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<td>Memo</td>
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September 11, 1962

Dear Mr. Fortner:

We certainly appreciate your thoughtful letter of September 10th and your interest and support as indicated by the two suggestions you have made in connection with the campaign.

I am asking Dan Waters, our Contact Director, to get in touch with you immediately regarding our Real Estate Committee and acquaint you with the work they are doing. I am sure he will appreciate having your active participation in this area.

With regard to the bumper strips, we are already working through our various Community Headquarters, the Young Republicans, the Teen Age Republicans, and are also organizing a 8 - 12 age group. These "squads" will be appearing at every meeting, rally and will, we feel sure, be operating effectively in the weeks ahead.

Thank you again for writing us.

WIN WITH NIXON!

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Ray G. Fortner
Ray G. Fortner Co.
9519 E. Las Tumas Drive
Temple City, California
September 13, 1962

Dear Mr. Barnum:

Carl Anderson has passed along to me copy of your August 23rd letter.

I do want to assure you it is letters like yours we appreciate having brought to our attention. If questions are raised, we want a chance to answer them. There is great value in constructive criticism, and it is in this spirit I have just read your letter to Carl.

I am sending you herewith some of Dick Nixon's statements together with some brochures that will, I believe, be interesting to you. They are to the points you have made in your letter, and perhaps reading Dick's statements in full text will give you a more accurate picture of what he is saying than some of the reported accounts.

In any event, I hope you will let us know if you have further thoughts or suggestions. They are helpful, and will be most gratefully received.

With kind regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Cyrus F. Barnum
206 South Mansfield Avenue
Los Angeles 36, California

cc: Mr. Carl H. Anderson
Mr. Carl H. Anderson  
1132 North Mansfield  
Hollywood 38, California  

Dear Carl:

When I talked with you in front of the Nixon Headquarters yesterday, I started in a kidding tone. Then, when you got so serious about it, began pressing me, I decided to show my real feelings.

The serious thing, in my opinion, is that a great many California voters, Republicans and independents alike, feel as I do. I think that is one reason why Nixon's vote in 1960 was so close in his own State. Also that feeling helped Joe Shell poll a third of the Republican votes in the Primaries. They weren't all "conservatives." I was one of them.

All my life I have voted Republican. I shall probably vote for Nixon on Nov. 6th. But unless he starts showing why I should vote for him and not just what's wrong with Brown, I shall not be happy about my vote.

The time is getting short -- only a little over two months. Perhaps you and others who very much want to see him elected can convince him that he should start selling his program and quit talking about something else. Thousands of us won't be convinced by knocking, negative arguments and that's for sure. He should have learned this after all his years in politics, but apparently he has not.

Don't find fault with us luke-warm voters. Get your candidate to make like somebody we can be happy to vote for, maybe even work for.

Sincerely,

Cyrus P. Barnum (Signed)
May 21, 1962

Dear Don:

Thanks very much for your letter of May 18th. We are always glad to receive suggestions and comments such as you have passed along.

In the thought you may have missed seeing some of the statements and releases enclosed, they are included for your information.

I would certainly appreciate hearing from you further when any ideas occur which you feel would be helpful to us.

Thanks again for your interest and help.

Best regards.

WIN WITH NIXON!

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Don N. Cooper
The Ted R. Cooper Co., Inc.
149 West 22nd Street
Los Angeles 7, California
May 18, 1962

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
3908 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Bob:

You asked for any other ideas I might have so I am going to express them for whatever they are worth.

I believe that a good way to switch Democratic votes to Nixon might be to hit Brown hard with the claim that he appears soft on Communism. This could be backed up by Brown's own statements—such as a recent one in which he said that he considers the John Birch Society almost as great a threat as Communism. That one can really be shot full of holes.

I think that one of Brown's claims about Nixon could be turned around to benefit Mr. Nixon. The claim I am referring to is that Nixon has been away from California too long to know California's problems. I believe that Mr. Nixon should stress the fact that California will soon become the most important state in the most important country in an extremely troubled world. California's problems are not all internal—they must be looked at from the perspective of our national and international position. Mr. Nixon is eminently more qualified than Mr. Brown to do this.

You are stressing Nixon's decisiveness, which is an excellent idea. I believe it would be beneficial to stress Brown's indecisiveness. It seems to me that Brown's popularity was at its lowest ebb while he was straddling the fence about Chessman. If people can be reminded of this and other hesitations and hedging which he has gone through, it should be beneficial.

Please don't feel I am being critical. I haven't followed the campaign closely enough to know whether or not you are already stressing the things I am suggesting or whether these ideas would be of any value.

Sincerely,

Don N. Cooper

DNC:nn
April 27, 1962

Dear Mrs. Scott:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 23rd. Our thanks too for the Support Sheet which you returned, and especially for your own contribution of $25.00. The comments in your letter have been read with interest, and I want to assure you, such expressions are always gratefully received.

Unfortunately, the April 24th invitation extended to Dick Nixon conflicted with a long standing commitment with the Junior Chamber of Commerce Dinner in Pasadena.

At this time, I do want you to know the Schedule Committee is working on "A Day in the San Gabriel Valley", which will include as many stops and events as can be handled within the day's itinerary. Dick has made an earnest attempt to visit every county and specific areas within counties in the state, and will continue to do so throughout the coming months. Looking back at what he has done thus far is a bit staggering to all of us. Although travelling at break-neck speed, naturally there are still many areas to be covered in the months ahead, and this will be accomplished.

Thank you again for writing. Please know we appreciate your continued loyalty and active support.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mrs. Willard R. Scott
20 Hampden Terrace
Alhambra, California
April 23, 1962

Mr. Robert Haldeman
Campaign Manager for
Richard Nixon for Governor
3308 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Sir,

As one of Mr. Nixon's supporters I cannot urge him too strongly in this era of crisis and change to do more than he is to catch the imagination of the voters.

Be for things positively, release new ideas, the gates of the future are open to one who can bring vistas of inspiration to the people.

We are all conservatives, all liberals, all progressives, we hope, and need a leader to embrace all these concepts with vitality and a new reality.

