

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>
61	23	04/06/1962	Memo	Memo from Sammy to Bob Haldeman. 1 pg.
61	23	04/05/1962	Memo	Memo from Bill Spenceer to Bob Haldeman. 1 pg. Attached to previous.
61	23	04/02/1962	Letter	Letter from Joe Shell to Democrat. 1 pg. Attached to previous.
61	23	n.d.	Memo	Memo from Yvonne Smith to Bob Haldeman. 3 pgs including attachments. Contact car dnot scanned.
61	23	02/23/1962	Memo	Memo from Yvonne Smith to Robert Haldeman. Subject: Riverside County Intelligence. 9 pgs including attachments.
61	23	03/19/1962	Memo	Memo from Yvonne Smith to Bob Haldeman. Subject: Red Cross Canvass. 1 pg. Attached to previous.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
61	23	02/12/1962	Letter	Letter from Al Post to Mr. Halter. 1 pg. Attached to previous.
61	23	12/27/1961	Memo	Notes. 1 pg. Attached to previous. Duplicate not scanned.
61	23	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten note. 8 pgs including attachments.
61	23			
61	23	02/06/1962	Memo	Memo from Rose Mary Woods to Bob Haldeman. 3 pgs including attachments.
61	23	02/01/1962	Letter	Letter from Joseph Shell to Jeanne Boehme. 3 pgs including attachments. Attached to previous.

Nixon for Governor

Shell file

To: Bob Haldeman

Date: 4/6/62

From: Sammy

Subject:

Distribution:

You asked at H & J yesterday if they could find out about Shell's rumored cancelation of outdoor. Since no one indicated he could get the dope, I called, and got the following:

Buying painted (big, rotating, etc.) boards — \$12,000 with F & K

Also buying paints from others, and small quantity of 24's.

However, rumor probably arose from the fact that they have cancelled ALL 700 OF THEIR 7-sheet contract. But some self-styled brain has taken the paper they'd had printed for 7's, and has obtained free locations on private property. But I'd be willing to bet that it will cost as much or more to build their boards, put em up and then remove em. Anyway, if we want to compete with his home grown 7's, the Kennedy boards are available.

400

Shell file

N i x o n f o r G o v e r n o r

To: Bob Haldeman

Date: April 5, 1962

From: Bill Spencer

Subject:

Distribution:

The enclosed was sent out by the Shell Campaign in Marin County to all democrats in that county. To what extent this letter was statewide, I don't know.

WS

April 2, 1962

Dear Democrat:

I need your help by April 12.

Back in 1939 I met President Roosevelt. Our U.S.C. football team which I captained had just whipped Tennessee in the Rose bowl. I was running for a student office too and, needing sound advise, I asked the President for some tips. He chuckled, "Why Joe, just ask the people, that's all I do. But ask all the people". And because of the advise I am writing you today.

There are alot of Republicans who don't want Dick Nixon, Democratic friends of mine tell me there are many Democrats who aren't 100% for Pat Brown either. If you are one of them, I would appreciate your vote. If, with your help, I beat Dick Nixon in the Republican primary, I'll take my chances on convincing you that Shell is worthy of your vote in November 2.

Here's the vital point. Only those registered as Republicans can vote for me in the June Primary. Deadline to change registration is April 12.

Believe me, changing registration in no way prevents you from voting for the man of your choice, be it Pat Brown or the Republican Candidate in the November election. Both parties candidates will appear on everybody's ballot then, the choice will be yours.

It's easy to re-register. Contact my headquarters at the address given ~~above~~ and they will tell you how to do it.

Remember, there isn't much time. If you'd like to help me beat Dick Nixon in June, register as a Republican by April 12.

Whatever you decide - win lose or draw - thank you very much.

Cordially Yours,

JOE SHELL

P.S. I don't like form letters either, but it was the only way I could ask all the people.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Nixon for Governor

To: Bob Haldeman

Date:

From: ~~Yvonne Smith~~

Subject:

Distribution:

Attached - Shall Literature ~~#####~~ His Platform

With Joe -You Know---

FOR AMERICA

OF CALIFORNIA

A Citizens Committee for Political Action



Presents

A

PATRIOTIC RALLY FOR OUR CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES



Friday , APRIL 6 , 1962 , 8:00 P.M.

SHRINE AUDITORIUM

665 W. Jefferson, Los Angeles

AMERICANISM! MUSIC! SONG! SKITS! STARS! SATIRE!

OUR CONSERVATIVES CAN WIN IF THEY HAVE THE DOLLARS TO EFFECTIVELY FIGHT THE LIBERAL MACHINE AND IF THEY HAVE OUR UNIFIED, ACTIVE SUPPORT!

DEAN CLARENCE MANION - Keynote Speaker

SENATOR GOLDWATER - SENATOR TOWER - GENERAL MAC ARTHUR
(by special tape recording)

Those invited to attend are:

Assemblyman JOSEPH SHELL
Candidate for Governor

HOWARD JARVIS LOYD WRIGHT
Candidates for U.S. Senator

CONGRESSMEN BELL, Hiestand, Hosmer, Lipscomb, Mc Donough,
Rousselet, Smith, and Utt.

STATE SENATOR BACKSTRAND

ASSEMBLYMEN BURKE, Chapel, Cologne, Cusanovich, Lanterman, Levering,
Reagan, Thelin, and Wolfrum.

Also other Conservative Candidates for Congress and the State Assembly.



ALL SEATS...\$5.00 DONATION. ALL PROCEEDS GO TOWARD THE SUPPORT OF
THOSE CANDIDATES NEEDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN THEIR CAMPAIGN.



"Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country"



SUPPORT YOUR CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES

FOR TICKETS, WRITE TO: FOR AMERICA OF CALIFORNIA, P.O. BOX 5479,
SHERMAN OAKS, CALIFORNIA. POplar 1-5108

"This is the platform on which I have been campaigning and will continue to campaign as candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor.



"These are the facts and figures to which I have been alerting the people.

"I commend this article to your consideration."

**Assemblyman Joseph C. Shell
Republican floor leader.**

BUSINESS & GOVERNMENT

High State, Local Taxes Put Damper on Industry

BY RAY HEBERT, Times Urban Plans Editor

HIGH TAXES—both state and local—are putting a pinch on California's industrial growth by eating into business profits. What's more, because of the high costs of doing business here, some firms are bypassing California in their search for new plant locations.

These points, spotlighted during recent sessions of the California Manufacturers Assn., have emerged as perhaps the most limiting factors in California's industrial economy.

Many of the executives who attended the association's annual meeting at Hotel del Coronado went away with the feeling that while California may have a wide edge in climate, for instance, this element cannot be considered alone in judging the state's manufacturing advantages.

Of particular interest to CMA members were the critical points raised by two Southern California plant executives who were in a position to compare their companies' operations here with divisions doing business in other states.

Both agreed that state and local taxes have reached a burdensome level and, in some cases, constitute an alarming threat to profits.

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sion controller of the National Supply Co. of Torrance, a division of Armco Steel Corp., showed that California manufacturers are actually at a disadvantage when the taxes they pay are measured against assessments in other states.

Mill's survey covered the 28 states where Armco maintains facilities. California was the second highest with a tax bill of \$41.84 on every \$1,000 worth of inventory and assets.

"Louisiana is the highest, of course," Mill explained. "Our figure there is \$53.30 per \$1,000. You know, they are still paying for the frivolities of the Huey Long regime."

He made another comparison. By multiplying the firm's California investment by the Texas rate of \$12.32 per \$1,000, the company would pay only \$154,030 rather than its \$523,122 outlay here last year.

"If we had this investment in Texas, we would have an annual tax saving of \$369,092," he said. "This saving in 10 years would pay for capital expenditures in the amount of \$3,690,000. In other words, we would only have to pay 29.45%

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"It obviously is an unbiased analysis of the tax problem and the business climate in California.

"The article sets forth the arguments for less governmental expansion and a reversal of the welfare state trend, which has been the theme song of the Brown Administration.



(OVER)

TAXES PAID OR ACCRUED IN 1960

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Kansas	1,025,738	21.53	22,081	19,515	2,556	10	—	78,472
Louisiana	1,903,461	53.30	101,460	75,492	8,661	17,307	—	404,242
Ohio	2,652,712	11.11	29,467	14,034	262	12,191	2,980	4,955
Oklahoma	1,514,887	24.17	36,621	29,393	4,139	3,089	—	167,404
Pennsylvania	29,414,874	13.31	391,560	200,799	138,700	15,247	36,814	7,671
Texas	14,371,113	12.32	177,122	152,270	—	24,852	—	—
Wyoming	1,026,144	11.02	11,311	11,278	—	33	—	99,468
All Other	8,071,654	10.03	80,962	47,850	13,212	5,721	14,179	512,542
TOTALS	72,483,001	18.95	1,373,706	1,039,981	187,790	78,453	67,482	1,549,216

TAX COMPARISON—Compilation of 1960 tax rate by states on \$1,000 of inventory and assets as paid by National Supply division of Armco Steel Corp.

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BUSINESS & GOVERNMENT

One Firm Traces Tax Tribulations

Continued from First Page of \$523,122, which would give us \$154,030."

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Another comparison of taxes paid by California plants came from Harry Ryman, assistant to the general manager, Grayson Controls of Long Beach, a division of Robertshaw-Fulton Controls. The firm operates manufacturing plants in five states, including California.

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gaged in a somewhat similar line of endeavor, it is always interesting, and sometimes discouraging, to compare results," he explained.

"The discouraging part is to recognize conditions affecting our profit in California which apparently do not have the same impact in other states."

The plant here, he explained, has managed to reduce costs in a number of categories "but in at least two major areas we continually lose ground — labor costs and taxes."

Ryman, referring specifically to taxes, pointed to the concern caused by "the constant increase year after year with no end in sight."

As an example, he cited the increase in unemployment taxes. Next year, he said, this tax will jump—in terms of cost—from \$68,000 to \$175,000. He said this amounts to a per employee increase of \$63 — from the present \$43 to \$106.

Ryman referred to a recent report which showed that of the five states where Robertshaw - Fulton maintains plants, its facilities in California paid 59% of the corporation's total property taxes although California-based plants accounted for only 33% of the total assets.

He gave this rundown on the property tax cost for each \$1,000 of assets held by the firm: Pennsylvania, \$4.06; Ohio, \$8.81; Tennes-

see, \$19.79; Connecticut, \$21.67; California, \$32.44.

Actually, Ryman said, climate remains as the only major attraction among the advantages which drew the firm to California in the first place.

This was emphasized by a discussion he had recently with a company official about a new division that was being established in Lebanon, Tenn.

"He mentioned that they had considered a number of locations before making their decision," Ryman explained. "I asked if California was included and he made it quite clear that, under present conditions, California would not be a desirable location for future expansion."

