

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>
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Daniel P. Moynihan RE: memo from January 3. 1 pg.
1	37	01/03/1968	Memo	From Daniel P. Moynihan to RN RE: advice for the incoming president. 15 pgs.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Bob Haldeman RE: Bishop Jackson of Chicago. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to John Ehrlichman RE: Medal of Freedom. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to John Ehrlichman RE: invitations to the White House. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to John Ehrlichman RE: making telephone calls. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Henry Kissinger RE: Western European astronauts. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to John Ehrlichman RE: letters from Billy Graham. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Henry Kissinger RE: study of Vietnam. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to John Ehrlichman RE: Lyman Brownfield. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Bob Haldeman RE: Walter Thayer as Under Secretary of HEW. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Rose Mary Woods RE: favorite poem. 1 pg.
1	37	11/08/1968	Letter	From H. Lynn Sheller, on behalf of Whittier Junior College, to RN and PN RE: RN's favorite poem. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to General Goodpaster RE: attached letters. 1 pg.
1	37	12/04/1968	Letter	Copy of a letter from Unknown, on behalf of the Walter Reed Hospital, to RN RE: Thanksgiving Day visit. 2 pgs.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Peter Flanigan RE: attached memorandum. 1 pg.
1	37	11/18/1968	Letter	Copy of an excerpt from a letter written by Benjamin Clayton regarding older corporate figures. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Peter Flanigan RE: attached memorandum. 1 pg.
1	37	11/18/1968	Letter	Excerpt from a letter written by Benjamin Clayton regarding older corporate figures. Handwritten notes on reverse added by unknown. 2 pgs.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to General Goodpaster RE: Council of Former Presidents. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
1	37	N.D.	Other Document	Copy of a paper from unknown, to unknown regarding the establishment of a Council of Former Presidents. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to General Goodpaster RE: Council of Former Presidents. 1 pg.
1	37	N.D.	Other Document	Paper from unknown, to unknown regarding the establishment of a Council of Former Presidents. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Bob Haldeman RE: Leo Cherne. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Bob Haldeman RE: gubernatorial inaugurations. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Haldeman RE: use of telephones in the election campaign. 2 pgs.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Ehrlichman RE: White House reception. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Ehrlichman regarding retiring members of the Washington Press Corps. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Ehrlichman RE: political cartoons. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Rose Mary Woods RE: filing of documents. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Rose Mary Woods RE: letter from Eisenhower. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Rose Mary Woods advising that Lyman Brownfield be invited to the Inauguration. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Rose Mary Woods RE: Reverend John F. Cronin. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to John Ehrlichman RE: White House guest list. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to John Ehrlichman RE: Stuart List at a potential White House dinner. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Bob Haldeman regarding Thatcher Longstreth. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Bob Haldeman RE: Walter Thayer as Under Secretary of HEW. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Rose Mary Woods RE: favorite poem. 1 pg.
1	37	11/08/1968	Letter	Copy of a letter from H. Lynn Sheller of Fullerton Junior College to RN and PN RE: a poem. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	Copy of a memo from RN to Rose Mary Woods RE: "special friends" list. 1 pg.
1	37	01/08/1969	Memo	From RN to Bob Haldeman RE: Thatcher Longstreth. 1 pg.

RAW +

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Daniel P. Moynihan

FROM: RN

Your memorandum of January 3 was stimulating and helpful. Clearly apart from your other duties, I would like for you to sit back about once a month, or at other times when the spirit may move you to do so, and give me your reactions to policy problems generally in a memo of this type. In addition, I would like for you in that type of memo to send along on a very limited basis, having in mind my time problem, any suggestions you have for extra-curricular reading of good articles, columns or summaries of articles or columns on major national issues.

#

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

WASHINGTON, D.C.

3 January 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: The President Elect
FROM: Daniel P. Moynihan
Assistant for Urban Affairs

Before the storm breaks, as it were, on the 20th, I would like to send in a few extended comments on some of the longer range issues that face you, but will tend, I should imagine, to get lost in the daily succession of crises.

I would like to speak first of the theme "Forward Together."

This appeal was much in evidence in your very fine acceptance speech at Miami, and during the campaign the logic of events, and your own sure sense of them, brought it forward ever more insistently. In the end it was the theme of the campaign, and in the aftermath of victory stands as the most explicit mandate you have from the American people. I would hope it might be the theme of your administration as well.

It has fallen to you to assume the governance of a deeply divided country. And to do so with a divided government. Other Presidents -- Roosevelt -- have taken office in moments of crisis,

but the crises were so widely perceived as in a sense to unite the country and to create a great outpouring of support for the President as the man who would have to deal with the common danger. Neither Lincoln nor Wilson, the two predecessors whose situations most resembled yours, in terms of the popular vote and the state of then current political questions, had any such fortune. No one would now doubt that they proved to be two of our greatest leaders, nor yet that their administrations achieved great things. But, alas, at what cost to themselves.

A divided nation makes terrible demands on the President. It would seem important to try to anticipate some of them, at least, and to ponder whether there is not some common element in each that might give a measure of coherence and unity to the President's own responses, and by a process of diffusion provide a guide for the administration as a whole.

I believe there is such a common element. In one form or another all of the major domestic problems facing you derive from the erosion of the authority of the institutions of American society. This is a mysterious process of which the most that can be said is that once it starts it tends not to stop.

