

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
36	7	n.d.	Memo	J. Parker to Charles Rhyne re: Listening posts and Speak to Nixon-Agnew Program status report, with attachments. 11 pages.
36	7	09/21/1968	Memo	Craig Truax to Charles Rhyne re: Status report of campaign as of September 20, with attached breakdown by state. 5 pages.
36	7	09/25/1968	Memo	Wuerthner to Citizen's Staff, RNC Staff, New York Staffs, Citizen's field operation and GOP Leaders re: progress report on enlisting 5 million volunteers, with attachments. 5 pages.
36	7	09/19/1968	Memo	Pat Hitt to Women for Nixon-Agnew re: October 19 being designated National Nixon-Agnew bumper strip day. 1 page.
36	7	10/09/1968	Other Document	Telegram: Simmons Fentress with Nixon re: Nixon finances. He says his net worth in 1967 was \$250,000, wants to know how it doubled since then. 1 page.
36	7	n.d.	Memo	Kevin Phillips to Len Garment re: Last four weeks strategy with appendix. 8 pages.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
36	7	n.d.	Memo	Kevin Phillips to Len Garment re: Wallace, HHH and the need for an RN second offensive. 4 pages.
36	7	10/07/1968	Memo	Rose Mary Woods to Haldeman re: turning down Duggan and St. Louis Invitation. 1 page.
36	7	n.d.	Memo	Herb Klein to Haldeman re: congratulatory call to Al Kaline. 1 page.
36	7	10/03/1968	Other Document	Rose Mary Woods transcription of telegram from Kermit Roosevelt re: finding jobs in Administration. 1 page.
36	7	10/09/1968	Memo	Rose Mary Woods to Nixon re: call from Gov. Rockefeller's office about Agnew's appearance at Conservative Party fundraising dinner, with attached Rockefeller telegram. 3 pages.
36	7	n.d.	Other Document	Draft of Nison's MT Governor Babcock endorsement tape. 1 page.
36	7	10/08/1968	Memo	Ellsworth to Haldeman re: plan for HHH to confront Nixon along the campaign trail to challenge him to a debate. 1 page.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
36	7	10/07/1968	Memo	Haldeman memorandum of conversation with Pat Hitt, regarding status of HHH campaign from inside informant. 4 pages.

MEMORANDUM

*Small
Summary.*

TO: Charles S. Rhyne
 FROM: J. Parker
 SUBJECT: Weekly Report

The first of a thousand Listening Posts was established in the Willard Hotel during this week. As a result of publicity generated in more than 12 newspaper articles, three radio stations and two television stations in the Washington, D.C. area more than 20 people per day have been recording messages to Mr. Nixon. Our goal of establishing 1,000 Listening Posts throughout the nation was commenced with a starter kit which is a complete "how to do it yourself" which has been mailed to three hundred state and county Citizens" and G.O.P. chairmen. To date, we have established 123 Listening Posts. In addition to this mail-out, we have sent starter kits to:

New York City	50
Westchester County, New York	50
Florida	50
Indiana	30
California	15
Tennessee	10

Our goal in the Speak to Nixon-Agnew Program was to conduct 39 programs by September 20; to date, we have conducted 42 programs in 23 states. The results from 26 of these programs have been an average of 23 column inches of text, six square inches of photographs for a total of 27 column inches. There was an average of 6 1/4 minutes of television, ten minutes of radio with 103 audience participation and 30 messages recorded per program.

We were able to furnish our own panelists which included three United States Senators, four governors, two lt. governors, four congressmen, a general, a distinguished author, 12 popular entertainers, 16 candidates for congress and two ambassadors.

Our 23 field representatives have established 116 Nixon Clubs, 4 mobile units and conducted 5 special ghetto programs -- in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and Detroit.

An examination of 21 of the 26 programs has resulted in 712 interviews audited which showed that 20% of those who spoke, spoke on law and order issues, 19.9% on domestic issues, 10.9% on fiscal policy, 31% on foreign policy and 18.4% on other issues.

To establish our community antenna television participation program, this effort when approved should result in the organization of 200 cable systems servicing more than 11 million voters with an unlimited number of cable casting hours.

The expenses for the above programs have averaged under \$400.

J. Parker

Spokane to Almond-Agland
SEPTEMBER 10 - 20

TOWNS REPORTED CITIES*

CITIES	POPULATION	NEWS COLLS.	TELEVISION	RADIO	AUDIENCE REVENUES
	SECURED EXCEPT (SOME)	TOT. G.M. PHOTO SA. TOTAL COLL.	BROADCAST SEC.	OTHER STES.	
39	42	176	9760 (2 3/4 hrs)	15,270 (4 1/4 hrs)	2700 770

AVERAGES, REPORTED CITIES*

[39	39	42	23	6	21	375 (6 1/2 min)	370 (10 min)	105	20
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September 21, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Charles S. Rhyne

FROM: Rodger Kesley

SUBJECT: Weekly Report

General Operation:

1. Expense reports were received from the fieldmen, processed, and approved. Their checks have been written and wired directly to them.
2. Received the signature machine and checked the security of its installation
3. Ordered and received continuous form stationery and printed envelopes to be used for Mr. Nixon's personal acknowledgement letters.
4. Established a system with the Controller's office for expediting expense checks
5. Contacted and obtained personalities to serve as panelists for our first 36 programs
6. Sample acknowledgement letters are presently being written and will be ready for approval shortly
7. Received air travel credit cards and business cards for fieldmen (additional cards are being ordered for new staff members)
8. Ordered letterhead, however, this has not been delivered due to a change in administrative personnel appearing on the letterhead
9. Had lock on the closet in Room 305 changed for security purposes
10. Received permission and obtained additional rooms for storage of tapes and other material -- Rooms 243 and 221

Page two
Memorandum to C.S.R.
September 21, 1968
Weekly Report

11. Hired additional staff, both volunteers (4) and salaried (3), to fill vacancies incurred by changes in personnel
12. Changed the physical layout of our offices to establish a more effecient operation
13. Presently having an intercom system installed for more effecient communication within our separate offices
14. Set up a schedule for weekly staff briefings

LISTENING POST ACTIVITY REPORT

Week Ending September 21, 1968
George F. Haney, Coordinator

The Listening Post program demonstrated its publicity-getting value last week when the first of 1,000 Posts to be established across the country was formally opened in the lobby of the Willard Hotel. Largely as a result of the publicity generated in a dozen newspaper articles and by newscasts on major radio and television stations in the Washington, D. C. area, more than 20 people per day have been coming to the Willard to record a message to Mr. Nixon. When our goal of 1,000 Listening Posts throughout the nation is reached, and if each of these Posts is even half as successful as our first, at least 10,000 messages per day will be pouring into Nixon-Agnew Headquarters from Listening Posts around the country.

To facilitate the establishment of these Listening Posts by local volunteers, Starter Kits, complete with "how to do it" instructions, samples, and display materials, have been sent to all State Chairmen of Citizens organizations, all Nixon-Agnew Clubs, and to another 300 individuals suggested by the State Chairmen. The Chairmen are currently being solicited for thousands of additional names of people they feel might be willing and able to set-up and operate a Nixon-Agnew Listening Post.

The geographical distribution of the Listening Post Kits sent out so far is fairly even throughout the 50 states, except for the following concentrations:

New York City	50
Westchester County, N. Y.	50
Florida	50
Indiana	30
California	15
North Carolina	10
Tennessee	10

George F. Haney

September 20, 1968

MEMORANDUM

To: Jay Parker

From: Arthur J. Collingsworth

Subject: Participation Politics Issue Feed Back

An examination of 712 taped interviews during the last week has resulted in the following issue feed back. The sample considered includes interviews from twenty-one cities in twenty different states and the District of Columbia.

