

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> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 35 | 16 | 10/23/1968 | Report | Report (draft) from Buchanan regarding vacancies opening on the Supreme Court during the term of the next President. 9pgs. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/24/1968 | Memo | Memo from Safire to RN suggesting speech ideas for Madison Square Garden rally. 2pgs. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/27/1968 | Memo | Memo from Anderson to DC regarding Social Security Brochure. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | n.d. | Brochure | Brochure from Richard M. Nixon regarding Social Security and Medicare. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/28/1968 | Memo | Memo from Chuck Percy to Richard Nixon advising him to emphasising Social Security and medical care programs during final week of campaign. 2pgs. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/28/1968 | Memo | Memo from RMW to RN regarding "our friend" urging RN to talk with LBJ. 1pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 35 | 16 | 10/29/1968 | Memo | Memo from Bob Schulz to DDE regarding suggestions made by Slats Slatter that RN comment on current Administration's problem involving the U.S. in Vietnam. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/30/1968 | Memo | Memo from Ellsworth to DC (cc: Finch) regarding current polls in Virginia. 3pgs. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/30/1968 | Memo | Memo from Harlow to RN regarding announcement by the President of bombing halt. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 10/31/1968 | Report | UPI (The Rutland [Vermont] Herald) news summary regarding its reversal in support from RN to HHH. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | n.d. | Report | Page #2 (page 1 absent) of report from Donald Janson of Minneapolis ending in statement saying that a Nixon victory would surprise some of the state's leading Republicans. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | n.d. | Memo | Memo from Herb Klein to RN concerning sending attached material (regarding air strikes against N. Vietnam) to surrogates and other GOP leaders. 1pg |
| 35 | 16 | 10/31/1968 | Report | UPI report regarding air strikes against North Vietnam & bombing halts. 1pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 35 | 16 | 10/22/1968 | Newspaper | Christian Science Monitor (Beverly Deepe) article regarding bombing halts. Not scanned. |
| 35 | 16 | 11/02/1968 | Memo | Memo from Ellsworth to DC regarding current campaign polls and Kerr's confidence that Nixon will win Kentucky. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 11/01/1968 | Memo | Memo from Ellsworth to DC regarding New York Times story on Minnesota's leading Republicans stating that a Nixon victory would surprise them. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 11/01/1968 | Memo | Memo from Ellsworth to DC (cc: Finch) regarding reports of reaction to bombing halt announcement. 2pgs |
| 35 | 16 | 11/02/1968 | Memo | Memo from Ellsworth to DC regarding Democrat's strength in Connecticut. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 11/02/1968 | Report | AP news summary regarding Buffalo Courier-Express final poll showing HHH lead in Erie County. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 11/03/1968 | Report | New York Times summary of advertisements in Sunday Times. 1pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 35 | 16 | 10/19/1968 | Memo | Memo from Ellsworth to Haldeman regarding the hiring of Market Opinion Research by George Murphy to do polling in several states. 1pg. |
| 35 | 16 | 11/04/1968 | Report | Newsweek (Stewart Alsop) article regarding "why Humphrey 'bomfogs'." 3pgs. |
| 35 | 16 | n.d. | Memo | Memo (no author) regarding telethon. 3pgs. |
| 35 | 16 | n.d. | Memo | 1968 campaign label. |

*Finch
pulled this
L*

*LE
LE*

RN

*Draft re: Court appointments
per your request.*

DRAFT

(Buchanan)
October 23, 1968

THE NEW COURT

*to RM
Submit - next
week - after
check with
Allsweath
Finch*

From recent events it appears that vacancies shall open on the Supreme Court during the term of the next President of the United States. As I am a candidate for the office, the people have a right to know the kind of men I might name to the High Court.

They would be strict constructionists. They would see their duty as interpreting the law, rather than making law. They would see themselves as caretakers of the Constitution and servants of the people, not super-legislators with a free hand to impose their political and social viewpoints upon the American system and the American people.

Americans are a deeply divided and embittered people today. It is vitally important that when future far-reaching social changes are made in their society, those changes not be handed down by five men who are appointed for life, who answer to no one, and from whose judgements the people have almost no appeal. In future years when such social legislation comes, it must and should come from elected

representatives who are responsible to and answerable to the people of the United States.

Future Justices should be men who reject the philosophy of social permissiveness. They should recognize that social justice embraces not only a scrupulous respect for the rights of the accused, but a constant concern for the security of the law-abiding. They should be men who will weigh the rights and freedoms of the individual against the rights and freedoms of the many, and find a better balance.