It can be stopped: the English, for example, managed to halt and even reverse the process in the period, roughly, 1820-40. But more commonly, those in power neglect the problem at first and misunderstand it later; concessions come too late and are too little; the failure of concessions leads to equally unavailing

attempts at repression; and so events spiral downward toward instability. The process is little understood. (Neither is the opposite and almost completely ignored phenomenon: some societies -- Mexico in the 1920's -- seem almost suddenly to become stabilized after periods of prolonged and seemingly hopeless chaos.) All we know is that the sense of institutions -- especially those of government -- being legitimate is the glue that holds societies together. When it weakens, things come unstuck.

The North Vietnamese see this clearly enough. Hence the effort through the subtleties of seating arrangements to establish the NLF as an independent regime, and the Saigon government as a puppet one. In contrast, Americans, until presently at least, have not been nearly so concerned with such matters. American society has been so stable for so long that the prospect of instability has had no very great meaning for us. (As I count, there are but nine members of the United Nations that both existed as independent nations in 1914 and have not had their form of government changed by invasion or revolution since.) Moreover we retain a tradition of revolutionary rhetoric that gives rather an advantage to those who challenge authority rather than those who uphold it. Too little heed is given the experience of the 20th Century in which it has been the authority of democratic institutions that has been challenged by totalitarians of the left and the right.

Even the term "authority" has acquired for many a sinister cast, largely one suspects from its association with the term

"authoritarian." Yet it remains the case that relationships based on authority are consensual ones: that is to say based on common agreement, do behave in certain ways. It is said that freedom lives in the interstices of authority: when the structure collapses, freedom disappears, and society is governed by relationships based on power.

Increasing numbers of Americans seem of late to have sensed this, and to have become actively concerned at the drift of events. Your election was in ways the first major consequence of that mounting concern. Your administration represents the first significant opportunity to change the direction in which events move.

Your task, then, is clear: to restore the authority of American institutions. Not, certainly, under that name, but with a clear sense that what is at issue is the continued acceptance by the great mass of the people of the legitimacy and efficacy of the present arrangements of American society, and of our processes for changing those arrangements.

For that purpose the theme "Forward Together" responds not only to the deepest need of the moment, but also, increasingly, to a perceived need as the facts of disunity more and more impress themselves on the nation's consciousness.

What has been pulling us apart? One wishes one knew. Yet there are a number of near and long term developments that can

be discerned and surely contribute significantly to what is going on.

Of the near term events the two most conspicuous are the Negro revolution and the war in Vietnam. Although seemingly unrelated, they have much in common as to origins, and even more as to the process by which they have brought on mounting levels of disunity.

The French philosopher Georges Bernanos once wrote: "There are no more corrupting lies than problems poorly stated." I, at least, feel that this goes to the heart of much of the present turmoil of race relations and foreign policy. In a word, those in power have allowed domestic dislocations that accompany successful social change to be interpreted as irrefutable evidence that the society refuses to change, and foreign policy failures that have arisen from mistaken judgements as incontrovertible proof that the society has gone mad as well.

The fact with respect to Negro Americans is that we have seen incredible progress since, roughly, the Brown vs. Board of Education decision of 1956 and President Eisenhower's subsequent decision to see Federal troops to Little Rock, thus commencing the Second Reconstruction. Nowhere in history is there to be encountered an effort to bring a suppressed people into the mainstream of society comparable to the public and private initiatives on behalf of Negro Americans in recent years. As I would like to discuss in a later memorandum, the results have been dramatic. Yet it was only after that effort had begun,

and had been underway for some time, that it became possible to see the true horror of the situation white America had forced on black America and the deep disabilities that came about in consequence. The first to see this, or course, were the blacks themselves. The result on the part of many was a revulsion against white society that has only just begun to run its course. Middle class, educated blacks, especially young ones, have in even larger numbers come to see American society as hateful and illegitimate, having no true claim on their allegiance. Well they might. The problem is not that one group in the population is beginning to react to centuries of barbarism by another group. The problem is that this cultural reaction among black militants is accompanied by the existence of a large, disorganized urban lower class, which like such groups everywhere, is unstable and essentially violent. This fact of lower class violence has nothing to do with race. It is purely a matter of social class. But since Watts the media of public opinion -- the press, television, the Presidency itself -- have combined to insist that race is the issue. As a result, middle class blacks caught up in a cultural revolution have been able, in effect, to back up their demands. This has led to a predictable white counter reaction. And so on. In the process we have almost deliberately obscured the extraordinary progress, and commitment to progress which the nation as a whole has made, which white America has not abandoned, and which increasingly black America is learning to make use of.

To the contrary, it has been the failures of policy that have seemed ever more prominent. The essence of the Negro problem in America at this time is that despite great national commitments, and great progress, a large mass of the black population remains poor, disorganized, and discriminated against. These facts are increasingly interpreted as proof that the national commitment is flawed, if not indeed fraudulent, that the society is irredeemably "racist," etc. This interpretation is made by middle class blacks and whites for whom, outwardly at least, society would seem to have treated very well, but the continued existence of black poverty makes their argument hard to assail. Moreover, increasingly that argument is directed not to particulars, but to fundamental questions as to the legitimacy of American society.

