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It seems both logical and essential to review the status and forward planning of the '68 Campaign in light of the Kennedy assassination.

Is it really essential to the American political process to press on with campaigning as usual -- while pretending to ignore some of the cold realities of the day?

There has long been a plaintive cry from many quarters that the ballyhoo and whoopla of an American campaign -- extended over months -- confuses rather than clarifies the choice in the mind of the voter. Thus, even without today's new dangers, a strong argument might be made for a radically revised approach to the process of presenting the case to the people.

While the latest assassination does not in any way prove that America is a sick society -- it does re-affirm the fact that passions run high and in some instances restraint and responsibility are lacking. There is a clear and present personal physical danger to any man campaigning for the office of the Presidency whenever he presents himself to an unrestricted large crowd -- at a rally, in a motorcade, moving through public areas on an announced route. This danger will increase as the intensity
of the campaign increases.

There is good basis for the argument that it is irresponsible for the President or the candidates for President to expose themselves in these ways. If this case were presented to the people in proper fashion, it is quite likely they would understand and agree.

The people must be deeply concerned by the problem of violence and could be expected to respond with relief and willing acceptance to a plan designed to avoid any further calamities -- or at least, to lessen the risk.

The plan would be for the President and/or the Secret Service to request formally that all candidates for Presidential nominations -- and, after the conventions, all candidates for the Presidency -- agree to conform to a number of specific guidelines regarding method of campaigning. It would be made clear that no restriction or compromise would be placed on content -- only on form.

Candidates would not present themselves to large masses of people in person. They would, instead, utilize the mass communications media to carry their messages to the voters. Many techniques could be used for this -- including direct speeches, telethons, televised press conferences, televised coffee hours with small groups of representative voters, televised interviews of all kinds, documentary-type presentations, use of third-person advocates,
and undoubtedly many more approaches which would come to mind.

Eliminated would be all rallies, large public functions, press-the-flesh campaign techniques, plunging through crowds, whistle-and-prop-stops.

This would not eliminate the possibility of assassination or violence -- but it would be greatly reduced because, in effect, the campaign would be conducted in individual living rooms instead of at public gatherings.

For the candidates, the campaign would become more demanding mentally and much less demanding physically. This should have the effect of raising the quality of the political dialogue.

Many potential problems arise, of course. The main one would be the question of allocation or purchase of TV and radio time. Even this could be fairly easily resolved if it were not for the Wallace problem.

It will be argued that this puts all the emphasis on a candidate's ability to perform on TV -- and eliminates the opportunity to judge him through personal in-the-flesh exposure. This is not a valid objection because it assumes that the voter now does, in fact, judge the candidate on the basis of personal exposure. Clearly, this is not the case. It is obviously impossible for any
meaningful proportion of the voters to come into personal contact with a national candidate during the course of a campaign. It's also obvious that a very large majority of those who do have personal exposure -- at rallies, etc. -- are already committed and thus are not judging the candidate.

Other than tradition, there is no sound reason for putting a man considered to be of presidential timber through the physical strain and personal danger of the old-time format. It should be recognized that times have changed -- and that the presentation of presidential candidates must change, too.

This is the ideal time to make some major changes that are badly needed even without the consideration of danger of violence. The people must be fed up with politics as usual accompanied by terror. They would welcome some leadership in this area -- as well as in all the others that are the issue focal points of this election.

H.R. Haldeman
June 9, 1968
November 5, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Richard M. Nixon
    Spiro T. Agnew
    Robert Ellsworth
    Robert Finch
    Peter Flanigan
    H. R. Haldeman
    Herb Klein
    Richard Kleindienst
    Charles McWhorter
    John Mitchell
    Richard Moore
    John Sears
    Arthur Sohmer
    John C. Whitaker
    George White
    Rose Mary Woods

FROM: Jeffrey B. Kimball

RE: SURROGATE CANDIDATES - FINAL REPORT

COMPOSITE OF ACTIVITIES

June 27th
Congressman F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

July 12th & 13th
Governor Walter J. Hickel of Alaska
Bloomfield, Michigan
Grand Rapids, Michigan

July 18th
Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon
Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

July 19th
Congressman F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts
Concord, New Hampshire

July 23rd "Bud" Wilkinson, National Committeeman from
Oklahoma
Newark, New Jersey
November 5, 1968

July 26th & 27th
Governor John A. Volpe of Massachusetts
Cleveland, Ohio
Morristown, New Jersey
Gearhart, Oregon

July 28th
Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee
Chicago, Illinois

August 24th
Governor John A. Volpe of Massachusetts
Carbondale, Illinois

August 25th
Congressman George Bush of Texas
Ashtabula, Ohio

September 5th
Governor John A. Volpe
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

