

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>
58	4	04/23/1962	Newspaper	Reds 'Bury' Nixon. About Communism and the Nixon campaign. 1 pg. Several copies.
58	4	04/12/1962	Newsletter	"The Pied Piper of Los Angeles". About different Republican people of importance. 1 pg. Several copies.
58	4	04/30/1962	Newspaper	Los Angeles Times. "Grassroots Cultivation by GOP is Under Way". James Bassett, Political Analyst. 1 pg. Several copies.
58	4	05/10/1962	Memo	To Joseph Martin, Jr, from Bob Haldeman. Re: Cummings article being mailed out. 1 pg.
58	4	05/04/1962	Memo	To Bob Haldeman from Richard Nixon. Re: Cummings' Article. 1 pg.
58	4	04/22/1962	Newspaper	The Philadelphia Inquirer. "A Chairman's Double Talk". John M. Cummings. 1 pg.

— he uncorked the old wives' tale that Nixon's Presidential campaign was "horrible" and he was putting on a repeat performance in California.

This would seem to indicate the national chairman is the victim of a peculiar mental condition described by psychologists, and saloon bouncers, as an inner conflict. In other words, he is at war with himself.

What can be done to reconcile the turbulence in the noodle of Mr. Miller is something for specialists to decide. It occasionally happens that in cases of this character, a change in the chairmanship works wonders.

It certainly must be known to Mr. Miller that Mr. Nixon's "horrible" campaign in 1960 landed him within a hair's breadth of the White House.

Whether Nixon wins or loses in California is beside the point. But it is important that a great political party have at its head a man not given to double-talk or spouting out of both sides of his mouth. Surely there must be in the Republican Party a man capable of saying what he means and meaning what he says.

**T**HERE must be something about the Republican Alliance in this town that has "regular" Republicans as well as Democrats scared witless. Both groups have instituted court proceedings to force the Alliance to disclose the source of its strength—the dollar.

It will be recalled that last fall the Republican City Committee, through its chairman, Wilbur Hamilton, and its solicitor, Billy Meehan, instituted suit requiring from the Alliance an accounting of gifts and expenditures.

Through Dr. Robert L. Johnson, chairman of the Alliance, it was contended that since the organization was not a recognized political party, it was not covered by the law invoked by the City Committee.

In time Messrs. Hamilton and Meehan came to a sort of understanding with the Alliance and the suit was withdrawn.

Now we have two Democrats appealing to District Attorney Crumlish to take action against the Alliance. To their petition has been added another by the three City Commissioners, two of 'em Democrats. Apparently what is wanted is Dr. Johnson's secret for raising money for political purposes.

**JOHN M. CUMMINGS**

## A Chairman's Double Talk

**S**OMEONE ought to remind Rep. William E. Miller that the spring of the year is an appropriate time to emerge from the chrysalis of doubt and indecision into the sunshine of positiveness and understanding. This is a phenomenon quite common to the insect world and there's no sound reason why it shouldn't apply to the chairman of the Republican National Committee.



In a recent appearance before an outfit known as the Republican Congressional Wives in Washington, Chairman Miller demonstrated his adeptness at talking out of both sides of his mouth. Out of one side came harsh criticism of former Vice President Richard Nixon for the kind of campaign he conducted as a candidate for President in 1960. Out of the other came a prediction that Mr. Nixon would win the Governorship of California in the fall election despite his use of the same tactics that marked his campaign for the Presidency.

This sort of nonsense may be all right in a professional entertainer, but in the chairman of the Republican National Committee it has the hollow sound of a doughnut dropped into a rain barrel.

Chairman Miller, in his prepared address to the wives, predicted a Nixon triumph in California, his home State, which he also carried in the Presidential election. He added that Rep. Bill Scranton, in this State, looked like a winner for Governor, and he predicted the re-election of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller in New York.

# Reds 'Bury' Nixon

By JACK LOTTO

The Communists "buried" former Vice President Richard M. Nixon this week.