Vietnam has been a domestic disaster of the same proportion, and for much the same reason. As best I can discern the war was begun with the very highest of motives at the behest of men such as McNamara, Bundy, and Rusk in a fairly consistent pursuit of post war American policy of opposing Communist expansion and simultaneously encouraging political democracy and economic development in the nations on the Communist perimeter, and elsewhere for that matter. At the risk of seeming cynicism, I would argue that the war in Vietnam has become a disastrous mistake because we have lost it. I quite accept Henry Kissinger's splendid formulation that a conventional army loses if it does not win, the opposite being the case for a guerilla force. We have not

been able to win. Had the large scale fighting by American forces been over by mid-1967 (which is my impression of what Bundy anticipated in mid-1965), had the children of the middle class accordingly continued to enjoy draft exemption, had there been no inflation, no surtax, no Tet offensive, then I very much fear there would be abroad at this point at most a modicum of moral outrage.

But this is not what happened. The war has not gone well, and increasingly in an almost primitive reaction -- to which modern societies are as much exposed as any Stone Age clan -- it has been judged that this is because the Gods are against it. In modern parlance this means that the evil military industrial complex has embarked on a racist colonialist adventure. (I have heard the head of S.N.C.C. state that we were in Vietnam "for the rice supplies.") But the essential point is that we have been losing a war, and this more than any single thing erodes the authority of a government, howsoever stable, just, well intentioned, or whatever. I would imagine that the desire not to be the first President to "lose" a war has been much in President Johnson's mind over the past years, and explains some of his conduct. But the fact is that he could not win, and the all important accompanying fact is that the semi-violent domestic protest that arose in consequence forced him to resign. In a sense he was the first American President to be toppled by a mob. No matter that it was a mob of college professors, millionaires, flower children, and Radcliffe girls. It was a

mob that by early 1968 had effectively physically separated the Presidency from the people. (You may recall that seeking to attend the funeral of Cardinal Spellman, Johnson slipped in the back door of St. Patrick's Cathedral like a medieval felon seeking sanctuary.) As with the case of the most militant blacks, success for the anti-war protestors has seemed only to confirm their detestation of society as it now exists. Increasingly they declare the society to be illegitimate, while men such as William Sloan Coffin, Jr., the chaplain at Yale, openly espouse violence as the necessary route of moral regeneration.

The successful extremism of the black militants and the anti-war protestors -- by in large they have had their way -- has now clearly begun to arouse fears and thoughts of extreme actions by other groups. George Wallace, a fourth rate regional demagogue, won 13 percent of the national vote and at one point in the campaign probably had the sympathy of a quarter of the electorate, largely in the working class. Among Jews -- I draw your attention to this -- there is a rising concern, in some quarters approaching alarm, over black anti-semitism. They foresee Negro political power driving them from civil service jobs, as in the New York City school system. They see anti-semitism becoming an "accepted" political posture. With special dread, they see a not distant future when the political leaders of the country might have to weigh the competing claims of ten million black voters who had become passionately pro-Arab as

against one or two million pro-Israel Jewish voters. In the meantime we must await the reaction of the Armed Forces, and the veterans of Vietnam to whatever settlement you get there. No officer corps ever lost a war, and this one surely would have no difficulty finding symbols of those at home who betrayed it. All in all reason to expect a busy eight years in the White House.

There is a longer term development contributing to the present chaos which bears mentioning. Since about 1840 the cultural elite in America have pretty generally rejected the values and activities of the larger society. It has been said of America that the culture will not approve that which the polity strives to provide. For a brief period, associated with the Depression, World War II, and the Cold War there was something of a truce in this protracted struggle. That, I fear, is now over. The leading cultural figures are going -- have gone -- into opposition once again. This time they take with them a vastly more numerous following of educated, middle class persons, especially young ones, who share their feelings and who do not need the "straight" world. It is their pleasure to cause trouble, to be against. And they are hell bent for a good time. President Johnson took all this personally, but I have the impression that you will make no such mistake!

It is, of course, easier to describe these situations than

to suggest what is to be done about them. However, a certain number of general postures do seem to follow from the theme "Bring Us Together." I would list five.

First, the single most important task is to maintain the rate of economic expansion. If a serious economic recession were to come along to compound the controversies of race, Vietnam, and cultural alienation, the nation could indeed approach instability. It would be my judgement that the great prosperity of the 1960's is the primary reason we have been able to weather as much internal dissension as we have. The lot of Negroes has steadily improved, and so has that of most everyone else. Black demands for a greater share have thus been less threatening. The war has been costly, but largely has been paid for through annual fiscal increments and recent deficits. Consumption has been effected not at all. If this situation were to reverse itself, your ability to meet Black needs, the tolerance of the rest of the society for your efforts, the general willingness to see military efforts proceed, would all be grievously diminished.

Second, it would seem most important to de-escalate the rhetoric of crisis about the internal state of the society in general, and in particular about those problems -- e.g., crime, de facto segregation, low educational achievement -- which government has relatively little power to influence in the present state of knowledge and available resources. This does not mean reducing efforts. Not at all. But it does mean trying to create

some equivalence between what government can do about certain problems and how much attention it draws to them. For this purpose the theme you struck in presenting your cabinet on television seems perfect: yours is an administration of men with wide ranging interests and competence whose first concern is the effective delivery of government services. There is a risk here of being accused of caring less than your predecessors, but even that will do no great harm if you can simultaneously demonstrate that you do more. It is out of such perceptions that the authority of government is enhanced.

It would seem likely that a powerful approach to this issue will be to stress the needs and aspirations of groups such as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and others which have also been excluded and exploited by the larger society. This, of course, is something you would want to do in any event.

