

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>
36	3	n.d.	Memo	Pat Costello to Ron Ziegler re: Mitchell's statement about inappropriate TV spots during the campaign. 1 page.
36	3	10/29/1968	Memo	murray Chotiner to Haldeman re: commendations for Nixon's stand on law enforcement problems from sheriffs and chiefs of police, with attached second memo describing McCarthy's endorsement of HHH. 2 pages.
36	3	n.d.	Other Document	statement of Nixon on his policy regulating securities makets. 1 page.
36	3	10/29/1968	Memo	Harlow to Haldeman re: Nixon's request for information on campaign, in specific states. 4 pages.
36	3	n.d.	Other Document	Statemet that George White [campaign manager for Agnew] is demanding retraction for editorial attacks by the New York Times. 1 page.
36	3	10/23/1968	Memo	J. W Weitzel to Nixon Staff re: contacting former staffers of Rockefeller New Majority Team to bring them over to Nixon, attached letter from one former staffer who wrote on behalf of HHH. 2 pages.

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36	3	n.d.	Other Document	Statement of Nixon on his policy regulating securities markets. 1 page.
36	3	10/20/1968	Letter	Bill Casey to Nixon re: his attached memo touching on the "wind-up theme", items of interest for Nixon's summation right before the election, with two full copies. 12 pages.
36	3	10/20/1968	Other Document	Note from Nixon to Jim Keogh re: sharp, hard hitting and brief statements to end the campaign. 3 pages.
36	3	10/21/1968	Other Document	transcription of note to Haldeman re: Earl Mazo conversation with Hobe Lewis about Billy Graham's article "the Nixon I know", and getting it out before the election. 1 page.
36	3	10/29/1968	Memo	Glenn Olds to Nixon re: Policy emphasis on youth in the final stretch. 1 page.
36	3	10/29/1968	Memo	Glenn Olds to Nixon re: Policy confirmation of the role of the U.N. in multinational security in the final stretch, with attached copy of Eisenhower's article "Of War and Peace and the United Nations". 21 pages.
36	3	11/01/0968	Memo	Murray Chotiner to Haldeman re: Arthur Fleming's endorsement of Nixon and investigation of HHH's stock increasing. 3 pages.

ATTENTION RON ZEIGLER  
FROM PAT COSTELLO

NEWS BUREAU FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK OCTOBER 29--THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS RELEASED TUESDAY  
BY JOHN N. MITCHELL, NIXON-AGNEW NATIONAL CAMPAIGN MANAGER, ON TV  
POLITICAL ADVERTISING:

"THE CAMPAIGN SPOT APPEARING ON NBC TELEVISION LAST NIGHT DEPICTING  
SCENES FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF AUGUST PAST, PORTRAYED  
HUBERT HUMPHREY'S 'POLITICS OF JOY ' IN CONTRAST TO THE SERIOUS  
PROBLEMS OF OUR TIMES.

"IT ILL BEHOOVES THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMPLAIN ABOUT  
THIS SPOT WHEN COMPARED WITH ITS MEDIA ATTEMPTS TO RELATE RICHARD NIXON  
TO THE ATOMIC BOMB AND THE VILIFICATION THE HUMPHREY CAMPAIGN HAS  
HEAPED UPON GOVERNOR AGNEW.

"THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE HAS SUGGESTED A NETWORK REVIEW OF  
TV COMMERCIALS. WE WOULD WELCOME THIS. THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING  
NUMBER OF DISTASTEFUL, DISTORTED, SPOTS PRODUCED BY THE HUMPHREY CAMPAIGN

"THE HUMPHREY SPOT WHICH LAUGHS AT THE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IS IN  
THE POOREST OF TASTE AS IS THE SO-CALLED HUMPHREY'S HEARTBEAT COMMERCIAL

"THE HUMPHREY SPOT SHOWN RECENTLY AFTER THE MOVIE "DOCTOR STRANGELOVE"  
COMPLETELY DISTORTS THE NIXON POSITION ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT IS STILL  
RUNNING. IT IS REMINISCENT OF THE DISTORTED 1964 NUCLEAR SPOTS WHICH  
THE DEMOCRATS FINALLY HAD TO WITHDRAW.

"THE HUMPHREY COMMERCIALS ON THE NIXON POSITION ON SOCIAL SECURITY AND  
MEDICARE ARE COMPLETELY FALSO.

WE ALSO ARE TOLD THAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE A NEW SERIES OF BELOW-THE-BELT  
SPOTS ABOUT TO BE RELEASED.

"WE WOULD AGREE THAT TELEVISION SPOTS SHOULD BE REVIEWED AND CALL UPON  
THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO JOIN US IN THIS."

END  
RMN

RMN-DET

RMN NY

TO: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

THE FOLLOWING IS FOR YOU INFORMATION. IT WAS RELEASED TODAY.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 29, 1968

COMMENDATIONS FOR RICHARD NIXON'S STAND ON LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM SHERIFFS AND CHIEFS OF POLICE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS ANNOUNCED BY JOHN MITCHELL, NATIONAL CAMPAIGN MANAGER FOR NIXON-AGNEW, AT THE NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS TODAY.

MITCHELL COMMENTED THAT SHERIFFS AND CHIEFS OF POLICE IN THE UNITED STATES RECEIVED LETTERS FROM MR. NIXON EXPRESSING HIS CONCERN FOR THEIR PROBLEMS AND POINTING OUT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE TOOLS BY WHICH NECESSARY ACTION TO COMBAT CRIME CAN BE CARRIED OUT. IN PART, THE LETTER STATED:

"...WE NEED A NEW AWARENESS OF THE SEVERITY OF THE CRIME CRISIS AND A NEW DETERMINATION TO INITIATE AND IMPLEMENT PROGRAMS TO ELIMINATE THIS CRIME WAVE. WE MUST REESTABLISH RESPECT FOR OUR LAWS AND THE MEN WHO ENFORCE THEM.

"...TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL WILL TAKE COOPERATION AND COORDINATED EFFORT. THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEETING THIS CHALLENGE RESTS WITH LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS. BUT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE TOOLS BY WHICH THE NECESSARY ACTION CAN BE CARRIED OUT.

"WORKING TOGETHER, WE CAN STOP THE RISING CRIME RATE AND REDUCE THE INCIDENCE OF CRIME IN AMERICA. I PLEDGE TO YOU MY CONSTANT EFFORTS AND CONTINUED SUPPORT."

TYPICAL OF THE REPLIES FROM SHERIFFS AND CHIEFS OF POLICE ARE:

A NEW JERSEY CHIEF OF POLICE, SPEAKING ABOUT THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING LAW ENFORCEMENT WROTE, "WITH THE SUPPORT OF MEN OF YOUR CALIBER AND YOUR SUCCESSFUL ASCENDENCY TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL, I AM SURE, PROVIDE LAW ENFORCEMENT WITH THE TOOLS TO STEM THE RISING TIDE OF CRIME."

AN INDIANA POLICE CHIEF, CITING THE DILEMMA THAT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS FACE TODAY WROTE, "IT IS GRATIFYING TO KNOW, SOMEONE AT LAST IS GOING TO REEVALUATE THE ENTIRE PICTURE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN AMERICA."

A SOUTH DAKOTA CHIEF OF POLICE WROTE, "WE NEED A MAN LIKE MR. NIXON TO BRING THIS NATION OF OURS BACK TO LAW AND ORDER. WE IN THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AREA ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO HAVING JUSTICE DONE."

A DEMOCRAT, AND CHIEF OF POLICE OF A CALIFORNIA CITY COMMENTED, "I AM IN COMPLETE ACCORD WITH YOUR VIEWS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT."

THE CHIEF OF POLICE OF A TEXAS CITY REMARKS, "I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH YOUR PLEDGE TO RESTORE THE BALANCE OF PEACE FORCES AS AGAINST THE CRIMINAL FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY. I PLEDGE TO YOU MY SUPPORT IN YOUR CANDIDACY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

END

RMN-DET

RN NY

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB HALDEMAN CC: BOB ELLSWORTH  
TRUTH SQUAD (C/O HARRY FLEMMING, RNC)  
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER  
DATE: OCTOBER 29, 1968--10:30 A.M.

CHAPMAN'S FRIEND REPORTS:

HHH IS NOW APPEARING ON A TV SHOW IN PETTSBURGH.

ONE OF THE FIRST QUESTIONS ASKED HIM WAS ABOUT MC CARTHY ENDORSEMENT, IN WHICH MC CARTHY SAID HE WOULD VOTE FOR HUMPHREY AND WOULD RECOMMEND THAT ALL OF HIS SUPPORTERS DO SO.

