Richard Nixon Presidential Library White House Special Files Collection Folder List

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	Document Type	Document Description
35	10	09/19/1968	Memo	From Nixon to Haldeman Re: California meeting with Otis and Norman Chandler, and Frank Murphy. Also, letter from David Smith to Otis Chandler Re: Letter for Nixon. Also letter from Otis to Nixon Re: Presidential endorsement by the Times. 3 pg.
35	10	09/18/1968	Memo	From Anderson to DC Re: Newspaper criticism of Fortas. 1 pg.
35	10	09/17/1968	Memo	From Nixon to Murray Chotiner & Haldeman Re: Attack squad questions for Humphrey. 3 pg.
35	10	09/17/1968	Memo	From Nixon to Haldeman Re: Preparation time for major television appearances and speeches. 1 pg.
35	10	09/17/1968	Memo	From DC to Haldeman & Jim Keogh Re: Weekly law and order statements. 1 pg.
35	10	09/17/1968	Memo	From DC to Haldeman Re: Number of Nixon appearances since nomination in comparison with Humphrey. Also, letter from Higby to Chotiner, Klein, Ziegler & Ellsworth Re: Nixon post-Nomination activities. Also report on Nixon availability to press. 14 pg.

Wednesday, January 28, 2009 Page 1 of 3

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	Document Type	Document Description
35	10	09/16/1968	Report	On 09/15/1968 article from New York Times by Homer Bigart Re: Agnew's Chicago speech on law and order. 2 pg.
35	10	09/16/1968	Report	On article from New York Times on Senator Charles Goodell criticism of Nixon's civil rights views. 1 pg.
35	10	09/16/1968	Memo	From Ellsworth to Nixon Re: Georgian Democrats for Nixon after phone call. 3 pg.
35	10	09/16/1968	Memo	From John Sears to Nixon Re: Suggestions for improvement of Agnew staff. 2 pg.
35	10	09/13/1968	Memo	From Nixon to Ellsworth Re: Letter to Whalen. 1 pg.
35	10	09/13/1968	Memo	From Buchanan to Nixon Re: Agnew staff and need for speechwriter. 1 pg.
35	10	09/12/1968	Memo	From DC to John Mitchell Re: New leadership in North Carolina. 2 pg.

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Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	Document Type	Document Description
35	10	09/12/1968	Memo	Nixon/Rose Mary Woods to John Mitchell Re: Agnew staff. 1 pg.
35	10	09/12/1968	Letter	From Pat Hillings to Haldeman Re: Legislation of televised debates. 1 pg.
35	10	09/12/1968	Memo	From Bryce Harlow to Nixon Re: Les Arends pursuing Sec. 315 issue with Bill Springer. 1 pg.
35	10	09/12/1968	Memo	From Harlow, Ellsworth & Morton to Nixon Re: Meeting with Indonesian Minister of Defense. Also, memo from Nixon to Haldeman, Ellsworth & Whitaker Re: Eastern European forums. Also, report on article from New York Times. 6 pg.
35	10	19/10/1968	Memo	From Nixon to Haldeman & Mitchell Re: Nixon domination of public relations' spots. 3 pg.

Wednesday, January 28, 2009 Page 3 of 3

Alberta

September 19, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO:

Bob Haldeman

FROM:

RN

A meeting with Otis and Norman Chandler and Frank Murphy should be set up on one of our next visits to California. It doesn't necessarily have to be the next one but they have to be given a date so that they know now.

Bob-See attackel letter.

DSS/lah X-Csupport California September 16, 1968 Mr. Otis Chandler Publisher Los Angeles Times Times Mirror Square Los Angeles, California Dear Mr. Chandler: I am writing in answer to your letter of September 10 to Mr. Nixon to let you know that Mr. Nixon has been out of town since your letter was received here. He is expected back at headquarters in a few days and your letter will be brought to his attention immediately. Thank you for your letter and I know Mr. Nixon will look forward to talking with you. Yours very truly, David S. Smith DSS/lah

Los Angeles Times

OTIS CHANDLER

September 10, 1968

Personal and Confidential

Honorable Richard M. Nixon 810 Fifth Avenue New York, New York

Dear Dick:

I was in Miami cheering, but I did not want to bother you at that time. My heartiest congratulations on your nomination.

I am sorry that our arrangements to meet on September 18 in ; Los Angeles did not work out. My secretary has been in touch with your scheduling people to attempt to set up a private meeting for us when you are next in Los Angeles, which will be the second week in October I understand.

I do want to see you and the timing is crucial to us and to you, I would assume, because the subject I want to discuss is who The Times is going to endorse for the Presidency. In past years, we have made our endorsement around the first week in October. Therefore I do hope we can get together during your early October trip to Los Angeles.

Sincerely,

OC:fm

Hotot.

MEMORANDUM

September 18, 1968

TO:

DC

FROM:

Anderson

To our knowledge no newspaper has criticized Fortas in their editorial columns for accepting \$15,000 in fees.

