

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	17	06/12/1968	Memo	Memo from Safire to Mitchell, Haldeman, and Klein regarding countering Rockerfeller ad campaign. 2pgs
35	17	06/14/1968	Memo	Memo to DC from WLS regarding classified project. 3pgs.
35	17	06/12/1968	Memo	Memo from Rita Hauser to Mitchell, Garment, Flanigan, Kline, and Price RE: Rocerfeller Campaign. 1pg.
35	17	06/13/1968	Memo	Memo from Rita E. Hauser to Mitchell, Haldeman, Garment, Flanigan, and Safire RE: Suggestions for countering Rockerfeller campaign. 1pg.
35	17	06/13/1968	Memo	Memo from Rita Hauser to Mitchell, Haldeman, Garment, and Safire RE: reaction to Rockerfeller's TV show and ads. 1pg.
35	17	06/14/1968	Memo	Memo from Jim Howard to Len Garment RE: Rockerfeller Campaign. 1pg.

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35	17	06/17/1968	Memo	Memo from Ellsworth to DC, Mitchell, Kleidienst, McWhorter, Sears (cc: Haldeman) RE: Report on Republican Governors' Conference. 2pgs.
35	17	06/24/1968	Memo	Memo from Pat Hitt to Haldeman, Finch, and Rose Mary Woods RE: RN California Appearances. 1pg.
35	17	06/23/1968	Memo	Memo (no author) to Buchanan RE: United Citizens for Nixon. 2pgs.
35	17	06/28/1968	Memo	Memo from RJW to PJB (for RN) RE: Professors for Nixon. 1pg.
35	17	06/24/1968	Memo	Memo from Dwight Chapin to Bob Haldeman RE: Air Travel Card for David Eisenhower. 2pgs.
35	17	07/01/1968	Memo	Memo from Bill Timmons to Bob Haldeman (cc: Peter Flanigan, John Ehrlichman) RE: Chicago Tribune. 1pg.
35	17	n.d.	Memo	Memo from Safire to Hobart Lewis, Frank Leonard RE: recap of June 26 meeting on One*Shot magazine project. 3pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	17	05/01/1968	Memo	Memo (no author) to Buchanan RE: planning for Post-Miami operations. 3pgs.
35	17	06/28/1968	Memo	Memo from RJW to PJB (for RN) RE: Professors for Nixon. 1pg.
35	17	06/12/1968	Memo	Memo from John C. Whitaker to Herb Klein (cc: Haldeman, Rose/Chapin) RE: telephone conversation concerning working out procedure between offices. 2pgs.
35	17	n.d.	Memo	Memo (no author or recipient listed) regarding the assigning of certain states to certain individuals. 1pg.
35	17	05/02/1968	Memo	Memo from Maurice H. Stans to John Mitchell RE: Joe Shell willing to publicly endorse RN. 1pg.
35	17	06/10/1968	Memo	Memo from ECN to RN RE: stand on all Eisenhowers. 1pg.
35	17	06/20/1968	Memo	Memo (no author) to Bob Haldeman RE: the assignment of an aide to PN. 1pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	17	06/19/1968	Memo	Memo (no author) to Bob Haldeman RE: monetary donation. 1pg.
35	17	06/20/1968	Memo	Memo from Rose Mary Woods to Ehrlichman, Timmons (cc: Haldeman) RE: members of Pat Nixon's family needing accomodation during convention. 1pg.
35	17	n.d.	Memo	Memo from Safire to Haldeman RE: pros and cons of Negro publishers' conference. 1pg.
35	17	06/18/1968	Memo	Memo from HM to Haldeman RE: the allowing of "Ray" going to Chicago. 1pg.
35	17	06/12/1968	Memo	Memo from Ellsworth to DC (cc: Mitchell, Haldeman, Chapin) RE: telephone call to Senator Hatfield on June 12. 3pgs.

To : Mitchell, Haldeman, Klein

From: Safire

Re : Countering Rockefeller Ad Campaign

June 12, 1968.

Object: To focus attention on the hollowness of the effort by stressing (1) its reliance on Madison Avenue, (2) spoiler nature, (3) opportunist nature, (4) falsity.

Themes for a "Truth Squad."

1. "The Five Million Dollar Brainwash"

- (a) Can professional persuaders do for a candidate what the candidate himself could not do in the primaries?
- (b) "Buying an election" is old hat; now we will see whether it is possible to "buy the polls"---at a million dollars per popularity point.
- (c) The TV producers know how to hypo ratings by concentrating stars and advertising during "rating weeks" when pollsters are polling---same thing now in politics.
- (d) "Tinkering with Public Opinion" Concentrate on the expertise of Jack Tinker and Partners, showing the Rockefeller effort to be totally manipulated by the admen. The man in charge: Tom Losee of Tinker.

2. "Nelse or Else"

The spoiler theme---rule or ruin, Nelse or else. With Republicans in great position, a divisive thrust that only helps the Democrats.

3. Opportunism:

- (a) Fought Kennedy in life, embraces him in death. Dig up anti-Kennedy quotes by Rockefeller and contrast with "he cared" position now.