Why hasn't Mr. Nixon appeared in San Gabriel Valley as yet? Doesn't he know that Mr. Shell is making good progress in this area—that many of the San Marino Republican Club women who formerly supported Nixon are now working for Shell. I am sorry Mr. Nixon did not have an opening to appear before this group on the evening of the 24th. There seems to be some feeling in the grapevine that it is very difficult to communicate with Mr. Nixon—so what! I think this is a very difficult attitude and should be erased and soon.

I do urge again that Mr. Nixon take fire.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

(Mrs. Willard R. Scott)

44 Hamden Terrace
Alhambra, Cal.

enc. check card

support pledge
April 23

Mr. Haldeman,

Mr. Martin requested that the enclosed be forwarded you.

Charlotte Pettit
Mr. Joseph Martin Jr.
1300 Beech
Montgomery, Al
San Francisco 4, Calif.
April 17, 1962

Dear Joe:

The eastern papers are full of Congressman Miller's comments concerning Dick Niponic's campaign. He complains of the difficulty of contacting Dick, etc. The same things I discussed with you in our telephone talk a few weeks ago.

By the way, don't discount the California poll too much. We'll feel Dick will get the nomination. The election is a big
Spotter in mind. He is losing many supporters and votes just as he did when he ran for President and for the
same reasons.

I wrote him 6 weeks before the election in 1960
that he ought to change
his campaign strategy
and tactics or he may
do well resign himself
its losing. This admonition
is worth repeating
now.

Best regards and with
the hope that you will
change his approach
and attitude.

Sincerely,
Nate
April 10, 1962

Personal

Dear Bill:

Not only have I seen and studied carefully your very incisive and forceful analysis of the political situation which you presented in your letter of March 21, but it is also required reading for my campaign staff.

There is no disagreement with your assessment of the realities and what needs to be done. Whether we are able to deal with the former and carry out the latter effectively and successfully remains to be seen. I can assure you we are making every effort to do so.

I am grateful for your willingness to take the time to write so candidly and helpfully as you did. Any additional comments, suggestions or observations now or later, will be most welcome.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr. William G. Moore
Redlands Daily Facts
Redlands, California

Received 4/12/62
R/MW

Another one
RN should see -
transmitted via
Card Cast

Bob Haldeman
Dear Carol:

I am enclosing the matter we discussed today. I have cast it as a letter to Dick, that seeming to be the most logical way.

I hope this analysis will be of some help. Dick can win this election, but I am sure he cannot spare for nine rounds and then expect to score a knockout in the 10th. In San Bernardino I tried to convey this to him, but apparently it is the opposite from his own thinking.

Thank you for undertaking to see that the letter comes to Dick's attention.

Sincerely,

William G. Moore
March 21, 1962

Mr. Richard M. Nixon
Los Angeles, Cal.

Dear Dick:

We in Redlands want to be helpful to you in your campaign. In the time since our meeting in San Bernardino I and my closest political friends have been discussing and thinking about your campaign. We have reduced our thoughts to written form as follows:

Many of us middle-of-the-road Republicans are extremely concerned about the progress of the Nixon-for-Governor campaign to date.

This results from several factors:

1. Nixon was forced by press of events to make his announcement at an early date. The announcement itself was excellent, well-received and engendered considerable enthusiasm.

2. The Knight fiasco immediately took the wind out of the announcement and attention was diverted to the "red herring" of the "proposed deal."

3. Brown, recognizing the threat of Nixon as an opponent, immediately began to mend his political fences. As the incumbent, the plums he has to offer are parceled into awards of press support from unusual quarters. And the weekly press conferences and legislative session give him an opportunity to propose a program freely and fully. He has been, by the nature of the duties of his office, talking about specifics.

4. Nixon’s campaign to date has been comprised chiefly of generalities, and even touching on state issues almost invariably has been the result of a proposal by other Republicans or in attack on Brown’s program. This has cast Nixon in a defensive role.

5. The attacks by Nixon on the Birchers are too prolonged. He has made his point, the time is to move onto something else. We feel the Birchers are ridiculous and should be ignored. But many non-bircher conservatives do not agree with us. They are flocking to Shell.

6. Nixon obviously is making a bid for the middle-of-the-road "Warren vote" that is decisive in California State elections. Yet he has offered no program by which he can attract Democratic members of this "segment."

The solution is obvious, and not difficult.

Since Shell already has lined up the conservative legislators, Nixon should line up actively the liberal legislators who already have
displayed a successful appeal to Democratic voters.

Since Brown has been an inept and wavering governor, after his first six months, this should be spelled out chapter and verse. Voters realize it. They should be reminded of it. The liberal legislators know every stone Brown stumbled over.

Since California is going to be the No. 1 state in the nation, and Nixon says it should be a showplace, then he should espouse a concrete program of progress—spelling out exactly what he intends to do in the fields of education, water, transportation, taxes, jobs, conservation, law enforcement, etc. With the Legislature meeting now, it is new and has validity. After the Legislature adjourns it then will become merely partisan political campaign promises. There is a difference.

Nixon did not choose the timing. It was forced on him. Therefore, he must meet it as it exists. The only reason Brown has come up in the polls is that the people are disappointed that Nixon is recasting the image of 1960 of a gentleman speaking in generalities.

Nixon did not win the Senate seat that way. That was not the way he became the most effective and feared AND RESPECTED spokesman of the Eisenhower Administration. He won when he fought.

And to win, and he should win big, in 1962, he must fight. And soon.

Sincerely,

William G. Moore
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Nixon for Governor

To: Research Department

From: Rose Mary Woods

Subject: Letter from Bill Moore

Date: April 4, 1962

Distribution:

Mr. Nixon wants Bob Finch to see the letter which came in from Bill Moore last week and was forwarded to the Research Department.

Also, please be sure this letter is acknowledged.

RMW: ma
Millie Younger

Bob Haldeman

Mrs. Agnes D. Lawrence letter

Millie -

I have acknowledged Mrs. Lawrence's note to me, but am
sending the RN addressed letter to you for appropriate reply.

Millie Younger

4-24-62
April 30, 1962

Dear Mrs. Lawrence:

Thank you very much indeed for your recent letter.

The letter you have addressed to Mr. Nixon which was enclosed has been sent along to his office.

We are always most grateful to receive constructive criticism and comments. The suggestions you have made have been read with interest.