September 17, 196 MEMORANDUM TO: Murray Chotiner Bob Haldeman -- for whatever distribution he he considers appropriate -Agnew, for example - et al FROM: RN Among the subjects that might be emphasized

by the attack squad are the following:

1. Humphrey would be the most expensive President in U. S. history. During the period he was a Senator he introduced spending bills which did not pass, appropriations for which total at least 100 million dollars and which would have meant that our present budget would be at least 10 billion dollars annually higher than it is. (Agnes and others have done research on this). Be sure we have these figures so that if he tries to deny it we can get specific and not be in hot water.

2. All speakers should ask over and over again for Humphrey to name one issue where he differs from LBJ or the policies of the last four years.

The purpose of this exercise is not to be hard on LBJ but to be hard on Humphrey. Humphrey has said that he offers new leadership -- make him indicate those areas where he thinks the old leadership fails. Then follow up by demanding that he indicate where he objected to the policies which he thinks now were mistakes.

- 3. Humphrey should be nailed on the subjects of steel and textile quotas. These are special issues where I have had to speak out and where Humphrey privately has told the steel and textile operators he is looking at these quotas but publicly has not taken a position. See that some of our friends in the industry nail him down and get him out publicly.
- 4. Humphrey along the same lines should be nailed on any othersubject where his position might prove to be unpopular.
- 5. Someone should --they can either advocate or defend the provision in the omnibus crime bill which modifies the Supreme Court Decisions make him either take a position of defense of the Supreme Court and its decisions or one where he criticizes some of the decisions and advocates legislative action to correct them.
- 6. Similarly he should be nailed on Adminis= tration farm policy. Freeman has been appointed to a major role in his campaign and Humphrey should be put on the record as to whether he approves the Freeman policies and plans to extend them.

It would seem that on all these subjects we should have one or two people among the Humphrey press corps that will ask him the tough questions that press guys never hesitate to ask me.

Some effort should be made to get Humphrey to either endorse or repudiate some of the Southern Senators like Eastland -- whose position is basically the same as Thurmond's. Make a list of two or three of them and then have some press guy ask him at a press conference whether he accepts their support and endorses their views.

At a press conference he should be asked whether he endorses the attacks made by O'Brien on RN. We get questions whether I endorse what my campaign people have to say about him and, of course, there should be a single standard.

#

September 17, 1968

MEMORANDUM

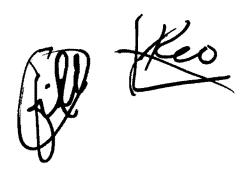
TO:

Bob Haldeman

FROM:

RN

As I mentioned to Dwight I would like 2-1/2 hours before any major television or any major speech at night. The purpose of this is to allow 1/2 to 3/4 of an hour for massage and the rest of the time for preparation.



September 17, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: JIM KEOGH CC: Bob Haldeman

FROM: DC

I emphasize again the necessity of continuing to hammer out two or three law and order statements every week. Don; t let the liberal press drive us off this issue. The more they squeel, the more we should hit them.

Buchanan, Pollner and all should be able to furnish enough material to handle the situation and whenever there isn't a hard news lead, see if Safire or somebody else can come up with some rhetoric on it.

What is most important is to hit thelissue without apology and without being a bit defensive.

#

W-follows left.

September 17, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO:

HALDEMAN

FROM:

DC

Would you have our schedulers follow up on a project which was undertaken some time ago which would indicate the number of press conferences, head-to-head television interviews, head-to-head radio interviews and individual interviews RN has had since he became a candidate. The number is really astronomical, provided that somebody has the information as to every one that was scheduled. Possibly Chapin would be a good one to bird-dog this project.

As soon as the information is obtained, see that it goes to Ziegler for background and also to analysis RN and possibly to surrogates and Answer Desk people.

Another point which should be made with regard to such interviews is that RN has had a practice since he entered public life twenty-one years ago of having no holes barred in interviews. He never limits the questioners, he never asks the questions to be submitted to him in advance and, consequently, it is a true give and take.

What I would do in this instance is to pick up the number RN had before the Repub lican Convention and then the number since the nomination so that we can use the latter figure to compare with what Humphrey has done.

#

What I would do in this instance is to pick up the number RN had before the Repub lican Convention and then the number since the nomination so that we can use the latter figure to compare with what Humphrey has done.

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.. .

TO: MURRAY CHOTINER

HERB KLEIN

RON ZIEGLER

BOB ELLSWORTH, SURROGATES

IN RESPONSE TO RECENT STATEMENTS THAT RN HAS
EEN AVOIDING NEWS CONFEBENCES THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION

IGHT BE HELPFUL IN STAMING OUR POSITION.

ALSO, RN WANTS IT MADE CLEAR THAT WITH REGARD

O THE ABOVE INTERVIEWSTRN HAS MADE IT A PRACTICE SINCE HE

NTERED PUBLIC LIFE 21 YEARS AGO OF HAVING NO HOLDS BARRED.