Third, the Negro lower class must be dissolved. This is the work of a generation, but it is time it began to be understood as a clear national goal. By lower class I mean the low income, marginally employed, poorly educated, disorganized slum dwellers who have piled up in our central cities over the past quarter century. I would estimate they make up almost one half the total Negro population. They are not going to become capitalists, nor even middle class functionaries. But it is fully reasonable to conceive of them being transformed into a stable working class population: Truck drivers, mail

carriers, assembly line workers: people with dignity, purpose, and in the United States a very good standard of living indeed. Common justice demands this be done, but also common sense. It is the existence of this lower class, with its high rates of crime, dependency, and general disorderliness that causes nearby whites (that is to say working class whites, the liberals are all in the suburbs) to fear Negroes and to seek by various ways to avoid and constrain them. It is this group that black extremists use to threaten white society with the prospect of mass arson and pillage. It is also this group that terrorizes and plunders the stable elements of the Negro community -- trapped by white prejudice in the slums, and forced to live cheek by jowl with a murderous slum population. Take the urban lower class out of the picture and the Negro cultural revolution becomes an exciting and constructive development.

Fourth, it would seem devoutly to be wished that you not become personally identified with the war in Vietnam. You have available to you far more competent advice than mine in this area, and I am sure you will wish to proceed in terms of the foreign policy interests of the nation rather than in domestic terms, but I do urge that every effort be made to avoid the ugly physical harrassment and savage personal attacks that brought President Johnson's administration to an end. The dignity of the Presidency as the symbolic head of state as well as of functioning leader of the government must be restored. Alas,

it is in the power of the middle class mob to prevent this. I would far rather see it concentrate, as faute de mieux it now seems to be doing, on attacking liberal college presidents as "racist pigs."

I fear the blunt truth is that ending the draft would be the single most important step you could take in this direction. The children of the upper middle class will not be conscripted. In any event, the present system does cast a pall of anxiety and uncertainty over the lives of that quarter of the young male population which does in fact require four to eight to ten years of college work to prepare for careers which almost all agree are socially desirable, even necessary.

Fifth, it would seem important to stress those things Americans share in common, rather than those things that distinguish them one from the other. Thus the war on poverty defined a large portion of the population as somehow living apart from the rest. I would seek programs that stress problems and circumstances that all share, and especially problems which working people share with the poor. Too frequently of late the liberal upper middle class has proposed to solve problems of those at the bottom at the expense, or seeming expense, of those in between.

Obviously the theme "Forward Together" is essential here, and there are other symbols at hand of which I would think the approaching 200th anniversary of the founding of the Republic

is perhaps the most powerful. In the final months of your second term you will preside over the anniversary ceremonies of July 4, 1976. It would seem an incomparable opportunity to begin now to define the goals you would hope to see achieved by that time, trying to make them truly national goals to which all may subscribe, and from which as many as possible will benefit.

Hopefully our 200th anniversary will see the nation somewhat more united than were those thirteen colonies!

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

While I understand Bishop Jackson is somewhat controversial in Chicago, I believe he should be invited to the Inauguration.

After all, he did come out for us when many of his critics refused to do so.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: RN

When I saw Lodge in Florida he suggested that the Medal of Freedom, which had been initiated by Kennedy and apparently not utilized by Johnson, be awarded on appropriate occasions by the new Administration.

Would you make a check on this and give me a recommendation.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman
FROM: RN

I would like for you to check with John Alexander to get a list from him, which I have asked for, of some of our top supporters and clients who might deserve a White House invitation and who might be included when we are naming people to Presidential Commissions of the honorary type.

I am sure he will not make the list too burdensome and over a period of time I would like to include some of these people.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: RN

In thinking about my schedule after January 20 I want a time set aside each day, where possible, for making telephone calls other than those which must be returned.

An appropriate list should be prepared for this drill.

In addition, I have already spoken to someone on the staff with regard to initiating the practice of writing a few letters each week to friends across the country where doing so might be helpful to our future plans.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Henry Kissinger

FROM: RN

You may recall that I mentioned Teddy White's suggestion that one dramatic move might be for us to offer to send Western European astronauts into space with ours.

This supplements the other suggestion that has been made with regard to inviting a Russian astronaut to go along on our next space trip.

I don't know whether such ideas are feasible or not but they appeal to me, and at some level you might have them checked out and give me a recommendation sometime after January 20.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: RN

I am enclosing a file of letters which Billy Graham passed on to me Sunday.

He said, incidentally, that he had received over 1200 letters since the election from people who asked him to intercede with me with regard to jobs, their ideas, etc.

Mrs. Shoemaker is Senator Alex Smith's daughter. I do not recall her and do not know whether she is qualified for what she suggests she might do, but perhaps she might be worth a further check by the Wilkinson group or some other group.

You can look over the other letters to see what ideas, if any, are worth considering.

Perhaps you have a reaction to the suggestion from the Religious Editor of the Miami Herald. I don't know whether Billy responded to the letter, and I don't know further what, if any, response we should give. Follow up in any way you think is appropriate.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Henry Kissinger

FROM: RN

In making your study of Vietnam I want a precise report on what the enemy has in Cambodia and what, if anything, we are doing to destroy the build-up there. I think a very definite change of policy toward Cambodia probably should be one of the first orders of business when we get in.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: RN

Lyman Brownfield should be on the list for an appointment at a later time to one of the special committees.

I realize he has been difficult, but at least he tried to contribute to the best of his ability.

Lyman Brownfield
Brownfield, Kosydar & Yearling
88 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614/221-5834

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

I now recall what I was trying to think of in the office Tuesday when we were discussing Finch.