- (b) *Criticizes Nixon on Supreme Court stand, but pushed "stop and frisk" law in New York that is so feared by civil rights groups---see current Sidney Zion blast in Ramparts against phony civil libertarian Rockefeller.*
- (c) *No gulf with Reagan? What about Reagan acceptance of Bircher support? Would Rocky accept---if not, would he want a vp who did?*
- (d) *Main thrust in final week of '66 governor campaign: Rocky the cop, will get the addicts off the streets and in jail. Sold out civil righters.*

4. *The Winner Myth*

- (a) *Though Javits and Lindsay have proven that a Republican can carry New York City, Rocky has lost NYC three times in three gubernatorial races--by an average of 300,000 votes (check exact figures).*
- (b) *Despite enormous expenditures, he has consistently run behind the Republican ticket in New York State, against weak candidates like Harriman, Morgenthau and O'Connor.*
- (c) *Last time out, a ten million dollar campaign---highest in any state history--he squeaked through with 40% of the vote.*

If these themes are acceptable, I will suggest specific tactics to get them across, without breaking 11th Commandment.

213-6272257

To: DC from WLS (cc: Haldeman, Klein, Garmen)

Re: Classified Project

June 14, 1968.

Object: To call attention to the multi-million dollar nature of the Rockefeller advertising campaign and gently ridicule it.

Method: A letter from Rhyne to the editor of the fifty daily newspapers on the Rockefeller full-page schedule and fifty more not on it who resent being left off.

Dear Editor:

As many advertising directors are gleefully aware, one of the candidates for the Republican nomination has just launched a \$5 million newspaper, radio and television campaign.

This "advertising blitz" is designed to increase his ratings in public opinion polls before the convention, thereby hoping to impress the delegates.

We have neither the inclination nor the fortune to match this flexing of Madison Avenue muscle on a dollar-for-dollar basis. Our reasons:

1. Our candidate, Richard Nixon, chose the direct primary route to carry his message to the American people. As a result, he received over three million votes as he won all seven primaries: outpolling all the competition combined by three to one.

2. We don't think that 1500 people--the total used in national opinion poll samples--should decide for all other Americans the choice of a Presidential nominee.

Mitchell objects to this

cont'd...

3. We would feel uncomfortable about relying almost totally on a professionally-packaged advertising presentation of a candidate. A political figure is not a cake of soap; while advertising has an important role to play in campaigning, there is something vaguely disquieting about such complete reliance on advertising copywriters and TV spot producers in tinkering with public opinion.

4. A 5-million dollar ^{advertising promotion} pre-convention effort on our part, even if the \$ were available, would mean that we would have that much less to spend in this fall's general election. We want to win the nomination with a rising head of steam, well-prepared to conduct the expensive task of running a presidential campaign.

That is why we are not buying a series of full-page advertisements in hundreds of newspapers.

However, we do not propose to sit idly by and do no advertising at all. Accordingly, we attach what we consider to be the appropriate answering salvo.

Would you please forward the following 10-line classified advertisement to your classified ad manager with the request that the bill be sent to me at the address on this letterhead?

Help Wanted: Male and Female

Volunteers to nominate and elect Richard Nixon; no pay; long hours; hard work; satisfaction of helping best qualified American become President of U. S. Send name, address to: C. Rhyne, United Citizens for Nixon, 918 16th St. NW, Washington, D. C. 20006

2 F
make a
stronger fund
appeal?

Thank you. We'll let you know about the response.

Sincerely,

/s/

Charles Rhyne

June 12, 1968

To: Mitchell
Garment
Flanigan
Kline
Price

From: Rita Hauser

Re: Rockefeller Campaign

The main thrust of the Rockefeller Campaign is that Nixon is a loser. This is reinforced by the approach that only Rocky can carry the big cities, which means the Negroes, the poor and a good bit of the disaffected young. He scores heavily when he says Nixon lost in 1960 because he carried Michigan until he came to Detroit, Pennsylvania until he came to Philadelphia, etc.

I believe this message can be countered in two ways, apart from behind the scene work with delegates (Rocky is appealing to the general public, and we must meet him in that arena).

1. Advertising campaign under the proper sponsorship with a lead such as:

HOW CAN YOU CALL A WINNER A LOSER?

The aim is to show the percentages of the wins we have had this year, on this year's issues. I would contrast this with Rocky's declining percentages from 1958, 1962 and then 1966 where he was a minority winner by far.

Nixon will win because he scores heavily in the polls with Republicans and Independents. Democratic defection to the GOP will be small, as it always is, and here you can show the small Democratic vote, as distinct from Independent, that the GOP candidate gets (even cite Javits history as an illustration).

2. Confrontation by Nixon on the loser theme, tastefully done. This is the human element in the Nixon campaign, life's triumphs and defeats, and should be used now.

June 13, 1968

To: Mitchell
Haldeman
Garment
Flanigan
Safire

From: Rita E. Hauser

Suggestions for countering Rockefeller campaign

1. Statement for use in newspapers to be signed by TOP moderate to left Republicans, like Percy, Agnew, Brad Morse, McCell, Bush, McGregor, on why they are for Nixon. Statement would show accord with RN's stands on issues, but, most important, their belief that RN is the real choice of Republicans. Victory after victory this year, on this year's issues, have shown that. To be capped with statement that America needs a man who can unite his party and unite his country, and that is RN.
2. Good documentaries on RN to be shown between now and convention time on national network.
3. For the delegates: a letter from Mitchell or someone in importance on the theme of Nixon is a winner, and Rocky a loser in this year's primaries and also show his declining margins of victory in his last races (including the heavy spending on them). Stress the spoiler theme.