Nixon for Governor

*Shell
file*

To: ROBERT HALDEMAN
From: YVONNE SMITH
Subject: RIVERSIDE COUNTY *** INTELLIGENCE
Distribution:

Date: February 23, 1962

Goldwater Appearance overall picture --

1. 465 paid \$15.00 dinner tickets - 1,965 \$2.00 paid speech tickets.
Dinner - Ronald Reagan introduced, excellent pitch for united party in Goldwater introduction. We need more of this. 15 minutes by Goldwater devoted to funds and general Republican need. Audience responsive but typical of Republican sedate groups.
2. Auditorium packed. Reagan introduced Goldwater again, however general this time, geared to fighting Communist threat. Goldwater speech - his routine interrupted only twice with applause, about 45 minutes, then questions and answers - better than speech. (I could not find anyone who was certain that questions would be asked, they didn't think so.) By the time of the meeting, I had been talking to Republican leadership for over 3½ hours and had only found four people who are still on our side and will admit it. Anyway, Goldwater had to recognize Jackie Cochran who he knows well, who asked, at my request - "Give us your views on the John Birch Society." His answer - DID NOT HELP RICHARD NIXON CASE - if we could have briefed him, he could have accomplished a great deal.
Briefly - The right of assembly is precious and should be protected, as long as people do not attempt to overthrow the government I see nothing wrong with wonderful people sitting by their fires fighting Communism, it has gotten to the point where if you are patriotic it is a sin. I'm not worried about the people inside our house fighting Communism such as the Birch Society, American Legion (tied the two together twice) but I'm worried about being sold

N i x o n f o r G o v e r n o r

To: ROBERT HALDEMAN

Date: February 23, 1962

From: YVONNE SMITH

Subject: RIVERSIDE COUNTY *** INTELLIGENCE

Distribution:

page 2.

a bill og goods - let's worry about the
people inside our government.
Some questions from Democrats answered well.

Crowd walked out among Shell bumper strips, a large
table with literature, buttons - flag theme. All
2000 people had to walk by this table ---ALL IN ALL
A VERY SUCCESSFUL MEETING FOR THE REPUBLICANS AND
ONE WHICH JOE SHELL I'M CERTAIN WILL BE VERY PLEASED
WITH AND ONE WHICH WILL BE A GOOD REASON FOR HIS
HEAVY VOTE IN RIVERSIDE COUNTY ---WHICH HE WILL WIN
IF THINGS KEEP GOING AS THEY ARE ---THIS COUNTY
GAVE RN 15,000 plurality in 1960 - we will be hurt
by its loss.

BAILEY H. PATTERSON, INC.

INSURANCE
Of Every Kind
Riverside, California
OV 3-3300

OWL-SERVICE ROCK CO.

Ready mixed concrete, sand,
gravel and fill materials
Riverside, California
OV 6-1610

Compliments of the
COCHRAN GOLF COURSE

Avenue 48 and Monroe
Indio, California
Owners, Jacqueline Cochran
and Floyd B. Odum

DOLE & COMPANY

Complete Insurance Service
Since 1896
3682 Main St. - OV 4-1960
Riverside, California

Compliments of

JOSEPH L. HUNTER

Riverside, California

Compliments of

EMPI

Originator of Camber Compensator
Riverside, California



... talk about Conservatives

ECONOMOTORS

5th & Main Sts., Riverside, Calif.
OV 3-3950

CITIZENS TRANSPORTATION CO.

Agents for
United Van Lines, Inc.
Riverside, California
OV 4-0310

Compliments of **JAMES F. DAVIDSON**

*An
Evening
With*

*Barry
Goldwater*

U. S. SENATOR FROM ARIZONA

"ONE STEP TOWARD VICTORY"

Here's a news item about Joe Shell you might have missed



SACRAMENTO UNION
Nov. 10, 1961

Affairs of State

Picture Shell Paints Certainly Not Pretty

By HENRY C. MacARTHUR
Capitol News Service

As one of the less flamboyant candidates for the Republican nomination for governor, Joseph Shell, Los Angeles assemblyman, probably has a better chance to evaluate the "feel" of the voting public, particularly on conditions applying to California economics at the present time.



His report as to what he is seeing doesn't add up to a pretty picture. The candidate has made 307 speeches in the past three months, in all sections of California, and has talked to hundreds of people in virtually all walks of life.

There is a general feeling, he said, that the state government is being operated in an ineffective manner, and a general belief that changes in the administrative force, from the governor down, should be made.

HEAVY TAXES

Also, he declared that most of the people he has talked with believe government is taxing too heavily for what the public is getting out of their burdensome taxes.

Specifically, Shell noted that probably the worst situation now on record is the fact that many firms either are changing plans to locate in California, moving out of the state, or are curtailing their operations here, with resultant losses in jobs, personal incomes, and of course taxes to support the state government.

He pointed out that in the San Francisco Bay area, the state lost about \$50 million a year through these causes, along with 9000 jobs.

OTHER TYPES

Shell was specific in stating that that was only a small portion of the industry refusing to come to California, or moving out to a more favorable tax climate, in some other state. The Bay Area situation, he said, applied only to metal trades, but there are scores of other types of businesses involved.

The state can ill afford to be losing ground in the maintenance of current jobs, and the creation of new work through establishment of new industry and business in California.

With the rapid growth of population, recession in jobs can result eventually only in more welfare programs, such as the present administration is sponsoring, all of which means greater costs to the California employers who now are financing some of these programs, like increases in unemployment insurance taxes imposed by the Legislature with the sponsorship of Governor Brown.

EMPLOYER SQUEEZE

The state's receding economic picture travels in a vicious, contracting circle, with the employer eventually to be squeezed in the middle by high welfare taxes.

Shell said the showdown must come soon as to whether the people of California want to continue the present trend toward the welfare state. He recommends discontinuing the trend through a change of administration.

The Los Angeles assemblyman is the first candidate for the state's highest office who has discussed economics dispassionately, and pointed out the path the state is taking.

In fact, most of Shell's thinking is dispassionate, but exceedingly full of facts, figures and sound opinions concerning the trends of 1961, along with some cogent ideas for remedies.

He is at least bringing some of the real issues of the forthcoming campaign for governor into the open.



INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Nixon for Governor

Shell file

To: Bob Haldeman
From: Yvonne Smith
Subject: Red Cross Canvass
Distribution: Herb Kalmbach

Date: March 19, 1962

This a.m. Mrs. Madson, 5147 Crenshaw, AXminster 2-2810, phoned to say that the Red Cross canvasser in that area had just called; he was wearing a Shell button and launched into a 15-minute discussion as to why she should vote for Joe Shell.

Quote Mrs. Madson as per follows:

"The canvasser rang my doorbell and asked for my donation to the Red Cross Drive. I stated that I thought there were far too many calls because my husband and I had already forwarded our check. He then said, 'We must keep this on a personal basis, otherwise the government will take over in this area, too. One way to see that this does not happen is to vote for Mr. Shell for Governor of the State of California. After all, Nixon is just a "me-too-er" and is controlled by the Wall Street boys who, incidentally, lost the election for him in '60 and who are still advising him, etc....' "

After talking to Bob Haldeman briefly, I called the Red Cross Headquarters, DUnkirk 4-5261, and spoke to Mrs. Anna Brummett who is the overall Canvass Chairman. Apparently the Director of the Red Cross Drive is Mr. Fred Snell. Mrs. Brummett stated this would be taken care of imm-diatly; she would call Mrs. Madson and would reprimand the canvasser (on a second call I found the canvasser in Area 3).

My opinion would be that Mrs. Brummett is sympathetic to Nixon but is in a position where she could not state this.

1:00 p.m.: Mrs. Betty Dobbins called; she is in charge of Area 3 and said the matter had been taken care of...she stated that the woman reporting was over-enthusiastic too, and was of the opinion that she influenced the man and she stated he is a well-respected businessman in the area -- I had the feeling she is not on our side.

1:30 p.m.: Call from Mrs. Brummett thanking us and reassuring us that this will not occur again.

YS/bgg

Shell file

895 Roanoke Road
San Marino, California
February 12, 1962

Dear Mr. Walter,

My wife says I never should discuss politics or religion with my friends. Maybe she is right. If you want Pat Brown as governor for four more years, throw this letter away. We'll still be friends.

But I don't think you will hold it against me when I tell you that I feel so strongly about this that for the first time in my life I am taking an active part in a political campaign. Please read the enclosed account of what Joe Shell stands for. Compare it with what Pat Brown has and has not done and your choice should be an easy one.

Higher taxes and a socialistic "welfare state" on the one hand versus lower taxes, efficient government and the free enterprise system on the other.

Some people have said to me, "Shell is a good man but he doesn't have a chance." That is what Pat Brown would like you to think, but don't you believe it. I have positive knowledge that Brown in an unguarded moment told a prominent Republican that Shell is the one man he fears he could not beat.

Where does Mr. Nixon come in? I am forced to the conclusion that he is a political opportunist, vacillating with every wind that blows, afraid to take a strong stand on anything. If nominated in the primary, he will lose to Brown in November for the same reason he lost to Kennedy--too much "me-too-ism". He does not offer the voters a clear cut choice. And compared to Shell, with eight years in the legislature, he actually knows very little about our state government and its problems.

I have been guilty in the past of doing a lot of squawking about the way our government is run, but not taking any positive action. Maybe you have, too. This time it's going to be different, and if not this time it may be too late.

Think it over. Then return the card saying that you're with me. Put a sticker on your car. Talk it up among your friends. If you convert just three people to Shell, and each one of these converts three more, we've got it made.

Sincerely,

al Post

ew
X

December 27, 1961

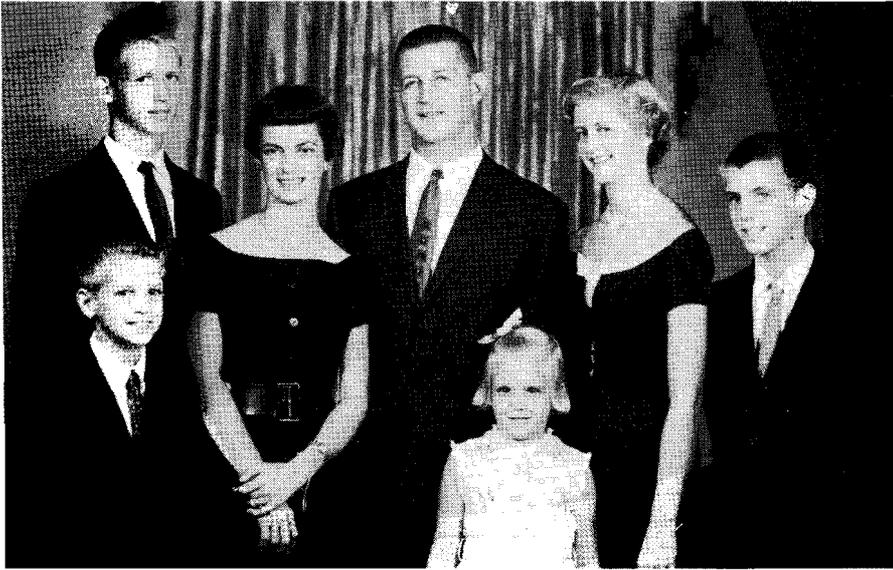
Intelligence reports from the Joe Shell camp indicate that he is making a list of the names of Republicans who formerly supported Dick Nixon but who now feel that Shell now is the better man for the governorship. He is even going so far as making a direct approach to Republicans asking them if they don't feel he would do a better job as Governor particularly appealing to those of a more conservative persuasion.

Word is that he intends to announce these "switches" in a public fashion in the early stages of the primary. He also intends to prepare statistics showing that because of the switches from Nixon to Shell and Knight to Shell that the original polls disclosed by the Nixon camp giving the latter an excess of 70% of the Republican vote in the primary, ~~the previous polls~~ are no longer accurate. His statistics will state that Nixon now has less than 50% of the Republican vote while Shell has gained noticeably.