Again, thank you for writing, and please don't hesitate to pass along any further thoughts you might have from time to time. They will be gratefully received.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mrs. Agnes D. Lawrence
1125 Crest Drive
Los Angeles 35, California
Mr. Bob Haldeman
3908 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

At the suggestion of Mrs. Lucette Spangler, I am enclosing a letter to Mr. Nixon to you.

We are greatly disturbed by the mounting criticism of him. It is not too late for him to rectify matters, but he will certainly need to change his tactics.

If ever there were a "Red Herring", the John Birch Society is it. Few people know anything about the platform of the C.D.C., the A.D.A., or the terrifying Liberal Papers.

One of the consultants for the Liberal Papers, Marcus Baskin, has turned up at Geneva as an advisor to the United States disarmament delegation.

Since the John Birch Society is national, there surely could be no legitimate criticism of either A.D.A., or the Liberal Papers.

We must win.

Sincerely,

Agnes D. Lawrence
April 9, 1962

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Ober:

I very much appreciate your taking the time to write as you did on April 4th regarding Mr. Nixon's campaign for Governor.

Your suggestion that Mr. Nixon take greater advantage of his appeal to the women voters is certainly a sound one and I can assure you that he will very strongly present issues of specific interest and concern to them, and will seek their support on this basis, rather than through pleas for their assistance.

Mr. Nixon has taken Governor Brown to task over a number of ill-timed ideas he has presented, such as the abolition of capital punishment. He did not jump on the rather peculiar Brown plan for abolition of boxing for specific and obvious reasons, although this may become an issue later in the campaign.

Mr. Nixon was using the term "carpetbaggers" as a way of dramatizing the steady stream of Washingtonians coming in to prop up the Governor long before it became so widely publicized on the day the President happened to be in the state. We will certainly give consideration to your thought of using subtler terms. However, I am sure you recognize that strong, vigorous attacks must be made at the proper time and place.

Thank you again for your thoughtfulness in writing. I am sure that with your help and that of the thousands of others who are so vitally interested in this campaign, we will have an outstanding victory in November.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Ober
11167 Fawnrose Street, #24
Sun Valley, California
Mr. H. R. Haldeman, Campaign Manager
Nixon for Governor
3908 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

We are writing to you regarding Mr. Nixon's campaign for Governor, which we fully support. We would like to make the following points concerning the conduct of the campaign:

(1) We have not yet seen Mr. Nixon take advantage of his appeal (obviously greater than that of Governor Brown) to the women voters of California. Women will vote for him if he addresses himself to them, using his natural appeal and forcefulness in such a way that they feel "good" because they support him. Women will vote for him if he presents issues of specific interest and concern to them, and if he presents himself as an appealing figure to them, so that they are encouraged to support him without weak-kneed pleas from him for their assistance.

(2) We have not yet seen Mr. Nixon take Governor Brown to task over each and every stupid, ill-timed idea he presents; i.e., (an old idea) the abolition of capital punishment during the Chessman case when public sentiment was strongly against Chessman, or (a new idea) the abolition of boxing in California when our public either likes or tolerates this sport, and when Mr. Parett was dying in New York of injuries from the Parett-Griffith fight, while Governor Brown was making a play for publicity, capitalizing upon this poor man's misfortune.

(3) We hope that Mr. Nixon will not again be "caught" using the term "carpetbaggers" against the opposition in Washington. This is emphatically in order, but attacks must be made with more subtlety. For example, ideas may be "crackpot", but subtler terms such as "unwarranted", "bids for publicity", or "ideas contrary to the welfare of the people" are less apt to be ruthlessly attacked and capitalized upon by members of the opposition.

With our best wishes to you and our hopes for Mr. Nixon's complete success, we are

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Ober
March 16, 1963

Mrs. Vera E. Storer
1138 North Commonwealth
Los Angeles 29, California

Dear Mrs. Storer:

Thank you for your letter of March 11th.

I was interested in your report of the radio program on KABC and you were thoughtful to take the time to write us.

Your letter is being passed along to our staff members who are particularly interested in this type of activity. They will appreciate, as I do, your kindness in writing us.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

bc - Carol Arth / with orig. letter
x - Camp. Corres. - misc. /
  x - chron.
  x - S
March 1, 1962

Mr. Ray G. Fortner
Ray G. Fortner Co.
2519 E. Las Tunas Drive
Temple City, California

Dear Mr. Fortner:

Thank you for your letter of February 27th. I am sorry to have missed your call the other day.

We are always glad to have comments passed along in the spirit of helpfulness. Your observations and suggestions are interesting and we appreciate your writing us.

Many thanks for your fine help, and best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

x - F
x - Chron.
Dear Mr. Haldeman;

I called your office and you happened to be out, so I talked to Mr. Turner, and I thought I would pursue my telephone conversation just a little farther. I referred Mr. Turner to an article in the Los Angeles Times of February 27. Half of the article, I feel, hit the nail right on the head, but the other half took a slap at Mr. Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society. Mr. Haldeman, as far as I am concerned, I play the game to win, and I feel that unless Mr. Nixon stops being so high and mighty he is going to lose this election—and this one we need real badly. I know that Mr. Nixon's point is to dissociate himself with the John Birch Society, but anyone with a grain of sense should know that they are not going to get off his back one minute with the John Birch Society. During the Presidential campaign he continually tried to dissociate himself with Catholics, and the Kennedy crowd saw to it that that never happened. I feel that if an important decision would arise then he could comment on the John Birch Society, because there are a lot of dedicated people at this point who are sick and tired of what has been going on and they are perhaps grabbing at straws. They adopt the attitude, "Love me, love my dog". You never hear Governor Brown or Attorney General Mosk take a slap at the American Democratic Association or the radical left wing. I am not saying that they are tied in with this group, but what I am saying is that they are not going to make these radical left wingers mad enough not to get their votes.

I will continue to do my little part in Temple City to try and upgrade the people who will be representing us.

Yours very truly,

Ray G. Fortner

RGF/mb

P.S. I am enclosing the article to which I referred.
Nixon Says Taxes Keep New Businesses Away
He Claims California Cannot Match Other States' Rates, Calls Brown Complacent

SAN MATEO (UPI) — Richard M. Nixon, campaigning for the Republican nomination for governor, said Monday that high taxes are discouraging new business from coming to California.

