policy except for Vietnam where he's been consistently wrong -- the rest is just a derivation from his "reordering priorities" stuff. RN, in turn, has clearly developed foreign policies for all sections of the world, great experience, etc. The thing could end with the question: "Could what has been accomplished in the last four years been achieved with an isolationist and inexperienced person like George in the White House?" and mass distributed. *checkraig*
16. A two-minute foreign policy spot could be developed, swinging from trouble area to trouble area and showing how RN has improved things, and ending with the question: "At this time when we are moving from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation -- at this time when we have a chance to achieve firm solutions to major world problems in Asia, in the Middle East, etc. -- is this any time to draw back on our responsibilities and to withdraw from the world?" This could also be the theme for speeches, a pamphlet, and op ed, etc. *good*
17. Any blatantly racist suggestions -- like saying McGovern would be delighted to run with a black, but not Wallace -- should be dropped. *get to body.*

*disagree*  
The above are just preliminary thoughts -- and thoughts which I haven't mentioned in the other memoranda I've done in recent days.



ME  
June 8, 1972

MEMO FOR : KATHY BACHMAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

Am I now set on my absentee ballot?  
If not, please make sure that I am.  
Note the attached from Kathy Tindle,  
but I am assuming you have taken care  
of this.

Attachment

LH:pm

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By *B. J. [unclear]* NARS, Date *3-26-82*

June 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY

Per our conversation, please prepare an appropriate response  
to handle the question of debates.

This should be in by Thursday evening.

LH:kb

June 26, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GEORGE COLLINS

FROM:

L. HIGBY

A thank you note should be prepared for Mr. Richard B. Kirsch, the Branch Manager of Ogden Foods, Inc., and affiliated companies, who have prepared the picnic baskets that Mr. Haldeman had at Wolf Trap. They refused to accept any payment for the picnic baskets.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

CHUCK COLSON

FROM :

L. HIGBY

It has been requested that you put together a good telephone list for use in California. This should not be a huge list, but something very well thought out. The purpose would be primarily to give thanks to people for their support.

There should be some very top key workers, key political chairmen, key political VIPs, super-key contributors, some of those who have been doing the hard work in collecting money, even though they may not have given major amounts, some top editors and TV people, and from Rose Woods, a few personal calls.

The final recommendation should be worked out and forwarded to me by 12:00 noon Wednesday so we'll have time to do some revision.

You should do the basic coordinating work on it, but make sure you work with Mitchell, Stans, Alex, and Rose.

Make sure we don't just put together the obvious list, but we should be working from our basic contact books.

LH:pm

258  
ACTION MEMO

The President wants a good phone list developed for his use in California. This should not be a huge list, but something very well thought out. The purpose would be primarily to give thanks to people for their support.

There should be some very top, key workers, key political chairmen, key political VIPs, super key contributors, some of those who have been doing the hard work in collecting money even though they may not have given major amounts, some top editors and TV people, and from Rose Woods, a few personal calls. This should be worked out and in my hands by Wednesday so we can do some revision. Colson should do the basic coordinating on it and it should not be just the obvious list, but should be worked from his basic contact books.

HRH:pm

6/23/72

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By *B. J. [unclear]* NARS, Date *3-26-82*

June 22, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON  
FROM: L. HIGBY

As you probably know, it is tentatively planned for the President to be in California between June 30th and July 17th. It is important that we begin planning now for our news flow during that period. Presidential activity will probably be at a minimum, but we should be looking at some ways we can provide a counter-point for the Democratic Convention that probably will be controlling the news during that period.

Bob asked that you submit your plans to him as soon as possible for review -- hopefully by next Monday.

bcc: Dwight Chapin

LH:kb

June 20, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:       GEORGE COLLINS  
FROM:                   L. HIGBY

Bob is going to want to see the Preservation Hall Jazz Band when they are at Wolf Trap. Please see what dates they will be appearing and get a note into Bob.

LH:kb

June 16, 1972

Dear Mrs. Cox:

The President has requested that the attached material prepared by Pat Buchanan, be forwarded to you for your use in answering questions in your interviews and public appearances.

Best wishes,

Lawrence M. Higby  
Administrative Assistant  
to H. R. Haldeman

Mrs. Edward Cox  
The White House

Attachment  
LH:pm



## DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

Q: Whom do you think the Democratic Party will nominate to run against your father in November?