Shell file

BOB HALDEMAN

THE
JOSEPH C. SHELL FAMILY



JOE SHELL

43 years old—Degree in Business Administration, U.S.C.
BUSINESSMAN • LEGISLATOR

SHELL
FOR
GOVERNOR



VETERAN - BUSINESSMAN - LEGISLATOR
1962 PRIMARY ELECTION

G O V E R N O R



FOR

SHELL

JOE

JOE

SHELL

IS

EXPERIENCED

- 5 terms in State Legislature.
- 20 years independent Businessman.
- College Degree, Business Administration, U.S.C.
- Navy Pilot, World War II.
- 3 years Assembly Republican Floor Leader.

Headquarters: 4037 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. • DL 9-3115

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"These are the facts and figures to which I have been alerting the people.

"I commend this article to your consideration."

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Republican floor leader.**

BUSINESS & GOVERNMENT

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The plant here, he explained, has managed to reduce costs in a number of categories "but in at least two major areas we continually lose ground — labor costs and taxes."

Ryman, referring specifically to taxes, pointed to the concern caused by "the constant increase year after year with no end in sight."

As an example, he cited the increase in unemployment taxes. Next year, he said, this tax will jump—in terms of cost—from \$68,000 to \$175,000. He said this amounts to a per employee increase of \$63 — from the present \$43 to \$106.

Ryman referred to a recent report which showed that of the five states where Robertshaw - Fulton maintains plants, its facilities in California paid 59% of the corporation's total property taxes although California-based plants accounted for only 33% of the total assets.

He gave this rundown on the property tax cost for each \$1,000 of assets held by the firm: Pennsylvania, \$4.06; Ohio, \$8.81; Tennes-

see, \$19.79; Connecticut, \$21.67; California, \$32.44.

Actually, Ryman said, climate remains as the only major attraction among the advantages which drew the firm to California in the first place.

This was emphasized by a discussion he had recently with a company official about a new division that was being established in Lebanon, Tenn.

"He mentioned that they had considered a number of locations before making their decision," Ryman explained. "I asked if California was included and he made it quite clear that, under present conditions, California would not be a desirable location for future expansion."

THE JOE SHELL STORY



ASSEMBLYMAN JOSEPH C. SHELL OF LOS ANGELES

Is a Candidate

FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR

in the June Primary

SHELL FOR GOVERNOR COMMITTEE



"Here is where I stand on the basic issues of the gubernatorial primary campaign and those issues which have been injected into the campaign. I will not waver for purposes of political expediency. This is how I have voted at Sacramento. This is how I have spoken in the campaign up to now. This is how I will stand until election day and as Governor."

Assemblyman Joseph C. Shell
Republican Floor Leader of the Assembly

COMMUNISM — I would outlaw the Communist Party by definition in California. I am against Communism, fellow travellers and all their works. The present danger from this party, their members and their supporters is apparent to all clear thinking persons.

TAXES — They must be reduced. Expansion of Government agencies at the present rate must be stopped. Government functions must be curtailed. There is waste in the State budget and it must be removed. Only then will California possess a healthy business climate and sound economy. In this manner and in this manner only can jobs for the jobless be provided.

EDUCATION — I am against entrenched bureaucrats at Sacramento telling our local school boards how to run the schools in their districts, particularly in the matter of textbook selections. I am opposed to the Brown Administration law which would require individual school districts to merge. I am appalled by the dictatorial methods employed at the Capital to force intelligent, capable school teachers into a progressive mold. I would use the full force of the Governor's office to prevent communists from speaking on the campuses of taxpayer supported State schools.

CONSERVATISM VERSUS SO-CALLED LIBERALISM — I am a conservative. I will be a conservative Governor. The necessity for a conservative Governor has become a simple fact. The man with six mouths to feed and just so many dollars with which to do it becomes of necessity a conservative no matter what he may call himself. The many who find themselves in this predicament are facing up to the arithmetics of their problem. I will help them. They cannot survive by handouts. They must have work with sufficient remuneration to maintain their families.

LAW ENFORCEMENT — Under the Brown Administration, law enforcement has been reduced to the point where a more appropriate name would be social welfare. As Governor I will tighten up law

enforcement all along the line. I would take such action particularly in the category of narcotic peddlers and narcotic users. Both groups have torn the moral fabric of our society. Reading the daily newspapers establishes this statement as a fact.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT — I have supported in the Legislature and will support as Governor the retention of capital punishment. Decent living persons have a right to be protected and I will see that they are. There is no such thing as life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. There is no way of isolating murderers from society except by capital punishment. I have and will support capital punishment as a crime deterrent and as a protection for law enforcement officers. The frequency of holdups with unloaded guns and toy pistols proves capital punishment is a deterrent.

FREE ENTERPRISE — No other system has ever worked or will. I support it without reservations.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE — I favor both programs. I deplore the administration of these programs by Governor Brown. Bad administration defeats the intended purpose of any program.