September 6th
Governor John A. Volpe
Newark, New Jersey

September 7th
"Bud" Wilkinson, National Committeeman from Oklahoma
Minneapolis, Minnesota

September 10th
Congressman Clark MacGregor of Minnesota
Kansas City, Missouri

September 13th
Congressman George Bush of Texas
Portsmouth, Virginia
Newport News & Hampton, Virginia

September 13th & 14th
Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee
Chicago, Illinois
Dallas, Texas

September 16th
Governor John A. Volpe of Massachusetts
New Haven, Connecticut
Bridgeport, Connecticut
Fairfield, Connecticut

September 18th
Governor John A. Volpe
Boston, Massachusetts
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September 25th
Governor John A. Volpe
Los Angeles, California

September 25th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
Portland, Oregon

September 26th
"Bud" Wilkinson
Casper, Wyoming

September 26th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
San Francisco, California

September 26th
Congressman Clark MacGregor
North Brunswick, New Jersey

September 27th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
Los Angeles, California
San Diego, California

September 27th
Congressman Donald Rumsfeld
Trenton, New Jersey
Camden, New Jersey
Morristown, New Jersey

September 27th
Senator Howard Baker
Omaha, Nebraska

September 27th
Congressman George Bush
Austin, Texas

September 28th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
San Diego, California

September 28th
Governor John A. Volpe
Akron, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio

September 29th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
Ojai, California
September 29th
Congressman George Bush
Houston, Texas

October 1st
Governor John A. Volpe
Detroit, Michigan
Chicago, Illinois

October 2nd
"Bud" Wilkinson
Kansas City, Missouri

October 2nd
Governor John A. Volpe
Detroit, Michigan

October 2nd
Congressman Clark MacGregor
Chicago, Illinois

October 3rd
Senator Howard Baker
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Green Bay, Wisconsin
Wausau, Wisconsin

October 3rd
Governor John A. Volpe
Morris County, New Jersey

October 3rd
Congressman William Brock
Panama City, Florida

October 4th
Senator Howard Baker
Detroit, Michigan

October 4th
Congressman George Bush
Moline and Rock Island, Illinois
Toledo, Ohio

October 4th
Congressman William Brock
Wilmington, North Carolina
Clinton, North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina
Burlington, North Carolina
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<td>Governor John A. Volpe</td>
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<td>Congressman William Brock</td>
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<td>Nassau County, New York</td>
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<td>Ft. Wayne, Indiana</td>
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<td>October 10th</td>
<td>Governor Walter J. Hickel</td>
<td>Indianapolis, Indiana</td>
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October 11th  Governor John A. Volpe  
Painesville, Ohio  
New York, New York

October 12th  Governor John A. Volpe  
New York, New York  
Boston, Massachusetts

October 13th  Governor John A. Volpe  
Buffalo, New York

October 14th  Congressman Clark MacGregor  
Benson, Minnesota

October 15th  Congressman George Bush  
Newark, New Jersey  
Greenwich, Connecticut

October 15th  Governor John A. Volpe  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
Scranton, Pennsylvania

October 15th  Congressman Clark MacGregor  
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania  
Hershey, Pennsylvania

October 16th  Governor Walter J. Hickel  
Spokane, Washington

October 16th  Congressman Clark MacGregor  
Newark, New Jersey

October 16th  Congressman William Brock  
Memphis, Tennessee  
Lawrenceburg, Tennessee

October 17th  Governor Walter J. Hickel  
Bellingham, Washington  
Yakama, Washington
October 17th  
Congressman William Brock  
Memphis, Tennessee

October 17th  
Congressman Clark MacGregor  
Monmouth County, New Jersey

October 17th  
Congressman George Bush  
Los Angeles, California

October 17th  
Congressman Donald Rumsfeld  
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania  
Easton, Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

October 18th  
Congressman Clark MacGregor  
Trenton, New Jersey  
Passaic County, New Jersey  
Bergen County, New Jersey

October 18th  
Congressman George Bush  
Fresno, California  
Bishop, California

October 20th  
Governor John A. Volpe  
Boston, Massachusetts

October 21st  
Congressman Donald Rumsfeld  
Syracuse, New York  
Geneva, New York

October 22nd  
Congressman Donald Rumsfeld  
New York City
October 23rd  
Congressman George Bush  
Denton, Texas

October 23rd  
Governor John A. Volpe  
New Haven, Connecticut  
Stamford, Connecticut  
Norwich, Connecticut

October 24th  
Senator Howard Baker  
Chicago, Illinois

October 24th  
Congressman George Bush  
Poughkeepsie, New York  
Accord, New York

