

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	19	06/20/1968	Memo	Memo from Agnes Waldron to RN RE: Positions taken by Hubert Humphrey. 6pgs.
35	19	08/17/1968	Memo	Memo from Ellsworth to DC (cc: Mitchell, Kleindienst, Haldeman) RE: Rockefeller Strategy Pre-Convention. 2pgs.
35	19	06/14/1968	Memo	Memo from LG to RN regarding notes on strategy. 4pgs.
35	19	11/15/1967	Memo	Memo from Buchanan to Bob (Haldeman?) RE: the uses of television. 16pgs.
35	19	9/05/1968	Other Document	Message from Jack Drown to Bob Haldeman RE: conversation with Fred Seaton. 1pg.
35	19	09/26/1968	Memo	Memo from Allan to Buchanan RE: RN projected visit to Mexico. 1pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	19	09/26/1968	Report	Report from RNC regarding possible Humphrey comeback. 1pg.
35	19	09/15/1968	Memo	Memo from John Whitaker to Haldeman (cc: Loie Gaunt) inquiring who was present at a breakfast meeting. 1pg.
35	19	09/25/1968	Memo	Memo from Maury Stans to RN requesting the presence of Agnew for fund-raising dinners. 1pg.
35	19	09/25/1968	Other Document	Western Union message from Barry Goldwater to Richard Nixon urging him not to go to Mexico City. 1pg.
35	19	09/25/1968	Memo	Memo from Murray Chotiner to Haldeman RE: "floating" rumors on Social Security/Medicar and RN's farm plank. 1pg.
35	19	09/24/1968	Memo	Memo from Shakespert to Haldeman RE: favorable research results on Cleveland television program. 2pgs.
35	19	09/24/1968	Memo	Memo from Buchanan to Haldeman requesting fee processing. 1pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	19	09/18/1968	Memo	Memo from TCH to Buchanan RE: expenses. 1pgs.
35	19	09/23/1968	Memo	Memo frm Kimball to Nixon, Agnew, Ellsworth, Finch, Flanigan, Haldeman, Klein, Kleindienst, McWhorter, Mitchell, Moore, Sears, Sohmer, White, Woods, et. Al... RE: Surrogate Candidates. 8pgs.

File

~~Had~~ had had like to forget  
Is Mago going to dig them out? - ~~of~~  
June 20, 1968 ~~not up~~  
a good idea  
but a real study over the years  
will find some  
outlandish statement + pointing

MEMORANDUM:

To: RN  
Fr: Agnes Waldron  
Re: Positions taken by Hubert Humphrey

Economic Policy and Taxes according to Congressional Quarterly:

HHH "believes that the Federal Government, through its basic economic policies, should stimulate the national economy to more and more rapid growth. During his Senate career, he backed increased federal expenditures and dismissed as groundless complaints about the danger of an increasing national debt."

During his sixteen years in the Senate, HHH proposed or voted for programs that would have cost Americans over \$100 billion in addition to the amounts Congress actually appropriated during that same period. Humphrey is essentially a populist. He has summed up his economic viewpoint thusly: "If I am going to be called an inflationist, that will not bother me one bit, because the one thing this Senator remembers is that the troubles we had in our business and our family did not come from inflation, but they came from deflation." (Cong. Rec. 5/22/57)

So far as the current fiscal and monetary crisis is concerned, he has had little to say. However, he continues

to call for new programs. He has, for example, called for a Marshal Plan for our cities. As a usual practice HHH never puts a price tag on any of his proposals.

During the 1964 campaign Arthur Krock in comparing LBJ and HHH commented: "Humphrey has consistently subordinated the costs to the ever-expanding welfare state, under mounting centralized control by Washington, whereas the President's stated design is to keep the costs and the concept in prudent balance." Krock's evaluation on HHH at least still holds true. Humphrey is opposed to revenue sharing with the states. For example, on January 24, 1967 he said: "I do not think...that the Federal government would be keeping proper faith with American taxpayers if tax revenues were to be handed over, no strings attached, ...to state and local governments which might not be ready or able to use them effectively."

In his letter to the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, HHH supported the aims of The Poor People's March and called for the following:

- (1) Extensive reform of the Welfare system - not further described.
- ✓ (2) Some form of income maintenance - not specified.
- (3) Immediate priority should be given to eliminate hunger - through food stamp and commodity distribution programs.

*Quere R's  
Posite on the 7*

- (4) Expansion of rural and urban health centers.
- (5) A program of "selective public service employment" but he specifically ruled out the government as "employer of last resort."
- (6) Early implementation of the recommendation of the Kerner Commission Report. (Estimated cost \$40.5-\$22.8 from public sources. See attached estimate)

There is some indication that HHH is aware of the fact that even with the end of the war, there is no money to finance new programs. The Washington Post reported that HHH meet with Walter Heller and Charles Schultz at Brookings, where he was told to forget the idea that the end of the war would release \$30 billion for domestic needs. Of course, since he learned this, he wrote Abernathy in support of the Poor People's demands.