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>PER CENTAGE</u>
LAW AND ORDER	
GENERAL	5.5%
CRIME AND FEAR	3.7%
CAMPUS UNREST	1.7%
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND RIOTS	3.7%
LAW ENFORCEMENT AND POLICE	4.4%
SUB TOTAL	20.0%
FISCAL POLICY	
GENERAL	3.3%
INFLATION	2.3%
BALANCED BUDGET	1.3%
TAXES	3.0%
OTHER	1.0%
SUB TOTAL	10.9%
DOMESTIC	
GENERAL RACIAL, URBAN AND DOMESTIC	5.5%
RACE RELATIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS	3.0%
URBAN PROBLEMS	1.3%
POVERTY PROBLEMS	2.0%
SOCIAL WELFARE	1.7%
OTHER	3.7%
SUB TOTAL	19.9%
FOREIGN POLICY	
GENERAL	7.8%
VIETNAM	16.2%
PUEBLO	1.7%
FOREIGN AID	1.0%
ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT	1.0%
COMMUNISM	2.0%
CZECHSLAVAKIA	1.3%
SUB TOTAL	31.0%

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>PER CENTAGE</u>
OTHER	
GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION	6.6%
PROBLEMS OF YOUTH	2.0%
DRAFT	4.4%
LOWER VOTING AGE	4.4%
LABOR MANAGEMENT RELATIONS	1.0%
SUB TOTAL	18.4%
GRAND TOTAL	99.3%

TO: J. PARKER, DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF PARTICIPATION POLITICS

FROM: TOM GHERARDI, COORDINATOR, SPEAK TO NIXON-AGNEW

REPORT OF OPERATIONS, SEPTEMBER 10 -20

From the first, it has seemed appropriate to measure the success of the entire Speak to Nixon-Agnew project by four yardsticks: (1) the "presence" of our programs in diverse population centers throughout the United States and among all of the social and political segments represented in those centers, (2) the publicity that each individual program generates for our candidates and for the proposition that "Nixon and Agnew listen to the people," (3) the participation of voters in our unique program format, and (4) the costs of the results achieved. I am pleased to be able to report that our first ten days of programs have surpassed even our fondest hopes for success in presence, publicity, participation, and cost.

1. "Presence" Thirty-nine Speak to Nixon-Agnew programs had been scheduled in thirty-nine cities. Forty-two were conducted. Popular and press attraction of the programs is detailed below, but it should be noted that citizens, state and local political leaders, and panelists have been phoning to express their great interest in our programs as means of overcoming the disappointment and apathy that generally characterize the cities in which the candidates are not scheduled to make personal appearances during the campaign.

Very large cities To compensate for the dilution of "presence" that is to be expected in sprawling metropolises, special programs (including mobile listening posts, man-on-the-street interviews, and radio telethons) have been used in New York, Chicago, Miami, and Los Angeles. Similar variations are planned for Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and other cities. Washington, D.C. is being used as a "control" area, programs already being conducted in locations as diverse as the luxurious Tyson's Corners Shopping Center in Virginia and Northwest 14th Street in the District.

Campuses Campus "presence" seems essential to overcoming student apathy, antipathy, or reluctance to associate with any candidate. We have developed, and on September 23rd will begin to implement, a twenty-five-campus Speak to Nixon-Agnew tour that will be aimed at generating campus press and participation as well as at establishing RN presence in academia.

Ghetto areas The special problems encountered in establishing a presence in black population areas are being circumvented to some extent by what we have denominated "liquid" taping programs - those that take any size or shape necessary to bring RN's concern for black sentiment home to the ghetto resident in an appropriate manner. Washington, D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York are cities where such "liquid" programs as "black is beautiful" street-corner taping sessions, etc., are presently in operation. More are planned.

Foreign countries Through the good offices of former Ambassador Farland, Speak to Nixon-Agnew programs have reached into South and Central America, where resident United States citizens, as well as concerned Latins, have been given the opportunity to "Speak to Mr. Nixon!" More foreign programs will be arranged whenever possible.

2. Publicity The press, radio, and TV coverage of our programs has been generated exclusively through the efforts of our field personnel (Participation, Politics Representatives). It has been superb. The theme "Nixon and Agnew are listening to the people" has reached prime newspaper pages, prime radio and TV time, in every section of the country during our first ten days. The "column inches" and "photo area" statistics presented in the accompanying charts, though amazing in light of the lack of media experience of our field men, still do not tell the whole story: for those inches often represent front page, editorial page, or feature page coverage. (A scrap-book of news clippings is being assembled and will be available by September 24th.) Radio coverage has ranged from brief community calendar notices to ninety-minute talkathons featuring our field man or panelist. At least one program received live coverage,

while many others were taped by local stations and rebroadcast. In all radio time for the programs reported here amounts to four hours, 15 minutes. TV coverage of our programs has been very good. Feature reports broadcast during early and late evening newscasts make up the bulk of the 2 hours, 45 minutes of TV time reported here.

It should be noted that all media coverage figures included in this report are conservative, and are based upon clippings or broadcast time estimates of our field men. A clipping or monitoring service might prove a wise investment, since we presently have no way to keep track of coverage received after our field man leaves town immediately after his program.

3. Participation Participation is only a partial index of a program's success, but the attendance of voters, celebrities, and panelists at Speak to Nixon -Agnew events has been outstanding in all but three cities thus far.

Audience One hundred to one-hundred-fifty persons is the number we originally fixed upon as optimum for an audience participation event of the "Speak to" variety. Local circumstances, including the size and location of the meeting hall, as well as its exposure to pedestrian traffic, influence the actual audience size for each program. Thus, our average audience of 105 persons is well within the range of our optimum audience goals.

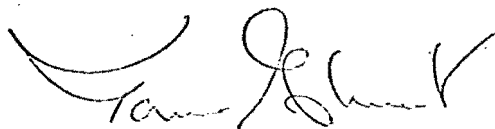
Celebrities and panelists It became apparent early in our project that we would have to attract celebrities and panelists ourselves. Literally hundreds of man-hours have been consumed by our own Coordinators in our effort to secure distinguished or popular personages to "front" our events. Thus far three U.S. Senators or former Senators, four Governors or former Governors, four Congressmen or former Congressmen, a General, a distinguished author, a dozen popular entertainers or sports figures, and many local officeholders and candidates.

and candidates have given their assistance.

Taped messages Our average of thirty taped messages recorded per program indicates some success in overcoming the timidity with which many persons approach a microphone. With the average message lasting almost two and one half minutes, programs average seventy-five taping minutes, plus introductory time, pauses, etc., or just over one and one half hours.

4. Costs Preliminary estimates indicate that each city "Speak to" is costing between three and four hundred dollars in all. No costs have been incurred for advertising or securing media coverage; the greatest bulk of our costs being living and travelling expenses of our field men and panelists.

In closing this report, I want to acknowledge the excellent support of Rodger B. Kesley throughout this period. Although he is "Coordinator of the Response Center" by title, he has been indispensable as troubleshooter and resident expert on planning and promoting "Speak to Nixon-Agnew."



Thomas G. Gherardi
Coordinator, Speak to Nixon-Agnew

TO: CHARLES RHYNE, CHAIRMAN
FROM: CRAIG TRUAX
DATE: 21 September 1968
SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT AS OF SEPTEMBER 20

General Comment

This week has been spent pushing problem areas. I have urged our field representatives in the strongest terms to establish a working relationship with the New York Co-ordinators not only to get better results, but to insure that the National Campaign does not appear to be confused or two-headed. This will be worked out. I am also phoning each regular State Chairman on a courtesy-touch base format. Reaction good so far.

The two big complaints are: (a) No cash on hand at the State level as yet. This, because of the late convention and contest, is natural. I am encouraging them to use their credit or borrow funds. (b) The allegations of poor performance by our material supplier. This will resolve itself.

On the favorable side, the "Wallace" influence in the Northern states is not unduly detracting our forces from doing work for Nixon and from remembering that HHH is the opponent. In the deep Southern region, our leadership is taking a generally positive attitude and is not trying to wrestle with Wallace on his terms (Negro).

During the coming week, we should put heat under state level leadership by:

1. Sending a letter from RN to all county chairmen in the U.S. The letter would brag on state leadership, and suggest that we are pleased that state leadership has gotten the campaign down to the county level.
2. Send a letter from you, the candidate or Mr. Mitchell, to every precinct committee member in the United States, bragging on their state and county leadership -- and enclosing a small pamphlet outlining our campaign theme and programs.

This is mechanically possible. Lists can be gotten within 72 hours via a request from Mitchell's office or by Ray Bliss. This move would hold state and county leadership responsible for moving programs downward toward the people -- and get them off the business of having paperwork flow upward to create a good impression. The voters at the National Headquarters level are already in the "committed" category.

