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<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>05/10/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Joe Shell- TV Spot and Program Buys list. 4 pgs.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>06/12/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Notes about Shell. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>06/16/1962</td>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Shell statement. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>The Richmond News Leader article, 'No Win' on the Right. 1 pg. Not scanned.</td>
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<td>06/14/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Memo from Bill Spencer to H.R. Haldeman. 2 duplicates and newspaper article not scanned.</td>
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<td>61</td>
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<td>06/14/1962</td>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Letter from E. Ray Crabtree to Bob Haldeman. 1 pg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
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<td>06/11/1962</td>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Letter from Donald White to Ray Crabtree. 1 pg. Attached to previous.</td>
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<td>61</td>
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<td>06/10/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Memo from Leslie Gehres to Bob Haldeman. 1 pg. Attached newspaper clipping not scanned.</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06/14/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Memo with attached letter from Rose Mary Woods to Bob Haldeman. Subject: Lucille Hosmer's letter. 4 pgs.</td>
</tr>
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<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06/15/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Draft response to Shell. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>61</td>
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<td>06/15/1962</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Western Union telegram from John Donley to Richard Nixon. 1 pg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06/14/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Memo to H.R. Haldeman to Al Moscow. Subject: Shell statement. 2 pgs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06/14/1962</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Memo to RN/HRH from Al Moscow. Subject: Response to Shell 'Conditions.' 1 pg. Attached to previous.</td>
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May 10, 1962

Joe Shell - TV Spot and Program Buys

SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>$60,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAN FRANCISCO</td>
<td>22,489.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAN DIEGO</td>
<td>870.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACRAMENTO</td>
<td>1,080.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRESNO</td>
<td>1,010.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALINAS-SAN LUIS OBIPO</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUREKA</td>
<td>160.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAKERSFIELD</td>
<td>250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTA BARBARA</td>
<td>240.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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TOTAL ........... $ 86,299.00
May 10, 1962

**Joe Shell - TV Spot and Program Buys (to date)**

### Los Angeles

- **KRCA**
  - 20 and 10-second spots
  - 1/2-hour 7:30-8:00 PM - June 4
  - $15,000.00
- **KBCA**
  - Saturation 10-second spots
  - $5,000.00
- **KABC**
  - 20-second and 10-second
  - $15,000.00
- **KHJ-TV**
  - Saturation 10-seconds - all prime
  - $7,000.00
- **KTTV**
  - 60-seconds
  - $5,500.00
- **KNXT**
  - 10-seconds
  - $5,600.00
- **KCOB**
  - 1 hour - 8:30-9:30 PM - May 23
  - $4,500.00

### San Francisco

- **KRON-TV**
  - 20-second, 60-second, 10-seconds
  - 1/2-hour 7:30-8:00 PM - June 4
  - $8,000.00
- **KTVU**
  - 1 hour 8:30-9:30 PM - May 23
  - $1,979.00
  - 1/4-hour 10:45-11:00 PM - May 13 and 20
  - $560.00
  - Asked for avails for 20-second and 60-seconds
  - $4,000.00
- **KGO-TV**
  - Saturation 10-seconds
  - (asked for $3000 schedule, station cannot come up with more than $2500. Not yet confirmed)
  - $2,500.00
- **KPIX**
  - 10-second saturation
  - $3,500.00

### San Diego

- **KFWB-TV**
  - Inquiry made for l-hour live show May 23.
  - Station could not clear.
  - No request for spot avails.
- **KOGO-TV**
  - Inquiry made for l-hour live show May 23.
  - Station could not clear.
  - No request for spot avails.
- **XETV**
  - 1/2-hour 7:30-8:00 PM - June 4
  - $600.00
  - 1/4-hour 1:45-2:00 PM - May 13 and 20
  - $270.00
  - (following "Dan Smoot")
May 10, 1962  (Joe Shell TV Buys)