~~They should not be drawn from Ivory Towers. They should be men of the people, who will consider in their judgements -- not only the brilliance of an abstract argument, but the precise impact of each decision on the lives and fortunes of millions of unnamed and unknown Americans, who will have to live with those judgements.~~

The Constitution of the United States should be their guide -- as it was written and not as they would have written it.

They should be aware of the peril to our system from the unchecked rise in crime; they should be versed in criminal law; they should bring to the Court knowledge,

wisdom, experience, and common sense.

These are the requirements I would consider in considering any appointments to the High Bench. As for my opponent, whenever the subject of the Court or its decisions comes up, he acts as though he were in Church. Here is another difference between us.

I have great respect for the Supreme Court; I respect the men on it; but they are not infallible and the judgements of the Court do not come down from Mount Sinai; they often come down in five-four decisions. In my view, in recent years the four in the minority have sometimes been right and the five in the majority have occasionally been wrong. And as these decisions have dramatic impact upon political and social life in the United States, I intend to discuss them.

As for Mr. Humphrey, his silence on the subject must lead us to conclude that either he does not care about the Court decisions, or he does not question their wisdom, or he does not think they are a legitimate subject of discussion in a presidential election -- or he does not understand them.

Whatever the motive behind his vow of silence, the difference between us is clear -- and the people can decide.

#

DRAFT --
(Buchanan -- 10/23/68)

Ellsworth Editing -- 10/26/68

THE NEW COURT

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They would be strict constructionists. They would see their duty as interpreting the law, rather than making law. They would see themselves as caretakers of the Constitution and servants of the people, not super-legislators with a free hand to impose their political and social viewpoints upon the American system and the American people.

Americans are a deeply divided and embittered people today. It is vitally important that when future far-reaching social changes are made in their society, those changes not be handed down by five men who are appointed for life, who answer to no one, and from whose judgments the people have almost no appeal. In future years when such social changes come, they should come from elected

representatives who are responsive and responsible to the people of the United States.

Future Justices should recognize that social justice embraces not only a scrupulous respect for the rights of the accused, but a constant concern for the security of the law-abiding. They should be men who will weigh the rights and freedoms of the individual against the rights and freedoms of the many, and find a better balance.

They should be aware of the peril to our system from the startling rise in crime; they should be versed in criminal law; they should bring to the Court knowledge, wisdom, experience, and common sense.

These are the requirements I would consider in any appointments to the High Bench.

I have great respect for the Supreme Court; I respect the men on it; but they are not infallible. The judgments of the Court often come down in five-to-four split decisions. In my view, in recent years the four in the minority have sometimes been right and the five in the majority have occasionally been wrong. And as these decisions have dramatic impact upon political and social life in the United States, I have freely discussed them in the campaign.

As for Mr. Humphrey, his silence on the subject must lead us to conclude that either he does not care about the Court decisions, or he does not question their wisdom, or he does not think they are a legitimate subject of discussion in a Presidential election -- or he does not understand them.

Whatever the motive behind his vow of silence, the difference between us is clear -- and the people can decide.

#

*in the Court of Appeals
for your reports*

DRAFT

(Buchanan)
October 23, 1968

ELLSWORTH
EDITING

10-26-68

THE NEW COURT

*to M.M.
Submit - next
week - after
check with
Allison
Frank*

will ~~From recent events~~ ^I It appears that vacancies shall open on the Supreme Court during the term of the next President of the United States. As I am a candidate for the office, the people have a right to know the kind of men I might name to the High Court.

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representatives who are ^{and} ~~responsible~~ ^{responsive} to ~~and answerable~~ to the people of the United States.

Future Justices should ~~be men who reject the~~ ~~philosophy of social permissiveness.~~ They should recognize that social justice embraces not only a scrupulous respect for the rights of the accused, but a constant concern for the security of the law-abiding. They should be men who will weigh the rights and freedoms of the individual against the rights and freedoms of the many, and find a better balance.

~~They should not be drawn from Ivory Towers. They should be men of the people, who will consider in their judgements -- not only the brilliance of an abstract argument, but the precise impact of each decision on the lives and fortunes of millions of unnamed and unknown Americans, who will have to live with those judgements.~~

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They should be aware of the peril to our system from the ~~unchecked~~ ^{startling} rise in crime; they should be versed in criminal law; they should bring to the Court knowledge,

wisdom, experience, and common sense.

These are the requirements I would consider in ~~considering~~ any appointments to the High Bench. ~~As for~~ ~~my opponent~~, whenever the subject of the Court or its decisions comes up, he acts as though he were in Church. Here is another difference between us.