Similarly, on the very day LBJ was signing a greatly reduced Foreign Aide bill and announcing travel restrictions, HHH was in Africa pledging a doubling or tripling of foreign aid funds. The bill this year is, of course, in even more serious trouble and may be killed in the House.

Law and Order:

HHH has the usual knee-jerk liberal reaction with regard to riots. At the time of the Watts riot - he expressed more sympathy for the rioters than for the victims. Similarly,

get  
this

(while Cleveland was burning July 18, 1956) HHH told a New Orleans audience that he could "lead a mighty good riot."

Following the riots in Detroit and Newark, HHH, before a Boston audience placed the blame for the riots on every American citizen: "For whose fault is it when our cities bleed and burn?...It is the fault of the racial extremists who incite to riot. It is the fault of the looter and the sniper who deny their neighbor's right to live in peace. It is the fault of the governments who do too little, too late. It is the fault of decent men of good will who fail to act. It is the fault of all of us."

When the Kerner Commission Report was released HHH was more restrained. On March 24, 1968 he stated that the report's contention that "white society condones" Negro slums "comes dangerously close to a doctrine of group guilt." He declared the report was "open to some challenge" and specifically took exception to the reports conclusion that the U.S. was moving toward two separate societies.

During the 1964 campaign he termed Goldwater's call for law and order a racist appeal and said Goldwater had over emphasized episodes of riots and civil disorder.

Foreign Affairs:

Humphrey is an avowed internationalist. Towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe he is a dedicated bridge builder - though he has never been much concerned with the fact that the bridge building is almost totally from one direction. He is a firm believer in disarmament, trade, cultural exchanges, etc.

More recently, April 22, 1968 he called for the building of "peaceful bridges" to Communist China. In 1964 however, he told UPI editors that China was an aggressive warlike country and he opposed U.S. recognition. He said the U.S. should instead have firm and reliable relations with the Soviet Union during the Sino-Russian Quarrel.

Vietnam, of course, is HHH's Achilles heel. Prior to his nomination as Vice President he took a dim view of U.S. involvement in Asia. For example, on 5/20/61 HHH told reporters that the U.S. should withdraw from Laos and "extricate ourselves and try to shore up Vietnam and Thailand." He said further that it would be impossible to supply U.S. troops in Laos and that the Laotians have no will to fight. He said: "We can't garrison the world, the Soviets don't try to do it and I don't think we can either. There's no Red Army in Laos and there was none

in Cuba."

Given his past position it is little wonder that HHH has incurred the wrath of the liberals on Vietnam. To some extent he has responded to this pressure. In February, 1966 when RFK suggested a coalition government with the Viet Cong HHH likened this to letting a fox into the chicken coop. But by December 1967, he did not foreclose such a coalition and by May 1968 he said the stage was set to invite the Viet Cong to participate in the Paris Talks. The Administration was forced to issue a quick denial of this.

*pc - Lopez*

June 17, 1968

*File*  
*General*  
*Memor.*

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC  
cc: Mitchell, Kleindienst, ~~Haldeman~~

FROM: Ellsworth *N*

RE: Rockefeller Strategy Pre-Convention

Rockefeller's basic pre-Convention strategy is the classic strategy for one who needs to weaken the political establishment: develop and press the twin themes everyone (not just the complainant) is frustrated by inadequate access to the Establishment and by lack of opportunity for self-determination.

Thus, his tactics will include not only the effort to move upward in the public opinion polls, but also the other efforts to develop concrete grievances under the heading of lack of access and lack of self-determination on the part of many different kinds of interests.

For example, we can expect to see the development of the theme that Republican delegations from Southern states to the National Convention (part of the Nixon/Republican "establishment") are denying seats on the delegations to Negroes. We can expect to see platform issues develop around a theme, regardless of the

substance of the issue, of lack of opportunity to be heard, and denial of self-determination on the matters of substantive positions on the issues. Counter strategy is two-fold: (1) Alert everyone at every level of competition to stress the fullness of procedures and opportunities for access (in other words, the right to be heard) and thus to help determine resolution of the issues, whatever it may be, and; (2) stress the need at every level of competition to resist dilatory, frivolous, divisive and anarchic tactics, having in mind at all times the need to cast the image of the opposition in the dilatory, frivolous, divisive or anarchic mold.

TO: RN  
FROM: LG

DATE: June 14, 1968

file #10  
A

NOTES ON STRATEGY

Various plans of action for the pre-convention and post-convention periods were discussed this past week (Participants: Haldeman, Ellsworth, Sears, Shakespeare, Treleaven, Buchanan, Price, Safire, Klein).

1. Two basic assumptions were agreed upon for short-term planning purposes:

A. The Rockefeller campaign is not a threat to the nomination, but in the interests of safety should not be completely discounted on this score at this time;

B. The Rockefeller campaign does threaten an adverse impact on the national campaign, if we are completely passive.

On these assumptions, it was agreed that an interim strategy should be devised and steps taken to put it into effect as soon as possible. (This would be a contingency plan to be used only if it appears in the next week or so that Rockefeller is actually hurting us).