SACRAMENTO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KCRA@TV</td>
<td>No inquiries made</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KXTV</td>
<td>Inquiry made for 1/2-hour June 4 - 8:30-9:00 PM.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Station could not clear.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No request for spot avails.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>KOVR</td>
<td>1/2-hour - 8:30-9:00 PM - June 4</td>
<td>$600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/4-hour - 12:45-1:00 PM - May 12 and 19 (following &quot;Dan Smoot&quot;)</td>
<td>$480.00</td>
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FRESNO

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<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Fee</th>
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<tr>
<td>KFRE-TV</td>
<td>1/2-hour - 7:30-8:00 PM - June 4</td>
<td>$450.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/4-hour - 4:15-4:30 PM - May 13 and 20 (following &quot;Dan Smoot&quot;)</td>
<td>$200.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>KJEO-TV</td>
<td>1/2-hour - 7:30-8:00 PM - June 4</td>
<td>$360.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* this station claims they have signed order for the June 4th half hour. However, KFRE-TV claims they have confirmed same half-hour, but nothing signed.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KMJ-TV</td>
<td>Inquiry made for 1-hour 8:30-9:00 PM May 23, but station could not clear.</td>
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SALINAS-MONTEREY-SAN LUIS OBISPO

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<tr>
<td>KSBW-TV)</td>
<td>1/4-hour - 4:15-4:30 PM - May 13 and 20</td>
<td>$200.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSBY-TV)</td>
<td>No inquiry for spots</td>
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CHICO-REDDING

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<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Fee</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KHS-L-TV</td>
<td>No inquiries for avails of any kind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KVIP-TV</td>
<td>No inquiries for avails of any kind</td>
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EUREKA

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<tr>
<th>Station</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KTEM-TV</td>
<td>1/4-hour - 6:15-6:30 PM - May 12 and 19 (following &quot;Dan Smoot&quot;)</td>
<td>$160.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>KVIQ-TV</td>
<td>No inquiries for avails of any kind</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
May 10, 1962 (Joe Shell TV Buys)

BAKERSFIELD

KERO-TV  No inquiries made for avails
KLYD-TV  No inquiries made for avails
KBAK-TV  1/2-hour - 7:30-8:00 PM - June 4  $ 250.00
          No spot avails requested

SANTA BARBARA

KEY-T   1/4-hour - 4:15-4:30 PM - May 13 and 20  $ 240.00
          (following "Dan Smoot")

SAN JOSE

KNTV  No inquiries for avails of any kind

NOTE: All Spot and Program buys above have been confirmed but stations have not received the money with signed order.

        ALL TV SPOTS TO START - May 13-May 15 for a 3-week PERIOD.

RADIO

Expenditure of spot radio cannot be determined for the reason that the Shell agency -Walker-Saussay- has released a letter to all radio stations in the State, advising them that the local Committee will contact them to order spots. The agency, at the same time, sent transcribed spots to all Chairman of the local Committee. These were to be used for all schedules ordered by the Chairman.
Jerry Reynolds' call:

- Shell had a meeting with his Northern California campaign leaders - then a press conference following the meeting.

- didn't say too much about the meeting, except that he mentioned he was keeping on his professional campaign crew - 8 or 10 people - and would attempt to keep his campaign organization together -- that the purpose of all this was to keep his name in the public eye through public relations and public appearances.

- his point was that when he started, he was unknown - but now he is fairly well known and this gives him a head start on anything he would ever want to run for in the future.

- on the point of Minority Leader - he assumes he will remain -- wants to -- and that if there is an attempt to oust him, he will attribute it to the RN camp.

- asked whether he felt his supporters would back RN, he said that the candidate is going to have to take some action himself to get this block of votes ---- he doesn't think that anybody can swing a block of votes (and Jerry said this indicates he will make no effort himself to swing the block).

- said he wasn't sure of the figure, so asked press not to use it -- but told them there would be about a $94,000 deficit from his campaign.