I have great respect for the Supreme Court; I respect the men on it; but they are not infallible. ~~and the~~ judgements of the Court ~~do not come down from Mount Sinai;~~ ^{-to- split} they often come down in five [^] four [^] decisions. In my view, in recent years the four in the minority have sometimes been right and the five in the majority have occasionally been wrong. And as these decisions have dramatic impact upon political and social life in the United States, I ^{have} ~~intend~~ ^{to} discuss them ^{in the campaign}.

As for Mr. Humphrey, his silence on the subject must lead us to conclude that either he does not care about the Court decisions, or he does not question their wisdom, or he does not think they are a legitimate subject of discussion in a ^{Presidential} election -- or he does not understand them.

Whatever the motive behind his vow of silence, the difference between us is clear -- and the people can decide.

#

October 24, 1968

RN FROM SAFIRE

File

The peroration of your Madison Square Garden rally speech has to be the most stirring effort since the acceptance speech.

In order to get it perfect by then, you ought to be trying it out on rally audiences now.

It requires, in mid-flight, a change of tone, a change of pace, a change of voice. You made it work in Miami Beach and that was the key to the emotional impact of the speech.

Here is a crack at it: ..

On Election Day, cast your vote to cast out the old.

On Election Day, cast your vote to cast off the weight that is holding America down.

On Election Day, cast your vote to cast away the men and the policies that have failed.

Historians of the next century will say: "Nineteen sixty eight was the year of decision."

Historians then will say: "This was the moment of truth for the United States of America."

Don't let this moment in history pass you by. Don't be a spectator when your country needs you to get into the arena.

Justice Holmes once said, "a man must share the action and passion of his time." You will get the action you want -- only if you share the passion of these times.

Years from now, your children and your grandchildren will ask -- "Where were you when America was re-born? Where were you when the American people turned around and took the new road?"

Don't let your answer be, "I didn't realize how important it was," or "Nobody told me it was a turning point in history."

Let your answer be -- "I was there. I was part of it. I gave it everything that was in me."

Your children and your grandchildren will be proud of you. You'll be proud of yourself.

And most of all, once again, we will all be proud to call ourselves Americans -- citizens of the free-est country, the happiest country, the most compassionate country, the most respected country -- the greatest country this world has ever seen!

Hold.

File

10/27/68

Memorandum

To: DC
From: Anderson
Re: Social Security Brochure

Just discovered that 200,000 copies of a social security brochure, which states RN supported Medicare and Medicaid programs during the Eisenhower administration, have been sent out.

It seems that Chotiner drafted the copy for the brochure from previously issued material, and then ran it through Copp Collins, who issued it.

If this comes up you can say that this was clearly a staff error made while compiling a campaign brochure. The error has been detected and distribution of the piece stopped. Your full views of social security, etc. have been set forth in a recent nation-wide radio address.

TWX
October 28, 1968
Washington, D. C.

TO: Richard Nixon

Nixon lead in Iowa firm and growing slightly as a result of Wallace erosion.

Ray election assured and Stanley gaining steadily. Regret my inability to stay with Illinois candidates' train beyond Marion and to join you on plane, but think best use of time is to continue schedules in Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Michigan.

Keep up the good fight. I suggest emphasis this final week on your Social Security and medical care programs and that you keep tone of your Miami speech on Vietnam and arms buildup and de-emphasize escalating arms race.

Hopefully you can reiterate that your number one priority is to reunite the country and nation building at home by improving education, health, housing, job opportunity and reducing crime and violence.

End of advice.

Chuck Percy

RMN-PA

THIS IS JGTYT WASH. WE HAVE THREE TAPES FOR YOU CAN YOU RECEIVE?
FIRE AWAY////

VERY GOOD .. WILL BE SMASHING.
JGT WASH

TO: RICHARD NIXON

NIXON LEAD IN IOWA FIRM AND GROWING SLIGHTLY AS A RESULT OF WALLACE
EROSION. RAY ELECTION ASSURED AND STANLEY GAINING STEADILY. REGRET
MY INABILITY TO STAY WITH ILLINOIS CANDIDATES TRAIN BEYOND MARION AND
TO JOIN YOU ON PLANE BUT THINK BEST USE OF TIME IS TO CONTINUE
SCHEDULES IN IOWA, OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK AND MICHIGAN. KEEP
UP THE GOOD FIGHT. I SUGGEST EMPHASIS THIS FINAL WEEK ON YOUR SOCIAL
SECURITY AND MEDICAL CARE PROGRAMS AND THAT YOU KEEP TONE OF YOUR
MIAMI SPEECH ON VIETNAM AND ARMS BUILDUP AND DE-EMPHASIZE ESCALATING
ARMS RACE. HOPEFULLY YOU CAN REITERATE THAT YOUR NUMBER ONE PRIORITY
IS TO REUNITE THE COUNTRY AND NATION BUILDING AT HOME BY IMPROVING
EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, JOB OPPORTUNITY AND REDUCING CRIME AND
VIOLENCE. END OF ADVICE.