October 26th  
Governor John A. Volpe  
Queens, New York  
New York, New York

October 27th  
Governor John A. Volpe  
Monmouth County, New Jersey

October 28th  
Governor John A. Volpe  
Providence, Rhode Island  
Bangor, Maine  
Portland, Maine  
Newport, New Hampshire

October 28th  
"Bud" Wilkinson  
Richmond County (Staten Island), New York

October 29th  
Senator Mark O. Hatfield  
Indianapolis, Indiana

October 29th  
Governor Walter J. Hickel  
Dayton, Ohio  
Battle Creek, Michigan  
Coldwater, Michigan

October 29th  
"Bud" Wilkinson  
Washington, D.C.
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<td>November 3rd</td>
<td>Congressman George Bush</td>
<td>Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minnesota</td>
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MEDIA COVERAGE OF SURROGATE CANDIDATES

The following is a brief description of the media coverage on each of the Surrogate candidates' trips since the convention. In addition to the direct media coverage mentioned, each appearance has included a press conference resulting in newspaper and additional media coverage.

August 25th
Congressman George Bush
Ashtabula, Ohio
Speech taped by WJCU - TV (NBC) from Erie, Pennsylvania for replay on 9/26, preempting :30 of Johnny Carson Show.

September 6th
"Bud" Wilkinson
Minneapolis, Minnesota
KSTP - radio talk show from 10:10 p.m. until midnight.

September 7th
"Bud" Wilkinson
Minneapolis, Minnesota
WCCO - TV :10 news tape and :15 sports tape.
Noon news interview contact: Phil Jones
:15 sports tape contact: Hal Scott

September 10th
Congressman Clark MacGregor
Kansas City, Missouri
WDAF - TV (NBC) :15 news taping
Interviewer: Robert Rollins

September 13th
Congressman George Bush
Portsmouth, Virginia
WAVY - TV, "Compass" show
1:00 live talk show, followed by short news taping. News Director: Vern Jones

Newport News, Virginia
WREC - TV, :10 news taping
Contact: Charles Eanes, News Director
September 13th
Senator Howard Baker
Chicago, Illinois
WBBM - TV (CBS) "At Random" show, during which Senator Baker appeared for the first hour. Was taped for showing on 9/14.
Interviewers: John Madigan
Dan O'Connel

Dallas, Texas
KRLD - TV (CBS)
"Point of View" TV interview show which Senator appeared on for :30. Taped for showing the following week.
Interviewers: Eddie Barker
Bill Ceverha

September 14th
Senator Howard Baker
Dallas, Texas
WFAA - TV (ABC) "Face to Face" TV interview show on which Senator appeared for :30.
Interviewer: Murphy Martin

September 20th
Congressman Clark MacGregor
Sioux Falls, South Dakota
"Party Line" TV interview show taping to be shown on 9/23. Congressman to appear for :30.
Interviewers: Ray Loftesness
Mrs. Silvia Henken

September 21st
Congressman George Bush
Chicago, Illinois
WBBM - :15 radio interview and :20 TV news interview.
Radio contact: Lynn Pierce
TV contact: Mort Edlestein

September 24th
Governor John A. Volpe
Oakland, California
KNEW - radio "Pat Michaels Show", radio talk show on which Governor was guest.

September 25th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
Portland, Oregon
KOIN - TV (CBS) "Hi Neighbor" TV interview show. Governor to be on :30
Contacts: Johnny Carpenter, Doris Kyber
November 5, 1968
Page Thirteen

Governor Walter J. Hickel (Continued)

KLIQ - radio talk show on which Governor is to appear for 1:00. Contact: Mr. Lund

September 26th
San Francisco, California
KGO - TV (ABC)
"A. M. Show" a live TV show in color on which Governor is to be guest for 1:00.

September 26th
San Francisco, California
KPIX - TV (CBS) "Noon News" on which Governor is to have live news interview. Contact: Ron Mires, News Director
John Utley

September 26th
"Bud" Wilkinson
Casper, Wyoming
KTWO - TV:10 news taping for show on 6:00 news Contact: Warren Carlson, News Director

September 27th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
Los Angeles, California
KABC - TV (ABC) "Good Day L. A." live TV show on which Governor to be guest for :30. Contact: Dan Kibbie, Producer

KHJ - TV - "Tempo II" interview show on which Governor is to be guest for :30. Contact: Pat Nolan, Producer

September 28th
Governor Walter J. Hickel
San Diego, California
KOGO - TV:15 TV news taping. Contact: Jack White

October 2nd
Governor John A. Volpe
Detroit, Michigan
WXYZ - TV "Morning Show", 1:30 live interview with several guests followed by call-in questions.