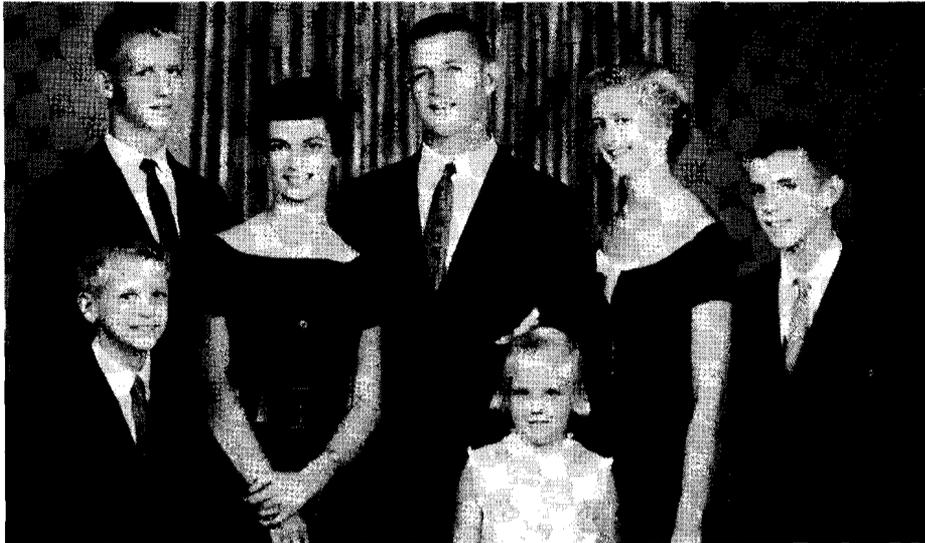
GOVERNOR BROWN — He has proven himself a complete incompetent. His indecision, his backing and filling on crucial matters has become a well publicized fact. In this expensive confusion, he has been assisted by his spokesman and advisor, Assemblyman Unruh. They have brought California to the brink of financial disaster. They have driven California down the road to the destination of a welfare State. No thoughtful person wants to become mired in this slough of despondency and cynicism.

LOYALTY OATHS — I support them, not because they necessarily will expose Communists but because every American should be willing at all times to stand up and be counted as a supporter of his country, and to declare any past affiliation with any group dedicated to the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

MY OPPONENTS IN THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY — I have signed with others a pledge to run a clean, constructive campaign. I will not sling mud. I will not attack my opponents in abusive terms. If attacked, I will reply promptly and decisively. I welcome an attempt to debate the issues with my opponents. **I am the only candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor who is currently a working member of the State Government with a voice in making its laws and in attempting to eliminate unnecessary expenditures and their end result — higher taxes.**

JOE SHELL CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR

THE MAN HE IS ...
AND HOW HE GOT THAT WAY



THE SHELL FAMILY—Back row: Joe, Jr., 16; Mrs. Barbara Shell; Assemblyman Shell; Barbara, 19; and David, 15. In front row: Harold, 12; and Diane, 7.

The year was 1954. A tall, strongly built, freshman Assemblyman took a seat at a rear row desk in the lower house of the Legislature and began a study of State Government which has brought him to his present position —

THE ONLY CANDIDATE FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR WHO, AS A LEGISLATOR, IS CURRENTLY FIGHTING IN THE FRONT ROW AT SACRAMENTO TO RESTORE A STABLE ECONOMY TO CALIFORNIA.

What does he mean by A STABLE ECONOMY?

Says Shell:

"I mean the right of people to control their property and their money.

"I mean the election of a Governor who will exercise his constitutional duty to blue pencil every dollar of fat out of the State budget without worrying about his political future.

"I mean sending to Sacramento a Governor who will reverse the present socialistic thinking in the Executive Department.

"I mean electing a Governor who will take positive steps to keep California from becoming a welfare State before it is too late."

EIGHT YEARS IN THE LEGISLATURE

Shell, a conservative Republican, knows what he is talking about.

For while others were running for Governor or for higher office, this one time football star and businessman has for eight years been watching the administration of government at Sacramento with a microscopic eye and an analytical mind.

This he has done by introducing corrective legis-

lation, fighting it out on the floor of the Assembly in debate, sitting across the desk from incumbent Governors of both parties, attending committee hearings and taking home with him nights for study a briefcase crammed with proposed laws and appraisals of their effects on the people of the State.

A man who learned as a boy there is no easy, well marked road to individual or group betterment, Shell has embarked upon a crusade from which there will be no turning back.

On this point, a political question in the primary which ends at the ballot box in June, Shell says:

"I am in the race for the Republican nomination for Governor to the end.

"I arrived at this conclusion after much soul searching prior to announcing my candidacy.

"The record of my incumbency shows no other candidate in the party primary has as current, as thorough a knowledge of our present State Government as I have.

"I know, as a result of experience, hard knocks and study, where the job must be done to save our free enterprise system in California.

"I am dedicated to doing that job when I am elected Governor.

HOW TO CUT THE COST OF GOVERNMENT

"I seek neither revenge nor am I compelled to maintain a position in the forefront of the party.

"What this means is simply this: when the first budget is returned from the legislature to me as Governor, I shall regard myself as expendable. Unnecessary appropriations will be eliminated. They must be eliminated if taxes are to be kept within reason and the State solvent."

THE BROWN-UNRUH ADMINISTRATION

Of the loose spending practices and looser administration of the Brown-Unruh Administration, Shell says:

"Let me speak at this juncture in the campaign with complete clarity. As we proceed toward the primary, I will document my case.

"Suppose you make \$5,000 a year and spend \$7,000. Obviously, you are in trouble unless you do a right-about-face.

"Now let's suppose you have \$5,000 in Government bonds. You decide the only way out of your dilemma is to cash those bonds.

"You pay off the \$2,000 you owe. You are even. But in your purse, you have \$3,000.

"Do you put the \$3,000 back into bonds or in a savings account not to be touched except in a case of extreme emergency? Perhaps some do but the average person finds the remaining \$3,000 burning a hole in his pocket.

"Most likely he buys some creature comforts he has been wanting for a long time. Like the present Administration, he has proven himself in the first instance incapable of living within his means.

"He probably spreads the extra cash among some of his close friends with a continuation of his fiscal irresponsibility. Presently the \$3,000 is gone.

"He has two choices: either he reverses his manner of handling income and outgo, or he resorts to the temporary expediency of dealing in I.O.U.'s.

"This is the story of California's financial status in capsule form."