FROM: CHUCK PERCY.

END.

RN

Our friend called -- he wants to be sure that everything is being done.

He is concerned whether we are having good crowds -- the odds in Las Vegas are now 2-1/2 to 1 whereas they were 12 to 1 at one time not too long ago when he was there.

He strongly urges that you ask Ev to go down and talk with LBJ -- says Ev knows so much about him that he is the only one to talk with him and try to keep him in line.

rmw

10/28/68

From Bob Schulz -- 10/29/68

Following suggestion was sent to DDE for RN = DDE thought Bob should call and give it to Bryce for RN:

"Nixon might say something like this:

"It is about time this Administration -- Johnson and Humphrey -- did something to end the war in Vietnam. They got us into it and it is up to them to get us out.

"I am all for a just and honorable peace with terms acceptable to the Committee for Peace in Vietnam with Justice that is headed by Senator Paul Douglas and Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. I am not for a sell-out after all we've put into this war just to get the Democrats off the hook and elected again.

"I hope the American people won't make another mistake and put them back in office. This crowd doesn't deserve another chance."

(Suggestion is from Slats Slatter -- Bob says he is sitting on the sidelines trying to think of something that would help.)

October 30, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC (cc: Finch)
FROM: Ellsworth
RE: Virginia

There are no current polls in Virginia that anybody knows about either in the state organization or in the Nixon national organization.

It appears that the basis for reports of a weakening of Nixon's position in Virginia lies in Larry O'Brien's claim that he is going to cause a heavy voter turnout in the Negro wards of Norfolk and Portsmouth.

In truth, however, Lin Holton met this morning with the Directors of the so-called Crusade for Votes (a 10-year old organization of active Negroes whose sole purpose is to stimulate Negro votes in Virginia), and they have assured him that they are not going to extend their usual mailing anywhere in the state outside the city limits of Richmond.

As a result of my all-day meeting with Holton and Flemming in Richmond today:

(1) Holton will stimulate Arthur W. Arundel to give high intensity to his radio editorial of Nixon (top coverage in the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington). Also, Holton will promote a statewide news release of Arundel's endorsement of Nixon against the background of Arundel having been Robert Kennedy's Virginia manager before Kennedy was killed this June.

(2) Flemming (the Truth Squad management now being finished) will leave the National Committee tomorrow and go to Norfolk where he will induce the Congressional candidate, Dr. Whitehurst, who is leading his opponent 50% to 33%, to campaign hard for Nixon and specifically to have his (Whitehurst's) get-out-the-vote telephone drive specifically urge Nixon votes.

(3) Lin Holton will have his law partner, Butler, the minority leader in the state legislature, personally call each of the 20 state legislators and urge them to go all out for Nixon in their home districts plus issuing a joint statement to the press which will get good statewide coverage.

(4) Ellsworth called Poff and asked for and received a promise that Poff will go all out to roll up as big a Nixon vote as possible and to knock down the Wallace vote which is troublesome in his District.

(5) Got Mitchell to send \$1500 extra to Congressional candidate Weldon Tuck in the 5th District to finance a mailing which will include a letter calling for votes for Nixon, referring to Nixon's experience in national government under Eisenhower as well as his foreign affairs qualifications and which will include a sample ballot marked Nixon and Tuck.

(6) Holton will go to Norfolk on Friday where he will call a news conference to point out that Humphrey has not been in Virginia at all during the whole campaign, that Humphrey obviously has written

Virginia off, that Humphrey cares nothing for Virginia so why should Virginians care anything for Humphrey or vote for him? Norfolk is the heartland of Humphrey organizational strength, if any, and the effect of this news conference will be to take the starch out of the Humphrey organization. (Ellsworth phoned this idea to Chotiner for use in other states where Humphrey has not been, and Chotiner is setting it up in every state where Humphrey has not been during the campaign.)

A detailed, district-by-district analysis of the state is available, but the foregoing points are the action points that have been put into effect.

There seems to be no requirement for additional media placement -- it is quite heavy. The 10th District (Broyhill's district), the Washington, D. C. suburbs of northern Virginia -- is in good shape. Broyhill has been working hard on the Wallace vote and the Nixon organization in this district, under Vince Callahan, is excellent insofar as its get-out-the-vote drive is concerned. They put 125,000 pieces of "vote for Nixon" mail in the mail yesterday. This is the big population, big vote section of the State.