"We need to provide 250,000 new jobs each year just to keep pace with our population growth," he said in a speech to the Peninsula Manufacturers Assn. meeting at the San Mateo County Fairgrounds.

This Tax Burden

The former vice president charged that Democratic incumbents in the state, "too concerned" about tax burdens.

SACRAMENTO (AP) — Sacramento officials have failed to realize that a government which continually raises the cost of doing business in the state will soon be faced with industrial stagnation and withering revenues," he said.

He said "California tax bills run about 25 to 30% higher than most Midwestern and Eastern states. We cannot begin to match the tax advantages to be found in the Southwest."

During the past 18 years, he said, California tax collections have increased 444%.

Quotes President

Nixon noted that several large defense contracts recently have been assigned to plants outside of California.

This suggests, he said, that "There may be a political pattern of shifting defense work from California."

Nixon told newsmen that President Kennedy stated in a recent news conference that he would be "inclined" to favor a policy of awarding defense contracts in depressed areas.

Slaves the Birchers

If contracts are awarded on any other than high performance, Nixon said, the nation will get "poor defense for more money" and assignment of work would be based on "pure politics."

Earlier, the former Vice President told more than 1,000 students at San Francisco State College that the head of the John Birch Society is doing a disservice to the cause of anti-Communism.

Nixon said that he was not "Johnny-come-lately" to the fight against Communism.

He said he was fighting Communism in the Alger Hiss case in 1948 "when many of the present experts were making candy." The head of the John Birch Society is Robert H. Welch, Massachusetts candy manufacturer.

Referring to an attack by Welch on former President Eisenhower, Nixon said "Welch couldn't have done a greater disservice to the cause of anti-Communism." Welch has accused Gen. Eisenhower and others of being conniving, dedicated agents of the Communist conspiracy.

Seizure Questioned

He also told the students, a state legislative committee should look into the state's seizure of private anti-Communist files from the San Diego National Guard Armory.

Nixon said the files should be "returned to those who gave them." The seizure was "lawful."

In any case, the "information in the files should be used and revealed only by experts" and in a manner which would not "infringe on the rights of an individual."
C R  

see "H"
letter from Gerald J. Halpern
2 NRD reply 1/26
referring to Hugh Harney
Bob Haldeman

Letter from Mrs. Alice Wyckoff

As soon as we have someone in Santa Barbara, they should contact this Mrs. Wyckoff (letter attached). She has some rather interesting ideas that possibly should be considered.

 x - Kalmbach
 x - W
 x - Chron.
February 8, 1962

Mr. M. R. Hartman
1231 W. Sixth
Fomona, California

Dear Mr. Hartman:

Your letter of January 30th was brought to my attention. This is to acknowledge and thank you for your interest in the campaign and for the thoughts you have expressed.

Please don't hesitate to pass along any expressions of opinion or ideas you feel would be of interest and help. We appreciate your writing us.

Kind regards,

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman
Nixon Campaign Hq.
3908 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Gentlemen

The best is yet to be if we can hold on to the thought, "In God We Trust."

Let's form a new [3rd] party from the Republicans for Nixon plus the Democrats for Nixon. It would be a strong party of those who admire and respect his "Be yourself" policy.

Sincerely,
M. R. Hartman
February 8, 1962

Mr. A. F. Peters
50 Chumasero, Park Merced
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Peters:

Our San Francisco office has told me of your visit there and has forwarded the letter regarding the Berlin situation which you received from one of your friends.

You were very thoughtful indeed to acquaint us with his views and report. The letter is exceedingly interesting and will certainly be passed along to others who will find it equally valuable reading.

Please don't hesitate to write us any thoughts you might have in connection with our effort and program which you feel will be helpful. We are always glad to receive them.

Thank you again, and kind regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

cc: Ruth Watson

File: Campaign Approaches - Misc. Corres.
   x - Northern Calif - Ruth Watson
   x - P
   x - Chron.
MEMO TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: Ruth Watson

The attached correspondence was brought into our office by Mr. A. F. Peters, 50 Chumasero, Park Merced, San Francisco, California.

Mr. Peters was a prisoner in the Philippines during World War II and states he is a friend of President Eisenhower and is active in Radio Free Europe.

He felt that the attached information, which was sent to him by a friend with whom he corresponds, would be of value to Mr. Nixon.

Best regards.

/hg
Dear friends in the States,

during many years we have been connected in a common thinking and striving for a better world, in which freedom should be spread, individual liberty be the aim. In the difficult political situation of today I feel I owe you a word about our opinion concerning the last events around Berlin. It would mean no real friendship to share only encouraging facts, see only our tough and faithful spade-work prosperous, feel a good soil for mutual understanding basically prepared. If we hope to be successful on a large scale we have to exchange our ideas honestly and openly, even if we provoke opposition or - worse - hurt feelings. The main thing should be to be informed about each other and believe in the partner's honesty and good will.

More than two months have passed by since the disastrous night of August 13. The retardation in speaking about it may tell you how hard it is for us. This night when the three occupation powers of Berlin allowed the illegal Ulbricht regime to close the last way to freedom for millions of people, to lock them up indefinitely behind their prison walls and deliver them to a mere tyranny, this Sunday marks for us a turning point in world history.

This crime happened without the least attempt to meet it, not even in a kind of friendly warning way: tanks and soldiers of the three allies could have immediately assembled on the freedom border in face of the Vopos - illegally stationed in East Berlin - and simply taken away the barbed wire fence or walls; nothing else, without a shot, and there would not have been a war about it! Now the passage for communism towards the West is open; it will go on step by step, and no step in itself will be critical enough to "take the risks", as the risk has not been taken in this very case. - Please do read what David Lawrence said in his "U.S. News and World Report" in many excellent articles this summer i. e. "The big prison" (Aug. 28) and "Berlin is not the basic issue". Nobody could express the situation better!
You will reply perhaps - full of horror - that it would be a real sin to risk the existence of the globe eventually because of Berlin! - May I answer: By our experiences with dictators we know that every yielding makes their appetite grow and finally leads to war, whereas every firm stand makes them take their foot back. Do think of Hitler going into Czecho-slovakia and Austria without finding resistance, do think in the contrary of the magnificent effect of the Berlin airlift 1949. And now and here in the night of August 13 they would have yielded and gone back and not have exposed themselves before all the world as war mongers. It was done by Ulbricht's Vopos and not by Russian soldiers, in fact something would go wrong, Ulbricht could be blamed!