At the same time, the Reds blew to life the long-dead Alger Hiss case.

They indicated they are going to push the Hiss espionage-perjury case as a campaign issue to turn a Nixon slip into a fatal political plunge.

And, the Communists jubilantly trumpeted that they expect Nixon to be killed politically in his campaign for the governorship of California.

The official Communist Party mouthpiece, "The Worker," told the comrades confidently:

"It is not unlikely that we can safely forget about Nixon after next November."

Nixon has been an arch-enemy of the Reds for nearly 15 years, since, as a freshman member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he spark-plugged the investigation of Hiss.

The former State Department official was convicted of perjury in 1950, and given a five year prison term for denying he gave secret Government documents to a Red spy ring.

Nixon, inadvertently, provided the ammunition for the new all-out attack in his just-published book, "My Six Crises." He erred when he said the FBI found the typewriter which helped convict Hiss.

The mistake was jumped on by Hiss as supporting his contention of a "frame-up."

During Hiss's two trials, the FBI swore it never had possession of the machine. The defense found the old, battered typewriter and introduced it into evidence.

The Government then proved the incriminating documents were typed on it. Later, the defense claimed the typewriter was a Government "plant."

Allegations of "fraud by typewriter" were rejected by all the courts, up to the U. S. Supreme Court, in appeals for a new trial.

Said "The Worker":

"Richard Nixon made the mistake of putting his lies in a book. His lies about Alger

To help its readers keep on guard against propaganda, The Examiner brings you an authoritative weekly roundup of pro-Communist activities.

Hiss, the Cuban invasion . . . are down in black and white where opponents can pick them apart. And it may drive the final nails in the coffin in his political career.

"We'll begin with the lies about Hiss, which will haunt Nixon through the months of his gubernatorial campaign. . . . Nixon lied about the most important evidence in the (Hiss) case. . . . An innocent man was convicted. Nixon's lie cannot be brushed off as a mere 'researcher's mistake.'"

In view of the Communist statements and claims, this formal announcement by U. S. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy should be kept in mind:

"The claims made by Mr. Hiss and on his behalf regarding factual matters in

connection with his conviction cannot be substantiated. All the pertinent files and

records in the case have been reviewed carefully. This re-

view confirmed that the FBI never had possession of the disputed typewriter."  
(Copyright '62, Newsfeatures, Inc.)  
(Distributed by King Features Synd.)

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

April 23, 1962



*From the Editor's Chair...*

## The Pied Piper of Los Angeles

If one of the Republican Gubernatorial candidates Joseph C. Shell represents responsible conservatism, then the late Joe McCarthy was a wild-eyed pink liberal.

Joe Shell, as he prefers to bill himself in his political advertising, which is the "good old" right-down-to-the-people approach, is a Los Angeles businessman and a member of the State Assembly.

As a member of the latter, and as a conservative (so he says), Mr. Shell should know that there is a point past which one simply doesn't traverse when conducting a campaign against a rival within his own party.

It is poor policy to attempt to weaken your own party's overall strength and image. A good conservative recognizes the importance of a strong two-party system.

A good conservative does not place advertisements in newspapers asking Democrats to re-register as Republicans and vote for him in the

June 5 primary election so that he can whip a fellow Republican, Richard Nixon, as Mr. Shell did this week.

Once a Democrat has re-registered as a Republican for the specific purpose of voting for Mr. Shell and helping to defeat Mr. Nixon in the primary, then, according to Mr. Shell's reasoning, this flip-flop Democrat can then either repudiate Mr. Shell, if he wins, in the general election, and vote for Edmund Brown, or he can vote for Mr. Shell.

By then, the courageous Mr. Shell, who openly woos the GOP far right and other assorted shades of conservatism, will have convinced these Democrats that he is their only choice for governor. At least, that's the import of Mr. Shell's sales pitch.

Poppycock and horse feathers! My dear friends, if you choose to follow the off-key tootlings of this Pied Piper of Los Angeles, then you deserve to be trapped inside the mountain.