MC CARTHY ALSO SAID HE WOULD NOT SEEK RE-ELECTION TO THE SENATE, NOR WOULD HE RUN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1972.

HHH SAID HE WAS GRATIFIED THAT AN OLD FRIEND SEES FIT TO SUPPORT ME. I REGRET THAT HE (MC CARTHY ) WILL NOT SEEK RE-ELECTION TO THE SENATE, BUT I BELIEVE HE WILL SEEK THINGS THAT WOULD ENRICH HIM INTELLECTUALLY.

WHEN ASKED WHY MC CARTHY TOOK SO LONG TO ENDORSE HIM, HHH REPLIED THAT MC CARTHY THINKS FOR HIMSELF, AND IT TAKES TIME FOR WOUNDS TO HEAL. I HAVE SAID FOR SOME TIME THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT ME. IF OFFER A BETTER ALTERNATIVE. THANK YOU GENE.

HHH SAID A MAN LIKE WALLACE IS A PHENOMENON THAT PASSES IN THE NIGHT.

OUR FRIEND SAID THAT WALLACE'S PEOPLE HAVE SCHEDULED A RALLY FOR HIM IN CHICAGO, ABOUT THE SAME TIME HHH IS THERE ON SATURDAY--OUR FRIEND SAID THIS SHOULD BE INTERESTING.

HHH PUT OUT A STATEMENT EARLY TODAY DEALING WITH JOBS AND UNEMPLOYMENT. IN HIS ATTACKS ON THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HHH NEVER MENTIONS IKE, JUST RN. HHH SAYS THAT UNDER A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WE HAD RECESSIONS, AND UNDER THE DEMOCRATS THE ECONOMY HAS BOOMED.

HHH ATTACKED NIXON'S STATEMENT SAYING HE (RN) HAD DISTORTED THE FACTS OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE--REFERRING TO RN'S APPEARANCE ON FACE THE NATION. HHH SAYS THAT FOR 92 MONTHS UNDER THE DEMOCRATS THIS COUNTRY HAS ENJOYED SUSTAINED PROSPERITY.

HHH IS STILL USING HIS THEME, "YOU CAN TRUST ME, BUT NOT THE OTHERS." THE ENTOURAGE WILL BE IN PENNSYLVANIA ALL DAY.

END

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*file*

STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. NIXON ON HIS POLICY REGULATING SECURITIES MARKETS

NIXON: Our securities laws were designed to protect the investor by insisting upon full and complete disclosure. This has been the order of the day since the securities laws of the 30's were written. I believe in full enforcement of the law to assure absolute protection for the investor; abuses should be vigorously prosecuted. I believe that the federal government should be continually sensitive to the needs for improvement in these laws to assure investor protection.

The philosophy of this Administration, however, has been that disclosure alone is not enough and that somehow the government can make decisions for the investor better than he can make them for himself. This philosophy I reject.

October 29, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Haldeman

FROM: Harlow

RN requested these checks. They were made yesterday afternoon.

VIRGINIA (Lin Holton)

- (1) Wallace has dropped over 5%.
- (2) Wallace is returning to Virginia a couple of times, so he might slow the decline.
- (3) RN is about 45%; rest split HH-GW.
- (4) Wallace vote going 2-1 for RN.
- (5) Danville Register has just endorsed RN -- deep in Wallace country and first time it has ever endorsed a Republican.

FLORIDA (Murphin)

- (1) Poll effective Oct. 16 shows 6% Wallace decline.
- (2) RN 34; GW 27; HH 20; Undecided 19.
- (3) Wallace will decline more; will go almost totally RN.
- (4) HH picking up some undecided.
- (5) RN will win Florida by 100,000

KENTUCKY (State Chairman Kern)

- (1) Oct. 15 poll: RN 44; GW 33; HH 32.
- (2) Later spot checks show GW down 2-4% and going down.
- (3) GW defectors splitting evenly RN-HH.
- (4) Democrats sharply intensifying effort.

NORTH CAROLINA (State Chairman Holshouser)

- (1) No poll, but checked county chairmen very recently.
- (2) GW firm in East but ebbing slightly elsewhere; peaked but only small decline.
- (3) Now a 3-way even race.

TENNESSEE (Howard Baker)

- (1) GW slipping fast in East; defectors going almost all to RN
- (2) RN-HH splitting GW defectors evenly in middle and West.
- (3) Last Wednesday poll: RN 42; GW 32; HH 30 (shows 6% GW drop.
- (4) Estimate for next Tuesday: RN 46; rest split GW-HH.

SOUTH CAROLINA (Harry Dent)

- (1) Mid-October poll shows GW down 6%.
- (2) Poll: RN 32; GW 29; HH 20.
- (3) GW still declining.
- (4) RN has won all college polls (6 colleges) by 60% or better.

CALIFORNIA (Bob Nathan)

- (1) Oct. 21 Field Poll; RN 50; HH 34; GW 9; Undec. 6.
- (2) No GW change.
- (3) Pleads for more TV and radio by RN.

NEW JERSEY (Chairman Skidmore)

- (1) GW peaked but no decline - which helps RN.
- (2) Have 4-way race (Gregory); also helps RN.

NEW YORK (Aurelio/Javits)

- (1) GW peaked at 12%; dropped now to 9%.
- (2) RN 2% ahead.
- (3) HH has momentum.

OHIO (Chairman Dale)

- (1) Wallace slipping - but not much.
- (2) GW about 20%; should be 17% election day.
- (3) Defectors will go 2-1 HH.

TEXAS (RN campaign pollers)

- (1) New projection for election: RN 42; HH 33; GW 24.
- (2) Resurvery of undecideds after HH 8-day blitz:  
RN 28; HH 34; GW 13.
- (3) GW vote slowly declining.
- (4) HH gaining slightly from traditional Democrats.
- (5) Thurmond very effective this week in Texas.

ILLINOIS (John Gomien/Dirksen)

- (1) GW off 4%.
- (2) GW defectors going HH.
- (3) Rn holding steady at 52% (new poll October 28).

Dirge

Just completed telephone poll, 9 battleground states:

RN 43; HH 36; GW 7; Undecided 14.

Also found bombing halt - even end to war - would not change results.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

GEORGE W WHITE JR CAMPAIGN MANAGER FOR GOV A SPRRO T AGNES TODAY MET WITH HARDING F BANCROFT EXECUTIVE VICE PRES OF THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE NEWSPAPSE'S ATTORNEY TO AGAIN DEMAND "A FULL RETRACTION OF THE LIBEL IN ITS RECENT EDITORIALS ATTACKING THE GOVERNOR" FOLLOWING THE MEETING MR WHITE SAID:

"THE FALSTY OF THE TIMES' CHARGES ARE A MATTER OF COUUMENTARY EVIDENCE AND HAVE BEEN SO CHARACTERIZED BY JOHN LEUTKEMEYER, THE STATE TREASURER OF MARYLAND, A DEMOCRAT, WHO CRITICIZED THE EDITORIAL AS BEING 'INACCURATE AND MISLEADING' AND 'WRONG ON ITS FACTS>' DALE ANDERSON, THE FORMER PRES OF THE BALTIMORE COUNTY COUNCIL A DEMOCRAT ALSO ECRITCIZED THE EDTORIAL AND STATE D THAT MR AGNEW'S CONDUCT WAS NOT IMPROPER.

"THE TIMES IS IN A DIFFICULT POSITION. AT THE MEETING TODAY, I DEMANDED THAT, IN THE INTEREST OF HONESTY, THE TIMES RETRACT ITS ALLEGATIONS COMPLETELY AND WITHOUT FURTHER HEDGING. THE TIMES DID INDIRECTLY ADMIT IN TODAY'S EDITORIAL THAT GOVERNOR AGNEW HAS NOT BEEN GUILTY OF ANY WRONG DOING. I HAD HOPED THAT THE TIMES WOULD HAVE THE HONESTY AND CORAGE TO ADMIT ITS ERROR. HWXXXHOWEVER MR BANCROFT STATED THAT THE TIMES WAS NOT WILLING TO RETRACT ITS ORIGINAL EDITORIAL TO ANY GREATER DEGREE THAN IT HAS ALREADY.

"IN 1966, THE TIMES HAD A COMPLETE FILE ON THE GOVERNOR, INCLUDING THE FACTS ON WHICH IT BASED ITS RECETN EDITORIALS. AT THAT TIME, IT LAUDED HIM AS A MAN OF EXPERIENCE, AND ENDORSED HIM FOR F GOVERNOR WITH TEXXX THE STATEMENT, "BOTH THE STATE OF MARYLAND AND THE CAUSE OF MODERN MINDED REPBULICAN ISM WILL BENEFIT IF THE VOTERS ELECT HIM'.