Shell is frequently asked why he has chosen to make the fiscal condition of the State the cornerstone of his primary campaign for Governor.

He replies:

"What can be more important to the welfare of our State and its people?

"Loose thinking, indecision and scatterbrain approaches to State Government, the welfare State, radical spending — they are all of a package. Loose spending grows out of indecision and political expediency.

WELFARE STATE MEANS FEWER JOBS

"And the end result is the welfare State.

"Under the welfare state, new businesses shy away and old ones expand in other States. This is already in progress in California.

"Such a procedure means less jobs.

"A conservative trend is running the length and breadth of the State. This is a fact of our political life. It is a healthy one for all of us in California no matter at which economic level we may exist."

Shell has been making speeches at the rate of approximately a hundred a month, whistle stopping in his own light plane which he flies from city to town to hamlet, giving the people the facts about State government under the bossism of the Brown-Unruh Administration.

What has he found on these trips?

Just this:

"Never before have I seen the householder, the average citizen regardless of party affiliation, so determined to obtain the facts about his State government.

"The emphasis is not on the emotional issues or personalities.

"We all are feeling the financial pinch. We all want California to proceed in the right direction so that pinch may be relieved.

"Moreover, the group we are accustomed to call the working class, be they wearers of white collars or the sturdier clothes of the outdoor or factory employe — these people have come to realize for themselves that they cannot keep their homes and cars and washing machines and the other things to which they are entitled, with handouts.

"They know they can only pay for them and keep them operating with weekly salary checks their employers can afford to pay.

"They know they cannot exist in the life to which they rightfully have become accustomed without adequate take home pay. They don't want a State Government which will break them."

How did Joe Shell get into affairs of State? (He is not a politician in the accepted sense of the word.)

He was raised in San Diego. He is the son of Judge and Mrs. Joseph L. Shell. The Judge is now retired but a vigorous individual who is proud enough of his son and sold enough on his theory of State Government to be his County Chairman.

HIS LEADERSHIP BEGAN IN HIGH SCHOOL

Joe went to public grammar school, and on to Herbert Hoover High School in San Diego. Now 43 years old, he was graduated from high school in 1936 after his classmates had elected him president of the student body.

He attended the University of Southern California and was graduated with a bachelor's degree in business administration.

He married his college sweetheart, the former Barbara Morton. They have five children. They live in the heart of the residential section of Los Angeles. He has the unique ability of separating his home life from his political life.

He came up through the party chairs, first as a forceful campaign speaker while working in the oil fields, and then as a member of the Legislature which he still is.

He was first elected to the Legislature in a special election in 1953. A fact finding committee chose him to run in that race. He knew only a minority of the committee but he was the sole choice.

Shell was reelected to the Assembly in 1954, 1956, 1958 and 1960. For the last three years his colleagues have elected him their floor leader.

Two avocations tell the real story of Joe Shell. He learned to fly from a mud flat in San Diego when he was 15.

NAVY PILOT IN WORLD WAR II

A flyer ever since, he served his country as an Army flight instructor and Navy pilot in World War II.

The other circumstance which molded his life was playing football through high school and college. Twice he played in the Rose Bowl and twice his team won.

What have flying and football taught Joe Shell?—
"You make a decision and you stick with it."

AND

"There is no one whom you cannot beat if you put forth the effort."

Joe Shell has decided to become Governor and is sticking with that decision.

Joe Shell is putting forth the effort he is convinced will defeat his Republican primary opponents, and then Governor Brown in the general election.

From the Office of Richard Nixon:

ROSE MARY WOODS

Bob Feldman

Thought you might
want to see Shell's
mailing pieces if
you don't already
have them.

Rmw
2/6/64

Here's a news item about Joe Shell you might have missed



LOS ANGELES EXAMINER
Dec. 4, 1961

Shell Blooms Into Real Campaigner

By **CARL GREENBERG**
Examiner Political Editor

ASSEMBLY Minority Leader Joseph C. Shell, candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, has emerged as an accomplished campaigner.

We watched him in action the other night at a GOP candidates' forum.

Even some of the cynical campaign workers in other camps, the men with a hard, critical eye, sat up and took notice.

The fact that former Gov. Knight, whom most of them can't beat for making the customers comfortable and attentive with a smooth flow of words, is ill, hasn't hurt Shell's campaign, incidentally.

Those are the fortunes of political war.

Anyway, Shell, an outspoken conservative who says he'll cut the state budget come hell or high water, has developed a needling style uniquely his own.

"You know," he confides, "Pat Brown reminds me of a man who ties his shoes together and then tries to run."

Debate

Shell, whose Assembly

district was among those massacred in the Democratic reapportionment program, tells about debating unemployment with his friend, "Jesse."

"Jesse" is the new Democratic Speaker of the lower house, Jesse M. Unruh.

It's Jesse and Joe when they meet, because that's the way it is in politics.

But, says Shell to his audience, Pat and Jesse—"they deserve each other."

Shell has been flying his own plane around the state and can land—and does—in hinterlands that haven't seen a candidate in years.

He says the folks there have provided good turnouts and he tells 'em what he thinks.

"I don't believe it's up to the Republican party to just fill a chair in Sacramento," he says.

"We should have a program—and it should be developed in the primary, not afterward.

Explosion

"I find a very great surge of conservatism in California. Not a surge—an explosion."

In 26 months, he says, the state will have to decide whether to go for more taxes or engage in some "major fat cutting."

He's the man to cut the fat, Shell tells them, because he isn't really after some bigger job, like maybe President of the United States.

"It'll be a brutal job," he allows.

And he adds:

"I've gotten sick and tired of calling people liberals when they're basically socialists."

When he got through at the forum, many stood up and applauded.

"Part of his claque," opined a partisan of another candidate.