R. D. B.

April 12, 1962

SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 1961

# Grassroots Cultivation by GOP Is Under Way

BY JAMES BASSETT  
Times Political Analyst

An unofficial Republican "grassroots" movement which could exert heavy influence in next year's gubernatorial race — especially if Richard Nixon becomes the GOP candidate — got quietly under way here last week.

It is aimed at organizing into compact and workable clubs thousands of California Republicans currently unaffiliated with any regular party unit.

And its guiding lights include a number of GOP figures who have long been closely associated with the former Vice President himself.

They have rented a small office at 160 S Robertson Blvd., staffed it with a secretary, pinned area maps to the wall, prepared basic "literature" for their cause, and now are open for business.

Which, explains Atty. Richard St. John, a Southland field representative in the Nixon campaign last year, means they are ready to advise interested groups in the art of establishing a local GOP club — i.e., with sample by-laws, publicity materials, and such like guides.

"For want of a title," St. John adds, "I'm 'chairman'."

And: "For want of a name, we're presently calling our operation 'Republican Clubs'."

Others affiliated with St. John in this modestly-based, yet potentially significant, activity are Atty. Charles Bakaly (another former Nixon worker); Murray Chotiner (Nixon's campaign manager in '50 and '52) who appears as a counsellor to the youthful organizers; Robert Halde- man (a topranking Nixon

aide in '62) also in the counsellor-role; and a half-dozen equally energetic GOP members, mostly in their thirties.

Although this "Republican Club" enterprise is quite detached from the official party's apron-strings, State Chairman John Krehbiel has conferred frequently with its sponsors.

And Nixon himself told the founders: "Go to it!"

St. John, son of writer Adela Rogers St. John (who is a loyal Nixon supporter), first worked for the ex-Vice President in his 1950 senatorial contest.

He explains that Nixon's adjuration to the GOP at Sacramento last March to start "a massive infusion of new blood into the party" triggered the "Republican Club" project.

But he adds that the clubs aren't a "front" for Nixon's expected challenge to Democratic Gov. Brown, although their leadership is "Nixon-oriented."

What do they propose?

By July, St. John says, they aim to have set up 100 clubs, mainly in Southern California, with 50-100 members each. In the near future he will huddle with like-minded young Republicans in San Francisco, with an eye to extending the movement statewide.

He frankly acknowledges that the thriving California Democratic Council's club program inspired his group to try something similar. That is, find a method to corral these party enthusiasts who want an active role in grassroots politics, but who don't know where to go.

One indicator that this fledgling organization may be slightly more than merely "Nixon-oriented" is the fact that it has access to a file of former Nixon workers' names — almost 30,000 of them — scrupulously maintained over the years by Nixon's aides.

St. John points out that the new-founded clubs won't conflict with the existing "big three": Republican Assembly, Federated Republican Women, Young Republicans.

Under a program sparked by County GOP Chairman Jud Leetham, this trio of "senior" groups is being welded into a more coordinated force for the '62 campaign.

Conceivably, a successful "Republican Clubs" plan might turn the "big three" into a "big four."

At first individual clubs will function as independent units. But St. John leaves no doubt that they will ultimately come under more centralized control before the state-wide races get underway, through a system of area directors reporting back to the high command.

By that time, of course, the "high command" would be whoever tackles Pat Brown for governor — AND St. John's personal odds-on guess is that Dick Nixon's the man.

By then, too, the clubs would have been incorporated, as they must the moment they start raising campaign funds.



Bassett

Meanwhile, they'll start looking for attractive candidates at the local level and prepare to elect them.

The biggest item of interest about this burgeoning movement — from the professional politicians' viewpoint — seems to be what role Murray Chotiner may play either in the clubs or in a Nixon campaign itself.

St. John stoutly insists that the shrewd Beverly Hills lawyer and longtime Nixon adviser is a "consultant," whose advice is generally accepted, rather than an active participant. But others believe just as stoutly that Chotiner may step directly into the '62 campaign at the strategic moment.