"I HAVE BEEN ASKED WHETHER GOVERNOR AGNEW WILL FILE SUIT. IT WILL BE MY RECOMMENDATION IN VIEW OF THE ARBITRARY ACTION OF THE TIMES THAT SUIT BE INSTITUTED" -30-

THATS IT

HANDWRITTEN MEMORANDUM

TO: Nixon Staff FROM: J. W. Weitzel DATE: 10/23/68

TO: \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Attached

MESSAGE: \_\_\_\_\_

To combat effect of attached, I suggest you contact St. Gov. Milliken and see if you can get a list of farmers. Mr. W. Majority for Rockefeller chairman. I for one strongly support Nixon over Humphrey and give you permission to use my name if it would help.

Mailing went to ~~the~~   
 Chair. 6,000 mailed.

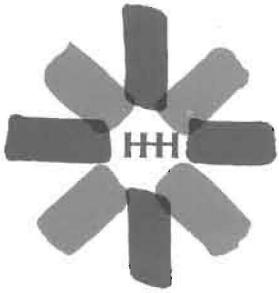
James W. Weitzel  
 farmer chairman,  
 Midland County,  
 New Majority for Rockefeller

(USE REVERSE SIDE IF NEEDED)

6,000 nearly

follows up w/ William

File



# Young Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie

1025 CONNECTICUT AVE. N. W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036, TELEPHONE: 202/659-4770

October 12, 1968

Dear Rockefeller Supporter:

Last May, you and I, and thousands of young people like us, joined the campaign of Nelson A. Rockefeller. We were fighting for more than a man; we fought together for equality and justice for all men; for an end to the war in Vietnam; for a rebirth of faith by the American people in their government. These causes have not yet died; they will die only if we let them.

I am a lifelong Republican, and I suspect many of you are also. Yet my conscience will not allow me to support a man merely because of a party affiliation. The crises we face demand more of us than partisanship. At the same time, we cannot remain neutral. Democracy was founded upon, and its survival is dependent upon, participation by its people.

The stakes are too great. If we look carefully at the records of the candidates, we can find that they have made our decision for us. One - George Wallace thrives upon hate. Another, Richard Nixon, depends upon apathy and misinformation. Only in Hubert Humphrey can we find a man ready and willing to meet the challenges of our time.

And it is OUR time. We cannot let this crucial moment in history slip by us, for it may well be our last chance. If America is ever to fulfill her destiny, we must join together now, to elect the man who will lead us forward, out of the clutches of hate and despair, to a new day of hope.

Very truly yours,

Bob Harris  
Past National Director  
Rockefeller "New Majority"

BH:aeh



Received  
10/22/18

JAMES W. WEITZEL  
1911 EASTLAWN DR. APT. 10-E  
MIDLAND, MICH. 48640



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The philosophy of this Administration, however, has been that disclosure alone is not enough and that somehow the government can make decisions for the investor better than he can make them for himself. This philosophy I reject.

Hold.

*File*

LAW OFFICES

HALL, CASEY, DICKLER & HOWLEY

122 EAST 42<sup>ND</sup> STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

AREA CODE 212 MO 1-3100

CABLE "HALCASRO"

LEONARD W. HALL  
WILLIAM J. CASEY  
GERALD DICKLER  
JOHN HOWLEY  
JOHN W. BURKE  
GREGORY H. DOHERTY  
MILFORD FENSTER  
SAMUEL J. FRIEDMAN  
WILLIAM L. MAHER

PAUL S. CANTOR  
PETER B. CLARK  
H. WM. HODGES III  
MORTON A. SMITH  
EDMUND S. WARTELS

FRANKLIN NATIONAL BANK BLDG.  
600 OLD COUNTRY ROAD  
GARDEN CITY, N. Y. 11532  
516 PI 7-7000

1209 RING BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
202 FE 8-6510

October 20, 1968

Dear Dick:

This week, in putting together NIXON ON THE ISSUES and working on material for current radio speeches, I've certainly seen that you've put in all the evidence.

Now the thing is to hit the jugular with the summation. It should be simple and rise above the detailed issues to the great questions. It should also have a moving theme. I'm anxious to have you read the enclosed memo which suggests a theme which seems just right to me at this time, in this year. I'm going to try my hand at preparing some material to implement it, which I'll TWX to the plane. But if you like the thrust, you will want to get ideas from others, too.

Sincerely,

*Bill Casey*

MEMO to RICHARD NIXON  
From William Casey

On: Wind-up Theme

All signs indicate that there never were so many voters undecided or lightly attached to their present preference. The closing drive should have a theme broad enough to hit those who can't cope with the detailed issues, don't care or want to rise above them. This theme should be one which can be played in harmony with your treatment of each of the 4 or 5 great questions, as Kennedy did with "Let's get America moving again."

Such a theme, vital and valid this time, is at hand in (a) the broad desire of the electorate for a mandate for change and action, and (b) fear and concern that a divided result could produce a shaky power to govern and even paralysis at a critical time.

It's basically "Let's make the electoral system work" - "Let's assure a mandate to govern and to change". The background is laid by spelling out:

- a. The electoral process not only establishes succession in office.
- b. It also creates the power to govern, sets national direction and generates national momentum, and
- c. The dangers of national paralysis without a clear mandate.

This can generate a powerful appeal to millions who think they may be wasting their vote on Humphrey as well as additional millions presently undecided or leaning to Wallace. This appeal will also help generate bandwagon psychology.

The targets of the summation should be:

1. the undecided
2. the Wallace voters who may have second thoughts about wasting their vote
3. the lightly attached Humphrey voters who want to minimize the following Wallace is attracting - who are afraid of Wallace influence
4. the normally Democratic and independent Nixon supporters who want a change but are not too happy about voting Republican.

A driving, concentrated appeal for a decisive mandate for change and action will hit all 4 of these groups at the point most likely to move and hold them. It is also the most powerful appeal to get Republicans to the polls.

Many people believe from the polls that succession in office is already determined and that their vote is not needed. The mandate to govern theme makes their vote important again.

This theme can be propelled in many ways:

-- A talk on the electoral process and its function in setting a direction and giving a mandate for action in addition to determining succession in office. There may not be time to do this full dress as you did on the Presidency, but even a few paragraphs here and there can lay the background.

-- As you hit all the great questions in these final weeks, each time call for a mandate for a new direction -- emphasize that America needs leadership which has a decisive mandate for action and only the sacred act on Election Day can provide it.

-- America can't deal with the problems and perils it faces at home and abroad without strong leadership which has full authority to govern as well as a mandate for change and action.

-- To take effective part in this year's electoral process each voter should do what he thinks will provide the necessary power to govern, a mandate for action, and end to inaction, the avoidance of national paralysis.

-- Make your vote count not only in electing a man but also in expressing the voice of America, in setting a direction and creating a momentum which will move America forward.

-- Express in your vote your share of the national will to have America recreate a policy in which its government will provide an unchallengeable national security, develop a broad sharing of the burden of keeping the peace, maintain the value of your dollars, and get private resources and institutions working on our social problems.

The focus of this appeal should not be entirely or even primarily the Wallace leaning voter. It should be on the general plane of a mandate for change, power to govern, setting a new direction so that it will appeal to people who think they may be wasting their vote on Humphrey as well as to the undecided and those now leaning to Wallace. By implication, at least, and by the explicit statement of others, this theme should be able to get across the reality that it's not only Wallace who can't be elected but also Humphrey who can't be elected with any kind of a mandate.

cc: John Mitchell  
Jim Keogh

LAW OFFICES  
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-- To take effective part in this year's electoral process each voter should do what he thinks will provide the necessary power to govern, a mandate for action, and end to inaction, the avoidance of national paralysis.

-- Make your vote count not only in electing a man but also in expressing the voice of America, in setting a direction and creating a momentum which will move America forward.

-- Express in your vote your share of the national will to have America recreate a policy in which its government will provide an unchallengeable national security, develop a broad sharing of the burden of keeping the peace, maintain the value of your dollars, and get private resources and institutions working on our social problems.

The focus of this appeal should not be entirely or even primarily the Wallace leaning voter. It should be on the general plane of a mandate for change, power to govern, setting a new direction so that it will appeal to people who think they may be wasting their vote on Humphrey as well as to the undecided and those now leaning to Wallace. By implication, at least, and by the explicit statement of others, this theme should be able to get across the reality that it's not only Wallace who can't be elected but also Humphrey who can't be elected with any kind of a mandate.

cc: John Mitchell  
Jim Keogh

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October 20, 1968

Dear Dick:

This week, in putting together NIXON ON THE ISSUES and working on material for current radio speeches, I've certainly seen that you've put in all the evidence.