Do you think it might be wise to see if Walter Thayer would take on the Under Secretary of HEW?

We discussed this briefly, but I think it might be worth following up on in the event that we don't move with Thayer on the National Finance position.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

I have a very high regard for Thatcher Longstreth. (Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce).

He could work out well on Finch's team.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

When someone writes and asks for a favorite poem, you might send them this excerpt from Carl Sandburg's, "The People Yes".

I recall studying this when Sheller was my teacher 40 years ago!

FJC

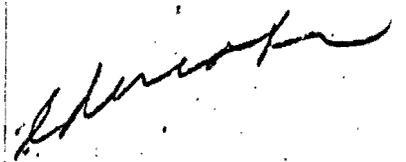
Superintendent
Charles H. Wilson

President
H. Lynn Sheller

Board of Trustees
Melvin D. Hilgenfeld
Joe W. Johnson
Francis N. Laird
Felix S. LeMarinel
Richard D. Noble
James R. Ratcliffe
Herbert M. Warren

NOV 15 1968

Fullerton Junior College 321 East Chapman Avenue Fullerton, California 92634 Telephone 871-8000



November 8, 1968

President-Elect Richard Nixon and Pat
Key Biscayne, Florida

Dear Dick and Pat,

The people is a monolith,
a mover, a dirt farmer,
a desperate hoper.

The prize liar comes saying, "I know how, listen to me and I'll
bring you through."

The guesser comes saying, "The way is long and hard and maybe
what I offer will work out."

The people choose and the people's choice more often than not
is one more washout.

Yet the strong man, the priceless one who wants nothing for him-
self and has his roots among his people,

Comes often enough for the people to know him and to win through
into gains beyond later losing,

Comes often enough so the people can look back and say, "We have
come far and will go farther yet."

--From The People, Yes, by Carl Sandburg.

Congratulations a million to both of you, with every good
wish for your unlimited success as our President and First Lady!

Sincerely,


H. Lynn Sheller
President

North Orange County Junior College District

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: General Goodpaster
FROM: RN

Re the attached letter you will note the General's reference to General Heaton.

I would like to follow up on this in any way that is appropriate since I have the highest regard for General Heaton.

Perhaps the proper course of action is for a personal letter to be sent by me to him indicating that I would like for him to stay on and that I will put a request in to the Congress at the appropriate time.

I will, of course, do whatever you recommend in this respect.

DDE

GETTYSBURG
PENNSYLVANIA 17325
Walter Reed Hospital
December 4, 1968

Dear Dick:

When I saw you all Thanksgiving Day there were two rather personal matters that I wanted to mention but with so many people present I thought it better to write you personally, making sure you got the letter yourself.

The first one has to do with Bob Woodruff. As you know, being from Georgia, he has been a Democrat all his life but he has supported me in the past as well as you this time. He made a significant contribution---I suppose secretly, due to his party affiliation. I am told that the amount was in excess of \$20,000. I know you are acquainted with Bob and thought it quite possible this knowledge had not come to your attention. I felt if you knew it you would write a note of appreciation.

The other point has to do with General Heaton. When he was asked to remain another two years on active duty (Though now retired) he declined to do so before the election for the simple reason of his determination to avoid serving under your opponent. I believe under the last resolution passed by Congress, a resolution extended his service to sometime in May. It occurred to me that you might want to take some action in the matter. He wants nothing for himself, but all his associates that I have met are so impressed; first, by his standing in medicine in the United States and second, by the close and friendly relation he has built up with Congress during the past 15 years that you might want him to continue for a couple years as the Chief, Army Medical Corps or you might want to use him in some capacity as coordinator of military medicine in all the services. He is an extremely able man.

Incidentally, we were all delighted to hear that you are assigning Colonel Tkach as your White House Physician. He is top flight in every respect.

I hate to bother you with a letter but these two matters were personal and are the expressions of my own opinion. No one else has any knowledge of this letter. I shall address it to Bryce Harlow who can bring it to you at your convenience.

I cannot tell you how much I enjoyed the visit you and your family made to Mamie and me on Thanksgiving Day. That occasion has been the highlight of seven long months in a hospital room.

With every good wish and affectionate greetings to every member of your charming family.

Cordially,

J. K. S.

President-Elect Richard M. Nixon
c/o Hotel Pierre
5th Avenue at 61st Street
New York, New York 10021

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanigan

FROM: RN

The attached memorandum from a Mr. Ben Clayton may be of some interest to you in stock-piling your names for appointments, either temporary or permanent.

I know all three of these people and they are all able.

Excerpt from letter dated Nov. 18, 1968, from Mr. Benjamin Clayton:

"1st the man who brought United Fruit out of the terrible condition they got themselves into. They were in desperate straits. Great plantations in most Latin American countries who were taxing them out of existence. Litigation going on against them in connection with International Railways, where court decisions were against them - big losses from hurricanes blowing their tall banana trees down, etc.

" They got a man from Standard Oil of Indiana to come to the Presidency of U.F. In 10 or 12 years he had them a great company again. He worked them out of their legal difficulties. Sold or rented their plantations to natives. Furnished them with expert supervisors & developed a low bushy tree to produce bananas of the highest quality and put them on the big road again. I can't remember whether he was named Hutchinson or Hutcheson. Any good stock broker can tell you. But he is good.

"Another one is Swearingen, now Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil of Indiana, 55 years old, I believe. He is a business statesman. He is good.

" L. F. McCollum, just retired as President of Continental Oil Co., Houston. Sixty-five years old.