In my view, doing nothing is running a great risk. Rocky's drive will gain momentum, especially with columnists and commentators. It is folly to ignore the drive on the theory that we have it locked up. Moreover, doing nothing will in itself create the feeling of "it's locked up" which is offensive to many delegates.

RN

June 13, 1968

TO: Mitchell
Haldeman ✓
Garment
Safire

From: Rita Hauser

Louie Lefkowitz called me late last evening at home, and, after some banter, asked me how we had reacted to Rocky's TV show and ads. I told him that we thought the show was generally effective, but that it was hard to see how this would bag delegates. Indeed, the appeal to the Kennedy supporters might well produce the opposite result.

Louie told me he had raised these points himself to Rocky, but it was felt that Rocky had no other means than that which he was using to influence delegates via the polls.

I naturally took the chance to ask Louie how Rocky and his people felt about the new approach. He told me he had been at a meeting late yesterday, and that the reports coming in by telephone to Rocky were all extremely good. Rocky was much encouraged, and there was some talk about increasing the TV spots. Rocky plans to step up his speaking engagements, especially to young audiences, and will follow the Kennedy technique in that he will have visibly around him known Negroes, like Jackie Robinson and Wyatt T. Walker. I queried Louie on the rumour I had heard that Rocky will be making a direct approach to Mrs. Martin Luther King for her support. Louie said he had heard the same, but was no more informative than that.

NB: The Negro entourage approach is typical Rocky, and he used it to much success in his last gubernatorial race.

Edward Howard & Co. • PUBLIC RELATIONS • Cleveland, New York, Sydney
680 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019, 212/581-4242

TO Len Garment

DATE June 14, 1968

FROM Jim Howard

SUBJECT Rockefeller Campaign

I am appalled by the Rockefeller ads and strategy. There seems to be no substance, no honesty, only a blind lashing out. I have a gut feeling that they may be hurting us where we need help most -- among undecided voters who will be choosing between RN and Humphrey. These people have no reason to be disturbed by Rockefeller's tactics, and they may absorb without questioning the suggestions implicit in the ads.

It's hard to handle, but here are a couple of suggestions for your consideration.

- ✓ 1. If possible have someone who is widely respected and not identified with the conservative wing of the party call for a halt to the campaign.
- 2. Encourage one of the major newspapers or newsmagazines to do a roundup of the reaction of leading Republicans. This would require some advance work, probably. The reading would almost certainly be negative.
- 3. If at all possible, encourage, through whatever means are open to us, a leading undeclared Republican to declare for RN with the announced reason being the Rockefeller campaign. Now is the time for new endorsements.
- 4. Keep indirect pressure on Rockefeller through whatever means are available. I suspect many of the Rockefeller people are uneasy and vulnerable to criticism.
- ^ 5. If the money is available, consider a television version of the three urban talks wrapped up into one.
6. As you know, the CORE legislation will be introduced soon. Within a period of four or five days it would be possible to write the outlines of a plan and organization that would be formed to pull together the businessmen who are prepared to act on various parts of the CORE program. Initially these would probably have to be strong RN supporters, but others might be drawn in.

I have drawn up a very, very rough draft of an ad which might be run once a plan and group are formed. This is primarily to show how we might use such a plan with the public.

One point would be to demonstrate that RN's urban programs do have real substance and that he has a real commitment.

This would have to be coupled with the other recommendations; that an urban talk be televised; that we try to make an issue through third parties that the Rockefeller plans have no possibility of being accomplished and do indeed raise false hopes.

I do not feel that RN should directly answer the Rockefeller campaign. Let's not let him get drawn into a defensive position.

NR
NR

File

June 17, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC
Mitchell
Kleindienst
McWhorter
Sears
cc: Haldeman

FROM: Ellsworth

RE: Report on Republican Governors Conference

(1) An anti-divisive resolution was adopted by the Governors, substantially similar to that which had been adopted the previous week by the Republican National Committee. We arranged for Volpe to introduce it, for Hickel to second it, and for Agnew, Kirk and Williams to speak in support of it.

(2) We arranged for the following Governors to speak to Ray Bliss in strong criticism of the divisiveness of the Rockefeller campaign: Volpe, Hickel, Babcock, Bartlett, Williams and Agnew.

(3) We asked for and received a promise from Shafer to accompany his endorsement of Rockefeller with a statement that, notwithstanding his support for Rockefeller at this time, Nixon would win in the fall if he should be the nominee and would carry Pennsylvania. We

also asked for and received promises of pro-Nixon statements from Agnew and Bartlett.