If it was a claque—and if he's got a lot of them in equal strength around the state—he's going to get a lot of votes. Those are the things they count election day.

Here's a news item about Joe Shell you might have missed



SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER
Dec. 1, 1961

DICK NOLAN THE CITY



THE CAMPAIGNERS—Republicans with their ears to the good California ground are hearing the damndest subterranean rumbling since that Mexican cornfield sprouted a belching volcano. What the wild seismic waves seem to be saying is "Shell!"—but I can't entirely vouch for the initial sibilants. I guess it depends on how much money you have, and on whose nose you have it.

●
TO ELUCIDATE, and high time I did, the campaign of Assemblyman Joe Shell for the Republican nomination for Governor has taken hold.

Especially has it taken hold among the precinct worker, doorbell ringer types.

These are the people who were not consulted when the party chiefs decided to run Bill Knowland for Governor last time out. These are the people who were not consulted when the party chiefs figured Richard Nixon was The Man this time.

They were sore at the Knowland edict, when that was handed down to them, and they are still sore.

Joe Shell has been making hundreds of speeches all over the State, and these are the people he's talking to. As evidence that they're listening, note that some 385 doorbell ringer types were enthusiastic enough to attend a 7:30 a. m. breakfast meeting in Kern County to hear Mr. Shell. It was typical.

Note also that Shell's campaign now has more grass roots volunteers than his headquarters can comfortably accommodate, so his HQ is being enlarged. Note the plentiful money in the Shell campaign. Most of all, note the increasing amount of "Shell talk" you hear wherever the old pros get together.

●
ALL OF THIS was rolling well before former Governor Goodie Knight caught the hepatitis and took to his bed.

It became known, in the inner circles, that Richard Nixon had come to see Shell as a greater threat to the nomination than Knight.

The serious threat from the Shell forces even caused a revision in the Nixon campaign timetable, when Nixon decided he had better start in at shirt-sleeves pitchforking 60 days earlier than he had planned to do.

●
GOODIE KNIGHT'S ILLNESS has complicated the Nixon campaign still further.

The Knight people say, of course, that Goodie is in the fight to stay, and this may well prove to be the case.

In the meantime, though, any waverers among them are going to wind up in Shell's camp.

And if the situation looks hopeless, it is not at all unlikely that Goodie himself may throw his support to Shell. One thing Goodie is dedicated to: The political destruction of Richard Nixon. Toward this end he burns with a crusader's fervor.

●
OTHER GRIEF for the Nixon campaign may be found in the attitude of the southern California press. Best reports from the Southland indicate that Nixon will not get the indorsement of the Ridder papers, out of Long Beach, nor the Copley papers, out of San Diego. There is also a report that the Young Turks in the top management of the arch-Republican Los Angeles Times are fighting to prevent that newspaper from indorsing the Nixon campaign in the primary.

●
NONE OF THIS, it must be emphasized, places Joe Shell in Sacramento as Governor, nor even in the run-off as the GOP candidate. It is what I said it was some paragraphs back: subterranean rumblings I thought worth bringing to your attention.

Locally, the effect of these strange noises must be bothering even the iron nerves of our own Mayor George Christopher.

As an undeclared candidate for Lieut. Governor George has inextricably tied himself to the political fortunes of Richard Nixon, and has gone out of his way (as if this were needed) further to alienate Goodie Knight.

If Knight finally concludes that the best way he can beat Nixon is by throwing his weight behind Shell, and if this maneuver should succeed, George Christopher will get ground up in the wreckage also.

It's something to think about, if you're an undeclared candidate with the escape hatch still open.

SHELL FOR GOVERNOR



4055 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA • DUnkirk 9-3195



February 1, 1962

Miss Jeanne Boehme
426 South Manhattan Place
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Miss Boehme:

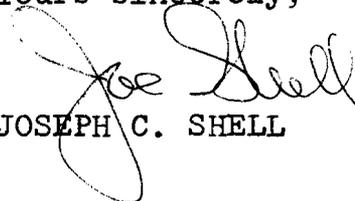
Yes, I certainly agree with you that a Republican has to win.

My prime purpose in being in government is to attempt to reduce governmental operations to a reasonable level so that there can be an alleviation of the tax burden and thus a preservation of our free enterprise system and our republican government.

My record of eight years in the Legislature - three as Republican floor leader - has given me a working knowledge of the State Government. This is vital to the job which must be performed to restore California to the position of a "business opportunity" state.

I am enclosing my platform and the issues which are important to our state.

Yours sincerely,


JOSEPH C. SHELL

js
Enclosures

Not too much
Elect to offer

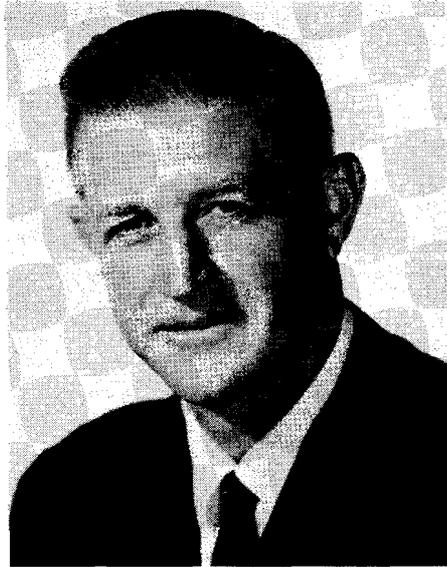
LOYD WRIGHT



U.S. SENATOR

The Leading Conservative Republican
Candidate to Represent California
in the United States Senate

THE JOE SHELL STORY



ASSEMBLYMAN JOSEPH C. SHELL OF LOS ANGELES

Is a Candidate

FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR

in the June Primary

SHELL FOR GOVERNOR COMMITTEE