You must know that our mental depression is without limits. We feel hopeless and full of frustrating fury and deep mourn when we think of our families and friends on the other side.

There was a word said that: pr-e.c t t ca.Lfy Ulbricht took what he had already. What an error and completely false judgement about the situation!

Until August 13 there has been - thought with risk of life and property and loss of family and friends - the always last desperate possibility of the flight into freedom. In all oppression and torture - think of the conscience torments of youngsters, teachers, ministers, to speak only of some groups - there has been the saving hopeful light of Berlin's beacon. The poor discouraged soul could eventually for a day go over to West Berlin, write an important letter to children, have a phone call to friends, in very lucky cases even meet a child (how often could we finance flights to Berlin from here for the children?). Or they read a newspaper only and could go home with fresh courage to withstand the daily threat again. You know how the prisons are filled with the victims who failed to save themselves, and know that three million people went the hard way over, "voted with their feet", alone or with their families, with part of them leaving home and everything. It sounds so simple and means million times tragedy, for them and the dear ones they left exposed to the rage of the rulers.
Not to speak of the last desperate attempts of flight - that is over, Berlin has lost her supranational meaning as the only spot in the world that has day for day been withstanding communism in a Constant and Bravely challenge, an encouraging and imaginative example for the free world.

This is one thing that changed basically, and the consequence emerged on the spot: nor more observed by the free world the Zone rulers ruthlessly started to tyrannize everybody, also the few privileged groups that they had flattered to hold them, scientists, medical men, technicians. The whole Zone is an army theater now, and we lost a strategically enormous important point. "Berlin" as a whole is lost, but West Berlin of course will survive, and the airways will remain safe as long as there will be a firm will to secure them. General Clay will be the garant.

But as David Lawrence says: "Berlin is not the basic issue" for them, the aims are much higher and foreseeing.

To make the situation clear I must go back for some general remarks. This torn and strange character what is the remainder of the old Germany developed from a 7 divided country (today 4), the four occupation Zones, American, British, French, Russian, the city of Berlin herself (as a whole again separated from the zones and divided into four zones), and the country behind the Oder-Neisse-line, given under Polish administration, part in the North even under Sovietian one.

Nevertheless the Potsdam treaty wanted Germany to be considered as an economic unit, including also transportation and traffic, so that the Berlin connections were no doubtful problem, technical modalities being agreed about. They even worked during the blockade and were confirmed afterwards. There should be no reason to make them a special point for negotiations!

Very soon it showed that Russia's politics of ruthless reparations and the separation from the zones among each others had devastating consequences. In Oct. 1946 Secretary of State Byrnes in his commemoable speech in Stuttgart formed the turning point and made the chaos understood. On the conferences in Moscow and London the secretaries of State submitted their
fault of this Germany divided representing an immense danger
for peace, and felt the obligation to change it. The United
States offering the grand Marshal plan help to all the four
zones and the satellites gave her hand for a basic recovery.
The Soviet Union denied the receipt for her zone and the
satellites. Need and hunger use to promote inclination towards
communism and therefore a strict economic separation was
assured by fixing the iron curtain from North to South on the
Zone border, barbed wire, nobody's land. Now they tried to
include East Berlin into their game, maintaining it to be on
the soil of the Zone, which definitely was not true and
against the Berlin status. Free traffic within Berlin had been
agreed and to a certain degree had always been flowing. The
Berlin status included Berlin as a unit; the silent acknowledg-
ment of separated East and West Berlin was a comfortable
reaction that brought a horrible revenge with the complete
loss of this vitally necessary part of the city. Seen from the
West, "East Berlin" was "our" Berlin as well as West Berlin,
they had illegally been separated. We should never forget to
surround the city at least in our imagination, with our thoughts
as a whole. The terror wall is a communist document that speaks
for itself. "Stones will speak".

"Berlin is not the basic issue", if we follow David Lawrence.
What then is the basic issue? Is it the acknowledgment of the
Soviet Zone as a State? That seems to go deeper. For years
Ulbricht has been demanding his "DDR" granted, a so-called
German Democratic Republic with East Berlin as its capital.

Why now are the Germans so reluctant to agree - practically to
an existing situation? Couldn't that smooth the differences,
couldn't that at least be one point for negotiations? Very few
people outside of our borders seem to understand why this is
absolutely impossible, even high politicians travel with this
topic.

Now I am giving the judgment of one of the most prominent
state-and nation-jurists, Professor Dr. Dr. Kaufmann: A state
presupposes a population that identifies itself with this state.
The state may even be dependant on another nation, i. e.
Bulgaria, Rumania, all the "national" satellites. In the Zone
there is no Deutsches Volk which identifies itself with the "DDR" state, they at least with 90% are bitterly opposing and hate it wholeheartedly.

It is a separatistic regime imposed from the outside on a population which does not want separatism. It is no free elected government like in West Germany, it is at all no "government", it is merely a ruling apparatus, a despotic system.

Of course there is this reality of this system existing, without question, but there is no reality of a "state" – this should be said to all these "realistic" people who want the "de facto" acknowledgment.

As we, the West German part, never have been united with this so called state, that despotic system cannot tend for the separation from West Germany, but very definitely from the basic idea of one German nation. Western Germany never has claimed to be the "de jure" successor of the German Reich, it is only a substitute, a representative until there will be a free nation again. (West Germany, however, acknowledges all obligations of the Deutsches Reich, former debts, social help for war dependants and so on). The "Ulbricht state" denies itself to be a successor of Germany, it claims to be an absolutely new state because of the completely different social-economic structure. But there is no particular people for such a particular state. Legal acknowledgment of such a state would mean "crimen laesae majestatis populi", as the expert says. ("Crime of vulnerating people's majesty").