(4) We also arranged to have two editorial cartoons and a colation of recent press reports establishing the divisiveness of the Rockefeller strategy placed in the hands of all Governors. This was done so that it would not be attributable to us.



file

WOMEN FOR NIXON

Women for Nixon, National Co-Chairman, Nixon Presidential Campaign

June 24, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman *
Bob Finch
Rose Mary Woods

FROM: Pat Hitt

RE: RN California Appearances

As you no doubt know, the Republican State Central Committee has reserved Dodger Stadium for a Republican Candidates' Rally on September 11 with the headliner to be the Presidential candidate. Since this will be an all-candidate rally, we must keep in mind that the second highest office to be represented there will be the Republican candidate for the United States Senate. This means precisely that RN will not only be sharing the platform with Max Rafferty among others, but knowing Max as we all do, RN would almost have to fight for the lead position.

It is possible that RN will decide to pass up this rally, but I think it would be very difficult to justify his absence -- this means he could very well be boxed into attending. With these circumstances and this possibility in mind, I feel it is imperative that he make some kind of public appearance or appearances in California during Fall. We must avoid at all costs a Dodger Stadium appearance with Rafferty as his first major appearance or entrance into California. The whole matter of what we do about Max Rafferty is a bag of worms, to put it mildly. I had hoped that we might be able to achieve the kind of tight-rope walking that Murphy did in '64 in conjunction with the Goldwater campaign. Obviously, we are all giving a great deal of thought to this entire situation.

Bob and I had dinner last night with Jack and Nita Veneman and Jack's parting remark to me was that he would stay completely out of any activity prior to the Convention and would hope that he could be of help to us in the Fall. He feels keenly that RN must divorce himself from Rafferty as much as humanly possible and has some ideas along this line. I would urge that some of us consult with him and take his advice seriously when the time comes.

Tread carefully on this topic with Bob Nesen. He voted for Rafferty in the primary, but it was a "mad at Kuchel" vote not a deep conviction for Rafferty.

Women for Nixon, Inc.
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-383-2001

file

23 June 1968

MEMORANDUM TO DUCIANA

SUBJ: United Citizens for Nixon

I received a note yesterday from Rose Mary asking me to arrange an appointment with John Mitchell. I assume this must be in relation to the United Citizens for Nixon and my previous memoranda regarding their activities.

While I am willing to come up to New York to talk with Mitchell, I am afraid I will simply be wasting his time unless there is some possibility of agreeing on a means for me to be of positive assistance. I frankly am concerned that I may be projecting an image of a chronic complainer. I have no desire for such a role; rather I am interested in being of positive assistance.

I have not talked with Evans since the opening of the Citizens Edgrs. when you and the Boss were down. I have called him several times, but he has been busy. I understand he now has 60 people on the staff and is busy formulating plans for Citizens activities.

Considering the circumstances, I would just as soon forget the entire thing unless it is possible to agree upon an institutionalized and mutually satisfactory means for me to assist. I could express a long list of dire concerns about what is going on, but I don't see where it would do any good. Furthermore, I gave Tom my word that I wouldn't pass any comments to New York that would jeopardize his getting the operation underway. In short, I am not interested in aggravating a problem, but would be interested in helping solve it.

I am enclosing a memorandum which I have prepared for possible submission to Mitchell. I would like your comments on it and its feasibility. If it has the earmarks of the ill-fated simulation offer, I don't want to submit it. I don't mind being shot down on these things, but I am afraid it creates a bad impression if I am constantly ~~suggesting~~ suggesting unacceptable proposals.

I am going to be tied up this week, but can see Mitchell Monday or Tuesday of next week if convenient to him. I would like to hear from you on this matter before I make an appointment. I don't want to take his time unless I feel I can say something to him that will be helpful.

The corporate cover proposal which I make is particularly attractive to me as added insurance against trouble which might arise in the event someone raises a question about my activities. I could rest easier if that were the basis of our relationship.

I have talked with Jameson Campaigne about getting some young newspaper types to help with some writing for the boss. Most of

these people (on your list from Freeman) prefer Reagan for the nomination, but will, I think, be willing to submit stuff to us after the convention -- some might do so before hand on the sly. Jameson thinks it would work best if they used me as a point of contact since, although I am a well known moderate, they have some degree of confidence in me. I can rework the stuff to make sure it is reasonable and pass on to you. I think we can get this type of help at no expense, although if it is too extensive, I might have trouble handling it without some assistance. We can worry about that when the situation arises.

File.

Dr. Olds

June 28, 1968

To: PJB for RN

From: RJW

Re: Professors for Nixon

OK
Holdenman for
up with
a big preliminary
discussion

Roger Clark of the United Citizens operation has asked for a nominee to undertake organizing and administering Professors for Nixon. After consultation with Allen and Anderson, I have decided that this tough assignment demands high priority and the special qualities of Dr. Olds.

In the implacably hostile academic world, RN needs as his advocate a man filled with missionary zeal, a man at ease in the environment and enjoying wide contacts and professional prestige. I can think of no one more deserving of this assignment, which would require 2-3 days a week in and around Washington and far-ranging travel over the country, than the good dean.

The request for his services should come directly from RN, it should fan the flame of zeal, and it should move our man out into the field as soon as possible.

Don't call it this
scholarship letter.

Done via
July Cole to Bob Hitt.

L.

6/24/68

To: Bob Haldeman

From: Dwight Chapin

RE: Air Travel Card for David Eisenhower

RN through Julie-- has asked that we order David a Air Travel
Card--- can you and your staff handle this --- thanks-

Dwight

hold til confirmed
receipt by David

L
Call
July Cole
in Washington
at Washington
HQ

Bruce Bardwell.