October 2nd
Congressman Clark MacGregor
Chicago, Illinois
WBBM - TV "At Random" show with host John Madigan. Other guest was Senator Edmond Muskie.

October 3rd
Congressman William Brock
Panama City, Florida
WJHG - TV (NBC) news taping
October 4th
Senator Howard Baker
Detroit, Michigan
WXYZ - TV "Morning Show"

October 4th
Congressman William Brock
Wilmington, North Carolina
WXYZ - TV (ABC) news taping
WECT - TV (NBC) "Jim Burns Show", 30 TV interview show.
Greensboro, North Carolina
WFMY - TV (CBS), 15 news taping

October 4th
Congressman George Bush
Toledo, Ohio
WSPD - TV (ABC), news taping
WTOL - TV (NBC), news taping
Moline, Illinois
WQAD - TV (ABC) "Sandy Kay Show", 30 interview program on politics.

Rock Island, Illinois
WHBF - TV (CBS), news taping

October 5th
Congressman William Brock
Bowling Green, Kentucky
WLTV - TV, News taping
Ashland, Kentucky
WCMI - radio, news interview
WIRO - radio, news interview
WSAZ - TV (Huntington, W. Virginia), coverage of GOP rally.
October 10th

Governor Walter J. Hickel
Indianapolis, Indiana
WFBM - TV (NBC) "Around the Town", 1:00 live TV show. (Johnny Carson type format).

Chicago, Illinois
WBKB - TV (ABC) "Chicago Show" :45 informal talk show.

October 15th

Congressman Clark MacGregor
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
WTPA - TV (ABC) :10 news taping.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
WHP - TV (CBS) :10 news taping.

October 16th

Congressman William Brock
Memphis Tennessee
WMC - TV :10 news taping.

WREC - TV "Good Morning From Memphis" TV show :30 general interview.

WHBQ - TV "Half Hour Press Conference" :30 interview with "Meet the Press" format.

October 17th

Congressman George Bush
Los Angeles, California
KHJ - TV "Tempo II" live TV show :30.

October 21st

Congressman Donald Rumsfeld
Syracuse, New York
WSYR - TV :05 news interview.

October 24th

Senator Howard Baker
Chicago, Illinois
WMAQ - TV "Kup Show" 1:00 TV taping.

October 29th

Governor Walter J. Hickel
Dayton, Ohio
WLWD - TV "Phil Donahue Show" 1:00 live TV discussion show.
October 30th

Governor Walter J. Hickel
Houston, Texas
KHOU - TV "Al Bell Morning Show": 10 live interview.

KHOU - TV "Jo Anne King Show": 30 live TV interview.

KPRC - TV "Chris Chandler Show": 15 live interview.

October 30th

"Bud" Wilkinson
New York City
WPIX - TV "Fran Tarkenton Show": 30 taped interview show.
SUMMARY

From Labor Day through November 5th, the Surrogate Candidates have devoted a total of 96 campaigning days in behalf of the Nixon/Agnew ticket, appearing in 31 states and the District of Columbia. Most of the effort, however, has been devoted to appearances in the 8 battle ground "Big States", and the 6 key "Border States". Fifty-six days, or 60 percent of the time was spent in the former group (California, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas), which have a total of 227 electoral votes. An additional 9 days, or 10 percent of the time was spent in the latter group (Florida, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia). The Surrogates also participated in a great number of fund-raising affairs and campaign rallies around the country.

In addition to the activities of the Surrogate Candidate's program, the Surrogates, as individuals, participated in a great number of activities on behalf of the Nixon/Agnew ticket which do not appear in this memorandum. They include participation in the Truth Squad, the Key Issues Committee, TV advertising appearances with the candidate, and campaigning within their own districts.

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| 27    | Cong. Horse  
27fly DC-Phila;  Press conf.; lunch for Phila RN supporters; fly Phila-DC | 28 | 29 |        |        |          |
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<td>Bud Wilkinson Fly DC-Newark; press conf with sports writers; Newark Jaycees Sports dinner Fly Newark-DC</td>
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<td>Gov. Volpe Fly Otis AFB; Cleveland; Clev. City Club lunch; Meet Cleveland Delegates; fly Cleve-Norristown, NJ - press conf, Morris-Lib. Lab; Drive to Newark</td>
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<td>Gov. Volpe Fly Newark-Portland-Gearhart Ore.; press conf. Oregon GOP Conv; Fly Gearhart-Boston</td>
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**Notes:**
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- Press conf & rec.
- w/Dirksen & O'Gvns.
- Pre-Hamiltonian Dinner; fly Hyannis.
- Fly Houston Ashtabula O.; press conf; GOP picnic (taped for TV replay); fly D.C.
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