Now the thing is to hit the jugular with the summation. It should be simple and rise above the detailed issues to the great questions. It should also have a moving theme. I'm anxious to have you read the enclosed memo which suggests a theme which seems just right to me at this time, in this year. I'm going to try my hand at preparing some material to implement it, which I'll TWX to the plane. But if you like the thrust, you will want to get ideas from others, too.

Sincerely,

*Bill Casey*

MEMO to RICHARD NIXON  
From William Casey

On: Wind-up Theme

All signs indicate that there never were so many voters undecided or lightly attached to their present preference. The closing drive should have a theme broad enough to hit those who can't cope with the detailed issues, don't care or want to rise above them. This theme should be one which can be played in harmony with your treatment of each of the 4 or 5 great questions, as Kennedy did with "Let's get America moving again."

Such a theme, vital and valid this time, is at hand in (a) the broad desire of the electorate for a mandate for change and action, and (b) fear and concern that a divided result could produce a shaky power to govern and even paralysis at a critical time.

It's basically "Let's make the electoral system work" - "Let's assure a mandate to govern and to change". The background is laid by spelling out:

- a. The electoral process not only establishes succession in office.
- b. It also creates the power to govern, sets national direction and generates national momentum, and
- c. The dangers of national paralysis without a clear mandate.

This can generate a powerful appeal to millions who think they may be wasting their vote on Humphrey as well as additional millions presently undecided or leaning to Wallace. This appeal will also help generate bandwagon psychology.

The targets of the summation should be:

1. the undecided
  2. the Wallace voters who may have second thoughts about wasting their vote
  3. the lightly attached Humphrey voters who want to minimize the following Wallace is attracting - who are afraid of Wallace influence
  4. the normally Democratic and independent Nixon supporters who want a change but are not too happy about voting Republican.
-

A driving, concentrated appeal for a decisive mandate for change and action will hit all 4 of these groups at the point most likely to move and hold them. It is also the most powerful appeal to get Republicans to the polls.

Many people believe from the polls that succession in office is already determined and that their vote is not needed. The mandate to govern theme makes their vote important again.

This theme can be propelled in many ways:

-- A talk on the electoral process and its function in setting a direction and giving a mandate for action in addition to determining succession in office. There may not be time to do this full dress as you did on the Presidency, but even a few paragraphs here and there can lay the background.

-- As you hit all the great questions in these final weeks, each time call for a mandate for a new direction -- emphasize that America needs leadership which has a decisive mandate for action and only the sacred act on Election Day can provide it.

-- America can't deal with the problems and perils it faces at home and abroad without strong leadership which has full authority to govern as well as a mandate for change and action.

-- To take effective part in this year's electoral process each voter should do what he thinks will provide the necessary power to govern, a mandate for action, and end to inaction, the avoidance of national paralysis.

-- Make your vote count not only in electing a man but also in expressing the voice of America, in setting a direction and creating a momentum which will move America forward.

-- Express in your vote your share of the national will to have America recreate a policy in which its government will provide an unchallengeable national security, develop a broad sharing of the burden of keeping the peace, maintain the value of your dollars, and get private resources and institutions working on our social problems.

The focus of this appeal should not be entirely or even primarily the Wallace leaning voter. It should be on the general plane of a mandate for change, power to govern, setting a new direction so that it will appeal to people who think they may be wasting their vote on Humphrey as well as to the undecided and those now leaning to Wallace. By implication, at least, and by the explicit statement of others, this theme should be able to get across the reality that it's not only Wallace who can't be elected but also Humphrey who can't be elected with any kind of a mandate.

cc: John Mitchell  
Jim Keogh

JIM KEOGH

(Notes from RN -- telephone Sunday Night)

October 20, 1968

*file*

*t-hold*

"I was looking at the material you have planned for preparation for the next week. I want to double up next week in terms of a sharp hitting on the major issues -- basically excerpt type -- very brief -- no more than a page and a fourth or a page and a half at the outside.

"Cincinnati -- strong on law and order. May be the idea that law and order is not a code word for racism -- but mainly indicating the choice on law and order -- a vote for Humphrey is a vote for a policy under which crime will double in the next four years unless we get a change in policy. Sharp. hard-hitting.

"In the next two weeks we can directly zero in on the difference between HHH and Nixon - cracking hard not only on his record - his defense of Clark and it might take on his attack of me on (talk this over - if not used today (Monday) might be another day) the Supreme Court -- that I would make appointments that would be conservative and take the court back -- then they can pick up out of the stuff I have used in answering questions on TV -- judges who realize it is their responsibility to interpret the laws not to make the laws. Hitting again that some of the decisions have gone too far in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces. Might throw in a word that Potter Stewart has been on the right side of these issues -- I agree with him rather than with the majority (discuss this before using it).

Columbus -- Humphrey the most expensive Senator will be the most expensive President -- increase in taxes - increase in prices, etc.

Or since Rhodes' trademark is jobs -- take out the labor speech -- 15 million new jobs - maybe Safire could develop this one -- a vote for Humphrey is a vote to raise your prices and raise your taxes --

Back to the crime excerpt -- A vote for Humphrey is a vote for a policy that has seen crime go up three times as fast as it did under Eisenhower, etc.

---

Toledo -- I think that is where HHH made his "You never had it so good" statement -- check that out.

If this is so -- work up something like this --

Who does he tell this to -- farmers - what has happened to them -- the aged -- what has happened to them -- wage earners -- less money despite his pay increases -- millions who have seen their loved ones killed in Vietnam. Those that have been the victims of crime. Something like that --

That is some guidance for Cincinnatti and for Columbus.

. . I want two a day in the next week and each is to be sharp and hard-hitting and come back on each one of these major issues.

Foreign policy could be hit Tuesday in terms of let's look around the world apart from Vietnam. The danger of war is greater - the prospects for peace lower - we have to have new policies. American respect down -- American power down -- a vote for HHH is a vote to continue these policies.

The language style is not the querulous kind but just hard hitting and strong.

Law and Order

Inflation

Foreign Policy

Peace thing -- in the take off on it -- Humphrey the uncertain trumpet -- he has been on all sides of every issue. That is the greatest risk of war where a man is on all sides for that leads to miscalculation.

---

BOB HALDEMAN

*File*

*10/21/68*  
*call Hobe*  
*Hold.*

EARL MAZO talked with Hobe Lewis today -- Hobe was having lunch with Billy Graham -- re the article "The Nixon I know." EARL THINKS IT IS VITAL THAT WE GET THAT STORY WRITTEN AND OUT IN PAMPHLET FORM BEFORE THE ELECTION. Thinks it should be able to be done in two days.

-----  
I AGREE -- what good will be the article do after the election? Of course, it will be good but of not much use if anything goes ~~wkxkxx~~ wrong on this election.

RMW

Problem here is to get Graham to finish the article and allow it to be published in pamphlet form before the election.

Hobe says Graham seemed a bit reluctant to do this but will probe further if we want him to. Maybe one of our people should give Graham a call.

NO

L.

# N

NIXON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE,  
P. O. BOX 1968, TIMES SQUARE STATION,  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036  
PHONE (212) 661-6400



MEMORANDUM

October 29, 1968

TO: RN

FROM: Glenn Olds

SUBJECT: Policy Emphasis on Youth in the Final Stretch

Your remarkable speech on "Today's Youth: The Great Generation" has a telling impact on the 'first' and 'young' voter. Its precise advocacy of a new Youth Service to provide:

- (1) An open channel section
- (2) A Sports and Fitness section
- (3) A World Youth Activity section, and
- (4) Young People's ombudsman

has touched the deep concern of this large new voting constituency, and secondarily, teachers, parents, and workers with youth who understand their real idealism.

Underscoring these practical and specific proposals in these last few days will do much to "turn on" this group not yet committed. They are law abiding, respectful, groping. What they seek is an honest, authentic channel for real political participation, and you offer it!

cc: Messrs. Haldeman  
Garment  
Mitchell  
Keogh

# N

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NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036  
PHONE (212) 661-6400



MEMORANDUM

October 29, 1968

TO: RN

FROM: Glenn Olds

SUBJECT: Policy confirmation of the role of the U.N. in  
multinational security in the final stretch

One of the telling strengths of the campaign- to conservative and liberal alike - has been your insistence on broadening the base of "shared responsibility" for maintaining security in the world. Your emphasis on realigned regional responsibility in Southeast Asia, Europe, and Latin America, with a larger measure of local accountability has been greatly applauded.