- be sure David gets his ATC - ^{1/200}
and get him reimb for trip to Betty's bung?

- room for FDM at Florida - ~~Thurs-Fri~~

~~Tue - Fri.~~

~~Hilton Plaza.~~

N
NIXON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE,
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
1726 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 783-4201

*L - Call Timmons
& tell him
too*

Memo to: Bob Haldeman

Copies to: Peter Flanigan
John Ehrlichman

Date: July 1, 1968

Subject: Chicago Tribune

*Phoned
JOE*

This will serve as a reminder that you were going to talk to RN about the cost of buying and distributing free copies of the Chicago Tribune during the Republican National Convention.

Apparently, Mr. Maxwell said we had to purchase copies through a Miami Beach newsstand. The Dade County News Dealers Association can order copies for us at 11¢ each. Figuring 3,000 copies each day, it will cost us \$330 or \$1,980 for six days.

agree

Frankly, I don't think it is worth it.....but please let me know soonest because of the lead time required in planing an order like this.

Best,

Bill Timmons



*Catt
Levent.*

file *Haldeman* *Call*
Lewis
re budget
problem
TOPA

MEMO TO: HOBART LEWIS, FRANK LEONARD FROM BILL SAFIRE
RE: RECAP OF JUNE 26 MEETING ON ONE*SHOT MAGAZINE PROJECT

WORKING TITLE: NIXON '68
FORMAT: 80-PAGE 9x12 magazine, similar to a National Observer "Newsbook"
COLOR: Front and back covers, plus eight pages inside.
BUDGET: To be drawn up by Lewis, assuming 100,000 copies, to be ready for distribution just before convention.
SALES PRICE: \$1.25. Some free distribution; some sold by Nixon clubs; some newsstand sales.

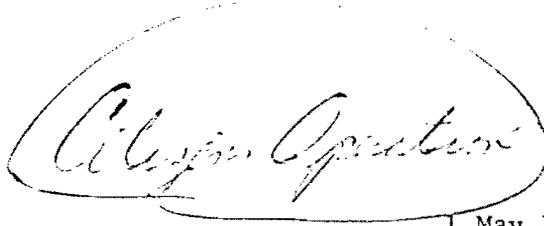
FORMAT:

1. Color cover shot of Nixon campaigning in crowd of people; back cover color photo of Nixon with family.
2. 600-750 word introduction by General Eisenhower. Lewis to make contact through Ben Hibbs and Bob Shultz, Hibbs to draft. (1 page)
3. "I Believe in the American Dream" essay by RN. Impressionistic in tone, illustrated by photos of American scenes and people, some with Nixon in them, designed to show scope of interest and support. ~~xxxxxz~~ 1500 words, (4 pages). Price or Safire to write.
3. Nixon's life in pictures, showing all phases of career, as a child, Navy, early candidate, up to and including each of "six crises". (8 pages) . Leonard to assemble and caption.
4. "America and the World" essay by Nixon, 1500 words on need to reassert leadership, what has happened to our alliances, our proper role as world power. ~~ix~~ Price, Buchanan or Whalan to write; illustrated by pix of RN with world leaders past and present, Leonard to assemble.

- 4 (con'td) Also Leonard to get from Rose Woods a complete list of grips since 60, to send to Lewis for cartographer to work into map. Altogether 8 pages.
5. The Nixon Humor: selections of examples of wit, illustrated by a laughing picture. Safire and Leonard to send suggestions to Lewis, who already has Alfalfa speech; Leonard to get more from Buchanan. 2 pages.
6. The Quotable Nixon: selections of best lines over the years, broken into categories, with some small pix. Lewis already has Safire selection; additional material from Leonard who gets from Research. 6 pages
7. Family Portrait: a spread on the Nixon family, early shots to present, including David Eisenhower shot with General (4 pages) Shots working on campaign, also Ed Nixon.
8. The Pat Nixon story, interview updated by Eleanor Harris, Lewis to arrange interview, with pix selected by Leonard (4 pages). Stress shots with daughters.
9. "The Great Comeback", from 1962 to ~~present~~ beginning of 68, showing how RN aided the rebirth of the Republican party, power in helping elect Republicans to Congress in 1966. Safire to write; 6 pages.
10. Campaign trail 68: picture story of the primaries, with box scores of results, including family campaigning shots, diverse supporter shots, 10 pages selected by Leonard.
11. "What they are saying about Nixon": selection of editorial comment on Nixon the man and the positions taken so far; Leonard to select.
12. Picture spread, and heavy selections from text, of Oregon telethon. Good color photos available; this is also the spot for coverage of current stands on issues. *8 pages.*

13. The Watershed Speech: vision by RN of future of America,
harking back to opening article in magazine and giving it unity.
Safire has written, 6 pages.

cc: Haldeman, *W. H. R.*



1 May 1968

MEMORANDUM TO BUCHANAN

SUBJ: Planning for Post-Miami Operations

I am concerned about the lack of co-ordinated planning for field operations in the immediate post-Miami period. From my discussion with Tom Evans and from what I have observed of the formative organization of the Citizens operation, I fear that a major effort is about to be launched without the benefit of clear objectives or detailed operational plans. The line and block charts look impressive, but detailed plans and objectives are lacking.