A: Well, Senator McGovern seems to be in the lead among convention delegates; but from what I have read, I understand he is still short of the number of convention delegates needed for nomination. So, I don't know whom they will eventually turn to -- and I would imagine that most Democrats are not certain right now who their nominee will be.

Q: Which of the Democrats do you think your father would prefer to run against?

A: I don't believe he has any special preference; but no matter whom they nominate, I am sure it will be a close race -- since the Democratic Party is so much larger than the Republican Party.

Q: Which of the Democrats would you like to see nominated?

A: Well, I have my own favorites among the Democrats, but I wouldn't want to name him -- otherwise it might hurt his chances. And, anyhow, that is really a decision for Democrats, not Republicans to make.

Q: Do you feel that Senator McGovern can beat your father in the November election?

A: Well, Senator McGovern is not the nominee yet. But no matter who the Democrats nominate, I think we have a good chance to win; and I think we will win.

Q: Who do you think would be the strongest Democratic candidate?

A: That is difficult to say. The other day I saw a Gallup Poll which showed that Governor Wallace had more support than any other Democrat -- among Independents and Democrats. Other polls showing Senator Humphrey running strong; and there are few I have seen that show Senator McGovern ahead. But, again, it is difficult to say. Some months ago, Senator Muskie seemed to be the strongest -- and since these things change so much it is hard to say who will be the strongest Democratic challenger by the time we get to November. I do think, however, that no matter the Democratic candidate, it will be a fairly close race -- and we will win it.

#### WALLACE

Q: How did you feel about Governor Wallace's shooting?

A: Well, it was a terrible tragedy; and when we saw the pictures of his alleged assailant, up there in Canada mingling with the crowds that greeted my father, it was a chilling experience. It is a wonderful thing that Governor Wallace survived that attack; but a great tragedy that a man who speaks for so many millions of Americans was denied the right to compete actively for the Democratic nomination. Before

the California Primary, Governor Wallace, I understand, had won more primaries and had gotten more total votes than any other Democrat. And he and the people he represents should have had the opportunity to compete evenly at the convention -- and I think it was a terrible tragedy that this happened to him.

Q: Do you agree with some of the views expressed by Governor Wallace?

A: Not all of them. I agree with him and with my father that we should declare a moratorium on all these bussing plans which are dividing so many communities. But the important thing is that no matter if you agree or disagree with Governor Wallace, he fought for what he believed in; he stated his views; and it is a terrible tragedy that his supporters do not have him now championing the causes in which they believe.

#### VICE PRESIDENCY

Q: Who do you think your father will pick for the Vice President?

A: Well, that is his decision; and I don't know that. But I believe that he has a tremendous Vice President right now -- the best one we have had since 1960.

Q: Would you want to see Mr. Agnew on the ticket again with your father?

A: I would be delighted if he were there; as my father said in January, Nixon-Agnew was a winning ticket. But I think that that decision is something for the President and Vice President to work out.

Q: Who would you like to see on the ticket with your father in the campaign this fall?

A: I would like to see there whoever the President wants there, and whoever he feels can do the best job for the party and the country. The decision is the President's -- but I think that Vice President Agnew, who is articulate and courageous, has done a tremendous job as Vice President -- the best since 1960. If he is on the ticket in 1972, we will win even more states than we won in 1968.

Q: What would you think of Secretary Connally on the ticket in 1972?

A: Whoever he runs with, I think the President will win in 1972.

#### ISSUES

Q: What do you think the major issue will be in 1972?

A: Well, my view is that the great issue for the country in 1972 is what it has been for the world in the twentieth century. How do we live together on this planet in peace. The role of America in that decision is a tremendous one -- and I think then that the major question

in the 1972 election is which man is the most qualified to bring America and the world into an era of peace.

Q: What do you think is the major accomplishment of your father since he took office?

A: Well, he has opened the door to China; he has taken major steps to bring an end to the Cold War with the Soviet Union. But his greatest achievement, I think, is having brought home half a million Americans from South Vietnam. He is ending American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, and leaving behind a nation that can defend itself.

In my view, in almost everyone's view, he inherited a terrible situation in Southeast Asia when he took office -- and he has done a tremendous job, with great opposition, in ending that war in a way that Americans can be proud of, not ashamed of.

Q: What do you think is his greatest domestic accomplishment?