2. The key idea, which emerged from these discussions (with general support), is to peg our pre-convention strategy to the needs of the national campaign. In that way we counter the Rockefeller effort and build strength for the national campaign concurrently. This means planning immediately for a media campaign (predominantly TV) in the swing states (Ohio, California, Illinois, etc.), supplementing them with a few selected RN appearances in those states (e.g. taping TV interviews [Hillsboro type] and originating

newsmaking radio speeches from Columbus, Ohio, L. A., etc.). The advantages are numerous: It is logically and organically related to the national campaign. It is not a defensive reaction to the Rockefeller effort. It postures RN as the party-builder oriented to helping both the national ticket and important local candidates (senators, governors, etc.). It maximizes the use of available resources by concentrating them in battleground areas. It can be better adapted to local needs and issue interests. It is an interesting story (the "new" campaign). While primarily related to the national effort it also provides needed exposure of RN on TV (and in other media), thereby furnishing some support for our position in the national polls. (We must not forget that only a small fraction of the electorate has been exposed to RN's TV campaign capabilities; where this has occurred--e.g. New Hampshire, Oregon--the results have been dramatic).

3. The media campaign to be relevant should reflect political trends, important issues, vulnerabilities of independents and dissident Democrats in the selected areas. Limitations of time or money may require tailoring of the plan to less than all of the swing states. The important factor, however, is the existence of an apparent strategic framework within which the operations of the pre-convention campaign take place.

4. In those states where media is intensively employed, "before and after" polls should be taken. Having them available to demonstrate the change of voter attitude which takes place when RN campaigns actively would be an effective tool for delegate operations.

5. Related to this strategy: Frank Shakespeare has suggested a calm, candid, non-vituperative kick-off statement from the Nixon organization which nevertheless makes clear (a) that RN and other candidates went to the people via the primary route, whereas NR is going to them via Madison Avenue; (b) that the primaries of 1968--a National Primary in microcosm--involved true ballot box decisions by millions of voters, whereas the polls are an uncertain index of election day decisions and subject to numerous variables (i.e. we expect and discount in advance the ups and downs of the national polls); (c) that RN is not going to call upon his supporters, who gave generously to finance the primaries effort, to finance a major post-primaries effort against a candidate with unlimited resources. RN is not going to impair his ability to mount a maximum effort against the Democrats by spending millions in June and July against a man who chose to ignore the primary system. (And if one man can overrule the ballot box decisions of millions of voters in the primaries by a massive "special interests" assault on the 1500 persons sampled by national polls, wouldn't the viability of the American primary system be seriously drawn into question?)

(This is suggestive of some of the points that could, and, I think, should be made through carefully drawn statements, issued by John Mitchell and/or others. The argument for such a basic statement is that it would be a direct, high-impact response to the many questions about the unprecedented Rockefeller campaign; and much is gained in force of argument by gathering the various points in one place. Ray Price and Bill Safire have been asked to work up some draft material.)

6. For obvious reasons--media purchases, creative work, fund-raising, scheduling, etc.--some basic decisions must be made promptly. Whatever is done short range should be sufficiently flexible to permit stepping up, stepping down or redirection in the light of more concrete evidence as to the effect of the Rockefeller campaign.

7. Although the Rockefeller campaign interferes with the hope of maintaining a low-profile effort during June and July, there is a potential major plus in the bleeding of the larger national organization, including testing advertising themes and techniques in the battleground states.

8. I have not touched on the various supporting efforts--delegate monitoring, endorsements, etc.--that would of course roll right along.

# # # #

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN 11-15-67

Bob:

Here are sketched out a number of ideas worked out over the weekend. While there are still many holes in this thesis, you can get from this the drift of it---and the import in terms of our own use of television. Can you give us your thoughts on this thing.

Aide to RICHARD NIXON  
20 Broad Street, New York City PatBuchanan

## ON THE USES OF TELEVISION

In the last 6 months Nelson Rockefeller has gained something like 30 points on Lyndon Johnson---from about fifteen points behind to about fifteen points ahead.

(Outside of New York) In that period of time the average television viewer has probably seen President Johnson an estimated average of, say, 60 times. He has probably never seen Nelson Rockefeller on the tube in these six months (outside of the New York viewing area) unless it was a smiling still photograph of him put on the backdron.

From this the conclusion will be drawn that, "Well, it certainly wasn't TV responsible for Nelson's rise." I would like to argue further that it was the "absence of TV" that was partly responsible for Rocky's rise. And that 2) If Rocky had been on the tube say 15 times nationally, he might be much lower in the polls than he is right now.

Why did Rocky rise. 1) Of course, for myriad reasons LBJ dropped absolutely, and 2) Because the only recent picture of Rocky that people have is the one that has come through brief comments by TV commentators, a few articles in magazines, but more important the editorials and columnists in the national magazines and the local press.

What is the single impression of Nelson Rockefeller that all these pictures convey? It is this:

Nelson Rockefeller is an excellent Governor of New York State, who fought to victory from behind in 1966, who is by all standards the most popular Republican in the country, and who would certainly be nominated and elected were it not for the hostility of a bunch of unreconstructed right-wingers, who will never forgive Rocky for the fight he made against Goldwater and for his (Rocky's) principles.