- would not say if he would back RN until he meets with him -- he doesn't really know if RN can win; thinks RN is in a "come from behind" situation, but that is the position most candidates like to be in at this point in the contest.

- felt he was hurt most - not by Telethon - but by a major mailing in the Los Angeles area of postcards -- these cards were totally improper -- they purported to present an official Republican slate -- that he would not blame RN outright -- but RN's name was preferred - No. 1 - on all postcards; felt this had heavy impact in the final days -- felt it was violation of state law - and he was going to look into it.....one of the cards
he received was signed = Los Angeles Republican Committee = and he was advised that was a violation of the law.

- said RN has real problems in November....there are 350,000 to 400,000 Republicans who have stayed home from elections in the past 10 years -- and he wonders how RN is going to get these people out;

- further, that RN is the Nominee - so it's up to him to attract the people if he wants these votes (per Jerry -- apparently referring to his votes and again indicating he isn't going to help);

- also said he was convinced a lot of people did not listen to the campaign arguments -- and bases this statement on the fact he lost his own Assembly District 3 to 1.

Jerry then said UPI had written story - will hit the A.M. papers -- along following lines:

...RN will have some real problems in his November battle for Governor....Shell refused to predict how Nixon will fare against Brown......"I don't really know if he could win.....right at the moment it is a come-from-behind operation for Nixon."

- elaborating on statement of problems...."One of them would be to get out the Republican vote November 6th.......for the last 10 years we have had about 350,000 to 400,000 Republicans who stay at home...."

- story goes on that Nixon himself in earlier statements has stated that he must attract about 90% of the GOP and 20% of the Democrats to defeat Brown.

- asked whether bulk of 670,000 who voted for him in the primary would back Nixon in November, Shell said "It is completely presumptuous for any candidate to say he can transfer a block of votes. Mr. Nixon is the Nominee of the Republican Party and the moves are up to him to attract these people to him if he wants their votes."

- Shell said he expects to keep a professional staff of 8 to 10 persons on his payroll to keep his name before the public...."When I first announced for Governor, the question was - who is Joe Shell? Now the people know who I am. I don't want to start from scratch again no matter what race it is -- 2 years or 4 years or 6 years from now."

(story then goes into the postcard bit)
Shell said he expected to confer with Nixon later in the month -- said he would not issue any statement endorsing Nixon's candidacy until after the conference.

- asked if he would support a special session of the legislature to resubmit to the voters a $270 million bond issue .... Shell said a very careful study should be made to see if the size of the bond issue could be reduced. He also advocated that it be submitted separately in November with the exact amounts of each bond issue assigned to colleges, universities and to construction of state buildings.

- he said he intended to return to the oil business - probably in the San Joaquin Valley.

separate note from Jerry --- (apparently mentioned during press conference).....

- said Shell suggested the possibility of using state revenue from a Long Beach oil drilling project for schools -- should amount to about 1 billion dollars..........and Jerry pointed out we have already advocated this might be used for water projects.
July 13, 1962

Dear Mr. Casserly:

Thank you for giving us the opportunity to read copy of your letter addressed to Mr. Shell.

Certainly you are to be commended for your sound approach to the immediate goal of a united effort.

Your comments are forthright and sincere and it is to be hoped others will follow your course in expressing the only sensible approach to our objective, which is the victory in November.

Kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Paul N. Casserly
1846 North Wilton Place
Hollywood 28, California
Mr. Joseph C. Shell
620 Irving
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Mr. Shell:

The campaign is over and you are to be congratulated for your courage opposing a well known and admired personality like Dick Nixon. The results of the campaign are just about what we anticipated.

Now you say, according to press reports, that you will support Nixon in his campaign against Brown, IF - - . May I say to you as a good fellow Republican that there are no "IFs" about it. Party members are expecting your full support, regardless.