Large numbers of voters have been waiting for the clincher to this emphasis; i.e. reorganization and strengthening of the U.N. to reflect a more realistic and weighted responsibility of the world organization for peace-making, and peace-keeping. Mr. Humphrey has disqualified himself from any serious pronouncements on such matters through the shameful way George Ball resigned and flouted U Thant and the U.N. to join him.

Last week at a U. N. luncheon given by the Secretary General for the Ambassadors attending the Yugoslavian conference last summer (which I attended on your behalf), there was much discussion about some hopeful word from you on the U.N. before the election. In the 76 statements on Foreign Policy in Nixon on the Issues, there is none explicitly on the U.N., and only one reference to U.N. membership for Communist China. Such a statement need not awaken conservative fears that we thereby abandon a strengthened nationalism, but rather that we seek to enlist more fully, the other nations of the world in carrying a more

legitimate share of responsibility, and its cost in money and manpower, for maintaining peace in the world. It need be no more than general mention of this hope.

Such an emphasis would, I believe, alienate no one, and would turn large numbers of the still undecided youth, independent, and liberal vote positively in your support.

(Note: I append the remarkable review of President Eisenhower's views on the matter appearing in the U.N. publication this Spring. My own memo of June 13 makes specific recommendation. At this time I would make no specific recommendations beyond the broad principle advocating strengthening the U.N. to perform its proper role.)

cc: Messrs. Haldeman  
Garment  
Mitchell  
Keogh

AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW  
WITH GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER —  
PLUS ARTICLES BY ANDREW BOYD, TRISTRAM COFFIN, BERN KEATING, PAUL DEHN, ERNEST A. GROSS.

BY MARY KERSEY HARVEY  
AND THE UNITED NATIONS



PAUL  
DAVIS

# VISTA

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1968

*An Exclusive Interview  
with  
General Dwight D. Eisenhower*

*by Mary Kersey Harvey*

*Mary Kersey Harvey is a senior editor of McCall's magazine who has long been interested in the problems of international organization.*

I went to him in Gettysburg—during the midst of yet another crisis which had come near to reducing the UN to what its friends had feared and its critics predicted—an arena for shouting matches between sovereign states.

I went to Gettysburg to seek the President's views on what can and needs to be done to transform the UN into the limited federated world government he had said—in 1948—was a central requirement of peace with justice.

What he had to say during the course of our extended talk that winter morning surpassed anything I expected. Indeed, if Grenville Clark was the prime theoretician of world order, Dwight Eisenhower is its greatest strategist. For to back up a world organization with revised and more equitably apportioned legislative and executive branches, President Eisenhower would give the UN tactical nuclear weapons, while denying them to anyone else. But let's begin at the beginning.

Prior to my arrival in Gettysburg I had prepared for our interview by recalling many of the pointed comments that had been made concerning the UN and world peace during the last twenty years. Particularly I had refreshed my memory concerning General Eisenhower's many pertinent speeches on the subject during his long years in public life.

"What hope can there be for the future of the world unless there is some form of world

government which can make its effort to prevent a renewal of the awful struggle through which we have just passed?" Churchill asked in 1950.

In 1961 John F. Kennedy told the UN: "The risks in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race." He called for "a peace race in which the Russians would advance with us, step by step, toward general and complete disarmament."

In 1961 the Soviet Union proposed:

*"In order to make it easier to reach agreement with the Western powers and to prevent the control question from becoming an obstacle . . . the Soviet Government has stated that if the Western powers will accept the proposal on general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union will unconditionally accept those Powers' proposals on control."*

Long before these bold words were spoken the then General Eisenhower had already grasped the nature of the requirements of world order. In 1948 he wrote:

"During the war it was demonstrated that international unity of purpose and execution could be attained, without jeopardy to any nation's independence, if all were willing to pool a portion of their authority in a new single headquarters with power to enforce their decisions. In the formation

of the new United Nations . . . this lesson had not yet been accepted. Its application would have meant some form of *limited federated world government.*"

Because the nations had not accepted this lesson, a defective child was born at San Francisco in June, 1945.

Twenty years later in St. Louis President Eisenhower joined with President Truman for a celebration of the UN's twentieth birthday. At a press conference following the ceremony, President Eisenhower's praise of the work of the UN's special agencies was published widely. But when the President stressed the imperative need for strengthening the world organization without delay, it went unnoticed by all but a few.

Between Dwight D. Eisenhower's statements of 1948 and 1965 lay two peaceful terms as President of the United States. What had he thought, said and done, as leader of the world's most powerful nation, and as the single most respected and admired public figure in the world, to "wage peace"?

Plenty.

From the very beginning of his Administration, he unremittently sought creative proposals that might lead to progress toward genuine peace. He initiated the cultural-exchange program with the Soviet Union. He took the initiative in calling a halt to the

Anglo-Israeli aggression against Suez, but warned the Soviets against any attempt of theirs to intrude by force. He vetoed military intervention in Laos. And made proposal after proposal aimed at disarmament and a world security system based on law.

During the weeks of torturous preparation of one of his major peace speeches ("Chance for Peace," 1953) he was determined that what he said would be more—far more—than just a jumble of platitudes. The world was sick of hearing its leaders' smarmy-mouthed rhetoric. They demanded more than a forced trip on the nuclear collision course.

In "Chance for Peace" President Eisenhower declared war—total war—not upon any human enemy, but upon the brute forces of poverty and need in the world.

---

*"The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than thirty cities . . . We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could house more than eight thousand people.*

*"This is not a way of life . . . Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.*

*"This government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction."*

---

At the height of the second presidential campaign, a few days after Anglo-Israeli forces moved on the Suez, the President, well aware of the possible domestic political consequences, went grim-faced on national television and explained why compliance with the United Nations' call for a cease-fire was imperative. He then re-stated his belief in the need for giving the UN more muscle:

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*"The United Nations represents the best and soundest hope for peace in the world. . . . For this very reason I believe that the processes of the UN need further to be developed and strengthened."*

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Dwight Eisenhower knew then, as he knew in 1948, and knows today, that the world could not and cannot afford the danger of relying on voluntary compliance with UN resolutions and injunctions.

A few months later, facing masses assembled at the Capitol for his second Inauguration, President Eisenhower again sounded a grave, but hopeful note:

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*"The building of . . . the peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy . . . To serve it will be hard . . . We must be ready to pay its full price . . . One truth must rule all we think and all we do."*

---

And at the convening of the fifteenth session of the UN General Assembly the President affirmed with utter clarity his mounting concern about the need for giving the world body power to enact and enforce law binding on all nations:

*"Thus, we see as our goal, not a superstate above nations, but a world community, embracing them all, rooted in law and justice."*

Dwight Eisenhower's horror of war and restless hope for peace over so extended a period of time is unmatched by any other U.S. President of our time.



It felt like snow as I walked the path to the President's offices at Gettysburg College on the morning of November 7th. The President—who had been up before dawn—had already hiked to the polls, cast his vote and dictated several letters by the time I arrived for the 9 o'clock meeting.

The President was somewhat thinner than when we last met in 1963 at dinner at the Eisenhower farm, but he was every bit as earnest, enthusiastic and ebullient. It was going to be difficult to keep track of everything he said. Thoughts, stories, quotations, references to history, dates, crises, names, technical terms, numbers—all cascaded forth with a briskness, accuracy and intensity characteristic of few men of any age.

I was clutching my worn copy of "Waging Peace" along with other papers and memory-refreshers. That book had been a devil to write, the President said. The research part of it had been tremendous and tedious. He thought he would never get through it. His eyes twinkled a bit as he settled into his chair and talked about his new book, "At Ease". Now that one had been fun to write. It was just like telling stories to friends.

It was fun to read, too, I told the President. But more than that, it helped us understand the roots of his intense hatred of violence and war. This hatred was intrinsic. A story that had etched

itself deeply in my mind had to do with the six-year old Dwight's reaction to the sight of his brother's whipping. He had broken into tears and cried out "Stop! Please stop! Even a dog shouldn't be treated like that!"

The President knew why I was there. Paul G. Hoffman, director of the United Nations Development Programme, had explained to him that readers of *VISTA* and United Nations Associations publications in 65 other countries were well aware of the great services performed by the UN's ancillary agencies, but were becoming increasingly concerned by its weakness with respect to its central function: prevention of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of member nations. What the President had to say would be read by the many members of these United Nations Associations throughout the world.

I handed the President excerpts from a recent *New York Times* editorial which said in essence that many of the more responsible powers were now doubting—more than ever before in its history—whether continued membership in the UN was in their best interests. It further said that they feared that unless procedures were changed to conform with the UN's changed character the organization would not survive.