In other words, the impression the country is getting of Rocky is an excellent one; it comes not through the super mass media of the tube, but mostly trickles through editorial pages and columns well inside the cover of magazines and newspapers. It takes time to push a message through that relatively tiny media, but time has now passed and that is the impression that is being hammered home day in and day out.

Now, no man is as good as the kind of publicity Rocky gets, from the highest (Lippmann, Hughes) type of sources. So, if that is the case, keep your mug off the tube. Don't let them see that you are not so good-looking, that you are not too eloquent. Let them read that you are everything a President should be. And get and stay out of the public eye---leaving the public to view you through the rose-colored prism of Emmett John Hughes.

There are other reasons I think that Rocky is not getting on the national tube---indeed avoiding it as he has avoided all the Republican TV shows, on ABC, Huntley and Brinkley etc. etc. First, Rocky does not want a comparative

view drawn (Why should he? His press publicity is better than anybody else's.)

Second, when I saw Rocky in the flesh talking about his bond issue the other night, the old conservative juices began bubbling anew. I thought I had become objective about Rocky; indeed, sub-consciously was beginning to see him as a qualified fellow, not all that bad. But the old devil in the flesh is a different thing than what you get from the press, of which we read great reams.

From the press you keep hearing, "Rocky doesn't want this thing." "Rocky is most popular." "Rocky is the kind of guy who likes to spend his hours talking about transportation bond issues." Anybody hammered with this long enough swallows at least a small portion. I get the same thing from reporters who talk to Rocky.

Thus, a second reason is that his being seen in the flesh would a) bring my right-wing friends out of the woodwork and b) it would make millions of people say, "Hey, that's the same guy I saw munching blintzes four years ago; how long has he been around."

In short, if I were Rocky's advisers, I would try to see to it that he was Not on television, or rather only as much as was absolutely necessary.

Let me use a particularly irreverent example. John the Baptist was a propagandist for Christ. He went from town to town saying the Messiah is coming, he heals the sick,

he is God, he is this and that. It was one voice as it were "crying in the desert." But one voice and one message hammered and hammered for three years---and the people were lined up by the side of the roads for Christ to arrive. It makes no difference the media used, but what is the public impression left of X at Y point of time.

From this analysis, a number of conclusions:

1) Rocky ought to stay off national TV; what the hell good could it do him. He is not all that good looking or clever; he is widely known; the publicity he currently gets in trickles is the best kind; and has made its impact.

2) Rocky will continue to stand high in the polls because no one is knocking him---and, politically, Rocky is giving no one any reason to knock him. (What reason right now would any right winger have to tear into Rocky.) He gives them no cause at all. Thus, they do not ram him, and Rocky's press is provided by those who hammer home the competent, unambitious, reluctant and qualified candidate.

3) As time goes by, more and more people will forget the old image of Nelson Rockefeller as divider and rule-or-ruin liberal and the guy who cut up Barry. In short, the old hateful Nelson Rockefeller is dying while a new Rockefeller is in the process of being gestated by the publicists. And if I were Rocky's adviser I would tell him to keep out of sight while the metamorphosis was going on, and to ~~stay~~ go far down the road as the new Nelson Rockefeller.

I think this perhaps explains the "new look" some conservatives are reportedly giving Rocky.

The conservatives hate the old Rocky. But the old Rocky must have died because no one sees him in the flesh anymore. We do read about a different person now, whom the press tells us about, a fellow without ambition, a happy family man, the most popular Republican in the country.

## MORE ON ROCKEFELLER

### Apparent Elements of MR Strategy

1) Avoid discussion of any subject where people tend to divide themselves pretty solidly on one side or the other. Thus, Rocky lately has fought for a) State initiative and action in fighting poverty and rats b) A transportation bond issue to help the commuter and the New Yorkers who have to ride dirty crowded subways. He makes no comments on Vietnam at all (The NBC poll showed that Rocky lead all other GOPers in the one who could best deal with Vietnam, and he hasn't said a serious word about it in a year. Interesting.) Also, one notes that Rocky does not tear into conservatives, does not needle us, does not get into fights of any kind.

2) Avoid national television. Why. Because simply television is not Rocky's medium. He is not all that articulate; he is not particularly handsome; the competition is too tough; he would have to talk issues that divide people; he would be judged on a comparative basis on what people see when Rocky would rather be judged on a comparative basis on what people read.

3) Get a hell of a good press running continuous stories about a different Rockefeller than the image the people have. Some people think Rocky is ambitious, unprincipled, rotten family man, who would cut somebody's throat to be

President. Then, every story should say Rocky doesn't want it; he is more interested in talking about bond issues and new highways and air pollution late into the night.

(Also, re the family man. The other night when the transportation bond issue won, the rejoicing Rocky moved his papers to the side of the podium so that the camera would have to catch his handsome, beaming wife beside him. The move was deliberate and calculated; the impact good.

4) As discussed, one of the things that makes De Gaulle so intriguing, and considered such a great figure, is his deliberate inaccessibility and aloofness. An audience with De Gaulle is today a greater thing than an audience with the Pope---because the Pope is now more accessible. Why does anybody want to talk to Howard Hughes? Except that he doesn't want to see or talk with anyone. The inaccessibility not only allows time for the old image to die, the new to be created, but it adds interest.