Mitchell has been informed of all the foregoing.

10/30

MEMO FOR RN
FROM HARLOW

File

It is now estimated that the bombing halt will be announced by the President on his Sunday night 30-minute TV time. The White House is now informing selected reporters that the broadcast will be taped in advance, that it will be a significant speech, and that an embargoed advance text will be available in limited numbers. There will be an in-depth briefing before the broadcast.

Previously this TV broadcast had been billed as a routine political bit.

Apparently the deal is that both the V-C and South Vietnamese will be party to the Paris talks. Abrams will issue a statement that lives will not be endangered by a halt (a complete turn-about in Abrams' previous position). Abrams allegedly has told LBJ that the North Vietnamese cannot mount a new attack between the halt and November 5.

South Vietnamese strongly object and will publicly say so. Public reservations will also be voiced by Thailand, South Korea and New Zealand.

LBJ will barnstorm Texas and another place or so this weekend.

Ev Dirksen will try to reach LBJ. I will call him from Marion and see what he was able to find out.

L -
ck. Significant
in Vt. Reading for RN.

✓
THE RUTLAND (Vermont) HERALD
Oct. 31, 1968
UPI (News Summary)

The Rutland Herald, which endorsed RN in an October 11 editorial today reversed itself and is now backing HHH. While the endorsement was based, among other things, on the view RN was in a better position to solve the Vietnam war, today the Herald expresses concern that RN's political philosophy has turned to a more "conservative stance," In the editorial the paper's publisher was also critical of RN for his satisfaction with Agnew's performance. Admitting it is hard to "backtrack during an election campaign," ~~it~~ said HHH has a liberal record of achievement and leadership where momentous issues of the day are concerned.

E/
ck Mcbrayer

to 42 1/2, but that was taken four weeks ago. Today some of
the state's leading Republicans concede privately that a Nixon
victory would surprise them.

get optimistic to work
don't sell out now

?

Herbert G. Klein
Manager for Communications

file

Nixon Agnew
Campaign Committee

Staff of Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 661-6400

TO: RN

FROM: Herb Klein

Attached is background material
you may already have plus a preliminary
line we are sending by telephone to
surrogates and other GOP leaders.

If you want this changed, we can.

Herb Klein
Herb Klein

BACKGROUND: Air Strikes Against North Vietnam & Bombing Halts
From UPI, 10-31-68, 7:20 p.m.

The first U.S. air strike against North Vietnam occurred in August, 1964, after North Vietnamese patrol boats attacked two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Since then, U.S. planes have flown 93,754 missions against the North. In these operations the United States lost 911 combat airplanes and 10 helicopters over North Vietnam.

On March 31, the President announced that air strikes against North Vietnam would be limited to the area south of the 20th parallel, in the North Vietnam panhandle immediately north of the demilitarized zone.

At the same time, the President announced his decision not to seek renomination so he could devote his full attention to attempts to bring about a settlement of the war.

Since April 5, U.S. warplanes have bombed only below the 19th parallel.

The Pentagon lists nine bombing halts, the first, of a week's duration, starting May 12, 1965. The most recent halt started January 29 of this year and ended two days later when the truce called in observance of the Vietnamese Tet Lunar New Year Holiday was broken by what became known as the Tet offensive, a simultaneous Communist ground assault against many South Vietnamese cities and villages.

Bomb-halt terms disturb Sa

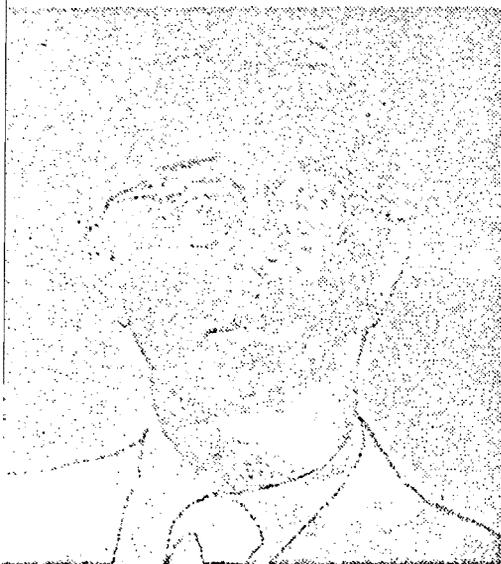
By Beverly Deepe

Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Saigon

Behind the new peace moves

Washington report: Page 5



Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Ambassador Bunker

Much discussion about conditions . . .

American Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker has told President Nguyen Van Thieu that Hanoi has accepted "in principle" three American conditions for halting the bombing of North Vietnam, informed sources report.

But the North Vietnamese officials have told American delegates in Paris they must report to Hanoi for final and official confirmation—or the North Vietnam Communist Party Politburo's rejection or modification, sources said.

Hence, at this writing, the world seemed to be waiting for North Vietnam's official confirmation — if there are no last-minute changes—as the result of the Oct. 18 arrival in Hanoi of Le Duc Tho, the No. 7 man in the Communist Party hierarchy who had worked behind the scenes at the Paris talks.

American mission spokesmen here refuse

to discuss the substance of official meetings and conversations held by the American Ambassador.

But the first incomplete, skeletonized "play by play" of the Bunker-Thieu conversations on Oct. 16 — a dialogue that touched off worldwide speculation of an American bombing halt — now is slowly coming to light in Saigon, after three days of tight secrecy in American and South Vietnamese Government circles.

Informed sources here report that on Oct. 16 Ambassador Bunker, a diplomat who has gained distinction for his skill in negotiating other delicate international troubles arrived between 6:30 a.m. and 7 a.m. at the Independence Palace — the plush, modern

★ Please turn to Page 5

Continued from Page 1

office building of President Nguyen Van Thieu.

During the official conversation—lasting about two hours — Mr. Bunker reportedly told Mr. Thieu that Hanoi had agreed "in principle" to make three concessions to get the Americans to halt the bombing of the North. They were:

1. Reestablishment of the demilitarized zone at the 17th parallel separating North and South Vietnam.
2. Cessation of attacks on South Vietnam's cities.
3. The seating of "representatives of South Vietnam" at the next round of peace talks to discuss settlement of the war in the South.

However, Hanoi had a countercondition of its own. Hanoi demanded that the United States and South Vietnamese governments should put out an official, joint communique declaring they had decided to halt the bombing of North Vietnam—but that the communique would not mention Hanoi's agreement to the above three points.

November 2, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC
FROM: Ellsworth
RE: Kentucky

Talked to John Kerr, Marlow Cook's campaign manager. He says their polls show Nixon 43%, Humphrey 25%, Wallace 25% and that Wallace has been going down for the last three weeks. He says the reason for recent stories about a Humphrey upsurge is that about a month ago the Democrats woke up to the fact that if they didn't get 20% of the vote, they would, under state law, be ruled off the ballot in 1970 for Governor, etc., so they went to work hard, to get the courthouse organizations, etc., going, and it has had very substantial effect in bringing Humphrey up from below 20% to 25%.

At the same time, over the last three weeks, Louie Nunn has been hitting the campaign trail hard and has been particularly effective in shaving down the Wallace vote and winning it over to Nixon.

The bombing halt has brought a few more people to Humphrey, but it has also lost Humphrey some among the hawks who have gone back to Wallace,

Kerr feels confident Nixon will win Kentucky.

November 1, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC

FROM: Ellsworth

In response to the New York Times story on Minnesota which says, "Today some of the state's leading Republicans concede privately that a Nixon victory would surprise them.", Clark MacGregor says that is the Lund-Forsyth line. He, MacGregor, will counter it (not appearing defensive or responsive to the New York Times story) in the following manner:

MacGregor is meeting the Republican Truth Squad in the Minneapolis Airport tomorrow (Saturday) at 1:40 P.M. The Truth Squad on that occasion will consist of Hatfield, Tiemann, and Rumsfeld. MacGregor will have a hand-out to distribute to the press on that occasion which will be very hard-hitting, upbeat and confident about Nixon carrying Minnesota.

NB: MacGregor also says there has been very little reaction in Minnesota to the bombing halt announcement, either one way or the other.

file

Remember - He is M.G.

November 1, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC (cc: Finch)
FROM: Ellsworth
RE: Reports of reaction to bombing halt announcement.

(1) Bob Price says the announcement is some plus for Humphrey but not much. It comes too late and it looks crude. He says he would not be concerned about it.

Price also suggests that, in order to counter the effect of the bombing halt announcement and also give a major lift to the campaign, one or two high level statements with a strong uplift tone be made.

He says it is not so important what is said as the matter in which it is said -- recommends something along the lines of the speech in which FDR had a whole series of rallying phrases: "I see an America where..."

(2) Tiny Appling says he does not think the bombing halt announcement will have much effect. It comes too late, has been talked about too long and does not constitute a move of significant magnitude to cause much change.

Incidentally, Appling talked with Nick the Greek night before last and his odds are still 5 to 1 on a Nixon victory.