I then expressed my own somewhat stronger concern that the organization might be torn apart

because of the inability of its sovereign members to make objective judgments, dispense justice, and enforce decisions on a world scale, thus leaving our interdependent world without the machinery to prevent drift and anarchy.

The President read the editorial carefully, took off his glasses, and turned to me, leaning forward in his chair. He spoke with great earnestness. There were, it seemed to him, many valid reasons for concern, although some voices are predictably gloomy. We had to keep in mind the civilizing and healing effect of the UN special agencies.



But, he added, history shows invariably that associations of sovereign nations (and he emphasized the word "sovereign") never achieve the results that idealists and indeed practical people expect them to. The President gave NATO as a recent and stunning example of this. It had worked only so long as all of its members were willing to go along. But there had been no way to prevent its members from unilateral action, from pulling out when it appeared to be in their national interest.

The point the President was making was that the UN, in reality, was a world treaty group. Its members were no more bound to abide by it than members of regional treaty groupings. National sovereignty, one got the feeling, was to the President the main villain of the piece. (Peace, too, for that matter.)

The President, in "Waging Peace" had said that "of the various Presidential tasks to which I early determined to devote my energies, none transcended in importance that of trying to devise practical and acceptable measures toward universal disarmament."

What he meant by "universal", of course, was disarmament by all nations of the world. Would this still be his number one goal, I enquired? Universal disarmament, the President answered, would not fully assure peaceful settlement of all international issues, but it would certainly (1) lessen the diversion from useful purposes

of resources, money and manpower, and it might save sufficient resources to meet many of the basic requirements of the world's impoverished, and (2) eliminate the chances of a world cataclysm and the extinction of civilization. Disarmament, to the President, was a step—certainly a major one—toward the greatest of all goals: a just peace.

The next question had to do with the prodigious efforts made by the Eisenhower Administration to come up with disarmament proposals which would be effective and acceptable, not only to our Congress and to our allies, but to the Soviets. These efforts had been continuous and unremitting, strenuous and consistent.

Now, some seven years had elapsed since his Administration's final and comprehensive plan for disarmament had been placed before the world in 1960. No meaningful progress toward universal disarmament had been made during those seven years. In fact regression had characterized the period. The arms race had escalated. There was one full-fledged war in the field, others threatening. How did the President account for this deplorable record?

Without hesitation he snapped out his answer. The failure could be laid directly to the war in Vietnam. You cannot be fighting a war and negotiate effectively

about disarmament at the same time.

Now there were those, of course, who might have answered the question in another way, he went on to say. They would lay the failure to the Soviet's various and varying stances on inspection. Back in the days of Stalin, the President explained, the Russians' justifiable fears of war and of opening their country to foreigners were about proportionate.

Stalin had once told him, the President went on, that no major projects, i.e. massive hydro-electric plants, dams, and the likes would be constructed until the chances of their destruction in another war had diminished to a reassuring degree. Thus, the President told me, when the Russians—after Stalin's death—began construction of many massive and costly projects—he came to the conclusion that they no longer feared attack and would be amenable to a disarmament plan which contained some, but not excessive, inspection. He still felt justified in having reached that conclusion. Of course, he added, the Sino-Soviet relationship now makes it difficult for the Russians to talk disarmament with us, just as our involvement in the Vietnam war makes it difficult for us.

I wondered if the President was disturbed about the very real possibility that a number of smaller nations would soon acquire nuclear material and the means for its delivery.

Would this not represent a horrendous threat to world stability? As an example, I wondered what would have happened if either or both the Israelis and Arabs had possessed even a few nuclear weapons during the June clashes.

The President pointed out that he had proposed, early in his Administration, that the small and middle-sized countries be provided with nuclear know-how. With this would have come a sense of maturity and responsibility, he said. Too, if all nations now possessed nuclear capability they might be more willing to talk seriously about universal disarmament.

**N**ext question. As a five-star General, and as a President elected by Republicans who, to a large extent, dominate the nation's industry, the President had astounded the country with his warning against what he bluntly termed "the military-industrial complex."

In his Farewell Address, the President had sternly emphasized that

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*"The conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. Its total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal Government.*

*"We must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. We*

*must guard against the unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."*

Was there, in the President's opinion, any connection, however minuscule, between the "persisting power" of the military-industrial complex and the failure of disarmament efforts? The President slumped back in his chair, let his arms hang limply at his sides. His answer came slowly.

He reminded me that as far back as 1930 he had been assigned to work on a Commission to take the profits out of war. Bernard Baruch had been his "mentor". But it was vastly different in those days. Whether wars were of long or short duration, a long period of peace was confidently anticipated. When they were over, industry promptly began to re-tool for civilian needs. This was costly. And, moreover, not all industry became involved in war production. Those that did suffered by losing their consumer-oriented production capability as well as their customers. There was, except in special cases, no appreciable profit in war then. Nothing comparable at all to the profits of today.

Moreover, the President said, we have a situation now where whole segments of the economy and the society are partially or totally dependent on the billions of dollars flowing to them from

Washington. Possibly \$35 billion for hardware alone! he exclaimed.

These fellows couldn't get out of it if they wanted to, the President was afraid. Would he, I asked, go into some detail about the component parts of the military-industrial complex? Who were they? Where were they?

Well, to begin with, there were the politicians. Every Congressman, the President explained, wants air bases, aerospace con-



tracts, R & D establishments, military camps, and the like, for his state. And what's more, once he's got these things for his state, he'll fight to the death to see they aren't dismantled, even when they no longer serve their original or any real purpose. You hear the rumblings on the Hill every time McNamara wants to close a shipyard or an airbase. Another group in the complex, the defense contractors, not only work through their Congressmen, but court the Pentagon directly.

It has even gotten into the universities, the President said ruefully. Not long ago Dr. Wriston, former president of Brown University, had told him that if Federal grants for research relating to military and para-military matters were to end, almost every university would have to close shop.

This was a deplorable state of affairs, the President continued, but prevailed on many campuses throughout the country. Only those private institutions with enormous endowments (The Johns Hopkins University, of which his brother Milton was president, was one) can take that Federal research money or leave it.

Another part of the complex: the very institution from whence Eisenhower had sprung. Every branch of the Armed Forces demands and sometimes gets more than it needs. Then, the President went on gloomily, there are the unions.

Contrary to what most people think, the nation's largest industrial employer is NOT the automotive industry. It's the aerospace industry. It employs 1,384,000 workers. Four-fifths of its sales are to the Federal government. Its workers and particularly its scientists are certainly an important component in the complex. Then you've got the electronics, ordnance and petroleum fellows, all with very real interests in the continuance of the war machine.

They are justifiably afraid of arms cutbacks, we agreed.

What then, I asked, was the alternative?

The President cheered up a bit. In a spirited fashion he began to develop an analogy between the condition of American military-oriented industry when arms spending ended and that of the European nations whose production facilities lay in ruins after World War II.

The President spoke of the ingenious way in which Paul Hoffman, as administrator of the Marshall Plan, had operated. To Hoffman's way of thinking, our government's various bureaus and agencies would be the last to know the requirements of the various devastated European industrial complexes. And so Hoffman went to them and said in essence: draw up your *own* plans for reconstruction and recovery. You know better than we do what

is required. Then get up a budget. How much can you lay out and how much help will you need from us?

That, the President said, accounted for the speed and efficiency of the recovery of the European industrial community.



He would think that comparable measures could be effective with respect to the American military industrial community when arms spending halted or diminished sharply.

At the risk of dwelling too long on the issue of armaments and disarmament, I posed one final question in this area, because it could best be answered by a man whose vast knowledge of military affairs and arms is equally matched by his passion for peace. There is probably no man with comparable qualifications in the world.

We were now spending \$87 billion of our total Federal budget of \$135 billion on arms or defense, call it what you will. These figures made the military budget during his Administration look like carfare. The President had written, again in "Waging Peace," that "so long as such proportion of the world's assets are wasted on excessive arms, our ability to help poorer peoples will be sorely and uselessly impaired."

**Q**uestion: Would the \$5 billion anti-missile missile system recently announced by Secretary McNamara fall into the President's category of "excessive arms?"

I wasn't prepared for his vivid response. Five billion! That was only the beginning, the President said impatiently. It would buy a

*War and Peace and the UN*

pilot establishment, nothing else. And then we would have to go on and on until we had "the works." He drew a spiral in the air with his forefinger as he talked. You'd get up into the \$20 billions, then the \$30 billions, and the \$40 billions—just for the United States. Every little town and locality would insist on having a shield. Even Gettysburg. And, soon, too, all your allies will insist on having it. The President had continued to trace the spiral until it had gone as high as his arm could reach. Right *now* our arms expenditures create economic difficulties, he said in a hard tone, as his spiraling arm dropped to his side. But, as of now, it is possible that we will have to take on this great additional cost.