Citizens operations very rarely are cost effective. Without the benefit of close co-ordination with other aspects of the campaign and without the aid of experienced organizers and administrators, they often function on the shotgun principle: establish as many different "citizens groups" as possible and hope something beneficial happens.

A Citizens organization, like a youth section, represents an integral part of the campaign myth. It is recognized that you have to have one, but no one is quite certain exactly what it is supposed to do. Too little attention is paid to determining at the outset specific campaign objectives to be accomplished.

Although it may be presumptuous of me, I believe the following observations are in order: (1) Tom Evans, while being a competent guy, has not had any experience as a program administrator on a national scale. This is a serious disadvantage only when pride refuses to admit it and hedge against its consequences by seeking the assistance of experienced people; (2) Jim Skidmore has not impressed those in Washington who have watched his activities over the past year as the logical choice to direct field operations; he is prone to attach too much attention to image and comfort, too little to concrete results; (3) Jim Day is a prize catch: he is experienced and competent, although most of his previous work has been in-house administration and convention arrangements. In short, I think we are lacking personnel who have had previous experience as program administrators, people who understand the hard, unglamorous, persistent efforts required to translate a line and block chart into a viable, productive, and efficient program effort.

In light of these comments and observations which are intended to be as analytical as possible without regard to personalities, I would suggest the following:

1. RN should require a detailed program prospectus outlining in specific terms exactly what the Citizens operation intends to accomplish and specifically how they intend to do it. Emphasis should be attached to specific programs, personnel to administer each program, and cost. All these factors should be related to specific campaign objectives. This operation is going to cost one hell of a lot of money. Left to itself there is no guarantee that the money will be well spent. Considering that money is a limited resource, if I were RN I would want to be damn certain that it is being allocated in a cost effective manner.

2. A procedure for continuing review and evaluation of the Citizens operation should be established. This should consist of more than periodic budget reviews. Frequent and extensive evaluation should be made of the impact and progress of projected program activities.

3. Within the framework of the Citizens operation, but in close co-ordination with the New York campaign staff, a special Task Force should be established to concentrate on up to 10 states which are regarded as electorally crucial to our success in November. These states can be selected on the basis of a hunch or if we implement the simulation exercise on the basis of empirical data. However chosen, they should receive special attention separate from general programming undertaken by the Citizens operation.

The first task of the special Task Force should be to prepare for a major registration drive immediately following the Convention. Studies should be immediately launched of the latest demographic information to determine population shifts, trends in voting, etc. which would aid us to pin-point those areas where intensive registration efforts would be most productive for a Republican candidate. After this information is determined (this would be available from our simulation studies or could be arrived at independently), detailed operational plans for putting troops in the field to register voters should be worked out.

The Task Force should also begin immediately to identify those groups of voters within the key states who represent the source of greatest support for RN (this too would be available from simulation or could roughly be sketched out from demographic and voter trend studies). Once this information was derived, specific programs in each state could be tailored by the Citizens operation, e.g., Senior Citizens effort in Florida, etc. The obvious advantage is that you can zero in on important voting blocs in crucial states instead of dissipating your resources on a broad national basis, e.g., mailing to Senior Citizens on a national basis when simulation or other analysis reflects that as a group they are inclined toward the Democratic candidate.

These are only two specific program ideas which I believe could be implemented to materially assist the campaign looking past Miami. They may not seem particularly novel, but they may have been overlooked simply because our planners are thinking generally and nationally rather than thinking in terms of specific, attainable program objectives.

My key point is simply this: a flurry of activity generated by the infusion of large amounts of money does not necessarily mean that progress is being made. I know that RN has many things on his mind, but I believe at the early stages when programs are being formulated, it might be wise if he took at least some direct interest to guarantee that those who will make a difference between victory and defeat are doing the best possible job on his behalf. I know that he thinks I tend to be negative or too critical. However, I do not have any cross to bear or any grudge to carry. All I am interested in is seeing that the best possible job is done so that he will win in November. To the extent that my critical evaluation of program ideas and project operations will help in this regard, I

feel compelled to make them. To the extent that they are irritating or a nuisance, I am sorry. However, in the final analysis, a detached evaluation of what is going on in the midst of a necessarily hectic campaign operation may, on at least one occasion, be of value, and for that reason I continue to bring these matters to your attention.

file

June 28, 1968

To: PJB for RN
From: RJW
Re: Professors for Nixon

OB
Holeman
up with
a preliminary
discussion

Roger Clark of the United Citizens operation has asked for a nominee to undertaking organizing and administering Professors for Nixon. After consultation with Allen and Anderson, I have decided that this tough assignment demands high priority and the special qualities of Dr. Olds.

In the implacably hostile academic world, RN needs as his advocate a man filled with missionary zeal, a man at ease in the environment and enjoying wide contacts and professional prestige. I can think of no one more deserving of this assignment, which would require 2-3 days a week in and around Washington and far-ranging travel over the country, than the good dean.

The request for his services should come directly from RN, it should fan the flame of zeal, and it should move our man out into the field as soon as possible.