E NEVER LIMITS THE QUESTIONER, HE NEVER ASKS THAT THE

UESTION BE SUBMITTED GTO HIM IN ADVANCE AND CONSEQUENTLY.

T IS TRUE GIVE AND TAKE:

FROM \ LARRY HIGBY

ACTIVITIES OF RICHARD M. NIXON FEBRUARY 1, 1968 TO SEPTEMBER 21, 1968

	BEFORE AUG.	AFTER AUG.
ORMAL PRESS CONFERENCES F	19	10
NFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCES	45	18
ETWORK RADIO N	4	1
ETWORK TV - HEAD TO HEAD O & A N	9	
OCAL TV - " E "	4	6
PECIAL TV - JOEY BISHOP, DOCUMENTARY	8	
DITORIAL BOARD INMERVIEW FOR TV 0	4	
ELEGATE + Q & A D	, 8	6
RESS INTERVIEWS P	27	1.1
EWSPAPER EDITORIAL BOARDS N	13	

NOTE: THIS ALSO GOES TO NIXON ANSWER DESK, WASH. D.C.

END OF MESSAGE

RN PRESS AVAILABILITY

Since the convention in Miami, RN has appeared before the national press corps to answer their questions on ten different occasions; he has been with the national press corps socially on three different occasions since the convention and answered their questions on an informal basis either in the campaign aircraft or at other locations such as TV stations, lobbies or airport ramps on at least twelve occasions. In addition, RN has met with the state press corps in California, Indiana and Ohio. Here's some specifics:

I. Formal Press Conferences

to Reson

*August 9 - Miami

*August 10 - San Antonia

August 11 & 17 - Mission Bay

August 19 - Springfield, Illinois

August 19 - Lansing, Michigan

August 20 - Columbus, Ohio

August 20 - Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

*September 8 - Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

*September 17 - Anaheim

September 5 - Chicago

*fielded questions for at least 30 minutes

II. New York Party for Traveling Press

The night before the September 3 opening of the campaign, RN dropped by the Regency Hotel and mingled freely with the national press corps and gave a 15 minute backgrounder on his plans for the campaign, including areas of the country he planned to visit and a broad picture of his general strategy.

III. Statewide Press Corps Meetings

In the California, Indiana, and Ohio meetings with the state press corps, the national press corps was permitted to have a pool reporter in the meeting and, therefore, the content of RN's discussion was available to them. In addition, the Associated Press and the United Press were

the control of the state of the European Englishment of the state of t

represented in these meetings.

IV. Social Meetings

Immediately following the convention, RN hosted a reception at the Key Biscayne Hotel for the national press corps where he mingled with them freely and discussed in depth national issues and his point of view on the campaign. Can be recalled were that RN played the piano, hit golf balls on the Key Biscayne golf course, and strolled across the golf course mingling in free discussion with the press corps. During the Democratic convention where RN was in Key Biscayne, RN again hosted a cocktail party for the national press corps at the home of Bebee Rebozo and again mingled in discussion with the national press corps. Just recently at Antoine's in New Orleans, RN gave a very informal and relaxed bit of background on the early days of RN's and PN's marriage.

V. TV Tapings and Nixon Format Statewide TV Shows
Following each telecast of the Nixon statewide TV show
(which the press were permitted to view during the telecast) and each local city news interview, transcripts of what RN says are made available to the national press corps at the appropriate time. Therefore, they are provided with full and total information on RN's positions and statements.

CONCLUSION:

There is absolutely no foundation for any claim that RN has not been available to the press, and that he is not communicating his position on issues to the public through all media forms, including the national press corps.

YEROX orm files Original to Roze Woods

ACTIVITIES OF RICHARD M. NIXON February 1 - June 1, 1968

Mileage 69,390

February 13,400

March 19,300

April 13,750

22,940

States visited (28)

May

NEBRASKA ARIZONA CALIFORNIA NEVADA NEW HAMPSHIRE COLORADO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NEW JERSEY FLORIDA NEW YORK NORTH DAKOTA GEORGIA IDAHO OHIO ILLINOIS OREGON PENNSYLVANIA INDIANA KENTUCKY SOUTH DAKOTA MASSACHUSETTS TEXAS MICHIGAN WASHINGTON MINNESOTA WISCONSIN MONTANA WYOMING

Public appearances (best estimate)

Rallies 65

Formal press conferences 15

Informal press conferences 40

Fund-raising events 12

Network radio programs 4

Network TV 10

(including election night coverage for New Hamps

(including election night coverage for New Hampshire, Nebraska, Oregon; † hour documentary; Cronkite on Kennedy death; Wallace on Johnson withdrawal; 3 networks on Romney withdrawal; NET with Paul Niven)

Other network TV shows before February 1 include Huntley-Brinkley,
Johnny Carson, Merv Griffin, Mike Douglas