5) The idea of getting on the eleventh hour news for a presidential candidate---just to get on the news is ridiculous. This presumes that the candidate people most easily identify and know best will win. If that were the case, LBJ would win in a walk. Getting on the Eleventh Hour news would be excellent for BABBO or some Deodorant---because they are purchased through impulse buying. Choice of a presidential candidate is a choice between two not twenty products, and

some select for silly damn reasons, but no one for impulse.

Frankly, to be successful with a strategy like the one ascribed above to Rocky requires that while the man remains aloof and indifferent, his propagandists work full time---and they have the co-operation of press and publicity. Rocky being an Eastern Establishment Liberal has this automatically---thus the strategy works for him, where it might not be so effective for us. Our press supporters simply don't carry the circulation and weight as do TIME and LIFE and NEWSWEEK and the NEW YORK TIMES.

Looking back over what we have done in the past, it is not dissimilar to a strategy like this---and as you know yourselves if we had had as good a press as Rocky in the Fig Magazines and the TIMES, then we would be miles ahead of LBJ and Rocky both---because Rocky just doesn't get the press we do West of the Appalachians.

The counter to the Rockefeller strategy is self-evident.

1) Flush him out on the issues; make him take a stand.

2) Get him on the Record on Vietnam.

3) Get across to the public media all the information we have or can find to indicate that Governor Rockefeller, far from being uninterested, is deeply involved in the Romney effort, and that in fact in some areas Romney's people are nothing more than Rocky's old hands.

4) Get across the words and activities of Rocky's lieutenants which are thoroughly inconsistent with the Rocky posture of non-interest.

5) Flush him out so that the old wolves of the right can get the scent again. Make him iterate his positions on issues which place him at odds with the majority of Republicans. All Rocky need do is come out and ram it one time to the conservatives and it will be the Pep-Sadler fights all over again, everybody bloody including the White Knight.

6) The point is that Nelson Rockefeller is by no means Nelson Rockefeller's best salesman. Emmett Hughes and Company can sell Rocky far better than Rocky can sell himself as was demonstrated. One recalls that this great new leader of the polls go whipped by Barry Goldwater in the State of California and, in person or on TV, he is just not all that potent as his

press agents, paid and unpaid, make him out to be.

7) The reason no one likes Rocky today is that Rocky isn't saying anything or doing anything to give them reason. He has got to start taking some stands on issues.

ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS

I know that in our various institutions, the word has gone forth that television is the medium that makes the largest impact, television is the way we hit some 10,000,000 where rallies don't make a damn bit of difference etc.

I think we ought to consider the question why we want television exposure and do we want television exposure?

One reason for television exposure is to get identified to the public. But god knows, everybody in the country knows who RN is, and those that don't would know just as soon as the convention is over. So we don't want to be identified.

A second reason would be that our personal appearance is an asset. This is a day and age when the TV screen is filled with incredibly handsome young people, and the only politicians I know who are "attractive" in their facial expressions and mien on TV are Jack Kennedy and Reagan. Thus, I don't think how RN looks, or his personality are reasons for getting onto the tube.

Third, RN might want to get on the tube to get his message across, to talk with the people. Right, this is a legitimate reason. What is RN's message. He knows more about foreign policy than anybody else in the country and is the best qualified man to be President. How can you show this on a one-minute slot? You can't show anything about RN's qualifications; in one minute RN can say about 150 words on the

*You can -  
not necessarily  
with RN  
saying something*

Mid-East or Vietnam. Can we demonstrate anything in a single two or three-minute answer on Vietnam, which would lead someone to believe we could handle it better?

Can RN say something which will take one-minute on Cronkite's show that will make somebody in his living room say, "He can settle the Middle East better than Rockefeller or Johnson or Rangan" could settle the Middle East.

I don't think so.

No. People have been told repeatedly that RN has had twenty years experience in foreign policy; they have heard about his travels. (Incidentally, TV shots of RN abroad, pictures, not of RN saying anything, but of RN traveling in Vietnam, in Iran, in Kenya, in Israel, etc. help here at home.

*This is the point!*

What RN says about Vietnam on a news clip will not lead anybody to think he can handle Vietnam better---he might, however, remind somebody who already thinks so, but the reminder is really not that important.

(In conclusion on this point, our big assets; experience, qualification, ability, are not things that can be shown on Walter Cronkite or Huntley-Brinkley. So, why do we want to be on those shows at all?)

Let me go further. We don't need TV to prove we are the most experienced, most qualified and most able; we don't

need TV to get ourselves known; we don't need it to demonstrate we have the looks and the glitziness. Do we need the damn thing at all and do we want it.

Yes. But only to do the job we want it to do. We want it controlled. And we can control it, because while the press can write that RN is doing X, Y or Z, the TV cameras can't show it, unless RN invites them to do so. I say, thus, that TV is a partially controllable medium and we ought to make it work for us.