A: The Cooling of America. When my father took office, there had been riots in every major city in America, violence and disorders on every major American campus; there was a war going on that was taking the lives of 300 Americans a week. All that is changing now. There were no major riots last summer; except for some minor disorders, the campuses have been quiet since the Kent State incident. The number of American casualties is down. Students are returning

to their work -- and 1968 seems a decade ago now. That, I think, is the most significant accomplishment. The wounds are healing on a country that was really tearing itself apart during that year 1968.

Q: What do you think will be the issues between Senator McGovern and your father in November ?

A: Well, if Senator McGovern gets the nomination, I think there will be many differences on issues. In foreign policy, probably the major differences is Senator McGovern's plan to cut the defense budget by \$32 billion, and cut the Air Force and Navy by more than half. My father believes we need a strong defense, not only to keep the peace, but to negotiate with the Russians.

At home, I think, that one major difference would be their views about welfare. My father believes that anyone who gets welfare and can work should have to work -- to get a check -- Senator McGovern's program, I think, would give everybody a thousand dollars, whether they worked or not.

ALTERNATIVE ANSWERS (Domestically)

Another major area where they would disagree, I think, is on marijuana. My father feels that under no conditions should it be legalized, while I believe Senator McGovern has said that we should regulate it like alcohol.

Another issue, perhaps, is the question of amnesty for deserters and draft dodgers. My father does not believe we should even consider the matter -- until all our soldiers and all our prisoners are home and all our missing in action are home in the United States. Senator McGovern has said that he would give them amnesty.

Another issue is abortion. My father believes liberalized abortion policies are wrong and he is against them. Senator McGovern favors a policy that amounts to abortion on demand.

Another issue, I think, is what is the best way to get our prisoners of war home. Senator Govern, I believe, has said he would cut off all assistance to South Vietnam, and bring home all our troops and planes and ships -- before we get our prisoners back. My father would bring them home after we got our prisoners back.

MORE ON McGOVERN

Q: Why do you think Senator McGovern has more support than your father among young people?

A: Well, I am not sure that is true; I have not seen any national poll showing Senator McGovern stronger among all young people than my father. Senator McGovern seems to have a number of college people working for him -- but in those mock elections, my father has done very well. He even won the Student Mock election at South Dakota over Senator McGovern 54-41. And he has won mock elections at major schools all over the country. So, I think it is a mistake to think that Senator McGovern would get all the youth vote in a contest with my father. (Nixon Youth Organization at 1701 has additional backup.)

Q: Do you think Senator McGovern is a radical or an extremist?

A: Well, I have read a number of articles and columns that say that his positions are radical and extreme; and certainly he is very, very liberal. But I am sure that Senator McGovern is a patriotic American, who believes that his ideas are good for America, just as my father does.



June 15, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:     GEORGE COLLINS

FROM:                 L. HIGBY

Haldeman indicated that with regard to the new cameras, you should also be looking at film speed. Remember that he would like a fast speed capability, too, so that they could run slow-motion.

LH:kb

June 15, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:           GEORGE COLLINS

FROM:                    L. HIGBY

As I indicated to you, Bob wants to check to see if it is now possible to get reservations at the Galley Restraunt, Kennedy Center. Work with Gordon on this. What they would like specifically, are reservations for four at 7:00 p.m. if this is possible. If not, check and see what the problems are with the cafeteria at this time or whether or not Haldeman could get in and have dinner prior to the show time this evening. Let him know quickly on this so if there is a problem we can make some alternate arrangements.

cc: Pat McKee

LH:kb

June 14, 1972

**CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY**

MEMORANDUM FOR :                    CHARLES COLSON  
FROM :                                 L. HIGBY

After discussion with Bob and Buchanan regarding the Buchanan assault memorandum, the following conclusions were reached:

1. It probably would not be that productive to forward the memorandum to Balzano and Rogers, and he suggests that we not do it since Buchanan does not want the memorandum to receive wide circulation.

2. Anybody who does look at the memorandum should do so only for the basis of getting comments back in to you and Bob as to their thoughts. No actions should be taken based on the memorandum until some basic strategy decisions have been made and we all agree that it is time to move ahead.

3. It would be valuable for Hallett to take a look at the memorandum on a confidential basis and write up his critique of it, plus cover any additional points that he feels should be made that Buchanan has overlooked.