I hope I expressed clear enough what the law basis is. Besides that no German citizen whoever can acknowledge this tyranny as a state form for his sisters and brothers. Imagine the curtain would cut through from Ohio to Texas, would anyone of you give up your folks on the other side? Wouldn't you always try to give them mental support as the only thing you can do? Wouldn't you feel as a traitor if you let them fall victim to the poorest slavery, drive them to utmost despair without your protest against their lawless life? Jefferson gave you this word: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every kind of tyranny upon the mind of man" — and none of you would!
After the law basis and the personal question there is one more point to exclude the idea for every Western ally: In the treaty of Paris Oct. 1954 among other points as i.e. wider and good guarantees for Berlin (not only "freedom for the West Berliners") there we find very precise paragraphs that West Germany resigns on every kind of aggression and power. The Western allies on their side take the obligation instead of that to make the sake of Germany reunited to their own and promise solemnly to strive for this aim by every possible diplomatic means. They make sure not to acknowledge the divided Germany and look at the Bundesrepublik as the only legal German government. This was the mutual obligation for the Bundesrepublik to enter NATO at a time when Stalin had offered a united Germany in neutrality and isolation. There indeed had been inner doubts and struggles whether it was right to expose our Eastern population longer, for an uncertain time, to that cruel system, but hope to win freedom for all of us had overweight, we accepted. The decision fell in favor of NATO - and our poor Easterners understood and suffered in full confidence in the promised common way with our allies to be guided to liberty.

Officially, the desire for us to recognize the communist state has not been expressed. There are journalists, however, with good names like Lippmann, Reston, Sulzberger, Baldwin, there are Senators joining them who worry us, Mr. Fulbright, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Humphrey. They are on an equal line and General Clay made a tragic remark in Berlin. We are awfully alarmed, for these gentlemen are not "someones"! Each of them carries a great weight.

It would mean break out the heartpiece of the NATO treaty. I doubt whether we then would be able to stay in the NATO, for what? And what would NATO be without Germany! Would you assume a German government could for a second time (first 1952) take the responsibility and once more dony leaning towards Russia? I will not spin this idea further, but you will feel the logic consequences.

One word also to the fatal Oder-Neisse-line, a new border from 1945 too that separates an area formerly inhabited by 9 million people, of which a country cultivated and highly developed
from about the year 1200. Russia had taken part of Eastern Poland and sought an area for some million people. The decision about this country - so it had been agreed - should be made in a whole German peace treaty. Why not leave it up to Germany to then find a solution with Poland? Why do people travel about and in communist Poland offer land that is not theirs, worsen the situation, why anticipate a fact against the interest of their own ally?

This seems to be the answer for me, what is the basic issue: it is the intention to split the friendship up between your and our country, - this is Chruschtschow's main and badic issue. Germany carries Europe and will carry the common market, in friendship with your country an undefeatable economic factor, Chruschtschow's nightmare! Every means to start trouble is right to him. He started with the provoking antisemitic actions - oh, how delightfully was this swastica-fashion enjoyed on 5th Ave, Shirer, the bestseller, "Mein Kampf" in ears and eyes, "Schizophrenic Germany" and lots of books like this one, a good business, and West Germany of today was condemned. All of us hate the Nazileaders and are deeply concerned about their unbelievable cruelties and crimes. They did it in the name of all of us, and we shall always carry this load with us, every single person.

But the Germany of today? A nation that has enormously worked to absorb and help 13 million refugees settle in 15 years in a small area, that showed an astonishing economic progress, "they were loyal, reserved, tactful, patient (despite the vain hope of reunion), they fulfilled all obligations" (Sebastian Haffner a British journalist). They had to rearm against their own wish and resistance.

The elections are over. Every honest observer knows that there is no Neonazism, there is no communism of any degree worth mentioning. The two parties "Deutsche Reichspartei" and "Deutsche Friedensunion" had not been forbidden for the election, they vigorously campaigned. By this fact it is fortunately quite obvious that they have no friends in our country, not a single candidate of either one passed the elections!
Our youth has perhaps too little of a national feeling, many are firstly Europeans. - We constantly are repaying our debts going back i. e. to the Young and Daves plan loans 1918, interrupted by the Third Reich. - The current help to Israel is a debt of honor, their state is standing on those until now 28 billion D-marks.

A bit reluctantly, but nevertheless the unique experiment was dared to help your currency by evaluating the D-mark, a risk for our market, unfortunately belittled by your press. -- Help for the underdeveloped countries was no familiar idea to our people who have not had any connection to the tropics after the loss of our colonies and the isolation since World War I. They were just happy to have solved their own problems with this flood of refugees, a chaos of country. You will understand that our people had to be prepared for this idea. Meanwhile much money has been given, many technicians work in the Far East and Africa, every newspaper discusses foreign aid, absolutely opposite to Senator Fulbright's statement in "Foreign Politics" that we did not want to participate. There is no point in which this Deutsche Bundesrepublik of today is not wholly following the expected line, honest in her friendship, conscientious in all points of obligations. We want so much this should be recognized, not rewarded, we want no love, but would like to be estimated as a true partner.

We have been feeling a shift in your attitude with real grief. Berlin was a shock never to overcome, - and instead of holding and protecting what this humiliated friend still has, your voices try to recommend us to sacrifice ourselves to buy a phantom of peace at the usurpator's. Our people are awfully distressed, mainly also this unpolitical man on the street, he is about to lose his confidence in your faith, he absolutely does not understand you and fears he could be sold.

And what shall we tell them, we who have known you over all the years and trust you and yet see this fatal development with such a deep concern. We realize that this decreasing confidence in your government is creeping all over the world. As a matter of fact all nations are attentively observing your attitude in the Berlin question, from Japan all over to Latin America.
The world is wondering whether your nation is standing to the
given word, whether you maintain the claim for Germany's self
determination, whether you really are the guarant for freedom
as the best people of all nations have believed you to be.
If you allow confidence to be undermined this would mean daring
the most dangerous kind of politics possible. Our Western world
is only based on this feeling; the communist seismograph
notices every little movement as its success and enforces it.
The West is vulnerable without Europe, it is undefeatable with
a functioning one, that means a sound Germany. Our mutual
interests are so firmly interlaced; if you neglect us, give us
up, your country will sacrifice herself also.

In this very moment we have perhaps the last opportunity to
shift the political gear: Chruschtschow gave us a breathing
spell. It would be the instant to revise the direction of
politics and steer towards a whole German peace treaty. There
would be a way of common negotiations with all nations who were
our former war enemies. It would be a very difficult, thorny
process which would take much patience and diplomacy, but it
would finally be a positive one again in the direction of a
German reunion.