Your duty as I see it is to come right into the organization and give it your full support. In fact if you care to be a good fellow, a good party member, you will not just call up Nixon and offer him your support but to come right in personally, join the committee, and not just that but to do your best in bringing in everyone that voted for you in the primaries. As I see it this will make almost certain a Republican victory in November, and the State taken over by the G.O.P.

Then to follow up, where does it leave you? The answer is obvious. You will be in position to get about the ripest plum the new Governor has to bestow. Too bad you are not a lawyer or you would surely land a Judgeship. But there are other plums. You can name your choice.

Besides all this it will put you in top position in the election two years from now. Remember that you are still a young man. Nobody knows what is in store for you but common sense tells us that your place now, right now, is on the Nixon campaign committee. You'll feel better for it; you'll be happier about it; you'll earn the respect of every Republican in the State. Nothing can possibly be gained by sulking - or by trying to force the nominee to change his policies. The place to bring up proposed changes will be in committee meetings. Argue it out there, then abide by the results.

Best wishes to you regardless of your decision.

[Signature]

Cassidy

[Address]

Hollywood 28, California.
Election night and repeatedly since then I have offered to meet Mr. Nixon and give him helpful advice on how to win in November. A week ago last Thursday he called and said he would meet me this week. So far he has not kept his word.

My only request is that the people of California and the Republican Party who supported me be treated fairly. I am disgusted if Nixon calls this a "deal." My campaign was for the good of our state, nothing more. It was based on principle, not personal ambition. My loyalty will always be to my country, state and party in that order.

Whenever Nixon drops the Chotiner-type power politics against his own party I will be glad to talk to him.

Nixon does great harm to himself, the Republican Party and the people of California as he persistently tries to avoid the true issues involved in the race for Governor. I have offered repeatedly to meet with him. So far he has tried desperately hard - and unsuccessfully - to gain help from my prominent supporters.

In order to win in November, Nixon must have the complete support of the almost 700,000 Republicans and the 100,000 Democrats who supported me. These people believe in certain principles. I have repeatedly offered to explain these principles to Nixon.

Unfortunately, just as he broke the Fair Election Pledge in the primary, he has broken his word to discuss the future of the people of California and the Republican Party with me.

It was up to Nixon to earn the support of those who believe in the principles of good government I stand for. The burden of proof is upon him. I would never presume to speak for anyone other than myself.
I can only reiterate that I will not support Brown. The rest is up to Nixon who to date has lacked the courage to face the issue honestly.
Air Mail

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
410 Martin Lane
Beverly Hills, California

Dear Mr. Nixon:

I have kept up with your political activity through Lee Potter, who is a member of my board of directors. First of all, congratulations on your campaign and I wish you the best of luck against Governor Brown in the fall.

Enclosed you will find an editorial written by Mr. James Jackson Kilpatrick, Editor of the Richmond News Leader. I thought perhaps this editorial could be sent to Mr. Shell, or could be reprinted in some fashion to aid your campaign against Governor Brown.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Thomas F. Mains, Jr.

TFM: Tup

Enclosure

Real Estate Syndications
I attach a clipping from today's CHRONICLE in which certain Shell campaign leaders are quoted.

The feeling is divided up here as to the proper course to be taken. On one hand, Jim Halley is reluctant to push the recruitment of Shell people any further, feeling that:

1. We have got almost all of them any way and that by now Shell is fairly well isolated.

2. That we should avoid the charge "deal" by the Democrats.

3. That we should be super sensitive about avoiding members of the John Birch Society in our campaign organization.

Jim strongly encourages that a small sample poll be taken immediately in strong Shell precincts in Northern and Southern California to determine the extent of non-voters that we might be faced with in November and that we base further action on the results of the poll.

On the other hand, Bob Powers feels that we should be more aggressive in making peace with the Shell camp in order to obtain the workers and to forestall a convention fight in August.