Newspaper editorial board meetings

12

Local TV shows after February 1 Oregon telethon Bobby Kennedy TV - Boston LaCrosse Rhinelander 9 Local TV shows before February 1 Kupcinet - Chicago Madigan - Chicago Herb Lyons - Chicago WOW-TV - Omaha - Sam Yorty show - LA KATU-TV - Portland KOLW-TV - Portland WMUR-TV - Manchester (WBAY-TV - Green Bay Editorial board interviews for TV 4 WHA-TV - Madison WTMJ-TV - Milwaukee WISN-TV - Milwaukee WITI-TV - Milwaukee Formal handshaker receptions 20 St. Anselms Dallas Madison Fargo Cheyenne Milwaukee Portland Helena Oklahoma City Reno Lincoln Boise Chicago Nashua Newark Kenosha Olympia Oshkosh Phoenix Laconia Governors visited 20 Tiemann Evans McCall Love Laxalt Volpe Romney Williams Bartlett Shafer Hathaway Rhodes Hickel Agnew Samuelson Kirk

Nunn

Knowles

Boe

Babcock

Rallies	65
Press conferences	15
Informal press conferences	40
Fund-raising events	12
Network TV	10
Local TV	4
Network radio	4
Local radio	10
Newspaper editorial boards	12
TV editorial boards	4
Formal receptions	20_
	196

Pre-February 1

Network TV	4
Local TV	9_
	13

Total 209

28 states 20 Governors

MEMORANDUM

SEPTEMBER 23, 1968

TO:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

JOHN WHITAKER

RE:

RN ACTIVITIES June 1-September 21

Press Conferences

8

Press interviews or interviews with editorial boards of newspapers

7

Head to head TV Q&A including statewide TV panel shows

7

Delegate and other public Q&A Session

14

Press availabilities

13

(You will have to go over in your own mind the numerous press availabilities at airports which happened without being on the schedule, and you will have to check with Chapin on his personal appointment calendar from June 1 to September 21 because I am sure RN did individual press interviews of which I have no knowledge).

Details attached...

John

JUNE

Press Conferences

Chicago
Atlanta
Florida Arami

Press Availabilities
Lansing, Michigan

Press Interviews

Field Publications - Chicago

Head to head TV - 0

Head to head Radio - 0

Q&A Sessions

Georgia Delegates Southern Regional Delegates Michigan Delegates

JULY

Press conferences

Cleveland

Press availabilities

Balustrol Country Club Akron, Ohio, airport Friendship airport - Baltimore, Maryland Washington, D. C. - after Eisenhower endorsement

Press Interviews

Cleveland Plain Dealer Knight Newspapers New York Daily News editorial board Philadelphia Enquirer Philadelphia Bulletin Washington Post

TV Interviews

Joey Bishop Show

Q&A Sessions

National Association of County Officials New Jersey Delegates Ohio Delegates Republican Congressional breakfast Upper Midwest Delegates

AUGUST

Press conferences

Miami

San Antonio

Press Availabilities

Mission Bay - 3
Springfield, Illinois
Lansing, Michigan
Columbus, Ohio

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Q&A Sessions

Miami - 6 regional meeting with Delegates

.. .

SEPTEMBER (up to September 21)

Press conferences

Pittsburgh Los Angeles

Press Availabilities

Chicago

TV Q&A Sessions

Illinois statewide TV panel
Pittsburgh head to head TV
Charlotte, North Carolina head to head TV
Cleveland, Ohio, statewide panel TV show
Columbus, Ohio, statewide panel TV show
Philadelphia statewide panel TV show

September 23, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Haldeman, Chotiner et. al.

FROM: DC

I understand that you have now developed a program for answering the idea that RN is avoiding news conferences. I still think it would be a good idea to get out a statement indicating not only how many stand-up conferences with the full national press RN has had, but also the conferences he has had with the local press which were completely on the record. I had one in Calif. in Ohio and in one other state that I cannot recall at the moment. Also, how many head-to-head interviews RN has had with TV commentators -- Kaplow, Mike Wallace et. al.

#

The New York Times -- September 16, 1968

By Homer Bigart

file

Chicago, September 15 -- Gov. Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland, the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, promised a blue-collar crowd today that a Republican victory in November would be followed by limitations on civil dissent.

Speaking in Norridge, a suburb adjacent to the Northwest section of Chicago that repelled with bricks and bottles, an open housing march ledb by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. two years ago, Mr. Agnew made his strongest "law and order" appeal of the campaign.

"We shall establish clear and unequiovcal guidelines as to what constitutes peaceful confrontation and what is deliberate provocation," Mr. Agnew said.

... He accused Vice President Humphrey, the Democratic Presidential candidate of condoning violence.

He quoted what he said was a speech delivered by Mr. Humphrey in New Orlenas July 8, 1966, "while the fires were still burning in the Hough area of Cleveland."

Mr. Humphrey, Governor Agnew said, reflected the "permissiveness" of the administration when he said

"If I were living in the slums I think you'd have had a little more trouble than you've had already because I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions."

More to his taste, Mr. Agnew said, was this comment in the same year by Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black: "Once you give a nervous, hostile and ill-informed people a theoretic justification for using violence in certain cases, it is like a tiny hole in the dike -- a cardinal fact about violence is that once initiated it tends to get out of hand --

its limits are not predictable."