In these areas, We can use TV to destroy some of the myths about RN. One of these myths is that RN is mean and ruthless. Another is that RN is a strictly political character who doesn't give a damn about principles or problems, but only about the politics of the situation. (Note: these are the same things that are said, or rather "were" said about Robert Kennedy, and look how he has managed TV to get rid of them. He makes with the shy little boy smile and talks, not about the political situation, but about the starving children in Recife, Brazil. "Can you imagine that; little children growing up without a glass of milk etc. etc. etc.")

I thus think that RN's appearances on TV should be of the following kind:

1) He ought not go before the cameras to talk about politics, to talk about the primaries and all that garbage. The people who are astute about the business of politics know

RN is a pro, but there is no sense showing you are a sophistical pro to a lot of people who think politics is a dirty business. In short, if we know a TV show is going to quiz you on how the primaries are going to go, or what Reagan and Romney are going to do, or who is moving where--- just what good does it do us for RN to go on and explain all the intricacies. Do we make any new converts that way?

Summary of point one. Many people think politics is per se dirty business. Okay, that's the conventional wisdom. Then, rather than show that RN is an excellent and sophisticated politician, why the hell do we want to talk about politics at all on a TV camera to ten million people. We don't need the exposure; and we don't need to remind the prudish that RN is an excellent politician.

Point Two: To destroy the myth that RN is mean and that he places politics ahead of principles, RN ought to get on shows where he can kid himself, where he can talk about family, where he can crack jokes about past foibles. On other shows, he ought to talk about problems, dismiss questions about primaries and say, we have to concern ourselves not with political management, but the goal. In short, use the TV to convey the impression that RN isn't thinking about New Hampshire or Wisconsin, but about Harlem and Appalachia.

Specifically, then, Buchanan would rather see RN on Cronkite telling a joke about himself than being quoted on

Vietnam. If a guy doesn't know if RN can handle Vietnam, that minute won't convince him. But a guy who thinks RN is a humorless S.O.B. might be stunned and convinced by a gripping RN telling about his "getting stoned in Caracas."

*file*

*Received  
129-113099  
9/5  
ST FRANCIS*



*RN?  
can*

THIS IS ST FRANCIS HOTEL GA PLS

NIXON HDQTRS NYC HAVE A MESSAGE FOR BOB HALDEMAN FROM JJACK  
DROWN

FINE GA WILL DELIVER

TO BOB HALDEMAN FROM JACK DROWN SEPT 5

IN TALKING TO FRED SEATON THIS MORNING ABOUT NEBRASKA, HE  
INDICATED THAT UNLESS HE HEARD FROM RN BY THIS SATURDAY,  
HE WAS GOING FISHING.

HE SAID HE WAS NOT ANGRY, BUT NEITHER HE NOR BOB HILL NOR  
JOHN LODGE -- AND HE WASN'T SUPE ABOUT WALTER WILLIAMS  
AND LYNN HOLTON \N HAD BEEN ASSIGNED ANYTHING DEFINITE TO  
DO.

SEATON ALSO INDICATED THAT MAMIE EISENHOWER HAD CALLED AND  
TOLD HIM THAT HE WOULD NOT NEED TO STAND BY BECAUSE IKE WAS  
IMPROVING RAPIDLY.

THANKS END

RECEIVED FINE AND WILL DELIVER THIS AFTN

END OR GA

END\5

September 26, 1968

TO: Buchanan

FROM: Allan

Re: RN Projected visit to Mexico

*Former* Ambassador Robert Hill advises against RN trip to Mexico on basis of his conversations in last two days with contacts in Mexico City. Reasons:

1. It is anticipated that there will be further serious disorders.
2. There is a chance that if RN visits Mexico City there could be extensive Communist-led demonstrations against RN. Coming 20 days before election, it could damage RN image as statesman.

September 26, 1968

RNC ANSWER DESK:

MONITOR SEES POSSIBLE HUMPHREY COMEBACK

"Many careful observers believe that Mr. Humphrey will cut into the Nixon lead in the weeks ahead. They feel that he is presently at a low point. Some even think that he might make a surprise comeback, as President Truman did in 1948." (Richard L. Strout, Christian Science Monitor, 9/26/68)

STROUT SAID IN ANOTHER STORY:

"Mr. Humphrey's proposal (to raise Social Security benefits and finance them from the general Treasury)...may bring domestic matters back into the campaign to replace Foreign Policy and especially the Vietnam issue which has seemed like an albatross around his neck."

"The fast-talking Mr. Humphrey may be living in a world of make-believe, but his euphoric bounce seems to be having some effect on doubtful audiences." (Christian Science Monitor, 9/26/68)

*The Jews  
what do our  
counterattacks  
people think  
in this period.*

RN

MEMORANDUM

SEPTEMBER 25, 1968

TO: ~~BOB HALDEMAN~~  
CC: LOIE GAUNT

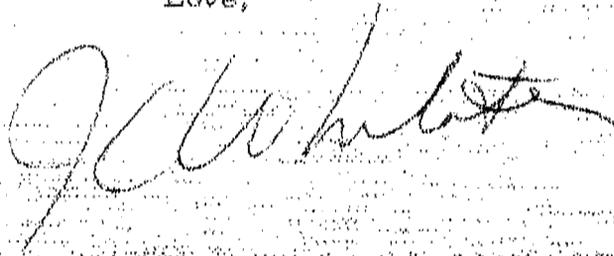
FROM: JOHN WHITAKER

Loie phoned today asking if anyone was present on the 18th besides RN, the Cardinal and Asa Call when they had breakfast.