He paused, swiveled to gaze out the window at the wind-stripped trees, and finally turned back to finish up on the anti-missile missile. He thought the value of the project was still questionable. Now, mind you, the President said, I wouldn't call it a form of excessive arms, *if* I thought it would be effective. But I tend to agree with McNamara when he minimized the need for the thing. If it's a "thin" defense, as they now describe it, it won't appreciably improve our defensive posture. And, anyway, it's still axiomatic that the best defense is a perfect offense. *We've got that.*

We then moved from the unthinkable, the madness, the in-

sanity—to the sane.

It was time to discuss what the President had meant when he said in 1956 "there can be no peace without law." Two preliminary questions about basic assumptions: (1) Did his use of the word "law" in the context of world peace imply the law of a world authority, capable of enforcement, as distinguished from a mere set of exhortations or injunctions, and (2) did the proposition "no peace without law" embody the concept that peace cannot be assured by a continued arms race or an indefinite balance of terror, but only by universal disarmament, together with es-



establishment of institutions in the world corresponding to those which maintain law and order in our country and others?

Obviously, the President replied rather impatiently, that was the kind of law he had spoken of when he said it was essential to world peace. I said I had suspected my two questions about

assumptions would be unnecessary, especially in view of the President's uncompromising stance during the Suez crisis of 1956 when he emphasized that there could be no double standard of law in the world, i.e. one law for those opposing us, another for our allies. There could be only one law, the President had insisted then, or no peace. Many in the world believed his stand had prevented World War III.

To get that "one law for all in the world" Grenville Clark, a prominent American lawyer, champion of civil liberties and of peace through world federalism, had drafted a set of changes that could be made in the UN Charter and which would provide the UN sufficient authority to prevent war. That authority, Clark had made clear, would be *strictly limited* to war prevention. I hoped we might now go over some of the main provisions of the Clark proposals.

The President anchored on his glasses the better to study the Clark formula for the UN legislative body. It would eliminate the one vote-per nation provision in the General Assembly, for one thing. Secondly, nations would be given voting power according to a formula which took into account population and geographic factors. Assuming an eventual membership in the UN of about 130 nations (all nations now members, plus those expected to join) Clark had calculated a voting arrangement that goes like this:



*War and Peace and the UN*

<u>Nations</u>	<u>Representatives Each</u>	<u>Total Votes</u>
4 largest	30	120
10 next largest	12	120
15 " "	8	120
20 " "	6	120
30 " "	4	120
40 " "	3	120
10 smallest	1	10

The President scrutinized the formula most carefully, then whipped off his glasses. There was no doubt, none at all, he said, that we have gone overboard in bringing into the UN certain sovereign groupings which have no valid claim to nationhood. Groups which were not economically and/or politically ready for nationhood and a vote in the UN. But it was not entirely or even largely the fault of these new nations. It was partly the fault of the larger powers. They had expected too much, too much in too short a time.

The President was reminded of a story. Back in 1959 DeGaulle had brought together the prime ministers of ten or eleven African countries of the "French Community." He had asked the President to address them privately. He decided to begin with a question. In view of the fact, the President had asked the African leaders, that the world was becoming increasingly economically interdependent, why did they want to go it alone? And had

they considered what they stood to gain if they would unite in some kind of economically-oriented regional federation?

Well, the President said, they just wouldn't buy it. They each wanted their independence. And the reason they gave: it would get each of them that one vote in the UN. The idea of forming a powerful, regional African grouping had no appeal. Now, it might have had appeal if the voting powers of UN members were apportioned on a more realistic basis.

The make-up of the UN, he went on, is discrediting the organization. How can the General Assembly function with one vote for each nation? The United States has the same voting strength as the Maldiv Islands with—what was their population?—less than 100,000? It was like giving Rhode Island the same number of Representatives in the Congress as Texas or California or New York. It had been and continues to be a mistake to admit nations to the UN unqualifiedly.

**N**ow that led to the Security Council, the President continued. It wasn't doing its job, either. Couldn't do the job, with the veto. Why couldn't some majority voting formula be worked out?

He replaced his glasses as I handed him the Clark formula for changing the composition of

the Security Council.

It would be as follows:

The executive body be enlarged to seventeen members, each elected to a four-year term by the General Assembly. The U.S., U.S.S.R., China and India would have a representative at all times. Four of the eight next largest nations would, in rotation, be entitled to membership, with the proviso that two of these four members should always be from European nations, the other two from nations outside Europe. The remaining nine members would be chosen by the General Assembly from the other member nations.

A simple majority would be ruled out. A majority of 12 out of the 17 votes would be required for all but the "most important" decisions. In these cases, Clark proposes that the majority of 12 must include a majority of each of the two main groups of nations, i.e. the large nations and the much more numerous groups of smaller nations. The President thought it all made a great deal of sense.

After going over the Clark proposals for compulsory jurisdiction by the International Court and the establishment of a World Equity Tribunal to arbitrate cases where legal principles were not applicable, we moved on to the actual disarmament phase. The Clark plan, if adopted and rati-

fied, calls for an immediate and precisely calibrated move toward universal disarmament.

The re-configured Security Council would appoint an Inspection Commission to consist of five persons, none of whom would be a national of any of the twelve largest nations, and no two of whom would be nationals of the same nation.

They would conduct a worldwide Arms Census, supervise an arms production truce, and eventually supervise and verify by inspection, phased, proportionate disarmament which would leave all nations as equally strong or weak during the disarmament period as they were prior to it. The gradual and proportionate giving up of military forces and weapons would take place over a period of ten years at the rate of ten per cent per year.

Rather startlingly, the President's response to this part of the Clark plan was, in essence, why wait? Of course the main goal is complete disarmament. But why not run some experiments now? Let's open up all our bases, nuclear launching facilities, arms factories, the works—all of it located on or west of the Mississippi and invite the Russians to come in and look around. On condition, of course, that they would open up everything they had located on or west of the Vistula River to

inspectors from the United States.

Now these inspectors would soon begin to understand the size and dimension of the problems of inspection and verification. They could learn a lot and then work together to develop a formula which would be workable and acceptable to both sides, and to the other nations, too.

The President didn't see why we had to wait for full UN Charter revision. He knew, as only a military man knows, that such an experiment as he had just put forth could pose no real threat to the security of either side. We must try! the President urged. Try and keep trying!

The disarmament phase of the plan for a world security system was but a relatively short-term proposition. The concurrent build-up of weapons, men and material for a UN Peace Force would lead to a permanent establishment—a military one—within the UN. The President's thoughts on this would be most enlightening. In essence the plan was this:

The United Nations Peace Force would be a heavily-armed and well-disciplined world police force. To prevent domination of this Force by any nation or group of nations, the number of nationals of any nation in its standing component would not exceed three per cent of the total strength of the Peace Force except in extreme emergencies. Units

would be dispersed to avoid power concentrations, would be highly mobile, and would be located in defensible positions. None of them would be stationed in the larger countries. The UN military staff would be under civilian control.

The President studied the above plan quickly and, as I had expected, caught the ball and ran with it. You'd have, he began to plan out loud, world Marshals, comparable to our U.S. Marshals. Backed by armed forces similar to our National Guard. When the U.S. Marshals go into a troubled area, if they can't handle it, if they can't get compliance with Federal law, the Guard can be called in. You'd have the same thing on a world scale. Non-compliance with UN law and you send in the UN forces. He orchestrated this point at some length.

And too, he hammered away, the UN needs *nuclear* power. He bore down hard on the word "nuclear." The UN can't keep the peace with conventional weapons alone. The President, out of his enormous storehouse of military experience and know-how, put forth some brilliant innovations on Clark's Peace Force plan. You know, he said, way back in 1953 I proposed that the nations turn over all nuclear weapons to the UN, keeping only that nuclear material necessary

for peaceful purposes. The ultimate aim of my proposal at that time was to get those blasted bombs out of the hands of the nations and into the hands of an impartial world body.

The President went on to outline, specifically and vividly, how the UN would use its nuclear power, without anyone getting hurt. Take this example, he hurried on. You have two countries in a border argument. The UN orders the matter to be taken to the International Court. One or both of the disputants refuses to submit to compulsory arbitration. They build up their troops along the border.

Then your UN aerial surveillance teams report that armed outbreak is imminent. The UN, which by now has in its possession a fleet of submarines armed with nuclear missiles deployed around the world, orders one of the submarines to proceed to the area. The world is then told that if firing breaks out for any reason whatsoever, a tactical nuclear weapon will be delivered onto the disputed territory. If this threat fails to prevent armed conflict, you back it up with action.