The States:

ALABAMA No serious problems reported. Have directed field man to set up key people and communications system on standby basis so that we can move if Wallace fumbles.

ALASKA No field report. Our man will not go there unless he is directed by you or Mr. Mitchell's office.

ARIZONA No specific report this week. Bob King is scheduling it for next week. Will work with Dick Kleindienst.

ARKANSAS Campaign headquarters opened Friday this week. Celebrity Tex Ritter present. Ran into a Feely-Wheeler material problem, but it is resolved. Our field man will report fully on Monday. No problem reported.

CALIFORNIA Bob King doing a good job. New York apprised of all important developments. A northern and southern "executive director" have been employed. State is being organized at intermediate and county levels at least on paper. Immediate dollar investment is needed. Our man pushing specific programs such as clubs, etc. All personalities are talking with each other.

COLORADO: No specific report. Wes Phillips will go in next week. His main problem has been Washington state.

CONNECTICUT:

DELAWARE: No problems. Clayton Harrison still in hospital with ulcer condition. I can report better when I have talked with him about the Wilmington area. He is a man of good judgment.

D. C. No real activity yet, although a full time executive director is expected to be appointed next week. The major problem is money. Urge UCNA National Headquarters talk on special project to make the Caiotl City look like Nixon City. Urge an immediate meeting on this with local leadership. If asked, I will make the pitch, and give the follow-up push.

FLORIDA: Factional problems not serious because people are working. Programs moving at Congressional District and county level. Our man reports outstanding convention bills are making a cash-on-the-line operation necessary in Dade County. Strom Thurmond is going to speak in northern Florida. Okay, but don't overdo it. The big vote in there is more moderate. We are stressing organization of all ethnic groups.

GEORGIA: Activity in urban areas. Not much in rural counties. The state has asked for Agnew. If they will buy him a TV hookup, I recommend a visit. We will push for statewide contacts in all communities via trade and professional groups, etc. The switch of key Democrats, of course, helped. Please have NY shop give sufficient thought to the advertising appeal in Georgia and similar states. Our leadership is awaiting guidance. Our UCMA PR shop is working on this. A statewide seminar is scheduled to explain all UCNA programs to regional and county leaders.

HAWAII: No report. Our man will not go there unless directed. Bob King does need name of Fong's top man there on campaign.

IDAHO: Phillips reports state okay. Has it on schedule for next week.

- ILLINOIS: No adverse reports. Urgent that materials and programs be pushed into smaller downstate towns and counties to stir up maximum election day strength. There is good co-ordination reported between the state and national campaigns. Lindsey is coming in. We will tie a Negro activity event to this on the theme of Nixon's black capitalism approach. I defer analysis to Dick Wylie.
- INDIANA: Reports good. Programs beginning to move. State chairman is running thin on money. He has a statewide TV budget of about \$100 per week. Barely got it on the line for this coming week's schedule. He is pleading for speakers to hit major cities to raise money at \$50 and \$100 dinners. Please give priority to this. Have we an issue survey on the Lake industrial belt? Harry Andrews, WIBC Radio farm program director in Indianapolis wants to help, and probably should be called by the NY shop. He might touch base with other such media men in the midwest for us. A survey taken for the Saturday Evening Post in Vanderburg County (Evansville) is favorable. Except for 1960, it has followed national trend since 1900.
- IOWA: No problem noted. A representative of Governor candidate Bob Ray is confident and says the campaign will be unified.
- KANSAS: No adverse reports. Sketchy information. Will check out completely.
- KENTUCKY: Our man will go in this week. My info only hearsay. Governor Nunn in charge.
- LOUISIANA: Relationship okay with regulars. We will set up through trade groups, etc., a complete statewide group to take advantage of any break we get. Defer to Fred LaRue.
- Maine: Morale good and response good. Women and Youth programs moving. County set-ups in progress. They are using a "listen-in" approach at fairs.
- MARYLAND: The lateness of a decision on a chairman generated several do-it-yourself groups. They are pulling back together. Full time executive director appointed. Critical shortage of materials at community level. This corrected. Once again, Feely-Wheeler a block. Suggest Agnew host meeting with all key Maryland leaders soon and pour out his heart: "I have to be all over and you must do this. I need you. Do a job we can all be proud of." In terms of organization, Mrs. Gore has top position in line authority. McCormick is enthusiastic, and will leave guidance from John Seney, an experienced man.
- MASSACHUSETTS: Reports are astonishingly good. Volpe is taking care of home base and Senator Quinlan is a fireball. State campaign offices take three hotel floors. Seven other headquarters being set up. Regional directors being named. Stress will be on personal canvassing activity. Their goal is to sign up 100,000 volunteers by October 14. This example should be used in the weekly bulletin.
- MICHIGAN: Natives restless by delay in formally selecting the state campaign leader. No real problem in view of abundant talent within state. I have been asked to meet with all concerned on Monday p.m. in Lansing and will do.
- MINNESOTA: Good shape. Rumor has it that the Minnesota poll this Sunday (22 September) will be encouraging. Campaign well co-ordinated.

- MISSISSIPPI: Defer to Fred LaRue. Our men are in, and our relationship is good. Once again, the need is to prepare a team in every county and town to take advantage of any break on the Wallace situation.
- MISSOURI: Heavy emphasis being placed on local and Congress-level campaigns which is a plus. Furor over our Citizen Chairman's endorsement of local Democratic candidates restricted to Kansas City area. No reports of serious factionalism. Urge use of top speakers to back up Nixon-Agnew visits. Best team would be John and Barbara Eisenhower. Danger: Once again, we may underrate the weight of St. Louis vote. Must move into that city with labor, Negro, civic leaders, etc.
- MONTANA: Okay. Small arguments resolving themselves. More dope next week.
- NEBRASKA: No adverse reports. Will have fieldman in next week.
- NEVADA: Good reports on Agnew visit and party unity. Bob King stuck with California this week, but will hit Nevada during the coming week.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE: Reports okay. No real factions. They say the Nixon Club movement has taken hold and is in good shape.
- NEW JERSEY: Okay. Skidmore, Case and regulars working together. All programs being pushed. Some money in sight. Meeting of Negro leaders from 11 cities held Friday, Sept. 10. Our man covered. Has Case been called by RN? The Washington Star said he had not in a Sunday, Sept. 15 column. Also named were Senators Pearson and Cooper. Check.
- NEW MEXICO: Okay. Delegation fight not going to do permanent damage. Romans and Mardian went in as a team. We need more of this. The new state chairman is good but will need someone to put up money so that he can show them that they have a state chairman. More details later.
- NEW YORK: John Gilhooley's big problem is money so that he can show action and move materials. Most of the pre-convention groups are willing to work within the recommended framework. If there are no objections, I want to get invited into New York this week. Important that our office gain credentials as a supporting team for their efforts, and not as G-2 operation. I will set up with them to mobilize outstate New York, without neglecting the city. Same in Pennsylvania. Will only go to New York if you approve. A small problem relating to a field man was resolved.
- NORTH CAROLINA: No problems. All leaders working together. Reports encouraging. In one area where they felt no one would take a Nixon bumper sticker because of Wallace, they got a shock. The things were in demand and they have asked for supply. This is being interpreted down there as a resurgence of RN strength and feeling is that RN now running ahead of Wallace with HHHH a poor third.
- NORTH DAKOTA: No report of activity. Partly our fault. We will push. My intelligence is weak here and it may be that they are doing a good job.
- OHIO: State Committee and Citizens (Sen. Grey) are running a merged operation with

a common pot. This has worked well in past years. Shortage (absence) of material in counties reported. State chairman has no money in the bank and must raise it quick. A split of the \$1,000 dinner there will go to Ohio Citizens. Good! The crusader group is sworn in, but has a few outstanding bills. Without offending them, I suggest that someone might help pay them off. This would be a good investment, and a fair thing to do.

OKLAHOMA: No word of problems. I am weak on current intelligence. Will correct this but had more pressing work in this region.

OREGON: Excellent reports of Party activity. Independent survey published by the OREGONIAN has Nixon 47%, HHH 26%, Wallace 8% and Undecided, 19%. This is a gain. July read: Nixon 44%, HHH 26%, Wallace 7%, and undecided 23%. I phoned this result to Herb Klein.