In addition, Hallett should specifically address himself to the following points:

a. The Buchanan memorandum overlooks our strong point in foreign policy. We need someone to write the case in this area.

b. We need to do an addendum to the Buchanan memorandum that takes up the point of how we attack McGovern in a way that builds the President's foreign policy image.

c. Someone needs to develop a battle plan as to what the holes are in the Buchanan piece.

d. What are the four things that we want to come out versus how we refute McGovern's points.

Have Hallett give this a try and forward his results to Bob.

LH:pm

June 12, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:     GEORGE COLLINS  
FROM:                L. HIGBY  
SUBJECT:             June 15 Performance of "Mass"

Haldeman would now like to get regular seats -- down in the orchestra section -- for the June 15 performance of "Mass". He said to get the House Seats which are four rows back, as near to the center as possible. Gordon can probably help you in getting this worked out.

Thank you.

LH:kb

June 12, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GEORGE COLLINS

FROM:

L. HIGBY

Bob would like to get six tickets to see "Godspell" on the 27th. They don't all have to be together -- they can be three and three. Pat knows how to get them or Kathy does. You should deal with Miss Frankie Hewitt who runs the Ford's Theatre where "Godspell" is playing.

Also, he would like to see the Ukrainian dancers at Wolftrap. I think we have a connection to get tickets at Wolftrap, but I'm not sure what they are. Please check this out.

Thank you.

LH:kb

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

June 10, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By *L. H. H. H.* NARS, Date *3-26-82*

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON

FROM: L. HIGBY

As you probably are already well aware, the Sperling piece provides us an excellent vehicle, and we should make sure we take full advantage of it. Here's the first good assignment for Schurz and Clawson, and we should make sure that the Sperling piece receives wide circulation and is used.

LH:kb

establish quotas in an election? Reporter noted the credentials comm. is determined to give the protesters a hearing. HHH is quoted as saying if Daley is thrown out it will hurt the Dem chances in Nov.

Kraft writes that in considering McGovern, we should keep in mind that he is a "deep-dyed provincial" -- more than any other post WWII political figure, he was shaped in rural US. Also, writes Joe, the fundamentalist attitude of a preacher's son is evident, he used "right" and "wrong" often, and not lightly. Kraft says he has reservations about McGovern's tax proposals which "seem insufficiently sensitive to the delicate nature of confidence in US economy." And McGovern's approach to defense and for. policy seems "to want a certain discrimination also." But, overall, Kraft sees McGovern as the man to move US in right direction, precisely because he's a provincial, and outside the system.

Biossat writes that McGovern's latest wins give him "so much momentum that it now seems unlikely anyone can stop him." And evidence indicates HHH is losing some of his earlier potential delegates.

Scripps-Howard's Kantor reports that Teague, Chmn. of House Dem Caucus, said "I doubt very much the Dems will control Congress after Nov" because "there's no real hope" of stopping McGovern.

Sperling, in CS Monitor, says: "Reader beware. A love affair between a number of newsmen and McGovern is bursting into full bloom..." Sperling says this "affair," already has affected reporter's copy. McGovern "has become the new sweetheart of US liberals," he writes, and liberal newsmen "are slow to give him the same kind of hard time on his programs that they'd give almost any other candidate." Sperling says liberal newsmen's bias has shown thru more in what writers have omitted than in what they've written.

A HHH aide said he is helping to prepare a challenge to McG's claim to 271 Calif. delegates. He said the challenge would be filed Friday with the convention credentials comm. "The complaint will

act  
 this  
 was



HIGH PRIORITY

June 12, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:           GEORGE COLLINS  
FROM:                       L. HIGBY

To confirm our earlier conversation, Bob wants four seats in the President's Box Thursday night for Mass. This should be 6-15-72. You might want to check with Pat about dinner reservations, etc.

LH:kb

June 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : KEN COLE

FROM : L. HIGBY

Without trying to pass the buck, I sincerely believe the attached belongs in your bailiwick.

Will you please have your operation staff this and forward to the President if appropriate?

Thank you.

Attachment - Garment memo to Caspar Weinberger re: Thoughts on the Arts, Bicentennial and the Campaign.

LH:pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : KEN COLE

FROM : L. HIGBY L

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Will you please have your operation staff this and forward to the President if appropriate?

Thank you.