Asa has told Loie that RN intended to be in Palm Springs between December 4-7 to attend the Republican Governors' Conference, and on the basis of this Cardinal McIntyre plans to set up an Al Smith type dinner during that period. Naturally, the Cardinal wishes to promote this as soon as possible.

With ever-loving cheers to whoever the poor guy is who worries about these things after November 5.....

Love,



W

September 25, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN  
FROM: Maury Stans

As we discussed Monday on the telephone, it would be greatly helpful to our efforts if we can have Agnew for two or three fund-raising dinners. Hope you can work something out.

*LA already committed  
one or two other major ones  
would be OK*

Done.

Telex

western union

Telex



224P COT SEP 25 68 KC248

LC176 L PFA306 PDB FAX PHOENIX ARIZ 25 1140A MST

THE HONORABLE RICHARD NIXON

BROWN PALACE HOTEL DVR

STRONGLY URGE YOU CANCEL PLANS FOR VISIT TO MEXICO CITY ON  
GROUNDS THAT IT WILL NOT PRODUCE VOTES FOR YOU HERE AND YOU  
MIGHT BE THE CAUSE OF INCITING MORE TROUBLE AT YOUR OWN PERSONAL  
RISK. I REPEAT, DO NOT GO

BARRY GOLDWATER.

(1214).

1117

file

**AGNEW**

Campaign Committee  
450 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022  
(212) 661-6400

Murray Chotiner  
Special Assistant to Campaign Manager

September 25, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Haldeman  
FROM: Murray Chotiner

You probably have picked up the "floating" rumors:

1. " Dick is opposed to Social Security and Medicare. "
2. " Dick has no farm plank, and we are ignoring the Mid-West farm bloc states playing to California Wisconsin and New York, ignoring grain and live-stock farmers. "

We all know the usual story which is: If we send out statements, they do not get the attention they deserve. However, anything Dick says will be picked up.

Will you please put the above items in the hopper.

MMC:bh

*Murray*

*(The file)*

*~~Murray Chotiner~~  
Murray*

*done -  
hope you saw  
the first results  
H*

September 24, 1968



TO: HALDEMAN  
FROM: SHAKESPEARE

The research results on the Cleveland television program are even more favorable than Chicago. Major points include:

1) The audience increased during the program... from a 9% rating in the first half hour to 12% in the second. This means starting viewers tended to stay with it and others, chancing upon the program in progress, tended to be attracted.

2) The unduplicated rating was 18%, meaning almost one home in five throughout Ohio and Indiana saw some of the program.

3) The reaction to Nixon was extraordinarily favorable. In response to a query about their "impression" of Nixon, 74% said "more favorable," 26%, "about the same" and none (!!) "less favorable."

The viewers were far more impressed with Nixon than on the specifics of his answers. In characterizing their impressions, they used words such as "sincere," "honest," "straightforward," "like the way he handles himself" rather than referring to a stand or policy. The most common phrase, used by almost one in four, was "he has the ability to be

President."

5) An astonishing 86% of the viewers could think of nothing they disliked about the program.

6) About half the viewers characterized themselves as Democrats or Independents.

This program concept is clearly effective.

We should, however, guard against a danger. Both RN and the staff may understandably start to think of these programs as routine, forgetting that each program is new to hundreds of thousands of voters. We should continue endeavoring to keep the day of telecast uncluttered for RN... and provide him with sufficient time at the studio to be alone for ten minutes, in a cool room, collecting his thoughts, just prior to air.

# # #

9/24  
done  
B.B.  
handle

MEMORANDUM TO BOB HALDEMAN

From Buchanan

Can you get this processed for us?

Buchanan

The \$1,000 fee is  
in cash - from  
Mitchell -

The expenses shld  
follow the normal  
process

# Memorandum

TO : Pat Buchanan

DATE: 18 September 1968

FROM : [redacted]

SUBJECT: Expenses

( I would appreciate it if you would check to see if my request for reimbursement of expenses in the amount of \$100.83 is being processed. ) ?

Also, I would be grateful if you could arrange for payment of my September-October fee of \$1000.

I haven't heard anything, but I understand that my draft piece and the item on decentralization of the cities is being passed around the bureaucracy. I have attempted to get together with Alan Greenspan, but thus far haven't been able to work out mutually convenient arrangements. Hope to get together in the next couple weeks.

I would be interested in hearing about the meeting Romney is having on urban problems and the degree to which independent sector solutions will be pushed. By the way, has anyone given consideration to making a more detailed statement in this area?