The Shell camp continues to base their position on the fact that RN did not go to Shell on the Wednesday morning following the election for a reconciliation meeting. On the other hand, there are strong feelings by some Shell people that he has broken his word to them and to the Republican Party by his failure to throw his support to RN.

It seems to me that the poll makes sense if it can be done soon enough and if we can finance it. If, in fact, Shell has been isolated and if, in fact, there is no danger of losing control of the State convention, there would appear to be no need or reason to publicly move against the guy. Our only approach in this regard might be to increase the tempo regarding issuing of statements confirming Republican unity, particularly through the use of other men on the slate.
June 14, 1962

Mr. Bob Haldeman
Nixon for Governor Headquarters
3908 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles 15, California

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

I talked with Bill Spencer from the San Francisco Headquarters after the election. I advised him that I could get a letter from the Shell Solano County Chairman. Bill suggested that I secure same and forward it to your office. I am enclosing herewith the original.

I have talked with several of the Shell supporters here and have no doubt that they will work very hard in the Nixon Campaign this Fall.

Very truly yours,

Ray Crabtree
Solano County Chairman

ERC/vd
CC: Bill Spencer, S.F.
DONALD R. WHITE
Chairman, Joe Shell for Governor Committee
Solano County
135 George Circle
Vallejo, California
June 11, 1962

Mr. Ray Crabtree
Chairman, Nixon for Governor Committee
Solano County
Vallejo, Calif.

Dear Ray:

The Solano County Joe Shell for Governor Committee extends congratulations upon Mr. Nixon's victory in the primary campaign.

Our primary interest is to support candidates who uphold sound principles of government and, since we are all dedicated to a Republican victory in November, our group hereby pledges support for the success of Mr. Nixon in winning the Governorship from Pat Brown.

Very truly yours,

Donald R. White
Chairman

RS

cc: Solano County Republican Central Committee
Memo for Bob Haldeman,
Los Angeles Headquarters.

Dear Bob:

I won't be able to get much done down here this week end of the "unity" project. I talked over the situation with Frank Thornton yesterday, and I expect to see Arnhold Smith tomorrow (Monday).

The enclosed clipping of an interview with Joe's father, Judge Shell pretty well tells the story of the attitude of Joe's top people here. The consensus is that we'll have to wait a week or two before we can expect any change, or public swing over to Nixon. There are a lot of Shell supporters who are friends of mine who assured me personally that they would "be with you and Nixon after the primary", but they are not the publicized leaders. I think we can quickly get the mayor of El Cajon, Tuttle, to come out for Nixon. He started as an important area chairman for Joe, had a falling out with the judge and quietly backed away. This was kept very quiet during the remainder of the campaign.

I've already had several calls from some of our party leaders here protesting Nixon's continuing unfavorable attitude toward Heistand and Rousselot. Both are highly thought of in this area by Republicans who are NOT members of the Birch Society but who are solidly conservative Nixon backers. Dick should stop beating this dead horse. It won't carry us any farther now.

I am sending a letter to all my area chairmen telling them to get with their own area Shell leaders and try to bring them into our organization as soon as possible. I want to really place these people, not just sweet-talk them.

GO! GO! GO! WITH NIXON FOR GOVERNOR!
To: Bob Haldeman
From: Rose Mary Woods
Subject: Lucille Hosmer's letter
Distribution:

I am attaching a copy of Lucille Hosmer's letter with the thought you might like to see how she worded it.
COPY

CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

June 1962

Dear Club President:

The Primary Elections are over !!! The Republican Party has spoken and chosen the Candidates who are to represent us against the Democrats in November. NOW, TODAY, WE CLOSE RANKS BEHIND THESE MEN AND GO TO WORK !!! HOW DO WE CHOOSE ??? EITHER WE WORK TOGETHER, STARTING NOW, WITHOUT RANCOR OR RECRIMINATION,... WITH ENERGY AND DEDICATION OR WE FACE THE LOSS OF CALIFORNIA TO THE DEMOCRATS IN NOVEMBER '62 AND THE NATION IN '64.