" Any one of these men would make a fine official where courage, honesty and great ability are needed. They are all rich and honest.

"If I were to analyze each of them I would put No. 1 above, where he had to untangle and organize a large body of subordinates.

"No. 2 would go where a good cleanup job was needed, as well as to operate it afterwards.

"No. 3. Would go where difficult situations had to be studied and brought to normal, and operated. All of them work on the staff principle. No. 3 werves on the Caltech Board of Trustees with my son.

"Standard of Indiana - ~~No. 2~~ has no official over 55 years of age and only one that old (out of the top 15 or 20 officials who run this great corporation). "

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanigan

FROM: RN

The attached memorandum from a Mr. Ben Clayton may be of some interest to you in stock-piling your names for appointments, either temporary or permanent.

I know all three of these people and they are all able.

Excerpt from letter dated Nov. 18, 1968, from Mr. Benjamin Clayton:

"Ist the man who brought United Fruit out of the terrible condition they got themselves into. They were in desperate straits. Great plantations in most Latin American countries who were taxing them out of existence. Litigation going on against them in connection with International Railways, where court decisions were against them - big losses from hurricanes blowing their tall banana trees down, etc.

" They got a man from Standard Oil of Indiana to come to the Presidency of U.F. In 10 or 12 years he had them a great company again. He worked them out of their legal difficulties. Sold or rented their plantations to natives. Furnished them with expert supervisors & developed a low bushy tree to produce bananas of the highest quality and put them on the big road again. I can't remember whether he was named Hutchinson or Hutcheson. Any good stock broker can tell you. But he is good.

"Another one is Swearingen, now Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil of Indiana, 55 years old, I believe. He is a business statesman. He is good.

" L. F. McCollum, just retired as President of Continental Oil Co., Houston. Sixty-five years old.

" Any one of these men would make a fine official where courage, honesty and great ability are needed. They are all rich and honest.

"If I were to analyze each of them I would put No. 1 above, where he had to untangle and organize a large body of subordinates.

"No. 2 would go where a good cleanup job was needed, as well as to operate it afterwards.

"No. 3. Would go where difficult situations had to be studied and brought to normal, and operated. All of them work on the staff principle. No. 3 serves on the Caltech Board of Trustees with my son.

"Standard of Indiana - ~~No. 2~~ has no official over 55 years of age and only one that old (out of the top 15 or 20 officials who run this great corporation)."

Wm

Jackson
D. Hy.

Wm

(The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.)

Wm
The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the original file.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: General Goodpaster
FROM: RN

On one of the recent occasions when I saw the General I believe he handed me this memo and told me that he had received it from Johnson. My recollection, however, may be fuzzy in this respect. I found the memorandum in some papers that had piled up on my desk over the past few weeks.

I would like for you to read it quickly and give me a recommendation. My guess is that we can accomplish everything set forth in the memo better by individual handling rather than setting up a Council of former Presidents.

I, for example, can't see much good that would be accomplished by asking Truman to sit down with Johnson and Eisenhower. On the other hand, I could well bring Johnson and Eisenhower in together on one occasion as well as seeing them separately which, of course, I plan to do. As far as the staffing function is concerned and keeping them posted, as you know, we have talked about Bob Schulz taking over this function.

I would like for you to give the whole matter some thought and I will follow whatever advice you come up with.

"Through the years ahead the President of the United States should draw on Dwight D. Eisenhower, in quiet days as well as troubled, for the sage guidance and heartening lift he gives all who call on him.

"I have directed my staff to prepare ways by which, without undue imposition on him or trial to him, he can be kept currently abreast of the ventures, problems, and aspirations of the next Administration."

(From October 14, 1968, Press Release)

THE SITUATION

The extraordinary political hallmark of the Republic since its inception, except for the 1861-65 period, is National Governmental continuity through many decades of change in circumstances, of growth and expansion in every measurement of a nation's stature. In part, this continuity has been due to the durability of the membership of the Congress of the United States on the legislative side. In larger part, on the executive side, it has been due to the longevity of individuals, commonly referred to as Elder Statesmen, who have bridged Presidencies and who have been advisers to Presidents.

First and preeminent among such men today is Dwight D. Eisenhower. Since late 1945 until early 1961, he was either a molder and shaper of national policy at home and abroad or the Chief Executive.

His immediate successors in times of urgent crisis have always been quick to call on him for counsel--thereby, on more than one occasion, giving reassurance to Americans everywhere. The present President has tried to keep him abreast of international affairs by briefings in depth when advisable or possible. Most of the time, however, his sources of information have been his newspaper and visitors. And his views have only irregularly reached Government because no organized line of communications--protecting him from the appearance of intrusiveness--existed. Despite his self-imposed or tradition-imposed isolation from the mainstream of public affairs, he has nevertheless continued to enjoy the confidence and affection of the American people.

For the next Administration not fully to use a man still in his intellectual prime and in command of knowledge and wisdom immediately applicable to both foreign and domestic problems would be a waste of a unique human resource.

= THE PROBLEM

How--constitutionally, without diminution of Presidential image, stature or independence--can such a man and men like him in the future be formally associated with the President as continuing sources of senior advice?

A PROPOSED SOLUTION

The establishment by Executive Order of a Council of Former Presidents, constituting a solely advisory body but assigned a staff adequate to brief the council members and to communicate regularly through designated channels their advice whenever requested.