PENNSYLVANIA: It is together. Immediate state level money shortage is temporarily relieved by borrowed funds. County morale and confidence high. The state committee meeting of September 13 was one of unity. Most money will be checked to Dave Maxwell, State Campaign Coordinator. This is OK but they must regularly fund traditional organization activities such as regular mail contact with the 18,000 member precinct committee, etc. Scott and Scranton have top public respect with voters. George Bloom must be consulted. His knowledge is extensive, his judgment excellent, and his motives great. He can settle any internal problem. The campaign will have to use at least \$500,000 credit (the sooner the better). And, money will continue to be the problem. The year's registration period is over, and the GOP slightly increased its small lead. The figures would be good for national distribution.

RHODE ISLAND: Help needed. Started operations on \$4000 borrowed money against a man's house. Governor's office given good rating for cooperation. Will personally assist. My information sketchy.

SOUTH CAROLINA: All reports are that Strom is doing it. I defer to him. Will get more info for next week.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Fieldman Phillips enthusiastic. Says the campaign is moving with a great chairman.

TENNESSEE: Well coordinated, and programs moving. They may have Democrat Negroes with NAACP credentials who will come over to us. We will follow up. Same problem with Feely-Wheeler.

TEXAS: No specifics but good general report. Am getting our field man to meet with Pete O'Donnell whom he hasn't met. Pete feels that Wallace is clipping HHH, not us.

UTAH: Generally good reports but none from on the scene. Bob King will be there in next week.

VERMONT: Only reports are of good women's activity. Will check out completely.

VIRGINIA: Good reports. Campaign leadership is a team. Movement well underway to develop an organization in all counties. State chairman Carpenter very savvy and working with the Negro whose registration has tripled since 1960. Good precinct work in progress in northern Virginia. (suburbs.) Several Democrat rifts in local areas reported. However, put this state on key list.

WASHINGTON: Lack of activity being corrected UCMA Phillips and New York's McGee went in Friday (19th) as a team. King County is rolling with a fireball county chairman. Fieldman will give full details of situation but this info not available at time of this report. State Chairman Gummy Johnson and all others were involved in planning meeting.

WEST VIRGINIA: Someone let them believe they were being written off. We believe this is corrected, but extra attention should be given NOW by all concerned. We do not want to be in the back seat anywhere. Check funding. Can we get a few natives to write a check to the Citizen's Committee? An executive director has been hired. They smell a state win, despite large Democrat registration edge.

WISCONSIN: One of best coordinated and funded states. No problems reported. They work from mutual funds. Ody Fish has checked in about \$25,000 to start Citizens and they are free to raise extra at the community level. If speaker requests come in from SE industrial corner of the state, please give priority.

WYOMING: The arrangement with Governor Hathaway on Citizens is OK. No problems.

Volunteers for NIXON-AGNEW

A DIVISION OF THE UNITED CITIZENS FOR NIXON - AGNEW

WILLARD HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004

TELEPHONE: (202) 783-1560

SENATOR HIRAM FONG
Honorary Chairman

September 25, 1968

J. J. WUERTHNER JR.
Director

MEMORANDUM

TO: Citizens' Staff -- Willard Hotel; Republican National Committee staff, Nixon-Agnew New York staffs; Citizens' Field Operation; and GOP Leaders.

FROM: J.J. Wuerthner, Jr.

This is a progress report on the enlistment of the 5 million volunteers program to which Richard Nixon has assigned highest campaign priority.

Later this week processing will start on more than 250,000 names and addresses to store them into the computer and begin preparation of the final RN personal letter to be mailed a few days before November 5th.

All divisions are requested to send names and addresses promptly -- address them to me at Room 340, Willard Hotel. So far, names and addresses have been received only from Nixon-Agnew Clubs, Secretaries for Nixon-Agnew and Doctors for Nixon-Agnew. We prefer names typed, but can receive and process them from address plate strips, letters, cards, or in any other manner where the name and address is legible.

During the weekend we opened up a new Willard Hotel wing on the 5th floor to receive and process mail returns which are now averaging in the thousands with each mail delivery in the form of Commitment Cards, LIFE Magazine ad coupons, and letters which RN requested in the LIFE ad. We are now ready to use unlimited numbers of volunteers from the D.C., Virginia and Maryland areas for opening, sorting, reading, processing, addressing, stuffing and mailing of replies within, 24 hours of receipt here in Washington. Volunteer contact is Hank Hamilton, Room 339 and phone 347-8847 or Betty Lantz, phone 347-8864.

Citizens' divisions might consider lending us staff members to help in the initial reading of the letters and sorting into appropriate categories for answer, and in development of suitable replies to some of the letters.

Enclosed is mailing going out today to Republican County Chairmen and Vice Chairmen, plus other interested GOP Groups, on the all-day October 5th Nixon-Agnew Volunteer Day. Staff assistance will obviously be needed on this program as the October 5th date approaches.

We invite participation in this exciting program led by Mrs. Eisenhower by every Citizens' operation. Ask us for extra copies of the memo for circulation to your key people across the nation.

In the meantime, send us the name and address of every voter you know committed to our cause plus your lists of campaigners for NIXON-AGNEW.

J. J. Wuerthner Jr.

Volunteers for NIXON-AGNEW

A DIVISION OF THE UNITED CITIZENS FOR NIXON - AGNEW

WILLARD HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004

TELEPHONE: (202) 783-1560

September 23, 1968

SENATOR HIRAM FONG
Honorary Chairman

J. J. WUERTHNER JR.
Director

MEMO TO: Republican County Chairmen and Vice Chairmen
Citizens' Leaders, YR's, GOP Women, TARS

FROM: J. J. Wuerthner, Jr., Director
Volunteers for Nixon-Agnew

Saturday, October 5th, will mark the start of the stretch drive to victory with a nationwide NIXON-AGNEW VOLUNTEERS DAY campaign. Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower has agreed to act as National Chairman of this all-day 50-state effort to sign up supporters for the Nixon-Agnew ticket. Mrs. Eisenhower will hold a press event earlier in that week to initiate the program.

We are asking GOP organization workers to seek out and sign up committed volunteers of all political persuasions during Saturday, October 5th-- exactly one month before Election Day.

The operating plan is simple. It is suggested that campaigners set up card tables outside shopping centers, downtown street corners and supermarkets or any location where there is heavy traffic of people on Saturday. Then sign up supporters of the Nixon-Agnew ticket at these locations. Print your own Commitment Cards (sample attached). Place the signed Commitment Cards into boxes and ship express collect to me at Room #340, Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. 20004.

Teen-Age Republicans in your area will call you and offer to supply volunteer help and free coffee for this endeavor. Some of the TARS organizations also have coffee booths suitable for quick set-ups in front of supermarkets or shopping areas. They will contribute the coffee at no expense to your organization. TARS were highly successful with tests of this "blitz" technique in two states last weekend.

Also, Young Republicans may contact you. And, leaders of the local Nixon-Agnew Clubs are anxious to provide volunteer workers to you for this program.

Volunteer names will be stored in a computer and Richard Nixon will respond to each in a personal way before Election Day.

This is a vital campaign effort and can be helpful in enlisting the 5 million volunteers requested by RN as the high priority people-to-people goal of his campaign.

Volunteers for NIXON-AGNEW

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Volunteers for NIXON-AGNEW

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WILLARD HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004

TELEPHONE: (202) 783-1560

SENATOR HIRAM FONG
Honorary Chairman

September 22, 1968

J. J. WUERTHNER JR.
Director

URGENT MEMORANDUM

TO: County Chairmen and Vice Chairmen
Republican Organizations

FROM: J. J. Wuerthner

A highly sophisticated computer system for storing and retrieving voter information is now being designed to process the 5 million volunteers goal which Dick Nixon has given highest campaign priority.

You were notified August 29th about this program by Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss and you may have seen the LIFE ad last week on this unprecedented volunteer effort.

Dick Nixon will express his appreciation to every volunteer worker through a personalized and localized letter just before election day, using the high speed typing facilities of the computer.

In the meantime, I'm sure you want to include in the computer storage the names and addresses of GOP officers and workers in your county, plus contributors lists, and names of other interested voters who are working in our cause.

Remember, every voter's name you send us will receive the RN letter before election day.

May we have your lists, please?