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The New York Times -- September 16, 1968

By Homer Bigart -- page 2

... Governor Agnew said the issue of law and order "very possibly will decide the 1968 election."

"Law and order comes when Government makes up its mind that the people and the Constitution, not the mob, will rule America," he said. "Anarchy is not the answer, nor is rioting the inalienable right of any citizen.

"Law and order come when Government enforces law -- not brutally but swiftly, justly and equally. Law and order come by using the law vigorously to create a new and more perfect society for all Americans.

... "When the people feel more action is to be gained by going to the streets rather than to the courts, something is wrong," he said.

"And when mob violence is rewarded, something is wrong."

... He said the Republican viewed law and order as "the first line of defense for a free people."

... "Those who falsely allege police brutality, maliciously or not, encourage criminals and contribute to the spread of crime and violence."

The New York Times -= September 16, 1968

New York's new Senator, Charles E. Goodell, said yesterday he was "deeply disturbed" by the civil rights views expressed by the Republican party's Presidential candidate, Richard M. Nixon.

The former Republican Representative from Jamestown, appointed by Governor Rockefeller last week to succeed the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, said he didn't see how civil rights laws could be enforced without holding back Federal funds for school districts that violated Federal guidelines.

In a television broadcast shown last Thursday night in Charlotte, N.C., Mr. Nixon said that he favored the United States Supreme Court decisions against racial segregation in the schools, but that he considered it "dangerous" doctrine to use Federal grants as a means of enforcement.

... He said Mr. Nixon should support President Johnson's nomination of Abe Fortas for Chief Justice of the United States, which the Republican nominee has thus far declined to do.

Senator Goodell favored keeping the Senate in session "as long as it's necessary to break a filibuster against a vote on the Fortas appointment.

... Questioned about Governor Agnew's opposition to busing school children to achieve racial integration, Senator Goodell said, "I'm not opposed to busing school children under circumstances where we improve the education for all concerned." He added that "the special emphasis should be on improving the schools in the ghetto areas."

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the mer top - I want to

September 16, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN

FROM: Ellsworth (via phone)

The Georgia situation has moved very fast. The heart of the West part of the Democratic Party is now ready to announce itself às Republicans.

699-1682

The following men are assembled in a metting in Atlanta tonight, with Bo Callaway, and a telephone call from RN would be the final key to the lock that would cause all the tumblers to fall into place. The effect will be to stimulate an announcement tomorrow by these men that they are joing the Republican Party, and this would be followed within a week by at least three and possibly five Members of Congress from Georgia making the same public announcement.

The men assembled in the apartment with Bo Callaway are: Jack Ray, State Treasurer. (He used to work for John B. Clark, who is alledged to be a close friend of RN. Ray regards Clark as a father.)

Bill Campbell, Commissioner of Agriculture. The key to politics in Georgia -- controls 800 county agents throughout the state. (He should be assured he can always go through Callaway. He met this morning in Washington with Frank Bow,

Ellsworth and Callaway -- excellent meeting.)

Jimmy Bentley, Controller General and Insurance Commissioner. Controls deposits of state funds in banks and also regulates insurance industry (personal acquaintance of Henry Root Stern). (Met this morning in Washington with Bow, Ellsworth and Callawy).

Crasford Pilcher, Chairman, Public Service Commission.

Regulates all utilities in Georgia (Already nearly a Republican --has a fine Republican son-in-law, State Legislator Carr Dodson.

These men are entirely independent of Maddox. They did not support Maddox in his race against Callaway for Governor. They are not inviting Maddox to join this movement to the Republican Party, and do not want him. Maddox has publicly come out for Wallace and will stay for Wallace.

RN should ask to talk to Bo Callaway when he calls and—
then speak ideally to each of the four. He should say the same
thing to each one of the four:

- (1) As Republicans you will be warmly received in the national party, and I can assure you that a Nixon Administration will treat the South fairly and equitably with the rest of the nation.
- (2) If these men can make their announcement quickly, with election day only 7 weeks from tomorrow, RN will appreciate it.

(NB: Both Campbell and Bentley believe that RN would have a 50-50 chance to carry Georgia if these state officials became Republicans.)

(NB: After these men announce, tomorrow or the next day, the following Congressmen will announce within a week: Stuckey, Flynt, and Brinkley. In addition, O'Neal might announce. In addition, it is alledged Stephens will announce although this is questioned.)

These men will be assembled in the apartment of Jack Ray from about 9:30 PM EDT (6:30 PM PDT) until about 11:00 PM EDT (8:00 PM PDT).

I notice RN is at the Disneyland Hotel between 7 PM and 8:50 PM PDT. I recommend that the call be made between 7:15 and 7:45 PDT.

Telephone number: 404/524-4059.