Don't call it this -
seems better.

Done - 7/2

Olds is mtg with
Tanner Alexander
10:00 Fri.

MEMORANDUM

JUNE 12, 1968

file *W*

TO: HERB KLEIN
CC: Bob Haldeman
Rose/Chapin
FROM: John C. Whitaker

talk to W about.

This will confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday working out procedure between your shop and mine.

- Never release tentative dates*
1. Schedule - I will send you calendars with tentative and firm dates so you can keep the press informed on upcoming schedule.
 2. From now on all press calls received in my shop will be referred to your shop and no information will be given out by my shop.
 3. My shop will put out a draft press schedule on the Telecopier to you for your edit and mass distribution. Henry Hyde has already sent Ron Ziegler our press list. These names are all on plates which Ron has indicated he wants us to hold for the time being. From now on no press schedule will be mailed from this shop to the press.
 4. It will be your shop's responsibility from now on to also distribute the press schedule to all Nixon staff plus any key Nixon people around the country that for political reasons you wish to keep informed of RN's schedule.
 5. It seems to us there must be a central place to make all airline reservations for the press men joining the tour, and this responsibility should reside in your shop and not ours.
 6. Since the advance man must pre-register the press and have hotel room keys in the lobby when the press arrive for each overnight stop, it seems to us that a night letter must be sent from your office to the reservations clerk at the hotel where the travelling party will be staying at least 24 hours in advance of the actual arrival of the travelling party.
 7. At this time we are planning on two 727s configured first class which will have 112 seats available for press. This assumes a travelling staff of 18. If we have a larger staff and we want this many press seats, we will have to eliminate the first-class configuration in the press section. The figure of 112 is arrived at as follows: The first press plane has 44 first class seats at the rear of the plane and the front section of this is for staff and RN. This front section has a maximum of 24 seats and assuming we pull one set (2 seats) for hassock and couch in front for RN and 4 seats for tables, we have a total of 18. The second plane, configured entirely first class, holds 68 total. It seems to me it is up to your shop to advise us exactly what decisions you want relative to airplane configuration, and advise us if possible no later than July 1 so that my shop can negotiate a final contract giving the airline company lead time to configure the planes so that we are in business right after the Convention.

W - Adequate; not nearly any for shop

June 12, 1968

8. Since, under the above system, you will have the manifest lists of what press members are on board for each flight, that this information should be given daily to Stans' office so that they can invoice the press. I am enclosing a sample of the travelling manifest form and the invoice form we are currently using.

Please advise if you are in agreement or want modifications of the above procedures.

Cheers,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John", with a horizontal line underneath.

Enclosures

✓ Mitchell
~~_____~~

States

Ellsworth and Kleindienst - both have too many states.

If we could get Cake without Williams.

Cake agrees on Brownell.

Break this down

Calloway - Georgia

Iowa -- ~~need strength~~ need strong man

Kansas -- Ellsworth/ McGregor -- need someone else there -
you cannot use a man in his home state - Ellsworth should
not be the one -- maybe Dole --

Maryland - our appeal there is among conservatives -- Rogers Morton
put him in charge.

Massachusetts -- except for Brad Morse - Ellsworth cannot get votes
in Massachusetts -- we need a strong man.

Michigan -- Lockwood (Ellsworth)

Pennsylvania -- Ellsworth -- ok for the liberals -- but our strength
there mostly conservative -- we need someone else too.

Texas -- it is completely wrong -- they won't work with Kleindienst
and Ellsworth (neither of them should dabble in Texas)

We need to work out a top man in every state -- and one man in
our organization who deals with him

Bob H. ?

~~Kalif~~ ✓
~~John A~~
~~To be avoided~~
~~at all costs.~~

May 2, 1968

TO: John Mitchell
FROM: Maurice H. Stans

Joe Shell of California, who lost to Dick in 1962,
is willing to endorse him publicly at any time.

MHS:ac

M.H.S.

MEMORANDUM

June 10, 1968

To: RN
From: ECN

Walter Williams called this afternoon to say that he had determined the stand of all Eisenhowers except for Milton and his family. He seems extremely anxious that we sound Milton out before any further alibis might develop.

Fred Seaton called him this morning. They discussed what had been done and what might be done. Seaton suggested and Williams agreed that a direct call from you would be the best approach at this time.

It seems to me we should divert WW into some other task to avoid inadvertent obtusiveness. He is an able strategist, but good timing is not always evident in his tactics.

right!

Ed

ECN:sac

Both would sound them out

*Can't you
for your
records - coffee
stands and etc.*

File.

20 June 1968

BOB HALDEMAN

PN seems to be doing a lot more public events lately. I imagine that this will continue. Have you given any consideration as to whether or not a permanent type aide will be assigned to her, or will just the one SS man plus the advance man for the drill be enough? Hyde is under the impression that Davies ought to be functioning as the aide - John D. isn't under this impression and Hyde is bugging the hell out of him.

Shall I tell Hyde to stop bugging Davies

Yes NO

Tell Hyde to work out PN trip with only SS + Advance man

Yes NO

If NO then what so that Hyde stops bugging US?

~~split out~~

Also do you want to have Hyde run all PN events by you before he runs the by PN or should he go direct to her?