CHOOSE YE THIS DAY WHOM YE SHALL SERVE. Josh. 24:15

HOW DO WE CHOOSE ????

Do we want to remain a free Republic with our rights and freedoms protected by written law, our Constitution OR do we want to see the Constitution "usurped by illegal means and become governed more and more by the "whims", the "formulas" and the theories of the pseudo-intellectuals who believe that the "people" are not capable of taking care of themselves or of making their own decisions?

HOW DO WE CHOOSE????

Our Republican Candidates believe in decentralized government and that the functions of government should be handled as close as possible to the "people," i.e. local self-government. The Democrats believe in more and bigger centralized government as far as possible from the "people" where the "planners" or pseudo-intellectuals can make the "wise" decisions of which the people themselves at the local level (where the problems are) are not capable of making.
Our Republican Candidates stand for economy, low taxes and a balanced budget. The Democrats support more control, more responsibility and spending by the State and Federal governments. This means higher taxes, now and greater burdens of debt for future generations.

Our Republican Candidates encourage competition in business, believing it results in better quality for the consumer. This is possible only under Free Enterprise where there is freedom to try, freedom to buy, freedom to sell, freedom to keep what is earned and freedom to expand and progress.

The Democrats foster more and more government interference with business and the individual, taking away from him his right to make his own decisions because the "planners", the bureaucrats have no respect for the intelligence, the ability, the worth and dignity of the individual "under God."

Our Republican Candidates encourage private ownership of property and private control of production. This results in more initiative and incentive for economic progress.

The Democrats support the theory that more and more responsibility and authority must go to the State and Federal government levels because only the bureaucrats can solve the problems confronting us.

HOW DO WE CHOOSE????

History proves that whenever a State or a Nation follows the pattern of "maximum government", individual freedom is lost and this results in a loss of our liberty.

HOW DO WE CHOOSE????

We have the choice between a free Republic OR a Totalitarian State. If you stay at home or "sit on your hands" because your man did not win, you are
"selling out" your State and your Country to the Socialist Democrats. The States are the "pillars of the nation." What happens here in California can affect the whole Nation.

"Choose ye, this day whom ye shall serve"

HOW DO YOU CHOOSE?

Cordially,

/s/Lucile Hosmer
President
Having just return from a vacation, I am astonished at the words and actions of Joseph Shell since the primary. He is doing a great disservice not only to my own candidacy but to the Republican Party in California and, in the long run, to himself.

Personal considerations aside, the Republican Party has a great deal at stake in the election in California this November. To that end, I appeal for the support of all Republicans and all Californians to bring the best and most efficient government to Sacramento.

The need for unity within the Republican Party is so obvious that it needs no explanation. Mr. Shell is either misguided or presumptuous to believe that he can speak for the 35% of the Republicans who voted for him. That is like saying the voters are a captive of the man they vote for. That has never been true and it is not true now.

I appeal for all voters' support on the basis of my record of public service, my personal ability and my proposals for the well-being of California.

I ask Mr. Shell's support on that basis alone. If it is withheld, I shall appeal for the support of those who voted for him.
The issue before Mr. Shell and before all the voters of California is the leadership of the government of California. The next Governor of California will either be Edmund G. Brown or Richard Nixon and when those who voted for Joe Shell in June go to the polls again in November, I am confident that they will vote for me. In that sense, I am asking Mr. Shell's endorsement.

When Mr. Shell lays down "minimum conditions" for his endorsement, he is asking too much. At the outset of this campaign I told the people of California that I will make no deals of any kind for the support of any group or any person. I want to and intend to be free of any commitments as the newly elected Governor to serve the best interests of all Californians. I reiterate that principle now. I will not and cannot pledge 35% of the California delegation to the Republican National Convention in 1964. That delegation will be selected in the primary of 1964, not 1962.