These odds have been steady for several months. (Nick the Greek is the newspaper columnist Jimmy Snyder in Las Vegas who pretty much sets the odds for political betting in this country and is a close friend of Appling's.)

(3) Emil Lockwood says that, without exception, everyone he has talked to says privately that they think it is a crude political trick but they add that of course nobody can say so because of the fact that it would be like being against motherhood. Despite the public distaste for the idea of publicly denouncing the announcement as a political trick, Lockwood has agreed to make a public statement denouncing it as a political trick, and he is sure he will get good statewide publicity on it.

(4) Elsie Hillman of Pittsburgh says the heavy reaction in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is that the announcement is a political trick. She will procure a prominent Pittsburgher who can get the press to make a statement along that line this afternoon (her "extra effort" telephone and mail programs with the steel workers and the auto workers are now fully underway.)

November 2, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC
FROM: Ellsworth
RE: Connecticut

Wallace is holding strong and the Democrats are coming together except for that.

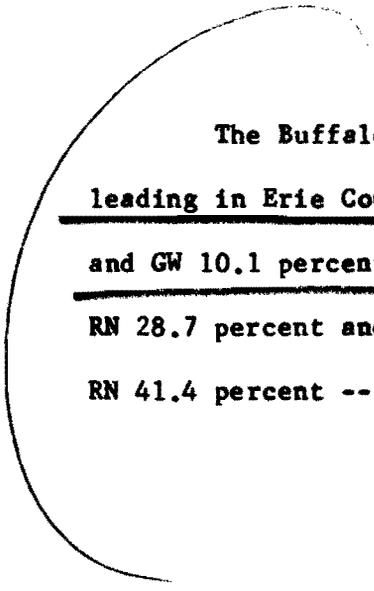
State Chairman Howard Hausman thinks Nixon will win but by a small margin. National Committeewoman Tina Harroer fears the state may go to Humphrey.

It is doubtful that May will be able to win although Meskill and one of the other Republican congressional candidates will probably win.

The only movement lately has been the coming together of the McCarthy and Kennedy Democrats with the Humphrey people.

file

AP -- November 2, 1968
(News Summary)



The Buffalo Courier-Express final poll shows HHH
leading in Erie County with 43.2 percent -- RN 37.6 percent
and GW 10.1 percent. In Buffalo HHH had 52.5 percent --
RN 28.7 percent and GW 10. In eight western New York Counties
RN 41.4 percent -- HHH 39.6 percent and GW 10.2 percent.

*Halderman -
pass this to our
N.Y. crowd -
tell them to
pour it in up there*

New York Times
November 3, 1968

File

SUMMARY OF ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE SUNDAY TIMES

1. Full page ad for Humphrey for President & Javits for Senator
by Non-Partisan Committee to Elect the Best Man.

"Vote for the man. Not the party."

2. Full page ad

"O'Dwyer said: Vote Humphrey, Muskie, O'Dwyer"

by O'Dwyer for Senator Campaign Committee.

3. $\frac{1}{2}$ page ad by National Coordinating Committee for Humphrey-Muskie
including paragraphs on

- (1) law and order
- (2) human rights
- (3) social reform
- (4) Israel
- (5) world peace
- (6) peace in Viet Nam

4. Full page ad "How do you measure a President"
By Performance

by Humphrey for President - Greater New York Committee of Liberal
Republicans, Democrats and Independents

Compare Humphrey and Nixon in Congress, in the Vice Presidency,
in Local Government, in Adversity, in Choosing a Successor

*Holden ****

*Why were we bleeped
in N.Y. papers on
Sunday before election*

October 19, 1968

Ellsworth

To Haldeman

MEMORANDUM

TO: Haldeman
FROM: Ellsworth

*Our polls indicate
as noted below.
Fl feels this is a
winable state. Maybe
we should go.*

NO

Market Opinion Research (headquartered in Detroit -- operated by Fred Currier) has been hired by George Murphy to do polling in several states. The latest figures from Maryland, based on field work concluded September 30 show:

| | |
|----------|----|
| Nixon | 30 |
| Humphrey | 39 |
| Wallace | 17 |

*37 our poll.
28*

This was a reinterview operation and represents a shift in 15 points from a between-Conventions poll.

I have reason to believe that Agnew does not know about this. It raises the possibility that there might be a need for Agnew to ask RN to appear in Baltimore.

*Why - if we're this far behind -
should we worry about Md.?*

Check Agnew people. H

Flanagan etc. Winable State

Fl. feels should go.