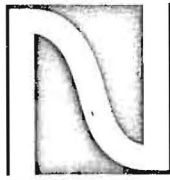
Cordially,



J. J. Wuerthner
Director

P. S. Address your lists as follows:

J. J. Wuerthner
Room #340-A
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C. 20004



F.Y.S.

WOMEN FOR NIXON

Mrs. Patricia Reilly Hitt, National Co-Chairman,
Nixon For President Committee and Director of Women's Activities

September 19, 1968

TO: WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW, ALL LEVELS

FROM: PAT HITT

October 19 has been designated as NATIONAL NIXON-AGNEW BUMPER STRIP DAY!

We have been asked to take the lead in this dramatic project involving all phases of the Nixon-Agnew Campaign.

As soon as possible, get together with the leadership of: United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew, Youth for Nixon-Agnew, your Women for Nixon-Agnew, the local GOP leadership, Young Republicans, Federated Republican Womens Clubs, TARs, etc., and plan the project for your area. Enlist as many volunteers to help as you can--since October 19 is a Saturday it will be ideal for pre-teen, teenage and college-age youth, as well as for adults.

Set up teams to cover the parking lots of all the shopping centers (or football stadiums where games are scheduled), from 9:30 or 10:00 a.m. until 6:00 or 7:00 p.m. (or whatever time is best for your area). As shoppers get in or out of their cars, have someone ask, "May I put a Nixon bumper-strip on your car?" If the answer is yes, do it for them. (Those not applied then probably never will be and we can't waste them.) If the answer is no, say, "Thank you, anyway" and move on.

Bumper strips are seen by hundreds of drivers every day and are tremendous advertising for our candidates. The impact of a sudden explosion of bumper-strips on automobiles all over the nation at the same time could well be the most dramatic moment of the campaign. This will only be possible if we enlist the help and support of all elements in the campaign.

We are asking you to start the planning and preparations for October 19--NATIONAL NIXON-AGNEW BUMPER STRIP DAY!

One word of advice: Be sure that you have plenty of bumper strips on hand for that day. They must be ordered from the catalogue and paid for in advance. Allow plenty of time for delivery! All of you working together can guarantee that the supply will be there.

1726 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone a.c. 202-783-4201



TELEX SERVICE

(Handwritten initials)

V Andrews

DEA981 M CB422 DPR PD TDC PWS NEWYORK 9 525P CDT 1968 OCT 9 PM 8 58
SIMMONS FENTRESS, WITH NIXON
HOLIDAY INN MOLINE ILL

FOR NATION'S NIXON STORY: RE HIS FINANCES: IN THE SUMMER OF
1967 NIXON LISTED HIS NET WORTH FOR US, PLACED IT AT AROUND
250,000, AND CALLED HIMSELF A "QUARTER MILLIONAIRE." WOULD
LIKE TO KNOW HOW HE ACCOUNTS FOR THE DOUBLING OF HIS ASSETS
IN SOME 16 MONTHS
PARKER TIME INC NEWYORK

Done.

TO: Len Garment
FROM: Kevin Phillips
RE: Last Four Weeks' Strategy

file
Len
Carry out
note
page 5
Idols

I) RN Contemporary Position. RN is very far ahead of HHH, perhaps to the extent indicated by the Gallup Poll (15%). This vast lead is a product of the decline of liberalism, the rise of George Wallace and the breakup of the Democratic party. Wallace's boom has torn away blue-collar, rural and Southern Democratic strength, moreover he has come on so strongly that many Northern moderates have moved to RN as the only plausible alternative in this year of conservative protest. The chief casualty is the non-charismatic HHH.

On a regional basis, RN is solid in the West, Rocky Mountains and Midwest. He is far ahead in the Northeast, but likely to fade somewhat if HHH can stage his expected mini-recovery. RN is also ahead in the Border, but not by too much because of Wallace strength. As a result of Wallace strength, RN and Wallace are neck and neck in the Peripheral South, while the Deep South is firmly in Wallace's corner.

Broken down by candidates, my present geopolitical estimate is:

Wallace: Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee

HHH: Rhode Island and the District of Columbia

RN: Everything Else

II) Trend. The above situation is highly unstable. HHH and George Wallace are very unlikely to hold this present position viz one another (HHH - 28%; Wallace - 21%). Wallace must either advance still farther, probably shattering the Democratic party, or he must fade as HHH stages a mini-recovery (such an HHH advance would erode Wallace by pushing Nixon-leaning Wallace voters back to RN as the contest re-emerges as one between RN and HHH). I believe that an HHH mini-recovery is much more likely albeit I think it will relate more to fear of Wallace-LeMay than actual HHH appeal. In such an event, RN will gain in the Border and Outer South (from Wallace) and slip in the Northeast (to HHH). But this change should not be on too large a scale. My projection for November, allowing for an HHH mini-recovery and Wallace slippage, is as follows:

Wallace: Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana,
Arkansas, and South Carolina (?)
Humphrey: D. C., Rhode Island, Massachusetts and
Hawaii (?)
RN: Everything Else

We are presently way ahead in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Connecticut----an HHH mini-recovery would close the gap, but not enough for HHH to win. On the other hand, HHH's recuperation and Wallace's slippage should push RN-leaning Wallace voters back to RN in states like Texas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

III) Tactics:

1) Scheduling-Tour-Budget: The states to emphasize are those in which we can expect a) RN fade to HHH (New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts) and b) RN pick-up from Wallace (Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina). Both types of states will be close, but for different reasons. On one hand, while contemporary polls put RN ahead in New York and Connecticut by leads of near landslide proportions, RN's ultimate margin of victory is not likely to be more than 4-6%. On the other hand, although polls presently put RN behind in some of the peripheral Southern states, ultimate slippage of Wallaceites to RN should produce a string of RN victories. By and large, these two groups are the key states, however, Ohio and Missouri, two mixed-pattern states, should also be stressed.

Given the present levels of RN strength, as well as any now-conceivable trend, California, Illinois, Wisconsin and New Jersey are safe for RN and do not require the same emphasis as the other battlegrounds.

2) Impetus - Attention must be given to creating a "second wave" RN surge after October 15 so that huge crowds and increased re-alignment issue-fanning will give RN a November 1 crest. Then a few days of statesmanship and rest and an election eve appearance.

3) Ideology: This is a conservative year; the conservative course followed so far remains entirely suitable. The fulcrum of re-alignment is the law and order/Negro socio-economic revolution syndrome, and RN should continue to emphasize crime, decentralization of federal social programming, and law and order. It will be necessary to trend into some positive programming as well as negative criticism, however, the programming should be consonant with non-disruption of the essentially negative coalition backing RN. Thus, there are situations - Vietnam is one - regarding which non-specificity is desirable.

a) Positive Themes

Detailed crime prevention schemes, rural aid, job re-training, education (school construction, pre-kindergarten education), bloc grants, historic and scenic preservation, federal-state tax-sharing, cost-of-living Social Security, Preventicare (medical inspection centers), tax incentives for urban rebuilding, slum clean-up aids.

b) Negative Themes

See accompanying memorandum

4) Vietnam: No articulate or definitive position should be taken viz the war in Vietnam; any such position would help Wallace or HHH by sloughing doves or hawks whereas the lack of an ideological position helps make RN a rallying point for a cross-section of voters disgusted with the war and our policy with regard thereto. HHH's new position of (qualified) support for a bombing halt is no particular menace; it merely underscores his own indecision and fluidity. HHH should be continuously linked to LBJ policy and policymaking.

RN should attack the underlying roots of many voters' discontent: U. S. over-involvement around the globe. There is a growing isolationism on both the Right and Left, stimulated by the faux pas of Vietnam, and this isolationism can be appealed to with generalities along the lines of "The U. S. can't be the world's policeman" or "We must get our Allies to fight their own battles----and begin to de-Americanize the Vietnamese war." The electorate is growing increasingly isolationist in the hope of avoiding any further Vietnams, and RN can harp on promising to avoid such cul de sacs and entanglements, something HHH is not free to do.

RN must paint himself as a responsible, experienced peacemaker in the Eisenhower-Korea vein, labeling HHH as an architect of past war policy and implying that the Wallace-LeMay team is inexperienced and trigger-happy.

5) Negroes - RN should continue to pitch his mini-campaign to the Negroes with the white electorate principally in mind. He should continue to stress how law and order is needed and desired by Negroes at least as much as by whites.