Attachment

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: LEONARD GARMENT

I think you, and perhaps the President, may be interested in the attached memorandum. I discussed the proposal with Cap Weinberger and he appeared genuinely interested.



attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CASPAR WEINBERGER

SUBJECT: Some Thoughts on the Arts, the Bicentennial and  
the Campaign

1. The President's program of financial support for the arts has been one of the domestic success stories of this Administration.

It has proved out. We have now tested it for 3 1/2 years and know that with sound management, federal support for the arts is an effective way of helping to serve an important social need. It is a program which has a great deal of leverage -- eliciting matching contributions from the private sector, and also eliciting substantial PR benefits. The President's arts support is popular not only with Republican elite types, but with people in both political parties and generally with the public, including all economic and racial groups.

It strikes me therefore that this is an appropriate time to think about moving to get the United States into the cultural big league (see the attached Saturday Review editorial comparing support for cultural programs in Austria and in the United States.)

2. A particular reason why this is an excellent time to consider a new Presidential arts initiative is the Bicentennial: right now we are groping for answers and actions which will effectively discharge the President's responsibilities for 1976. But except for Dave Mahoney's Parks proposal (now being studied) my understanding is that the Commission is being pressured simply to stamp the Bicentennial logo on urban renewal, highway and other projects which federal agencies or local governments have long intended to do anyway. That kind of action is not a credible Bicentennial "program"; it's like giving a boy pajamas and calling them his Christmas present.

Whatever the Commission does, the question for which we are responsible is: what will the Executive Branch do? One thing we can do is concentrate on identifying proven administration programs which are appropriate candidates for special emphasis in the light of the Bicentennial, and then undertake to give them special and very visible Presidential support.

3. In my opinion, our best Executive Branch candidate for such special support is the arts and humanities program. Although the two Endowments may have different capacities to absorb additional funding, both involve the kinds of people and institutions that have to be enthusiastically involved, and soon, if the Bicentennial Year is going to be a meaningful and successful celebration.

I make two assumptions: (a) that the country will be at peace and prosperous in 1976 and (b) that the uniquely and specifically "Bicentennial" outlays will be locally planned and locally funded. Under these conditions, it seems to me, the major role of the federal government is to stimulate the participation of creative organizations and individuals in preparing for the Bicentennial -- and I can't think of anything more likely to get this process moving quickly than a dramatic expression of national policy of aid to artists, performers, writers, historians and their supporting institutions.

As the President put it when describing the Bicentennial:

"Improving the quality of life is, in a sense, a more compelling concept in this era of advanced technology than it was in the time of Jefferson. I believe that this is the area in which we will find the fundamental theme for our anniversary observance of the continuing revolution that is the United States of America."

4. My specific proposal is that the President make known his intention to seek authorization in FY 1974-75-76 that would reach a level of \$200 million for the National Endowment for the Arts by 1976 (plus an equivalent or substantial step-up for the Humanities Endowment). The timing of this policy determination should be such as to permit its inclusion in the Republican Platform.

This will not impair private giving nor will it undercut local choices; in fact a substantial part of the additional funding would go to State Arts Councils.

5. I asked Nancy Hanks and Ron Berman to give me some informal data and arguments on this subject; their materials are attached. I also attach some related writings: a memorandum on this subject from Tom Evans (RNC) to me; a recent Sylvia Porter column related to this subject, and some materials from the Business Council on the Arts.

6. I do think this would be not only a dramatic but also an extremely sound and useful move; it would be nationwide in scope as many of the current Bicentennial "projects" (Niagara Falls, Mt. Rushmore) are not; it would directly implement the President's objective about the Bicentennial: "The commemoration be national in scope, seeking to involve every State, city and community"; it would involve much more modest outlays than the kinds of dollars I now hear being talked about for Bicentennial programs; it builds on a program the President has already initiated (and makes it decisively "his"); it will be an enthusiastically-greeted surprise to thousands of influential "communicators" -- a great stimulus to Bicentennial activity, a way of identifying the President with the Bicentennial in a manner unique to him, and it would be a mode of Federal Bicentennial contribution which presents a proven and reliable way (through Nancy Hanks, Ron Berman and their advisory councils and staffs) of permitting us to have a real say in the planning and development of the uses of the money.



Leonard Garment

cc: John Ehrlichman

attachment

June 13, 1972

Dear Fred:

I received the announcement of your Commencement Exercises and your B.A. in Communications, Advertising. Congratulations!