But, the President quickly added, no nuclear bomb would ever need to be delivered, he felt sure. The threat would be sufficient to roll back the opponents from the border—indeed all the way back to the International Court at The Hague.

There can be no effective

supranational organization *without power*, the President emphasized. He had said that in 1953 at the United Nations and he insists on it today.

**W**e fell silent for a moment. Was the President thinking about the possible shock effect his ideas might have in some quarters? Grenville Clark had often said that what the world probably needed to get moving on disarmament and world law was a



series of severe shocks. As to my own thoughts during those brief silent seconds, it seemed to me that what the President was really saying to the UN and about the UN was: Get tough! Diplomacy, kid gloves, cadenced speeches, behind-the-scenes deals have not worked and won't ever work!

Demand the men and the weaponry you require to do the job. Get rough! Get tough!

It came then, down to this: How do you get from here to there?

The President had long been guided by the early period in our national life and the men who shaped it. Would it be stretching the point too much, I asked, to equate the Articles of Confederation and the problems of the thirteen original states, with the present UN Charter and the problems of the 123 nation-states today? And, if an equation could be made, could the President then agree that a UN Charter revision conference, similar to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 might result in the carving out of a Constitution for the World, as strong, equitable and sound as the U.S. Constitution?

The famous grin broke out. Here was, he said, an analogy which many Americans would understand and accept. The President then spoke, as though he had struggled right along with Jay, Madison, Washington, Hamilton, Franklin and the others, at Philadelphia during

that long hot spring and summer of 1787 in Philadelphia where the Convention was underway.

He delineated the various stresses and strains within and without the thirteen states and



why their centers of gravity varied, some having closer ties to foreign governments than to the Confederation. The attempt to save the Confederation by strengthening it faltered again and again. The Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan were so far apart that compromise appeared unattainable.

We both then recalled the words of Chairman of the Convention, George Washington:

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*"It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God."*

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**T**he same situation, the President said, could very well prevail at a United Nations Charter Revision conference. But the lesson of 1787 was that intelligence, the ability to give a little, and the over-riding requirements for survival *can* prevail over

sovereign or narrow-minded interests. It was the ability and willingness to compromise for the sake of the larger interest which had created the Constitution and the strongest democracy in the world. This could work on a world level.

And the President added forcefully, the ability and willingness to compromise might, in the end, serve to create a world constitution, the provisions of which would enable the world's people to live without the fear of war ever happening again.

He had a proposal to make before I left. Why, the President asked, why can't we say that the entire program for one year (of the United Nations Association) will be to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for peace?

I knew what he had in mind. It wasn't necessary to ask him to spell out the details. For if Dwight D. Eisenhower thinks the United Nations Association and all its members can and should mount such a one-year program, there are plenty of brains around to work out the details.

I stood to leave. My time had been up a long while ago. The President got up from his desk and walked into the middle of the room to say a last word. He was, he maintained, essentially an optimist. He had always been one and would remain so. He was still hopeful that man's intelligence would outwit his inventiveness.

NOVEMBER 1, 1968

TO: @BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

THE FOLLOWING STORY WAS RELEASED BY US, TO COMBAT THE CHARGE THAT DICK IS NOT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE. THE STATEMENT IS FROM DR. FLEMMING.

NEW YORK, NOV. 1 -- DR. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE UNDER PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER HAS VIGOROUSLY ENDORSED RICHARD NIXON FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. DR. FLEMMING STATED, "I KNOW IN LIGHT OF MY EXPERIENCES THAT MR. NIXON -- WILL MOVE THE COUNTRY FORWARD IN THE AREAS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE."

DR. FLEMMING NOTED, "WHEN I ADVOCATED ADVANCES ON THE PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE AREAS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, I ALWAYS RECEIVED VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE SUPPORT FROM MR. NIXON. I KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT IT WAS THAT SUPPORT IN A CABINET MEETING THAT LED PRESIDENT EISENHOWER IN 1966 TO ASK THE CONGRESS FOR NEW LEGISLATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION. THE EDUCATION BILL WAS BACKED ENTHUSIASTICALLY BY MR. NIXON."

IN HIS ENDORSEMENT, DR. FLEMMING REITERATED WHAT HE THOUGHT WOULD BE THE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT OF A NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN THE FIELDS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE. DR. FLEMMING SAID, "I KNOW THAT MR. NIXON MEANT IT WHEN HE SAID, 'I PLEDGE MY ADMINISTRATION TO BE SECOND TO NONE IN ITS CONCERN OF REEDUCATION.'"

THE@FORMER SECRETARY ALSO LISTED AS FUTURE@ACCOMPLISHMENTS@NIXON'S@PLEDE  
FOR@COST OF@LIVING@INCREASES IN@SOCIAL@SECURITY@BENEFITS, ELEIMINATION  
OF THE CEILING ON EARNING FOR SOCIAL@SECURTIY RECIPIENTS,@THE@  
ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL@STANDARDS THAT@WOULD INCREASE@THE@LEVEL@OF@  
BENEFITS@FOR@THOSE@UNDER@PUBLIC@ASSISTANCE@AND@STRENGTHENING@OF@THE  
NATION'S MEDICARE@PROGRAMN

DR. FLEMMING@QUOTED@FROM@MRN@NIXON'S@SEP@QY@SPEECH@ON@BTHE@NATURE@OF  
THE PRESIDENCY"@IN@WHICH@NIXON SAID,@BTHE@PRESIDENT@CANNOT@ISOLATE  
HIMSELF@FROM@THE@GREAT@INTELLECTUAL@FERMENTS@OF@HIS@TIME.@@THIS@IS  
ONE@REASON WHY I@DON'T WANT@A@GOVERNMENT OF@YES MEN. @IT'S WHY I@DO  
WANT@A@GOVERNMENT@DRAWN@FROM@POLITICS,@FROM@CAREER GOVERNMENT@SERVICE,  
FROM@UNIVERSITIES,@FROM@BUSINESS, FROM THE@PROFESSIONS -- ONE@INCLUDING@  
NOT ONLY@EXECUTIVES AND@ADMINISTRATORS@BUT@SCHOLARS@AND@THINKERS.B

DRN@FLEMMING@SAIDL@BI@KNOW@THAT@MRN@NIXON@WOULD@APPLY@THIS@CONCEPT  
OF@THE@PRESIDENCY@TO THE@AREAS@OF@HEALTH,@EDUCATION AND WELFARE."

END

NOVEMBER@1,@Q968

TO: @@BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

IT IS STRONGLY SUGGESTED THAT RN, ON THE@TELETHON,@AND@WHEREVER@ELSE  
POSSIBLE, USE@THE@MATERIEL@I@SENT@TO DICK@KLEINDIENST@SHOWING@THE  
MISREPRESENTATIONS@OF@DICKGS@POSITION@ON@SOCIAL@SECURITY@AND@MEDICAREL  
AND@HIS@REAL@STANDN

END

NOVEMBER@QL@QYVX

TOZ@@@@@BOB@HALDEMAN  
FROMZ@@@MURRAY@CHOTINER

THE@FOLLOWING@IS@MATERIAL@TO@BE@GIVEN@TO@SOME@NEWSPAPER@FOR@ITS@OWN  
INVESTIGATION.

THE@QYVT@FINANCIAL@STATEMENT@OF@HHH@SHOWS@OWNERSHIP@OF@QLVXV@SHARES  
LISTED@AT@D@TL@YVSNPPL@OF@GNETN@SCHJADAHL@CORPORATION@OF@MINNESOTA  
HE@ALSO@ACQUIRED@CONVERTIBLE@DEBENTURES@THE@COMPANY@IS@IN@FACT@A  
PACKAGING@BUSINESS@AND@RECEIVED@MANY@GOVERNMENT@CONTRACTS@FROM@NASA,  
ARMY, NAVY AND@POLARIS.

THE@STOCK@JUMPED@FROM \$8.00@A@SHARE@IN APRIL,@1965 TO @D30.0P@A@SHARE  
IN JULY, 1967. @IT@HAS DECLINED SINCE TO \$16.00 @ON NOVEMBER 1, 1968  
PRESUMABLY DUE TO MANAGEMENT, ACCORDING TO REPORTS.

THE COMPANY DID HAVE GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS IN 1961-1962, HOWEVER, WE  
UNDERSTAND THERE WAS A MARKED INCREASE WHICH LEAD TO THE JUMP IN  
PRICE OF THE STOCK.

QUERY NO. 1: WHEN DID HHH ACQUIRE HIS STOCK?

QUERY NO. 2: WHEN DID THE GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS INCREASE IN NUMBER  
AND VALUE?

END