At the start, for a pioneer venture of this sort, the Secretary (or Chief Coordinator) should be an individual: who has a broad knowledge of the Executive departments and particularly White House operations; who is known to and has acted as liaison between those who will be members of the Council; who is keenly aware of the protocols, proprieties and channels that must be observed.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: General Goodpaster
FROM: RN

On one of the recent occasions when I saw the General I believe he handed me this memo and told me that he had received it from Johnson. My recollection, however, may be fuzzy in this respect. I found the memorandum in some papers that had piled up on my desk over the past few weeks.

I would like for you to read it quickly and give me a recommendation. My guess is that we can accomplish everything set forth in the memo better by individual handling rather than setting up a Council of former Presidents.

I, for example, can't see much good that would be accomplished by asking Truman to sit down with Johnson and Eisenhower. On the other hand, I could well bring Johnson and Eisenhower in together on one occasion as well as seeing them separately which, of course, I plan to do. As far as the staffing function is concerned and keeping them posted, as you know, we have talked about Bob Schulz taking over this function.

I would like for you to give the whole matter some thought and I will follow whatever advice you come up with.

"Through the years ahead the President of the United States should draw on Dwight D. Eisenhower, in quiet days as well as troubled, for the sage guidance and heartening lift he gives all who call on him.

"I have directed my staff to prepare ways by which, without undue imposition on him or trial to him, he can be kept currently abreast of the ventures, problems, and aspirations of the next Administration."

(From October 14, 1968, Press Release)

THE SITUATION

The extraordinary political hallmark of the Republic since its inception, except for the 1861-65 period, is National Governmental continuity through many decades of change in circumstances, of growth and expansion in every measurement of a nation's stature. In part, this continuity has been due to the durability of the membership of the Congress of the United States on the legislative side. In larger part, on the executive side, it has been due to the longevity of individuals, commonly referred to as Elder Statesmen, who have bridged Presidencies and who have been advisers to Presidents.

First and preeminent among such men today is Dwight D. Eisenhower. Since late 1945 until early 1961, he was either a molder and shaper of national policy at home and abroad or the Chief Executive.

His immediate successors in times of urgent crisis have always been quick to call on him for counsel--thereby, on more than one occasion, giving reassurance to Americans everywhere. The present President has tried to keep him abreast of international affairs by briefings in depth when advisable or possible. Most of the time, however, his sources of information have been his newspaper and visitors. And his views have only irregularly reached Government because no organized line of communications--protecting him from the appearance of intrusiveness--existed. Despite his self-imposed or tradition-imposed isolation from the mainstream of public affairs, he has nevertheless continued to enjoy the confidence and affection of the American people.

For the next Administration not fully to use a man still in his intellectual prime and in command of knowledge and wisdom immediately applicable to both foreign and domestic problems would be a waste of a unique human resource.

THE PROBLEM

How--constitutionally, without diminution of Presidential image, stature or independence--can such a man and men like him in the future be formally associated with the President as continuing sources of senior advice?

A PROPOSED SOLUTION

The establishment by Executive Order of a Council of Former Presidents, constituting a solely advisory body but assigned a staff adequate to brief the council members and to communicate regularly through designated channels their advice whenever requested.

At the start, for a pioneer venture of this sort, the Secretary (or Chief Coordinator) should be an individual: who has a broad knowledge of the Executive departments and particularly White House operations; who is known to and has acted as liaison between those who will be members of the Council; who is keenly aware of the protocols, proprieties and channels that must be observed.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

You ought to check around to see whether Leo Cherne might be a good potential for one of the positions in the Administration.

I have always found him extremely capable and objective, although he is, of course, known as a liberal Democrat.

Leo Cherne
Executive Director
The Research Institute of America, Inc.
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

One area where we have missed the boat again is with regard to sending wires to the Governors as they were inaugurated. I suppose that we have covered the base to an extent by having sent notes or wires of congratulation, although those were sent so late that some of them may have been miffed.

At this point, I think a letter might well go to those Governors who were inaugurated and I would limit it to the Republican Governors.

"This is just a note to extend my warmest congratulations to you on the occasion of your inauguration as Governor of _____." (Now, where it is someone who is inaugurated for a 2nd or a 3rd term put that in -- Charlie can give you the information.)

"I shall look forward to working with you over the next four years, and I will appreciate your giving me the benefit of your counsel on issues which confront the nation during that period."

"With every good wish for the New Year,"

RMW

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: HALDEMAN

FROM: RN

You will recall that I asked for a check to be made on the effectiveness of our telephone campaign and on some of the other programs that we used. I know you are pretty tied down now with the White House responsibilities. I do, however, want some group to undertake this analysis so that it will be available to us within the next four or five months. Perhaps you can use Sears, under Ehrlichman's direction, to follow through from the White House level but with the primary responsibility either in the new National Committee set-up with Len Garment or possibly with a committee of both.

I have a feeling that we probably wasted a considerable amount of money during the campaign and that in certain areas we were grossly over-staffed. Some of this, of course, is inevitable but now a good, cold study of it can keep us from making such mistakes in the future.

On the same subject, I think it is important now for us to develop a plan for campaign funds for 1972. Johnson had enormous amounts collected in the first year after he became President so that when 1964 rolled around he had all the money he needed. In this connection, as I have emphasized to you, funds should now be collected to take

care of our deficit and transition expenses from those who failed to contribute before the election and, between now and 1972, we should get substantial contributions in the bank so that we will not have to make a major drive at the beginning of the election year.