I know how great a feeling of satisfaction you must have upon receiving your degree. I understand that someone has been in touch with you regarding a Campaign job, and I wish you the very best of luck in launching your career.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Higby  
Administrative Assistant  
to H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Fredric A. Divel  
California State University  
Fullerton  
California

LH:Kb



June 16, 1972

Dear Mrs. Eisenhower:

The President has requested that the attached material prepared by Pat Buchanan, be forwarded to you for your use in answering questions in your interviews and public appearances.

Best wishes,

Lawrence M. Higby  
Administrative Assistant  
to H. R. Haldeman

Mrs. David Eisenhower  
The White House

Attachment

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

Q: Whom do you think the Democratic Party will nominate to run against your father in November?

A: Well, Senator McGovern seems to be in the lead among convention delegates; but from what I have read, I understand he is still short of the number of convention delegates needed for nomination. So, I don't know whom they will eventually turn to -- and I would imagine that most Democrats are not certain right now who their nominee will be.

Q: Which of the Democrats do you think your father would prefer to run against?

A: I don't believe he has any special preference; but no matter whom they nominate, I am sure it will be a close race -- since the Democratic Party is so much larger than the Republican Party.

Q: Which of the Democrats would you like to see nominated?

A: Well, I have my own favorites among the Democrats, but I wouldn't want to name him -- otherwise it might hurt his chances. And, anyhow, that is really a decision for Democrats, not Republicans to make.

Q: Do you feel that Senator McGovern can beat your father in the November election?

A: Well, Senator McGovern is not the nominee yet. But no matter who the Democrats nominate, I think we have a good chance to win; and I think we will win.

Q: Who do you think would be the strongest Democratic candidate?

A: That is difficult to say. The other day I saw a Gallup Poll which showed that Governor Wallace had more support than any other Democrat -- among Independents and Democrats. Other polls showing Senator Humphrey running strong; and there are few I have seen that show Senator McGovern ahead. But, again, it is difficult to say. Some months ago, Senator Muskie seemed to be the strongest -- and since these things change so much it is hard to say who will be the strongest Democratic challenger by the time we get to November. I do think, however, that no matter the Democratic candidate, it will be a fairly close race -- and we will win it.

#### WALLACE

Q: How did you feel about Governor Wallace's shooting?

A: Well, it was a terrible tragedy; and when we saw the pictures of his alleged assailant, up there in Canada mingling with the crowds that greeted my father, it was a chilling experience. It is a wonderful thing that Governor Wallace survived that attack; but a great tragedy that a man who speaks for so many millions of Americans was denied the right to compete actively for the Democratic nomination. Before

the California Primary, Governor Wallace, I understand, had won more primaries and had gotten more total votes than any other Democrat. And he and the people he represents should have had the opportunity to compete evenly at the convention -- and I think it was a terrible tragedy that this happened to him.

Q: Do you agree with some of the views expressed by Governor Wallace?

A: Not all of them. I agree with him and with my father that we should declare a moratorium on all these bussing plans which are dividing so many communities. But the important thing is that no matter if you agree or disagree with Governor Wallace, he fought for what he believed in; he stated his views; and it is a terrible tragedy that his supporters do not have him now championing the causes in which they believe.

#### VICE PRESIDENCY

Q: Who do you think your father will pick for the Vice President?

A: Well, that is his decision; and I don't know that. But I believe that he has a tremendous Vice President right now -- the best one we have had since 1960.

Q: Would you want to see Mr. Agnew on the ticket again with your father?

A: I would be delighted if he were there; as my father said in January, Nixon-Agnew was a winning ticket. But I think that that decision is something for the President and Vice President to work out.

Q: Who would you like to see on the ticket with your father in the campaign this fall?

A: I would like to see there whoever the President wants there, and whoever he feels can do the best job for the party and the country. The decision is the President's -- but I think that Vice President Agnew, who is articulate and courageous, has done a tremendous job as Vice President -- the best since 1960. If he is on the ticket in 1972, we will win even more states than we won in 1968.

Q: What would you think of Secretary Connally on the ticket in 1972?

A: Whoever he runs with, I think the President will win in 1972.

#### ISSUES

Q: What do you think the major issue will be in 1972?