To: RN

From: John Sears RE: Agnew Staff

1. Basic Problems:

A. Generally the people who have come to this campaign from the Governor's staff are adequate for performing the duties which they have been used to in the Governor's office, but are unable to enlarge their function to run a national campaign. This leads to having certain basic functions unfilled and the Agnew staff, being unaware of the importance of these tasks has a tendency to minimize them.

- B. Governor Agnew, himself, although he has "grown" a great deal since undertaking this task still does not quite understand how heated and complex a national campaign is. This has a bad effect on the attitude of his staff, since they are loyal to him and he, being unable to perceive the exact impact of his activities, they are equally unable to do so.
- C. On the Nixon side, 3 or 4 people were placed on the plane without any description of exactly what function they were to perform (Prendergast, Craine, Mrs. Anderson, etc.). This causes the Agnew people to regard them as unnecessary since, in their eyes, they were not fulfilling any function, and it caused the Nixon people to look down upon the Agnew people for not being aware that various things were not being done that should be.
- D. More than anything else, what is needed at the moment is a speech writer whom the Governor can rely on. I have hired Steve Hess to try to fulfill this function and he, at least, will come on knowing what his obligations are and with threshold confidence on the Governor's part. Once about Craine, Prendergast, et al can more beneficially help by staying in Washington and being on call to Hess if and when their research abilities are needed.
- E. Although he has good personal relations with the members of the press and he has generally handled himself well in press conferences, Governor Agnew remains somewhat gratuitous in his remarks. His instincts are good, but he wants to say too much and this is what causes him trouble. Part of this is because he has not been burned badly by them, at least up to the last couple of days. There is only so much you can do to warn someone, but unless they have really experienced something close to what you are talking about, they really don't believe it.

2. Personal Evaluations:

 me and willing to back up what I say to the Governor.

- B. Herb Thompson: Herb is a dedicated, insecure fellow who presently is operating over his head. We have added Bob Smalley from our staff to relieve Herb from the detail portion of his job, but this doesn't seem to have made him any more effective with the basic obligations of handling the Governor's press relations. Presently, aside from detailed fill-in, he is not authorized to speak to the press on behalf of the Governor. Mainly, this has been handled by either White or me. He is not a man who can stand up under very much pressure. Thompson doesn't have any input on what the Governor does, either.
- C. Art Sommer: Sommer serves as the Governor's personal aide ("Get me a ham on rye"). He has no input as to what the Governor does. As far as his job, is concerned, he handles that fairly well, although he does sometimes get a little frenzied.
- D. Charles Brestler: Charley is a little bit smarter than the others, but has a bad tendency to overreact to situations. Here again, the Governor doesn't trust to his judgement very well. Brestler seemingly handles most of the Governor's Maryland business as it arrives on the road and advises him on pending appointments in the state and also advises him on state legislative matters.
- 3. Actions Being Taken: to improve the situation:
- A. Communication: Until this trip the necessary equipment and points of contact with New York and the RN plane had not been established. Therefore, very little material from either source was available to the Governor for inclusion in his speeches. I have talked to Haldeman, Klein, and Ellsworth about this and the conditions should improve. Actually, most of what the Governor says should come from one of these sources. Actually there is very little need for original research on this plane and the more of it there is, the more chance that the Governor will say more beyond what RN has said in the past.
- B. Speech writer: Steve Hess will be given the task of:

 (1) ironing out a final set speech, (2) supplying about

 300 words worth of new stuff daily which can be added to the set speech.

 And given to the press as release. This additional 300 words will be

taken mainly from the material that we get from the Nixon plane, the communications office (other releases), and the Republican National Committee. Beyond this, he is to submit whatever suggestions appropriate on the Governor's style.



MEMORANDUM

September 13, 1968

TO:

RN

FROM:

Bob Ellsworth

In response to your memorandum of September 11, I don't think a letter should go from you to Whalen.

I think it would be a mistake and could cause some difficulties.

Leonard and I (at least -- possibly some others) have been and continue to be in touch with Whalen.

I have asked him to do a special project which he has consented to work on, and he understands that you have the highest regard for him in every way.



18

MEMO TO RN
FROM BUCHANAN
September 13 1268

According to Sears, the Agnew staff was essentially deigned for a gubernatorial office--and is adequate only for that. Not intended for a national campaign--but it will function adequately in its current role. Apparently, their press office which we beefed up, is working out better than any other department. Basic need is for a hardhitting speech writer.

Crane was dropped because he is a foreign policy guy who is not a phrase=maker and who is constantly commseling Agnew to make weight foreign policy pronouncements----which Agnew has no business making in the first place.XRMEM Pendergast is essentially a researcher, not writer and as Sears states, both Pendergast and Crane "ought to park their ass somewhere" and do their jobs. They are that needed flying around in the airplance. Steve Hess comes on Monday. Agnew and Sears looking booward to this, both think Hess has right idea and fills the basic need.

(However, Sears says he is getting heat from New York that KenT Crane "has" to be put back on the plane.) Sears also has the Safire stuff and the stuff we worked up for Ellsworth. They will start cracking HHHH on this just as soon as the Soft on Communism stuff is behind them.)