6) Anti-Wallace: No specific and national anti-Wallace campaign should be run. First of all, Wallace's great present strength and plausibility is a plus for RN outside the South

because of the number of blue-collar Democrats who have been weaned away from HHH. Granted that Wallace's present plausibility endangers RN victories in the Peripheral South, it is simultaneously massacring HHH in the Great Lakes and Northeast. Wallace should be undermined only in certain specific ways.

Wallace's social stances should not be attacked, nor should RN identify with Rockefeller-Javits-Lindsay type derogations of Wallace as a racist or crypto-Fascist. Conservatives torn between RN and Wallace dislike such Establishmentarian anti-Wallace innuendo. In NY, the Wallace forces are already trying to identify RN with Rockefeller, Javits and Lindsay.

Fortunately, the selection of General LeMay gives RN his key tool with which to erode Wallace - the Wallace-LeMay ticket can be portrayed as inexperienced and trigger-happy. Trigger-happy imagery undercut the appeal of Goldwater's social conservatism in 1964 and it will do so again. The obvious theme is:

"A team that will talk about running cars over American citizens and about bombing a country back to the stone age....this is a team that cannot be trusted to safeguard the lives and prosperity of the richest nation in the world."

Luckily the present outer perimeter of Wallace victory potential - the Peripheral South - is very sensitive to jingoist and trigger-happy imagery; this area is isolationist and trended against Goldwater. An anti-trigger happy LeMay campaign should be used in the areas where Goldwater fell far below RN - the Ozarks, Appalachian uplands, rural Missouri, Virginia's Shenandoah, the Nashville Basin and North Carolina Piedmont.

RN's anti-Wallace effort should be zeroed in on the Peripheral South and Border. Not only should the Wallace-LeMay duo be attacked as above, but RN must be presented as the great leader against whom Wallace-LeMay pale in plausibility. Large-scale use should be made of the "Power of the Presidency" TV spot.

7) Use of Agnew: Governor Agnew should be used in the peripheral South and Border, where he is regarded somewhat more favorably than in the Northeast. His utterances should be carefully planned so as to avoid further bloopers. Agnew is not a plus factor, in part as a result of his bad press, and he should not be overexposed.

8) Farmers: Polls show that old-line rural Democrats in Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky are among our hardest

nuts to crack in those states; increased emphasis ought to be put on getting a message across to these (subsistence and minimal livestock) farmers. The cash crop farmers of the wheat and corn belts are being reached, but the subsistence-type, dirt farmer of the Border is not.

9) Old People: RN success among old people varies from state to state. In Florida and California, he is doing well. But in the Border, old people are the firmest resisters of Republican and Wallaceite inroads. They are most tradition-set in their politics. Missouri, for example, has the second highest ratio of old people in the nation, and they are the bulwark of Democratic strength. Polls show that old people in traditionally Democratic rural counties in Missouri are the only group still favoring HHH (21-25 year-old voters in such areas are 5:1 for Nixon and Wallace over HHH). See Appendix.

10) Women: All polls show RN and George Wallace running much better with men; it is tempting to speculate that HHH presents an image (weak, vacillating, a tool for LBJ----and even with an oddly-shaped head) that men dislike. Men also respond better to the "tough" image of RN and Wallace. All this being the case, RN should pitch to housewives on issues like food prices, school busing and "little freedoms" to walk in parks, go to movies, etc. Most of the remaining RN gain opportunity is probably female. See Appendix.

11) Personal Attacks on HHH: Surrogates and media should be used to blast HHH, as should media, but RN, who is benefiting from a statesman's image in comparison with terrier-like HHH, should not hatchet the latter. HHH should be blasted as

- a) a second place individual, a puppet of a strong president
- b) a mouthy, unreflective individual - in support of this contention (and to nail HHH to unpopular stances) RN should quote HHH's bubbling remarks about Vietnam being a great and wonderful experience and how he, HHH, could lead a mighty good riot himself.
- c) a vehicle of dissension and division who cannot possibly achieve a mandate to govern---and who is in his own right the focal point of the bitterness of a generation

An image of HHH has been fashioned along these lines; it must be steadily re-inforced. People will not put a man of such "loser" image in the White House.

12) RN-HHH Debate - This is not a good idea; nothing can be gained and HHH might somehow manage to retrieve some stature.

IV) Advertising - Presupposing that Wallace does not continue to gain and that HHH stages a mini-recovery, the advertising campaign should go as follows:

1) TV - Issue and endorsement spots should be used heavily in the last two weeks of the campaign. Normally, opinion would be pretty well fixed by that point, but things are different this year because of the minor party candidacies. There will be more last-minute flux. The spots should be concentrated in the battleground states as follows:

- a) New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan (and add Massachusetts) are states in which an HHH mini-recovery would have the best chance and heavy spot usage should aim at i) inhibiting HHH's recovery; ii) shoring up RN re middle-of-the-roaders; and iii) bolstering anti-HHH (usually non-voting) decisions on the part of McCarthyites. To this end, the Vietnam and Crime issue spots should be used, as well as the Rockefeller, Hatfield and Percy (and Scott, Romney, Volpe on a local basis) endorsement spots. This strategy takes something of a chance on pushing some RN voters to Wallace, but except in New York, the bulk of the Wallace vote seems to be drawn from what would normally be HHH strength.
- b) Florida, Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia are states in which a Wallace fade ought to help RN. Spot usage ought to aim at re-inforcing such an RN resurgence and accelerating George Wallace's slippage. To this end, the Order, Crime, Wrong Road and Failure spots ought to be used heavily, and special emphasis should be put on the Power of the Presidency spot (implicitly anti-Wallace and overtly pro-RN). As for endorsement spots, those for the South are Reagan, Goldwater, Baker, Bush and Murphy. Also use any hill-billy spots.
- c) Missouri and Ohio are states in which emphasis still must be placed, but the local pattern is mixed. Issue spots which are best used include Order, Crime, Vietnam, Wrong Road, Failure, and as for Endorsements, Dirksen, Hatfield, Rockefeller, Bush, Percy, Murphy and Baker (in Missouri and Southern Ohio) are preferred.
- d) California, Wisconsin, Illinois and New Jersey are in good enough shape that a percentage of media dollars can be shifted elsewhere.

2) Radio - Radio spots should be used heavily to back up primary TV campaign.

- a) Hillbilly and Don't Waste Your Vote spots for Peripheral South and Border; a very large amount of short radio spots should be purchased in Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida, Texas and the Ozark section of Arkansas-Missouri. Roy Acuff, Tex Ritter, Clint Walker, Fess Parker and John Wayne spots are ideal, emphasizing that RN is just "folks", and that he will end the war and riots.
- b) Northern Ethnic Areas - Spots should be played in big cities telling why Otto Kreuger, Paddy Murphy, Angelo Spumoni and Casimir Dumbrowski are for RN. The ethnics are big on group identification. In New York City, for example, spots should be played quoting Irish, Italians, Jews and Puerto Ricans. These spots should relate to the key ethnic trend groups of the area. They are less useful in the South where all whites have Anglo-Saxon names and everybody knows that most of the people for RN are nominal Democrats.
- c) Specialized spots
 - i) foreign policy for Midwest Germans
 - ii) food price inflation for housewives/soap operas
 - iii) agricultural policy stuff next to farm bulletins in Midwest
 - iv) senior citizens programs in Florida, California, and Missouri
- d) Anti-HHH Radio Spots - Quote HHH comments on his leading a "mighty good revolt" and Vietnam being "our great adventure--and a wonderful one it is." Radio spots should be designed - and played incessantly - to focus public attention on HHH lack of judgment and verbosity.

APPENDIX - Border Voting Trends by Age and Sex

Monroe County, Missouri*

	<u>Conservatism By Age Groups</u>			
	21-24	25-39	40-59	Over 60
% for Nixon and Wallace	76%	54%	48%	31%
% for HHH	12	19	32	35
% for None or Undecided	12	27	20	34

* No Democratic presidential nominee has ever won less than 72.5% of the vote in Monroe County (since 1896).