A: Well, my view is that the great issue for the country in 1972 is what it has been for the world in the twentieth century. How do we live together on this planet in peace. The role of America in that decision is a tremendous one -- and I think then that the major question

in the 1972 election is which man is the most qualified to bring America and the world into an era of peace.

Q: What do you think is the major accomplishment of your father since he took office?

A: Well, he has opened the door to China; he has taken major steps to bring an end to the Cold War with the Soviet Union. But his greatest achievement, I think, is having brought home half a million Americans from South Vietnam. He is ending American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, and leaving behind a nation that can defend itself.

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to their work -- and 1968 seems a decade ago now. That, I think, is the most significant accomplishment. The wounds are healing on a country that was really tearing itself apart during that year 1968.

Q: What do you think will be the issues between Senator McGovern and your father in November ?

A: Well, if Senator McGovern gets the nomination, I think there will be many differences on issues. In foreign policy, probably the major differences is Senator McGovern's plan to cut the defense budget by \$32 billion, and cut the Air Force and Navy by more than half. My father believes we need a strong defense, not only to keep the peace, but to negotiate with the Russians.

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Q: Do you think Senator McGovern is a radical or an extremist?

A: Well, I have read a number of articles and columns that say that his positions are radical and extreme; and certainly he is very, very liberal. But I am sure that Senator McGovern is a patriotic American, who believes that his ideas are good for America, just as my father does.

June 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW-UP

FROM:

L. HIGBY

Follow-up on Chuck Colson. He is to track down the McGovern quote regarding building relations with Cuba and Chile and make sure that we get that to the Cubans.

LH:kmt

June 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

FOLLOW UP

FROM :

L. HIGBY

Follow up with Gordon in getting the Kennedy Center tickets for "Cold Blood" for Sunday night, the 25th.

LH:pm

June 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FOLLOW-UP  
FROM: L. HIGBY

Follow-up with Chapin in getting cameramen to the Democratic National Convention to get pictures of all the terrible people.

LH:kb

June 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

FROM : L. HIGBY

We will have the following villas available for the Convention -  
17 - which is one half of a duplex, 18 A and B, 72 which is a  
single large villa, 74 which is one half of a duplex, 45, 47, 48  
65, 66, 71, 22, which is a two-bedroom, and 21.

LH:pm

June 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : FOLLOW UP  
FROM : L. HIGBY

Follow up on Monday or Tuesday checking Rebozo to make sure  
that we line up the Mitchell house.

June 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

SUBJECT : Dinner at Wolf Trap

Two arrangements can be made for dinner at Wolf Trap, both require reservations but will be no problem for you.

1. A buffet dinner is served at \$4.95 per person. \_\_\_ Try the buffet dinner

2. You can purchase a picnic basket out there at \$9.00 per basket. Each basket serves two people. \_\_\_ Try the picnic

Please let me know which one you would prefer.

Regarding parking - no special parking is available (or at least I wasn't able to get it). The suggestion is that you park in the West Lot if you arrive early enough since it is smaller and apparently closer.

LH:pm

June 21, 1972

H . . .

Attached are Chapin's recommendations for First Family and Presidential participation at the Convention. It differs somewhat from yours. So that you can compare the two plans, a copy of your original comments on the Timmons memo is attached. Chapin has also seen this.

A more significant point that Chapin makes is the need to get control of the overall situation. I talked this over with him and it is his plan to present the proposal to the First Family, along with Parker, hopefully after the Democratic Convention. His point of wanting to cut off all speculation, promises, and understandings re: First Family participation now, however, is a good idea.

I recommend that you review the Chapin suggested participation plan and then tell him to cut off all the speculation as he suggested.

L.

Attachments

LH:kb



June 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY

Below I have listed some restaurants you might want to try this evening that are reasonably close and inexpensive:

1. P. T. Barnum's -- Fair food, inexpensive, reasonably quick.
2. Maison des Crepes -- (1305 Wisconsin) -- you know about this one -- approximately fifteen-minute wait to get table.
3. Mr. Henry's -- Pennsylvania Avenue. Basically singles and young people's place but reasonably good food.
4. The Guards -- White House staff frequents this place. Good steak sandwiches, but have to walk by single's bar to get to the dining area -- has a nice garden in back.
5. Costin's Sirloin Room -- 14th and F. Streets. Good beef and moderately priced.
6. Black Steer -- Next to Sans Souci. Reasonably priced and good service.
7. Emerson's -- Chain steak house. Good service, fairly quick and medium priced. Approximately five blocks from the White House.