*By whitaker
but not by general*

*Some
or long or general
Down.*

*... ..
... ..
... ..*

RUSH -- CALL

Done

6/19 at Airport.

BOB HALDEMAN

In the event you haven't gotten back to Jones yet -- Peege said he wants to give some money -- maybe if you could find out if it is \$10,000 it would help greatly if they could date the check before the end of the week so we could get another \$5000 for it.

June 20, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Ehrlichman
Bill Timmons

cc: Bob Haldeman

FROM: Rose Mary Woods

When I was out at RN's apartment today,
Pat Nixon told me that the following members of her family want
to come to the convention and will need rooms. They would like
to have one suite where they can all gather -- the others just rooms.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Ryan

Mr. and Mrs. William Ryan

Mr. Matthew Bender

Miss June _____ (will have to get that name)

The three men are Pat's brothers (Bender is half-
brother).

Many thanks.

check
later

Now

~~Don't~~

! Tell G
RN will go -
Belchman & Chapin
Have poop.

Bob Haldeman from Bill Safire

Len Garment and I chewed over the pros and cons of the
Negro publishers conference. *

I do not think Nixon should join the parade of
candidates who appear there; too much the "bloc" pitch
and out of character.

The way to finesse the situation is this: Nixon
should have lunch or a drink at home with Johnson, the
publisher of Ebony and Jet.

Johnson is by far the ~~most~~ most respected, most powerful
Negro publisher---and quite a guy, I understand. Herb
Klein knows him.

Word of the private talk will get out; it will
show Nixon's interest in the area, and it will be part
of a series of talks with publishers and editors, not
a crass bloc pitch.

Caution T distribution.

Most Weekly -

Daily Pub & Wifa for C tails + Johnson who owns
at 6:00 in his apt. E Long.

file
H
P
C

6/18/68

Bob Haldeman -- from HM

Since you have told Herb Klein that he can go out there ~~and~~ if he wants to go to Chicago. If Herb goes and Ray doesn't that would downgrade Ray. Haldeman - tell Ray that if he wants to go along he can go too. They should both go on a commercial flight -- that would be better.

You have to realize -- and so does Herb -- that there are sensitivities involved here -- this dinner -- or get-together was in the mill for months.

As far as Rentschler is concerned, if they have invited him I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings -- let him come too. Normally, I would not take a strictly political fellow to this type of meeting.

As everyone knows -- THERE IS TO BE NO ONE WITH ME WHEN I GO TO THE TIME-LIFE DEAL.

June 12, 1968

RN
re Hatfield
mtg

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC (cc: Mitchell, Haldeman, Chapin)
FROM: Ellsworth *R*

Wednesday afternoon, June 12, I called on Senator Hatfield in his office.

(1) I stated it appeared to me that no unbridgeable chasm existed between his views and Mr. Nixon's views on the ultimate aims and objectives of the United States in the Vietnam situation. He agreed, and stated he had told RN that was his view when he called him after the Oregon primary and further that he (Hatfield) had told the same thing to Billy Graham when Billy had been out in Portland. Hatfield went on to say that he had said publicly on a number of occasions that the primary victory in Oregon was -- by virtue of the well financed and intensive campaigns by Rockefeller and Reagan -- a significant victory.

(2) I suggested that it might be worthwhile for the Senator to sit down and explore the entire situation with the Candidate, and Hatfield said he would be delighted to do so. He stated he is ready to make a strong public statement in support of the Nixon candidacy, in support of the Nixon

Presidency, and to do whatever else he can to be helpful as requested by us.

Recommendation: I recommend that RN invite Hatfield up to New York for a visit the week of June 17, and that, the same week, appropriate arrangements be made, with the guidance and cooperation of Herb Klein, for Hatfield to make known his strong preference for RN as the Presidential candidate of the Republicans, together with his certain conviction that a Nixon Presidency represents the best hope of this country and the world for a stable and lasting peace.

NB: The special merit of this particular endorsement, of course, lies in Hatfield's known identification with and appeal to peace activists. In this connection, naturally, it should be understood that Nixon has not suddenly come around to Hatfield's views, nor should this be particularly necessary. Only that Hatfield agrees that Nixon represents the best hope for a stable and lasting peace in Asia.

NB: Hatfield puts down McCall as unreliable. Hatfield also is, of course, a Nixon-pledged delegate, and he underscores his intention to abide enthusiastically by the spirit as well as the rule of the law. It is a law which he himself, as Governor, sponsored.

NB: Hatfield is vying with McCall for the chairmanship of the delegation. Assuming a public endorsement by Hatfield, Appling would support Hatfield over McCall (they

both dislike McCall intensely.)

The delegation's organizational meeting will be held sometime after the vote count is complete (apparently Hatfield will get the most votes of any of the delegates), and the count cannot be completed until sometime around June 23.

NBB: The timing in the Nixon-Hatfield meeting, therefore, must be the week of June 17 because of the following considerations:

(1) We want Hatfield to have made his public pronouncement prior to the delegation meeting, which could be held the week of June 24.

(2) Before the pronouncement of support Hatfield should be given an opportunity to meet with Nixon and to have an intervening period of a day or two after the meeting to prepare for the announcement.