BUCHANNAN

September 12, 1968

Je

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MEMOTSNFUM

TO:

John Mitchell

FROM:

DC.

RE:

North Carolina

I think it is of the highest priority immediately to get new top leadership in North Carolina. It is obvious that La Rue is over his head here and while Charlie Jonas' son is a nice fellow, he just doesn't know what is going on. I want you immediately to either pick a strong man within the state -- which probably is not in the cards -- or send in the strongest man available from outside the state to knock some heads together and put on a Nixon campaign. This state is available. We are now even with Wallace with Humphrey a bad third but our people are handling themselves like school children and are getting the run-around from a lot of people who should be supporting us

Of vital importance is the handling of Gardner. Only a sophisticate will understand what I am recommending. In fact, I am not recommending it — I am ordering it. Immediately there should be set up in Charlotte and Greensboro area some store fronts with stickers for Nixon and Scott. Gardner is playing Wallace and cutting us. Scott is, frankly, a much better man than Gardner although neither is worth much. Our conscience can be clear in handling it this way. Our pattern is to do as they do in California where a Republican will allow himself to be identified with a popular Democrat.

What I am emphasizing is that when we allow our campaign to be connected with Gardner we are driving Scott people away and we are getting nothing from Gardner.

Perhaps Hoover Taft, my law school classmate and a prominent Democrat, or Mack Holland, another law school classmate and prominent Democrat, would be the proper person to set this up.

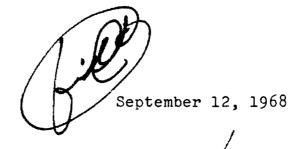
This will drive the Gardner people out of their minds but it will also bring them into line.

The only one that impressed me in the whole North
Carolina outfit was Willis Smith, Jr. Get the word through the Citizens
organization that they do not have to run Nixon and Gardner in tandem.

One plus factor here was that the best organization work was obviously done by the Young Republicans or the youth group -- the person or persons who got out the young people did an outstanding job.

Also whoever is handling the Nixonettes - these young people in Nixon dresses, etc. They have been most effective at every spot.

In this connection, I would like all of LaRue's states to be re-examined. He never has been in the big time and so may not recognize some of these trouble signs. I don't care what they do in Alabama but I do care what they do in North Carolina.





RN: rmw

Call JOHN MITCHELL and tell him following:

With the greatest discretion you or someone else should have a conversation with Agnew with regard to his staff situation. RN received the following note from Bob Hill: "I learned today that Dr. Prendergast and Kent Crane (Foreign Policy) have been off loaded from the Agnew plane to work in Washington on issues. This is a mistake as the news media is hard at work to discredit the Governor in the field of Foreign Policy, etc. His comments on commies and all the related areas is getting sticky. Put these men back on the plane. If they can't do the job I urge you to find someone else - I have asked Brad to hand carry this to you tonight."

I hold no brief for Prendergast or Crane and Agnew will have to decide for himself whether they are excess baggage.

I believe that Agnew is doing an excellent job.

The one area where he got into sticky ground was the "soft on communism" bit. What I would suggest he say here - if he is asked about it -- that he is not referring to individuals but to policies and the effect of those policies, i.e., East-West Trade -- the present Administration has been naive etc--that he does not raise any question with regard to LBJ or Hubie personally.

IMPORTANT -- Be sure you tell Agnew that RN thinks he is doing a great job.

TO BOB HALDEMN FROM PAT HILLINGS

SEPT 12, 1968 RELVA 2:45PH

CONGRESSMAN H. ALLEN SMITH, RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE, TOLD US LAST NIGHT THAT THE LEGISLATION TO ALLOW TELEVISED DEBATES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES HAS YET COME BEFORE THE RULES COMMITTEE AND IS NOT ON THE SUS-PENSION CALENDAR AS YET. THIS MEANS THAT THE EARLIEST IT CAN GO ON THE CALENDAR NOW IS THE FIRST WEEK IN OCTOBER. SMITH AND MANY OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS ARE OPPOSED TO THE BILL AND THE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP HASN'T YET MADE UP ITS MIND. WE ARE ENCOURAGING OUR FRIENDS IN THE HOUSE TO OPPOSE OR DELAY ANY ACTION.

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CONFIDENTIAL

file

September 12, 1968

Memo for RN

From: Byrce Harlow

Les Arends is pursuing Bill Springer about the Sec. 315 issue:

- (1) To explore possibility of reconsideration of vote;
- (2) To ensure that Bill in no circumstances indicates to anyone that RN has any position on this issue;
- (3) To see if the bill can be held in the Rules Committee (thereby forcing suspension, requiring a two-thirds vote and possibly permitting defeat of the measure).

I am to call Les tonight for a report.

September 12, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN

FROM: Harlow and Ellsworth & Moston

Ry phoned

Before receeming

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cull necessary.

Senator Dirksen has asked that you telephone him to discuss a possible meeting, which Dirksen requests, with the Minister of Defense of Indonesia. The Senator suggests September 26, 27 or 28 - dates quite impossible on your schedule.