We are fully appreciating the sublime intelligence and classic
speches of your Mr. President whom we estimate very respect-
fully, the high academic degrees of his councilors and the
vast experience and devoted hard work of the State Department,
the overhuman responsibility on their shoulders. And yet:
what is necessary to solve the disastrous situation is nothing
but the simple judgment between right and wrong, between faith
and insecurity, with an honest mind. This should be the red
thread in all the very complicated considerations and
decisions. Following one's conscience never was a fault. Let
us pray that God might help!

This should be a look into our corross, very comprimend and
reduced to a few great lines. I want very much to thank each
of you for the friendship, the inspiration we have got, for
your interest and sympathy, for all this wonderful American
"good will", an outstanding characteristic of your nation.
Please do help altogether to spread the truth to American public opinion, help to direct the stream on which our ship is floating, do help the protecting outpost in favor of your country.

Sincerely
February 8, 1962

Miss Mary R. Marsh
7026 Geyser Avenue
Reseda, California

Dear Miss Marsh:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 26th. It has been read with interest.

The direct approach, which you have paralleled so well in setting forth your ideas, is one with which I am in complete agreement.

We appreciate receiving letters such as yours. Thank you for writing us, and please don't hesitate to pass along any thoughts you might have which you feel would be of value and interest to us.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

File: Misc.
X - Chron.
X - Campaign Approaches - Misc. Corres.
7056 Gypsum Cir.
Peachland, Calif.
Jan 5, 1976

Dear Mr. Finkelstein,

I would like to start something. I do hope that you and Mr. Nixon will hold me.

To introduce myself—I am, and have been, a citizen of California since 1886.

Being in your v. the recent reorganization. I have seen many political campaigns.

If you could (perhaps earlier), they have slid down the stairs off the position of James P. Barrett. Tommy, vote for Three, with a
companion I like vintage, once in a train, asking them respective
infortunes. I &

find the companions, my father was once at a hanging. To which Tommy
replied, "My Lily was the man that need danced."

now I find that, though I come to be long time politically
minded family, campaigns the
become confused. However,
I disagree that many of my
friends do not understand
To correct this and situation
my "big idea."

This to the age & space. I
see a self-willed land. A mind step from it and
unmade before or than earn by
people. And does not know where he is
on any thing & this new land.
The in habitant in some time
that he is in the most beautiful
67 the fifty states & the U.S.A.
Subsequently he learns that
They need a Leader.
You have no idea, nor do I, how important
that there is an experienced
Leader in mind. The Leader makes surveys
of needs, resources, new
ideas, and then makes suggestions
of improvements and offers oneself
as a guide. Then I absolutely no new
make I any suggestions, so to
mention my ideas.
He simply offers himself and
his ideas (perhaps obtained
from other leaders) and
brings the advantage of the
inhabitants.

I think a campaign with
a blank chalkboard as to
to anything but constructive
thinking would draw the eyes
and ears of all the people,
and may be the model.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Mary P. Wash.
P.S. The face from seeming to be totally dead, is only
clouds or fever, which is from agitation.

in.
Mr. Robert Haldeman
Nixon Headquarters
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

I would like to start something. I do hope that you and Mr. Nixon will help me.

To introduce myself - I am, and have been a citizen of California since 1886.

Being in yours and Mr. Nixon's mothers' bracket, I have seen many political campaigns.

Of late, and (perhaps earlier) they have slid down the stairs to the position of James M. Barries. ---- Tommy, who at 3, with a companion of like vintage, were on a stairway arguing their respective importance. Said the companion, "My father were once at a hanging," to which Tommy retorted, "My father were the man that were hanged."

Now I find that, though I come of a long-time politically minded family, campaigns are becoming boresome. Moreover, I discover that a good many of my friends do not even listen. To correct this sad situation, my "big idea"----

This is the age of space----- I see a space craft land. A man steps from it and 'round him gather nearby people. He does not know where he is or anything of this new land. The inhabitants inform him that he is in the most beautiful of the fifty states of the USA. Subsequently, he learns that they need a leader. He has no idea, nor is he informed, that there is an incumbent. With leadership in mind, he travels the state, makes surveys of needs, resources, men and means, and then makes suggestions of improvements and offers himself as a guide.

There is absolutely no mention made of any opposition, as to men or ideas. He simply offers himself and his ideas (perhaps gleaned from outer space) and awaits the decision of the inhabitants.

I think a campaign with a total blank in words as to anything but constructive thinking would draw the eyes and ears of all the people (and maybe the moon). Sincerely, (Miss) Mary R. Marsh

PS: The space man seeming to be totally deaf to any blasts or even words from opposition.

MM
April 9, 1962

Dear Leon:

Thanks so much for your note of April 4th and for the enclosures.

I was especially interested in the letter you received from our friend in Riverside. This will of course be treated confidentially.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Leon W. Parma
Administrative Assistant to
Congressman Bob Wilson
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.
Dear Bob:

Thought you would be interested in the enclosed materials. Please treat them in strictest confidence.

We thought RNs last column on Communism was timely and should be most helpful at home.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leon W. Parma
Administrative Assistant to Congressman Bob Wilson

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Campaign Manager
Nixon for Governor
3908 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles 5, California
Now comes the strange political situation of Richard M. Nixon, former Vice President of the United States and now Republican candidate for his party's nomination as governor of California.

Barely a year ago he was considered popular and capable enough to run for the Presidency. He carried more states than his opponent, John F. Kennedy, and he failed to go to the White House by just a few more than 100,000 popular votes out of nearly 69 million cast by Americans. He won his home state of California from President Kennedy.

Yet a year later he is battling to win the GOP nomination. His election, if selected in the primaries next June, is uncertain. If the election were held tomorrow and he faced Gov. Edmund G. Brown, it appears the odds would favor Brown. People who backed him heavily a year ago and in all previous elections where he has run he has never lost in California are lukewarm now in many instances, or they have left his camp.

Why the big switch in just over a year? Isn't a man presumably trained and qualified to become our Chief Executive good enough to become governor of California?
(Continued from Page 41)

Nixon's qualities and abilities to serve as governor. But Nixon has done little to rebuff such statements and in fact he has broken Brown's hands on most of the issues.