#

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: EHRlichman

FROM: RN

For the receptions for the family, the campaign staff and old friends, I want the procedure to be different from what we have previously discussed. I think it will mean a great deal more to all present if an entry is made just as it is at White House social functions for the diplomatic corps, for Congress and other guests. Have the guests all arrive at a certain time. Approximately fifteen minutes later, the Marine Band will strike up some kind of music. Check with them to see if it is traditional to play "Hail to the Chief" at this time. We then come to the door and the aides announce, "The President of the United States and Mrs. Nixon."

In the case of the old friends reception, we will then stand in line while all of them come through the line to shake hands. In the case of the family, we will then simply start walking around and shaking hands with them, and in the case of the staff, we will walk to the head of the room where I will make a few remarks.

#

RMW

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: EHRlichman

FROM: RN

One luncheon function or informal evening function which I would like to have scheduled is for some of the old-timers in the Washington Press Corps who are retiring, or have retired, in the last two or three years. Arthur Krock, Walter Trohan, Willard Edwards, Ted Lewis, Bill Henry (I don't think he is retired, but he will be doing so shortly) Gould Lincoln and John Cummings of the Philadelphia Inquirer are in this number. You might check with Klein to see if he has a few other names in this league who might be included. The Dinner ^{or lunch} would be stag; the timing for it would be sometime within the first 60 days.

#

RAW

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: EHRlichman

FROM: RN

One of the balls that seems to be dropping between the stools is the request I have put in ten or fifteen times with regard to letters to those who write good columns, make good commentaries or give us a good cartoon. We simply have to get this out of Klein's hands and into the hands of somebody who follows up on things. Cartoonists particularly deserve a note now and then since we will be requesting their originals. We have very few friends in this group (Carl Blumenthal of the Herald Express and Don Hesse of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat being among them) and we should try to cultivate them.

#

RMW

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

When I send things out for filing that are political in character, I want them to go into a special file since I will not want to give such papers to the Government or make them available for public surveillance. Also, my yellow notes of conversations and speeches should be put in a file separately from the other material that comes out.. I shall make a later determination as to what, if any, of these note will be made available to the public.

#

RMW *

January 8, 1969

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

From the enclosed letter from Eisenhower, you will note his reference to Bob Woodruff. Would you check Stans' office to see if an acknowledgement was made to Bob Woodruff. If none was made, see that a letter goes to him and then have Haldeman ride herd to see if there are any others of this type who should have letters from me. I don't want things to fall between the stools as they did in 1960 in this respect, simply because we don't get the information.

#

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

Lyman Brownfield should be on the Inauguration
invitation list.

Brownfield, Kosydar & Yearling
88 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

I would like you to consider whether Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S. ought to be included at a White House reception or something else.

Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S.
St. Mary's Seminary
5400 Roland Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21210

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: RN

The following should be put on the White House
guest list:

Walter Thayer
Room 4600, Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020

Major General and Mrs. Wilton B. Persons
43 Royal Palm Drive
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Mr. R. W. Woodruff
P. O. Box 1734
Atlanta, Georgia (in the event he made a generous
contribution)

Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Cordiner
155 Bayview Drive, Belleair
Clearwater, Florida 33516

Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Moley (for a White House dinner)
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Raymond Moley and Walter Lipmann should be on the
list for the older people who are retiring.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman

FROM: RN

Stuart List should be on the list for a White House dinner -- not a priority, but at a later time.

He has just retired as Publisher of the Chicago American, 445 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

I have a very high regard for Thatcher Longstreth. (Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce).

He could work out well on Finch's team.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: RN

I now recall what I was trying to think of in the office Tuesday when we were discussing Finch.

Do you think it might be wise to see if Walter Thayer would take on the Under Secretary of HEW?

We discussed this briefly, but I think it might be worth following up on in the event that we don't move with Thayer on the National Finance position.

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

When someone writes and asks for a favorite poem, you might send them this excerpt from Carl Sandburg's, "The People Yes".

I recall studying this when Sheller was my teacher 40 years ago!

FJC

Superintendent
Charles H. Wilson

President
H. Lynn Sheller

Board of Trustees
Melvin D. Hilgenfeld
Joe W. Johnson
Francis N. Laird
Felix S. LeMarinel
Richard D. Noble
James R. Ratcliffe
Herbert M. Warren

NOV 15 1968

Fullerton Junior College 321 East Chapman Avenue Fullerton, California 92634 Telephone 871-8000

November 8, 1968

President-Elect Richard Nixon and Pat
Key Biscayne, Florida

Dear Dick and Pat,

The people is a monolith,
a mover, a dirt farmer,
a desperate hopper.

The prize liar comes saying, "I know how, listen to me and I'll
bring you through."

The guesser comes saying, "The way is long and hard and maybe
what I offer will work out."

The people choose and the people's choice more often than not
is one more washout.

Yet the strong man, the priceless one who wants nothing for him-
self and has his roots among his people,

Comes often enough for the people to know him and to win through
into gains beyond later losing,

Comes often enough so the people can look back and say, "We have
come far and will go farther yet."

--From The People, Yes, by Carl Sandburg.

Congratulations a million to both of you, with every good
wish for your unlimited success as our President and First Lady!

Sincerely,

Lynn and Mary Sheller
H. Lynn Sheller
President

North Orange County Junior College District

January 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: RMW

FROM: RN

Just to remind you that you are to prepare a special list of those who helped us between the period of 1962 and 1968 with a few added from earlier years who should be on our "special friends" list.

This is for the purpose not only of such drills as Christmas cards, but also for occasional letters, telephone calls and White House invitations.