Such a step would be made easier if he has materially assisted in creating a vast, available manpower reservoir out of what's now mainly an ambitious political dream.

We've suggested for months that the GOP must somehow match the energy of the Democrats' CDC. This just might be the answer.

## REPUBLICAN CLUBS

RICHARD ST. JOHNS - CHARLES BAKALY, JR.

Co-chairmen

Suite 216, 160 South Robertson Boulevard

Beverly Hills, California

OLeander 5-5950

Joseph Martin, Jr.

5-10-62

Bob Haldeman

Cummings' article

RN suggests that the attached Cummings article should be sent to all editors in the state. He also feels it should be sent from other than RN headquarters. Is this something you would be in a position to do as National Committeeman?

File: ✓  
x - ✓ RN - memo file  
x - ✓ Newspapers - Editorials - Reactions  
x - Cummings (C)  
x - date

**N i x o n   f o r   G o v e r n o r**

To: **Bob Haldeman**  
From: **RN**  
Subject: **Cummings' Article**  
Distribution:

Date: **May 4, 1962**

I think the attached Cummings' article should be sent to all editors in the state. Have it sent from other than Nixon Headquarters. This would be good to get around the state.

**Attachment**

file

# Los Angeles Times

LIBERTY UNDER THE LAW

EQUAL RIGHTS

TRUE INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

Copyright © 1962 The Times-Mirror Company

PART ONE

CC

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1962

KTTV (Channel 11)

## Shell May Not Be Turtle in Race

BY JAMES BASSETT, Times Political Analyst

Political handicappers, always fascinated by longshots, are taking a sharp new look at Assemblyman Joe Shell's bid for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

He's still lagging far behind ex-Vice President Nixon in the statewide public opinion pari mutuels. But some experts close to the feedbox have begun to wonder whether there mightn't be a sleeper in this race.

Quite naturally, Shell continues to rate his own chances very highly. He speaks with calm optimism about his brightening prospects during the last weeks of this curious Republican contest which finds Nixon steadfastly refusing to acknowledge the threat posed by his lesser-known opponent.

★

What intrigues the political dopsters, however, is the gradual revelation of the long-range strategy employed by Shell and his followers.

It goes like this:

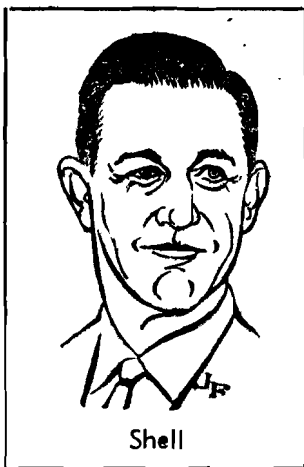
Shell counts on a light turnout in the June 5 primary. Maybe less than 60% of the 2.7 million potential Republican vote. Thus, whichever candidate garners a fraction over 30% of the GOP "base" — or a bare majority of the meager outpouring — captures the nomination.

It wouldn't matter whether the loser had led all the way in the opinion polls. He'd still be the loser.

For, as Nixon himself

says, the only survey which counts is the one that's conducted in the ballot booth.

Nixon's currently estimated 67% of the GOP electorate still must be translated into actual votes. He knows this. So does Shell.



Shell

And Shell is banking on (a) his own team's vaunted eagerness plus (b) alleged apathy in the Nixon camp.

He claims to have 30,000 precinct workers in 100 headquarters throughout the state, all of them ringing doorbells, telephoning, and compiling rosters of Shell-minded Republicans.

When a Shellman encounters a Nixon supporter, he utters a polite "thank you," and departs without making any effort to convert him to the cause. Shell staffers reason that "it's best not to stir up the animals," because an aroused Nixonite would be more apt to vote than a complacent one.

Obviously, Nixon's generals are also busy setting up their field forces. They pooh-pooh the enemy's taunts that their troops are leaning on their weapons. And they claim an equally massive grassroots organization geared to flush out the vote.

Nevertheless Shell aides stubbornly contend that their people are "more dedicated" than Nixon's.