September 23, 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  
George White  
Rose Mary Woods

Hon. Walter Hickel  
Hon. John A. Volpe  
Hon. Howard Baker  
Hon. Mark O. Hatfield  
Hon. William Brock  
Hon. George Bush  
Hon. Clark MacGregor  
Hon. F. Bradford Morse  
Hon. Donald Rumsfeld  
Charles "Bud" Wilkinson

FROM: Jeffrey Kimball

RE: SURROGATE CANDIDATES

COMPLETED EVENTS

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

July 12 & 13 Governor Walter J. Hickel of Alaska  
Blue Hills, 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

September 23, 1968

Page Two

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 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

September 23, 1968

Page Three

September 19th	Senator Mark O. Hatfield Cleveland, Ohio
September 19th	Senator Howard Baker Houston, Texas
September 19th	Congressman George Bush Tulsa, Oklahoma
September 19th	Governor Walter J. Hickel San Diego, California
September 19	"Bud" Wilkinson Columbia, South Carolina
September 20th	Congressman Clark MacGregor of Minnesota Sioux Falls, South Dakota
September 21st	Governor John A. Volpe Syracuse, New York
September 21st	Senator Mark O. Hatfield Newport, Rhode Island
September 21st	Congressman George Bush Chicago, Illinois St. Charles, Illinois
September 22nd	Congressman George Bush Morristown, New Jersey New Vernon, New Jersey
September 22nd	Congressman F. Bradford Morse Concord, New Hampshire

COMMITTED EVENTS

September 24th	Governor John A. Volpe San Francisco, California Meet with Italo-American Leaders
-------------------	---

September 23, 1968

Page Four

September 25th	Governor John A. Volpe Los Angeles, California Meet with Italo-American Leaders
September 25th	Governor Walter J. Hickel Portland, Oregon
September 26th	"Bud" Wilkinson Casper, Wyoming Republican Fund Raising Dinner
September 26th	Governor Walter J. Hickel San Francisco, California
September 26th	Congressman Clark MacGregor Newark, New Jersey North Brunswick, New Jersey
September 27th	Governor Walter J. Hickel Los Angeles, California San Diego, California
September 27th	Congressman Donald Rumsfeld Trenton, New Jersey
September 27th	Senator Howard Baker Omaha, Nebraska National Convention of American Indians
September 28	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 23, 1968

Page Five

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

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

October 3rd    Governor John A. Volpe  
                  New Jersey

October 3rd    Congressman William Brock  
                  Panama City, Florida  
                  Gainesville, Florida  
                  Fort Pierce, Florida

October 4th    Senator Howard Baker  
                  Detroit, Michigan

October 4th    Congressman George Bush  
                  Moline & Rock Island, Illinois

October 4th    Congressman William Brock  
                  Wilmington, North Carolina  
                  Goldsboro, North Carolina  
                  Burlington, North Carolina

October 5th    Governor John A. Volpe  
                  Barre, Vermont

October 5th    Congressman William Brock  
                  Bowling Green, Kentucky

October 9th    Senator Howard Baker  
                  Washington, D. C.  
                  \$100 Fund Raising Dinner

September 23, 1968

Page Six

October 9th	Governor John A. Volpe Nassau County, New York \$100 Fund Raising Dinner
October 9th	Congressman F. Bradford Morse Portland, Maine Portland Chamber of Commerce
October 9th	Congressman George Bush Arkansas \$100 Fund Raising Dinner
October 10th	Governor Walter J. Hickel Indianapolis, Indiana Columbia Club Banquet
October 11th	Governor John A. Volpe New York, New York
October 12th	Governor Walter J. Hickel Kansas
October 12th	Governor John A. Volpe Chicago, Illinois Columbus Day Parade
October 13th	Governor John A. Volpe Buffalo, New York Federation of Italian-American Societies
October 15th	Congressman George Bush Greenwich, Connecticut Fund Raising Dinner
October 15th	Governor John A. Volpe Old Forge, Pennsylvania Meeting with Italo-American Leaders

September 23, 1968

Page Seven

October 22nd Congressman George Bush  
Minot, North Dakota

October 26th Governor John A. Volpe  
New York, New York  
Grand Council of Columbia Association

October 29th Senator Mark O. Hatfield  
Indianapolis, Indiana  
State-wide Fund Raiser

Suggested Speech Comments from Murray Chotiner:

It is suggested that our speakers concur in statement of Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin, Chairman of the House GOP Conference, urging HHH to repudiate Democrat National Committee Chairman O'Brien's suggestion on "Meet the Press," that the election of RN might lead to apartheid in America.

Integration of public schools in the South, pursuant to the Supreme Court 1954 decision, began in Little Rock during the Republican Administration. This was an historic milestone in Civil Rights progress.

O'Brien's desperation is understandable. The country-wide reports are that Democrats are turning away from their party's nominee in droves; that Nixon must be given the chance to correct the bumbling.

Humphrey should be challenged in speeches to take a position on whether he criticizes any of the decisions of the Supreme Court and whether he advocates legislative action to correct them.

Ask HHH to name the issues on which he differs with Johnson over the past 4 years. Also would like to know what members of LBJ's cabinet he would retain.

September 23, 1968

Page Eight

It is suggested that we not attack Johnson in connection with this point, but merely to have HHH declare whether he will follow the LBJ policies. No matter what he answers, he will be in trouble.

If he departs from LBJ, he incurs his wrath. If he does not depart from LBJ, he will incur the wrath of the people.