	<u>Conservatism By Sex</u>	
	Male	Female
% for Nixon and Wallace	54%	34%
% for HHH	24	35
% for None of Undecided	23	31

From Bachelder Poll of Monroe County, Missouri, September 20-24, 1968

TO: Len Garment
FROM: Kevin Phillips

note
3 + 4

file

RE: Wallace, HHH and the need for an RN Second Offensive

1. As of the end of September, George Wallace has probably peaked. He has made incredible strides in the blue-collar North; he is breathing on RN's neck in the Border and he is ahead in the South. He cannot go any farther without breaking up the Democratic party. However he appears to have exhausted his socio-economic support potential. He cannot stand still; if he cannot continue to advance, his national viability will suffer and he will slip back, especially in states of the Peripheral South and Border where his victory credibility will ebb as the two-party context re-asserts itself. Wallace's crowds have slackened some in the last week. His choice of General LeMay is a major blunder; it will cost him many votes among socially conservative non-hawks (~~see accompanying memo~~).

2. Wallace's plausibility interrelates to HHH's. Wallace strength has made HHH less viable, causing moderate liberals to move to RN while conservatives have left RN for Wallace. On the other hand, an HHH resurgence should undermine Wallace plausibility, detach moderate liberals back to HHH, and pull conservatives back to RN. In this case, Wallace's ultimate impact would be that of past third parties - bringing change by influencing the two party system and alignment.

3. As of the beginning of October, there are signs of an HHH recovery which would complement a Wallace slippage. This is logical; an HHH recovery is more than due because a) RN's mid-September impetus of huge crowds, success and ideological forward motion has ebbed; b) RN is no longer twanging ideological gut reaction chords; c) Wallace seems to have reached his maximum forward motion point; d) HHH's personal image difficulties are lessening as lack of conservative opportunity allows him to take an ideological stance he is comfortable with; and e) Democratic politicians are rallying around the flag despite misgivings to avoid the massive party defeat which now threatens.

4. This is nothing unexpected or potentially upsetting. HHH, his support slashed down to party bedrock, is now following the Left-liberal direction of obvious forward movement. Consider what happened at Chicago: HHH presented a police state image to conservatives, alienating his liberal cadres, and far from increasing his strength among blue-collar workers and

-2

Southerners, he set in motion a disintegration switching an astounding number of them to Wallace. The die of history has cast the Democratic party in a Left-liberal minority role for the coming cycle and HHH is slipping into it. The fact that this obvious opportunity unifies the Democratic party and makes HHH more comfortable and plausible does not make it a menace: HHH cannot help but evidence forward motion simply because he is starting from a pathetic base level and a certain forward motion potential exists for mere coherence, organization and unified party drumbeating.

5. HHH's forward motion does not mean that concessions should be made to his ideology----on the contrary, he has now put himself on the minority side of the ideological future, forsaking ambivalence which was getting nowhere for a cohesive party attempt. RN's strength is probably beginning to ebb slowly from an abnormal lead (15%) over HHH; this re-adjustment should be a cause for neither worry nor ideological misstrategizing.

6. The greatest mistake RN could make would be repetition of the HHH error of going against the ideological re-alignment thrust of his party. The Democrats are going to be the Left party----and a minority----and the GOP are going to be the Right-Center majority. The tack to take in this conservative year is hard-hitting conservatism. A liberal or "fudged" approach would a) detract from RN's tough or "leadership" image; b) buoy Wallace among conservative-trenders; and c) give credence to HHH's position and the whole liberal/failure syndrome. On the other hand, a tough conservative line would a) boost RN's decisive and tough image; b) tap the ideological tide at work; c) erode Wallace; and d) drag HHH into the failure morass of the domestic and international Great Society. The tides at work in the year 1968 are conservative-trending disillusionment with liberal failure; RN and Wallace are both profiting from this (Wallace is a creature of the upheaval) and nothing could be more ironic and foolish than a conservative party failing to lead a conservative revolution.

7. The first----and very successful----phase of the RN campaign consisted of letting HHH flounder while presenting RN as a much-applauded winner. This stage of the campaign reminds me of an incredibly successful foray by a cavalry vanguard which found enemy resistance so weak----and disorganization so widespread----that it rolled up an exposed flank much farther than anyone dreamed possible (43-28%). But in the face of this advance, the enemy organized under pressure----taking the often

Jan page 3 to 4
we might as well
See that Boba report by
some should allions
it is...
incidents

fatal route of least organizational resistance----and is now counter-attacking. This strikes me as no problem because HHH is extraordinarily vulnerable to an anti-Great Society counter-charge which ought to sweep him off the field. The tactics seem clear:

Post-Columbus Day Second Offensive

also pass this
recommendations
How to research
in general
speech
insistent

Priority speech program
(Barham could prepare)

A. Re-Establish RN Victory and Success Aura - grand tours in the Chicago-San Francisco-Philadelphia vein are necessary; big crowds to cheer a big winner. A massively-planned and advanced Wall Street or Midtown New York tour could be one; Boston, Cincinnati, Phoenix? Big crowds are necessary to re-establish the bandwagon impetus.

B. Verbal Toughness - Nobody gets aroused by a Navy gap or new securities policy; it is time for rousing indictments of the failures of the Great Society liberal policies---housing (rent subsidies, urban renewal, model cities scheming and red tape), education (Howe and his Equal Educational Opportunity gimmicks), job retraining (Youth Corps corruption and the like); The War Against Poverty (CAP agitation, Job Corps expense and failure); and the Permissive Society (moral decay, crime bill stalling and rioter coddling). All of these weaknesses have to be carefully targeted, and sound philosophic and sociological arguments must be offered against them, but such arguments are available, and the programs in question are very unpopular with the public. Thus, RN can propound a tough line on safe ground---the kind of line on which 1968 re-alignment is pivoting. (See accompanying memo).

True, people are looking for a "statesman" but many people are beginning to define a statesman as somebody with the courage to spell out why and how we have failed and to get the monkey off the national back. In eras of upheaval like this one, people are looking for a strong leader---this has helped RN to date and hurt HHH, and RN must combat HHH's manhood mini-recovery and re-assert his own strength image. The electorate is not so much looking for new ideas set forth with exactitude as they are for a strong man to epitomize and somehow express the inchoate opposition to what is and has been going on. At this point, Wallace is the man projecting the strongest political hormones and opinion polls indicate that the public gives him credit for this---they are looking for toughness and a rejection of past philosophy and failure. RN should move farther towards these desires.

C. Policy Towards Wallace - Inasmuch as George Wallace is a populist phenomenon who represents, among his vituperation, some very legitimate complaints about the direction and thrust of American socio-politics, he cannot be simply put down. Generally speaking, movements like Wallace's achieve limited success by convincing one of the two major parties to adopt the valid portion of their cause. RN should not attack Wallace but should pre-empt the valid portion of his thrust with an intellectually precise and sound but toughly articulated attack on the false promise and failure of Great Society liberalism. To seize the fulcrum of re-alignment is to cut Wallace down as third parties have been cut down before.

D. Impugn HHH's Political Manhood and Capability - Although RN should not wield the hatchet himself, HHH should be put down hard as a mouthy, not-his-own-man second-stringer who long toadied to LBJ but is now seeking to issue a pseudo-declaration of independence. Emphasis should be put on HHH's womanish quality of verbosity---and especial emphasis should be put on his talking of Vietnam as a "wonderful experience" and on how he bragged he'd lead a riot himself. Anyone who checks HHH's weakness with men in the polls will realize how badly he is hurt by lack of male self-identification with his (non) prowess----and how RN will be hurt if HHH is allowed to recover.

All this adds up to a hard-hitting, albeit carefully targeted, conservative and activist campaign in the last three weeks.

BOB HALDEMAN

I turned down the St. Louis invitation today -- couldn't reach Duggan last Friday night -- and he was MOST upset. Felt their paper had done a lot for RN and were making commitments for him -- deserved a commitment from him. Went on to say this is the third time they've been disappointed.

I told him I didn't think he should feel that way -- that RN would like to be able to do this but he could surely understand his reluctance to make any commitments for the period between the Election and the first of the year at this time. We did not want to make the commitment and then not be able to keep it when the time came.

rmw

10/7/68

MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: HERB KLEIN

Al Kaline of the Detroit Tigers drove in two runs today in the World Series game, for a final score of 5 to 3 in favor of the Tigers. Since Mr. Kaline is a fan of RN's, Mr. Klein thought RN might wish to call him giving him his congratulations.

C -

Says we have already
~~planned~~ sent telegram.