LH:kb

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By B. J. [unclear] WARS, Date 3-26-82

June 15, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY  
SUBJECT: Thoughts on Anti-McGovern  
Strategy

The attached would indicate strongly that we should move out in trying to pin McGovern with his radical stance. All indications now are that McGovern has the nomination. With "34%" of the public still having not made up their minds where to place McGovern on a liberal/conservative scale, it would appear that we have an opportunity to appropriately position him now.

I know this is one of the basic strategy decisions that you, Mitchell, Ehrlichman, et al, are trying to resolve, but would urge that we move now to make sure McGovern is clearly identified and tied with his programs.

One of the primary arguments over at the Committee, as I understand it, against this is that the Democrats will be doing a good enough job of tearing McGovern up over the next month. I believe, however, that the obligation falls to us to look at where the Democrats are failing to clearly pin McGovern and move our own people on these areas. This should be done on the specific basis that Buchanan recommends, namely, doing the reasoned, well-constructed, precisely thought out and factually correct argument -- not the shrill, scathing attacks. We don't want to shoot our guns all at once, but establish a trend or a focus. These attacks should not be done by White House people, but other Administration spokesmen and our Hill spokesmen.

Below I have listed an admittedly incomplete statement of the pros and cons on the subject:

Pro

-- People haven't made up their minds on McGovern -- they don't know him. (We are trying to get the demographics here.)

-- Make clear where he stands now rather than having to correct or discredit a more favorable public impression, particularly after the Convention.

-- Make him work at changing his position rather than appearing lilly white and pure.

Con

-- Escalates the Campaign too soon.

-- Puts McGovern against the Administration and center of the Democratic party.

-- Gives him time to back off the issues.

I believe the pros outweigh the cons and would suggest that we start programming Colson, Buchanan, and 1701 to move as is suggested above.

LH:kb

June 14, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY  
SUBJECT: Accomodations in Florida  
During the Convention

You have reviewed Timmons' memoranda on the general convention and housing facilities. This memorandum will outline what I feel are the needs in Key Biscayne during the Convention.

Currently I have reserved, through Chuck Bremicker, twelve three-bedroom villas at the Key Biscayne, (four are waterfront); ten single rooms, and two one-bedroom villas. Suggested use of these accomodations:

Haldeman/Higby	Waterfront 18B
Ehrlichman/Hullin	Waterfront 18A
Kissinger/Aide	Waterfront Villa
Speechwriters ) Rose Woods ) Advance Villa )	Three-Bedroom Villas
Strachan ) Haldeman Secretary )	Single Villas

Ehrlichman Secretary )	Rooms
Kissinger Secretary )	
Mitchell Secretary )	
Steve Bull )	

Mitchell	340 House
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The result is that one waterfront Villa, nine three-bedroom Villas, and six single rooms are not currently assigned. Requests for facilities include: Ehrlichman wants to have his family at a Villa and may want to have Hullin in a room or single Villa; Jeb Magruder and Fred Malek have asked for Villas for their families, and private requests for Key Biscayne Villas include John Rollins and the Westchester G. B. P.

Chuck Bremicker at the Key Biscayne Hotel has been informed that after these needs are met, the rest of the hotel can be rented to the press or anyone else.

Concerning your accommodations at the Doral (Headquarters Hotel), Timmons has reserved a three-bedroom suite plus two rooms. However, Timmons points out that there are only fourteen suites in the hotel and that he has had requests from all Cabinet Officers and Don Kendall, Clem Stone, etc. Timmons would like to establish a firm policy of no families at the Doral, but will hold the suite and rooms for your family if you deem that best.

June 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FOLLOW-UP

FROM: L. HIGBY

Follow-up on checking on getting the McGovern tapes  
from Magruder.

LH:kb

June 14, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY  
SUBJECT: Phone Call from  
Bebe Rebozo

Bebe Rebozo called, saying that if we weren't going to be using the two Villas that we have available during the Democratic Convention, Smathers mentioned to him that we should let Bob Byrd use them. This would seem like a good idea, and I recommend you approve it. Also, I think Bebe should try and line up the other Villa so that both of them are being used.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_

Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

LH:kb