I cannot and will not pledge to cut any specific amount of the state budget. I have already said many times that as Governor I intend to cut the fat out of the Brown budget. I intend to trim that budget with care and deliberation for the benefit of California's taxpayers. But I do welcome Mr. Shell's proposals in this areas and urge him to make public or send me for my consideration the specific items he would eliminate to reduce the budget by $200 million.
I do believe a meeting with Mr. Shell would be useful for bringing about unity and harmony among Republican voters for the greater good of California.

However, in view of Mr. Shell's recent pronouncements, I must frankly wonder if a meeting would serve any useful purposes.

I will make no deals. In the exercise of political leadership, there can be no neutrality. Joe Shell must come out either for me or for Governor Brown. One of us will be the next Governor of California.

With this understood, I am still willing to meet with Joe Shell, if he so desires, in the interest of party unity and the welfare of our native state.

(This is a rough draft -- it can be redrafted in the form of a letter to Shell and released to the press. It can be adapted to meeting or not meeting.)
LDT 69AC NL PD

TDL TORRANCE CALIF JUN 15

RICHARD NIXON
TROUSDALE ESTATES
BEVERLY HILLS CALIF

DEAR DICK, TELL JOE SHELL GO TO H AND GET BUSY AND WHIP HIM LIKE THE SHEEP HERDER WHIPS HIS DOG I AM OLD TIME REPUBLICAN AND I AM FOR YOU

JOHN C DONLEY
22224 SOUTH VERMONT
TORRANCE
711P PDT
Shell statement issued today--from the AP, which would like comment from RN. I told them RN, now on vacation, could not be reached for immediate comment.

The press stories tomorrow will say that Shell laid down the "minimum conditions" under which he will work with Nixon and said he intends to keep his organization of 50,000 volunteers in tact to work for election of Republican congressmen and state legislators.

"I shall present Mr. Nixon with what I consider the minimum conditions for a harmonious working relationship with those Republicans who voted for me:

1. They are entitled to 35% of the 1964 delegation to the Republican National Convention.

2. I believe it is essential to the fiscal health of Calif to cut $200 million from the state budget as now drawn. And I shall be glad to point out to Mr. Nixon the areas of the budget from which the cuts can be made.

With a veiled threat, Mr. Shell said his conditions were reasonable and constructive and one which Nixon "can accept to unify the Republican forces and which in my opinion he must accept to merit the support of those people who voted for me.

" I intend to keep my organization of 50,000 volunteers in tact. These men and women will now devote their time and energies toward the election of Republican Congressmen and State Legislators who support traditional party principles.
"I want to emphasize this group will work within the party. It is not -- or can it be construed as -- a splinter group or a third party movement. Its guiding purpose is to set forth these Republican principles which were the basis of my campaign."
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Nixon for Governor

To: R N / HRH
From: Al Moscow
Date: June 14
Subject: Response to Shell "Conditions"

Distribution:

No comment will suffice so long as RN is on vacation. But upon his return, a brief comment will be necessary, I think.

The best would be an announcement of the time and place of a meeting with Shell and the comment that the subject of unity should be discussed first and then disseminated to press.

But directly after the meeting with Shell, I for one will meet the press and disclose the agenda, the subjects discussed and the conclusions, if any, reached.

We will have no secret meeting. There will be no deals. We will meet in an attempt to reach an understanding of our positions. I suspect that for some reason perhaps Mr. Shell does not understand my positions.

I will not and cannot make a pledge as to the 1964 delegation to the Republican National Convention. The delegates are elected, not selected by me. My concern and that of Republicans throughout the state is the election of a Republican governor in 1962, not the state's delegation to the 1964 delegation....

I would hope that out of my meeting with Mr. Shell will come some indication of his support, based upon the simple reason that in his opinion I would make a better Governor for California than the present incumbent.

When I announced my candidacy last September, I said quite plainly I will make no deals, with anyone except the people of California etc...