This, they aver, will pay off handsomely next month, and make the lopsided opinion polls look silly. They report that a telephone survey conducted for Shell — reaching 50,000 Californians — listed 50% of the GOP as "undecided," while their man's stock is on the rise.

Shell himself has pegged May 10 as the date when he'll pass Nixon in this rather informal sounding.

★

Moreover, Shellmen are laboring hardest in those areas which have been tabbed as the former Assembly leader's "best" territory. Their theory, again, is founded on a heavy Shell vote during a light primary.

One ballot for Shell in conservative Orange County, they reason, beats the dickens out of two unfulfilled promises for Nixon in more liberal San Francisco.

Nixon's bold assault on the arch-conservative John Birch Society and its founder, Robert Welch, has also played into Shell's hands. It has tended to

stiffen the already disgruntled far right wing, and turn it into a vocal missionary platoon for Shell.

With such vehement support, Shell's grassroots operation would appear to be fairly successful, at least when measured in decibels. Numerically, it's far more difficult to assess, since both Nixon and Shell profess to have immense teams fanning out through the hinterlands.

★

Nixon's GHQ asserts that 55,000 persons are available for precinct level chores. But you get the feeling that this formidable array will be thrown into the general election campaign next autumn rather than called up for the primary action this spring.

Nixon continues to operate on the assumption that Democratic Gov. Pat Brown is the man to beat — whereas Shell merely constitutes a minor obstacle to be hurdled on June 5.

But for Shell, the next five weeks is a go-for-broke period. Thus his campaign effort must hit a peak soon.

If the next series of opinion polls reflects any marked Shell upswing, therefore, we imagine those Nixon cohorts will find themselves occupying frontline posts a lot sooner than they'd expected.



HOBART HENLEY  
633 NO FOOTHILL  
BEVERLY HILLS CALIF.

file

10 CENTS

## Nixon's Troubles His Bid for Governor Is Endangered by Rift In California's GOP

### Supporters Fear Defection Of Right Wing; Campaign Is Hard-Pressed for Funds

### Brown Grabs Lead in Poll

BY ROBERT D. NOVAK  
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Police Department was summoned one recent Friday night to break up a brawl at 930 Wilshire Boulevard. But this was no ordinary outburst of weekend exuberance. The place was the Statler-Hilton Hotel, and the battlers belonged to rival factions of the California Young Republican College Federation.

The side backing Richard M. Nixon for governor of the Golden State finally got its slate of officers elected at the federation's uproarious annual meeting, but not until the rival right-wing faction bolted. And before the walk-out, enthusiastic right-wingers invaded the suite of a Nixon supporter, smashed a punch bowl, scattered campaign leaflets and ground cookies into the rug.

Not even in the supercharged atmosphere

## or Governor GOP Rift

an uphill climb to reach the  
nation?

does not lie in any great per-  
son exuded by primary rival  
he is a handsome, 6-foot-2  
back for the University of  
nia who flies his own airplane.  
he little statewide impression  
mainly as a convenient rally-  
Nixon forces.

the explanation of Mr. Nixon's  
found in the rise of extreme  
California after the 1960 Pres-  
ringing to the fore an entire  
young Republican politi-  
these is Los Angeles Young  
Robert Gaston, a prema-  
-old lawyer for Richfield  
law, Richfield President  
 longtime Eisenhower crony  
An unknown precinct  
in 1960, Mr. Gaston now  
er for young California  
nothing wrong with the  
a good deal wrong with

who haven't defected to  
ating their efforts on  
rather than partisan  
oll prospector Henry  
eophysical Corp. has  
nunist voters league  
Communist doctrine  
era California; Nix-  
regain his partisan  
race heats up.

big campaign con-  
nificant anti-Nixon  
epublican precinct  
P leader, "might  
middle-aged, with  
politics. She's in-  
ry conservative.  
we don't know  
or Nixon in the

ve wave, Mr.  
recurrent factionalism  
destroyed the California GOP in