RN

Following telegram received in New York today (10/3/68)

HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM MIDDLE EAST AND WONDER IF CAN BE OF SERVICE
ON PROGRAMS AND PERSONAL PLANNING TOGETHER WITH ANTHONY MARSHALL*
AND GEORGE HITTMAN BOTH RECENTLY RETURNED FROM AFRICA. INCIDENTALLY,
THE SHAW SENDS HIS REGARDS.

KERMIT ROOSEVELT

* Mrs. Brooks Astor's son.

mwoods

✓
L
ck w/ Dick Allen &
see if he has talked w/
Roosevelt — if not,
ask him again to do so &
tell him of the telegram.
If he has talked with
him - find
out what,
if any,
follow-up is now
needed as a result
of the telegram.
Try to leave it so that
Allen handles the whole
matter.

Done - No followup
Nec.

(He had placed a call for you a couple of days ago and I asked Kay to have
Dick Allen call him — do not know whether or not he has had a chance to
talk with him)

L
Dick Allen has phoned.
May want post election job. Had
no info to offer.
- Wants to help for his own
interest in Middle East.

- When RW starts
to planning he'll
phone Allen back.
Not out of country
again

October 9, 1968
Los Angeles, California

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN
FROM: RmWoods
RE: Call from Gov. Rockefeller's Office

File

See Page 2

Governor Rockefeller tried to reach you after you had started on the motorcade this morning -- and then Ann Whitman talked with me and left the following message:

"Governor is very upset about this report that Agnew is going to drop into a Conservative Party fund-raising dinner on Monday at the Waldorf. The Conservative Party is trying to defeat Republican candidates in the state -- 22 Congressional/ 32 State Senate and 60 in the State Assembly -- are running against the Republican candidates. Also they have a candidate against Javits.

"He is very upset about it!"

"He did talk to Peter Flanigan this morning and he sent a telegram to Mr. Nixon at headquarters - it is a very strong telegram.² He is very worked up about it. He feels so badly about it.

"They have had a poll taken at Peter Cooper Village - that settlement on 23rd street where so many young, bright liberals live - the Governor carried it three to one. It is now: HHH 61/ Nixon 50/ Wallace 8. As of now, if Agnew does this dinner it will alienate so many more of these so-called liberal people in New York State that it will seriously damage chances of carrying the state.

"The Governor has even suggested that he would be delighted to have Agnew stay overnight at his apartment instead of going to the Waldorf since he is dropping by because he is there -- if that would give him an out the Governor would be delighted."

Ann said again that the telegram was terribly strong
and was not for public consumption.

Pete Flanigan called later -- said that he and John Mitchell had talked this
over -- they suggest we do nothing about this until Mitchell returns tomorrow
-- Mitchell feels they should go ahead and let him go as (I believe it is the
State Chairman) had agreed to this.

TELEGRAM FROM ROCKEFELLER:

I UNDERSTAND THAT YOUR VICE PRESIDENTIAL RUNNINGMATE IS PLANNING TO COME IN TO NEW YORK TO SPEAK AT A \$25 CONSERVATIVE PARTY FUND RAISING DINNER NEXT MONDAY (Oct. 14). I RAISE THE QUESTION WITH YOU AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE WHICH IS ALL OUT IN SUPPORT OF YOU AND THE TICKET FROM TOP TO BOTTOM BECAUSE I FEEL THAT THIS APPEARANCE WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE; IT SEEMS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF THE REPUBLICAN TICKET WOULD BE HELPING TO RAISE FUNDS TO DEFEAT THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR SENATOR, TWENTY-THREE OF NEW YORK'S REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR U.S. CONGRESS, THIRTY-TWO REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR OUR STATE SENATE, AND SIXTY REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR OUR STATE ASSEMBLY. THE APPEARANCE IN QUESTION WOULD NOT ONLY UNDERCUT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES THROUGHOUT THE STATE, IT WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THE APPEAL WHICH YOU HAVE MADE FOR UNIFIED SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FROM TOP TO BOTTOM - SUPPORT WHICH THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS GIVING IN FULL MEASURE.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

re-type

Following is suggested text for Babcock endorsement tape 8
(phoned from Mr. Holiday in Babcock's office).

File

"I want to take this moment to speak to my many friends in Montana on behalf of your Governor, Tim Babcock.

"Tim and I have been close personal friends as well as partners in the never-ending quest for effective government at all levels. It is this quest to which I address myself.


"In the search for a working relationship between state and federal government, we need men of responsibility in both the statehouse and the White House. Tim Babcock and I have ^{the} ability ^{to communicate effectively with each other.} Montana's voice will be heard on matters affecting agriculture and specialized problems such as the closing of Glasgow Air Force Base and the force-feeding of Wibaux (pronounced Webo).

"Good government is a team effort. If you will re-elect Tim Babcock to the governorship, I can assure you the line between your capitol and the White House will always be open for the next four years.

"I want to see Tim re-elected because I want to work with him in solving the problems of Montana and the nation in the next four years."

October 8, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Haldeman (cc: Finch)
FROM: Ellsworth 



There is a studied and definite plan and program to have HHH in person intercept RN at a rally or an airport greeting or somewhere along the campaign trail, to challenge him to a face-to-face debate then and there.

Advance thought and planning should be given as to how to handle this event should it ever occur.

October 7, 1968

File

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

I talked with Pat Hitt on Saturday and she relayed the following information from her friend who is working close to O'Brien:

He says they no longer give a damn what McCarthy does -- whether he comes out or doesn't come out for them. They feel that HHH's speech accomplished so much for them that they don't care about McCarthy or Unruh.

In the last week there has been just a dramatic change in the morale as a result of that speech. They have taken in around \$200,000 - they only spent \$70,000, so they are elated.

LBJ has promised them he will go all the way with them -- anything in the world they want. Lady Bird is going to be very active all over the country.

sh
They have bought five hours of national television time between now and the election with an option for another 2-1/2 hours.

Their figuring is that we will concentrate on the last two weeks. They plan to use considerable part of this TV time within the next week to ten days so they can come up while they think we will be "coasting." They are, of course, also reserving time so they will be able to do whatever they need to do. (Let's have Shakespeare find out what time they have).

Timing is a vital part of their strategy. They figure we will slow down for a couple of weeks and this will give them a chance to go up in the polls.

Another thing -- they are leaking polls favorable to us -- they are counting on these favorable polls to make us cocky -- and start our workers thinking we have it made.

A case in point -- they had a man in Connecticut leak a poll to the press showing that Republicans were ahead by 120,000 votes. This is not a true poll -- just something they put out. They plan to do this in state after state to lull us into over-confidence. They are trying to plant figures in all of the key states.

They claim that they have registered 250,000 Democrats in California in the last two weeks.

They feel that their Vietnam speech changed the whole coloration of this campaign. They feel it was extremely successful.

They are working with polls -- in Ohio they have a poll that shows HHH 41/ RN 38 (this is a Quayle poll and they say this is a conservative estimate of their strength).

Mail reaction has been very heavy to the HHH speech.
Radical change in morale.

They are really functioning now as a campaign operation for the first time.

They are confident that they will come in with a strong finish in their campaign.

They have also re-assessed their strategy because they have had two good days with HHH in the South. Tennessee and one other state -- they are now taking a big second look at North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland. They are writing off Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

They feel they can carry Florida and Muskie reported to O'Brien that West Virginia is in the bag.

There is something very peculiar going on in California -- they think they are going to carry California. There is something odd here.

They also expect to carry: New York, Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio. Feel they have a fighting chance in Illinois. They write off Wisconsin. They feel they probably will carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts.

HHH has an hour on October 11th - 1/2 of that hour are shots done from the convention and 1/2 hour of it is stuff they taped in his office.

McCarthy has time on October 8th.

They are jubilant over Agnew.

NOTE: He said that the O'Brien level of the HHH campaign gets regular reports on RN from Secret Service. Direct pipeline from SS to O'Brien - evidently everything they overhear everything that is done - etc.

Pat Hitt called back Saturday evening to say she had just been told that the Democrats had polled Florida and that as of October 1st it was: Wallace 37/ Nixon 33/ Humphrey 22 -- Undecided 8.

(They paid \$28,000 for the poll so that would probably give us an idea of how thoroughly they went into the state).