In any case, it is evident that a meeting with this Minister would not be desirable before the election and that the Senator's request will have to be declined.

Nevertheless, we suggest that it is advisable for you to telephone rather than intermediaries doing it in your behalf.

In addition to expressing regrets at your inability to meet with the Minister, these other subjects might be raised in order to mute the Senator's disappointment:

(1) The legislative schedule for the balance of the session, as agreed yesterday between the bipartisan leaders and the President.

- (2) The status and prospects of the Fortas appointment.
- (3) The status and prospects of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.
- (4) The Agnew press conference in Rochester hopefully correcting the "soft on Communism" matter, plus your position that we will take the position with the press that this closes the matter.
- (5) A mention of Dirksen's polls showing him at some 65% to 70% in Illinois.

RIN

September 10, 1968

MEMORANDUM

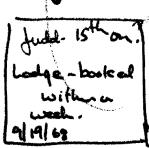
TO:

Bob Haldeman Bob Ellsworth

John Whitaker

FROM:

RN



With regard to Czechoslovakia and Eastern European blocs of votes -- our speakers are making a mistake in not hitting it harder - and in effect letting the Administration sweep it under the rug. This is a place where the Administration is extremely vulnerable and while I am and will continue to take a high line --Surrogate candidates and others should zero in on this very hard. A concentrated, organized attempt should be made to get every forum -- Polish, Urkanian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Estonian, etc. and send Nixon speakers in who can take the hard line on all of this.

We have not done this yet.

I want a report on this by the end of the week.

The kind of fellows to use for these Eastern European forums -- you don't use a Hatfield, etc. You use John Lodge and Walter Judd rather than send them to colleges and fund-raising things. I want an all out offensive, very carefully organized and get every speaker we can into these things.

I need to know what they are doing with regard to programming these people. I think it would be very good to get Lodge and Judd on the road in the next few weeks particularly since Humphrey is hitting RN on this hard line. We have to make an asset out of this.

.. .

PAGE 32 NEW YORK TIMES REAGAN, IN TALKS, IS COOL TO TICKET

Aiding Local Republicans in Midwest, He Ignores Nixon

- Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, in a two-day dash into the Middle West, has dispensed his own brand of Republicanism, with barely a nod toward the national ticket.

In his first campaign swing out of California since the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach early last month, Governor Reagan devoted most of his time to stumping for local candidates in two conservative areas, northern Illinois and southern Ohio.

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CONFIDENTIAL_

September 10, 1968

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MEMOR ANDUM

TO:

Bob Haldeman

John Mitchell

FROM:

RN

RE:

Further reference to P.R. (I would like for you to give the substance of this memorandum to Garment, Shakespeare and Dick Moore.)

I do not, under any circumstances, want Trelevan, Garment, Shakespeare, et al, "to take it out on the P.R. types because they have the guts to object to some of the P.R. spots." This is their responsibility and I am glad they finally put in writing what I have been feeling for months.

In a nutshell, we have had far too many spots which are identified solely with RN. We have used RN speaking, RN's pictures, etc. This was all right in the primaries, but with RN's recognition factor now standing at 97% it simply doesn't make sense for us to continue to put on the "old time" PR of trying to get the public to know who RN is and to show that he is really quite a nice guy after all. I want at least 1/2 of the spots from now to be cartoons, vignettes, or other imaginative ideas which will make a graphic gutty presentation of an issue and then at the end surprise the audience with the news that RN is the man we have been talking about. The RN spots -- the spots with RN in them -- are easier to do and they

are "safe". However, from having looked at television the few times that I have since the convention, people are sick to death of having their favorite programs interrupted with a picture of the candidate's puss on it. Virtually all of the short spots should be ones without RN in them. They should be issue-oriented, designed to open up closed minds, to nudge the apathetic, to get the Wallace vote, for example. I can't tell you how strongly I feel on this issue. I know that Garment, Shakespeare and Trelevan will be deeply affronted that this issue has been raised. I think they have done an absolutely brilliant job up to this point, but they do not have all the wisdom in the world, and since I have been urging for months that we move now to spots without RN dominating them, and since finally I have seen the same kind of thinking come from apparently some pretty bright guys in the PR firm, I am now ordering new spots to be created immediately moving in this direction. If anybody wants to quit because I have ordered this that is just too bad. Our aim here is to win the election and not to massage people who, loyal as they have been and creative as they have been, may be missing the point on how really to present the RN issues in a more effective way. What Garment, Shakespeare and Trelevan have to realize is that we have passed through the primary period in which the goal was to present the "new RN" to the people. We are now in the issue period and I think it is time to give our creative guys in the agency a chance to be heard.

 $\label{eq:continuous} I \ \mbox{emphasize again that this is not a request ---}$ this is an order. Carry it out.

(A copy of this should go only to Haldeman and Mitchell -- the two of you are to follow through as you see fit in the most effective way to carry out what I have indicated.)