Many of the speeches and statements made by Nixon sound more like a man running for the White House than the governor's mansion in Sacramento. Nixon has said little to date about such pressing state issues as education, roads, agriculture, water, growing juvenile delinquency, increases in crime generally, gambling, sharp growth in the narcotics traffic, and California's skyrocketing budget, which is now at the three billion dollar mark. He is not talking much about vital California issues, but national and international ones.

Many Soft Spots

Brown's record has many soft spots and numerous openings if only Nixon would move in on them with facts, figures, specificities and sincerity.

I personally do not think Richard Nixon has ever even approached the heights of his GOP Presidential acceptance speech in Chicago. He spoke then more as a statesman and less as a politician. He expressed hopes, views and beliefs people were hungry to hear. He talked about some of the fisc and simple virtues which were voiced with strength and conviction by Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., following his globe-girdling rides.

I recall that after the Chicago speech I had several Jewish rabbis and Catholic priests tell me that if Nixon continued to present such views and advocate such fisc and philosophies, they would vote for him, but work for his election as well. But he did not. He voiced with the orthodox ways of the campaigning politician. He dearly won—but still he lost.

So if Nixon is to win next November and keep alive his hopes for future national political victories, he must work for his election as well. But he did not. He has much work to do and a man-sized job to accomplish. He needs to stress our moral and spiritual needs and values. He should speak more as he did to the Anaheim Rotary Club last week.

The Democrats have a three to two registration over Republicans in California, more than a million more voices in their favor to start with, a much stronger grass-roots organization than the GOP and a more cohesive party.

State is Vital

The Democrats will pour everything they have into this campaign, because the state is vital to them, and especially to President Kennedy who wants to carry the Golden State in 1964. It is expected that President Kennedy, former President Truman, Secretary of Labor Goldberg, Secretary of Health Education and Welfare Abrahim Ribicoff and other top Democrats will stump the state extensively for Brown. Every so-called minority and religious group in the state will be appealed to in a variety of subtle ways.

Strong union support coupled with large sums of money will be thrown behind Brown. The Governor will make strong appeals to all politicians, any unemployed and he will promise sweeping increases in social benefits and legislation. Almost everything Brown promises will be made in the name of "Providing for Human Needs" and "true liberalism."

Nixon to be elected must win over nearly half a million Democrats, carry a majority of the independents and somehow convince Republicans, important from time to time to win an election even if their personal choice or their pet ideas are rejected. Nixon has a great and difficult job in healing party hurts and bringing about unity.

He lacks thus far a really good organization in the field, and especially one which can lack postage stamps, ring door bells, work on a house-to-house basis and actually take votes to the polls on election day. He needs some strong and spiritual appeal to women, youth groups, farm-ers and independents. Some how he must find ways to reach workers, small business groups and so-called white collar workers.

As the situation stands today, it appears the odds are against him accomplishing this assignment. But November is still some months away and Brown may give Nixon some mighty assists along the way.

March 26, 1962
The real surprise is the Nixon situation. I enclose an editorial from last evening's Pass Observer (Banning) by Virgil Pinkley who, I am told, said the same thing a few days ago on television. Dick is getting some very bad advice somewhere. My contention is that he is so carefully "guarded" from reality by his devoted staff that he does not know what the grass roots is thinking about. As a result of the brutal handling of the "endorsement" at the Republican Assembly State meeting, he lost Dick Darling, a previous chairman of the Riverside Central Committee, who was a Nixon delegate to that meeting, and who has now taken the County chairmanship for Shell. More surprising, Helen Grub, who has consistently stayed out of the Primary races in all preceding campaigns, has now gone over to Shell as co-chairman for Riverside County, and this is a definite indication of the thinking of the women, not only in the County, but certainly on a Southern California basis, for she is an officer in the Federation. Finally, Floyd Weymouth, a sturdy Republican, who should be for Nixon, will announce tomorrow as chairman for Shell for Riverside City.

There is still time for Dick to salvage this County, and practically all of Southern California, if he will get back on the track, by which I mean stick to the subjects about which he knows something; for example, the communist conspiracy, the survival of the United States as a Constitutional Republic, and the serious problems of the State of California in the next four years. Every time he takes a crack at the "extreme right" --- which requires a blueprint for people to understand whom he is talking about --- he loses votes. It may please Eisenhower, but it does not please the voters.

So if you do come out, try to get up to see me as soon as you possibly can and I will undertake to give you a complete coverage on the District situation, and by that I do not mean a one-sided or prejudiced analysis, as my attitude in this race is simply a realistic one --- I know the County, and the District, and I want to defeat the Congressman from India.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

John Phillips

JP:ed
27 March 1962

Mr. Leon Farra
Room 114, Old House Office Bldg.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Leon:

I have refrained deliberately from sending any more long letters to Bob and to Jimmy and if you do really mean that you will be in Riverside County some time in the near future, I will make this a short letter also.

First of all, for heaven’s sake, if you and Jimmy call me again to talk about politics in this District, on which subject I promptly go into orbit, call collect, and the tenney for Congress Committee will pay for it.

It is impossible to describe the situation in this county in a letter and make you really grasp the details. In the Congressional race, Campbell is gradually slipping, although not badly, and his support comes from the group of young, or relatively young business executives in Riverside City who have been absent in all past campaigns when we needed money, or precinct work, or the customary routine requirements of a campaign, or even votes, for the man who is the chairman of Leonard’s committee voted for Haund two years ago.

This is a very complicated situation and if it had not been for Bob and Jimmy, this District would have been stuck, unknowingly, with a candidate we could not elect.

In the Kuchel campaign, Tommy will probably win but by a much narrower margin than he would like to see, and if it were not that Jarvis and Wright are splitting the vote against him, I think he could possibly lose in the Primary. If he wins in the Primary, as I think he will, he will have a very difficult time to defeat Richard Richards in the Finals, and will probably lose. Tommy is obviously bidding for the Democrat vote in the Finals, especially the Labor vote, forgetting that he must first of all be nominated in a Republican Primary, and if so nominated, then must run against a competitor whose votes and principles will be so nearly like his, that the people will see no particular reason to vote for Kuchel.