WHY HUMPHREY BOMFOGS

... Swan songs are sad, and Humphrey's campaign seems likely to be the swan song of the kind of liberalism that started more than 30 years ago with the New Deal, and which has been the dominant force on the American political scene for all those years. For the plain fact seems to be that Hubert Humphrey and the rest of the liberal Democrats are fresh out of the kind of ideas that excite the interest and attract the adherence of the electorate.

Humphrey first became a national figure and a leading liberal twenty years ago, when he made his famous civil-rights oration at the 1948 Democratic convention, which caused the Dixiecrat walkout. In that speech, Humphrey came out strongly in favor of "the Brotherhood of Man Under the Fatherhood of God." The phrase inspired the useful acronym, BOMFOG, journalistic shorthand for empty political blather.

In his innumerable speeches Humphrey argues with passion, and irrefutable logic, that he is not Richard Nixon, and this his running mate, Edmund Muskie, is not Spiro T. Agnew. The rest is bomfog.

... In Fort Worth last week, at a Humphrey rally a grinning young man carried a sign which helps explain this curious emptiness in the Humphrey campaign. The sign read: Humphrey for President in 1938.

*Halderman
an eye for
sign -
do it*

Why Humphrey Bomfogs -- continued

The New Deal of 30 years ago was based on the assumption that the ills of the nation could be cured by passing laws that gave the Federal government the power or the money to deal with those ills. The final, autumnal flowering of the New Deal occurred between 1964 and 1966, when the liberal 89th Congress passed medicare, aid-to-education, and other progressive laws. After that, the New Deal cupboard was bare -- the liberal Democrats had nothing more, or nothing very interesting or important, to offer the voters.

... The truth is that the old New Deal formula -- more money and more power for the Federal government -- which used to be good political medicine, is now bad political medicine. Partly this is because a majority of the voters used to be poor, and a majority are now at least moderately rich, and they consider themselves overtaxed and over-controlled by the government. Partly it is simply because the old New Deal formula no longer seems to work.

... No sensible man doubts that a lot more money will have to be spent in the central cities, above all for education. But money is not going to cure the disease of racism, white and black, which now endangers the American system, any more than Tums will cure stomach cancer. One senses that Hubert Humphrey knows in his heart that this is so.

In fact, one senses that Humphrey, who is a very intelligent man behind the protective layers of bomfog, has come to suspect, not only that the old New Deal answers are not

Why Humphrey Bomfogs -- continued

answers any more, but that perhaps there are no answers --
that perhaps this country will have to endure some sort of
purgative agony before things are set right again. This may
be why he bomfogs so much, for a politician always resorts
to bomfog when he runs out of answers. This may also be
why there is something a bit sad about Humphrey's campaign.

2 hour set-up.

TELETHON -- QUESTIONS

4
Are we using ads in newspapers around the country telling people they can write in their questions and avoid the log jam on the telephones with both RN and HHH having telethons at the same time in the Los Angeles area?

If not -- why not -- let's get something done on this.

Who is advance man handling the details of this telethon?

Bill Gadsby

Rourke
For instance, the pads the telephone girls will use -- we want to be sure to have the right questions on the pads -- and then the heavier paper we can type the questions on so that they are easier to handle when they get to the questioner (announcer).

AGNES -- do you think we should Analice along to help analyze the questions -- or do you think there is someone else who might be faster and better?

PAT BUCHANAN/ MARTY ANDERSON et al -- let's work up the categories we want them to list -- whether any sub-titles are necessary under some of the broad categories.

Mechanical Details --

Good typewriters -- check them out ahead of time

plenty of ribbons --

erasers

correct-type

Empty suitcases (rather brief cases - a lot of them to take the things home and to take away any wastepaper.)

Names and addresses of people across the country who have questions --
and will let us use their names for questions while we are trying to
get underway - before the telephones get to working properly.

Questions for HHH telethone -- we should send a lot of them -- and hit
the same question often enough that they will feel that they have to
answer it -- if not keep having someone call and harrang them about
not answering the questions that are being called in. Try this on several
questions with several different people.

(Pads for telephone girls)

(half sheets - 8-1/2 x 5-1/2)

SUBJECT: _____

NAME _____ OCCUPATION _____

ADDRESS _____

PARTY AFFILIATION: DEMOCRAT _____ REPUBLICAN _____ INDEPENDENT _____

QUESTION: _____

(Cards -- heavy paper -- for typing questions) 8-1/2 x 5-1/2

Same information as telephone pads but NO UNDERLINING IN QUESTION SPACE.

General Memor.
1968 Campaign Three Sept.

NIXON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
P. O. BOX 1968, TIMES SQUARE STATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036

9

Holdeman
Private