

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>
61	21	05/18/1962	Memo	Memo from Bob Haldeman to the Research Department. 1 pg.
61	21	05/09/1962	Other Document	Western Union telegram from Joe Shell to Richard Nixon. 7 pgs.
61	21	05/08/1962	Letter	Letter from Joseph Shell to Richard Nixon. 1 pg. Attached to previous.
61	21	05/09/1962	Letter	Letter from Nixon to Joe Shell. 1 pg. Attached to previous.
61	21	05/09/1962	Memo	Undercover agent Fluent reporting on operation "seashell." 8 pgs including attachments.
61	21	05/07/1962	Memo	Memo from Charlie Farrington to Bob Haldeman. Subject: Shell TV Buys. 1 pg. Duplicates not scanned.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
61	21	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes. 1 pg.
61	21	04/12/1962	Memo	Memo to All Northern California Chairmen from Bob Alderman. 1 pg.
61	21	04/16/1962	Memo	Memo from Dick Kline to Charles O'Brien. 1 pg.
61	21	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten note. 3 pgs including attachments.
61	21	04/04/1962	Memo	Memo from Mildred Fluent to Kai Jorgenson. RE: Report of Visit to Shell Headquarters. 1 pg.

Research Department

5-10-62

Bob Haldeman

Will you please get for RN immediately Shell's announced position on each of the forthcoming bond issues, and may I please have a copy?

5/11

Barker admits
"no position on any
forthcoming bond issue"

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

LA296

L LLY233 PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF 9 358P PDT=

RICHARD M NIXON=

3908 WILSHIRE BLVD LOSE=

1962 MAY 9 PM 5 59

DEAR RICHARD: FIRST I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR OFFER TO SUPPORT MY CANDIDACY FOR GOVERNOR AFTER THE JUNE PRIMARY IS OVER. WE SHALL BE PLEASED TO HAVE YOU ABOARD. IT IS TOO BAD THAT YOU DO NOT FEEL YOU CAN ACCEPT MY INVITATION TO APPEAR WITH ME IN PUBLIC TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES OF IMPORTENCE TO CALIFORNIANS. I WAS SORT OF HOPING YOU WOULD FIND YOUR WAY TO JOIN ME. I

End one

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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LL4233/2

1962 MAY 9 PM 5 59

BELIEVE THE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHERE EACH OF US STANDS ON THESE STATE ISSUES, I REFUSE TO TAKE MY PARTY FOR GRANTED. I AM PROUD TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EARN MY PARTY'S NOMINATION. IT IS ALSO UNFORTUNATE, IT SEEMS TO ME, THAT YOU APPARENTLY DO NOT APPRECIATE THE MEANING AND PURPOSE OF THE FREE AND OPEN PRIMARY WHICH THE PEOPLE THROUGH THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES RESTORED TO THE CALIFORNIA VOTERS IN 1959. A LARGE PART OF THE PURPOSE OF RETURNING TO THE FREE AND OPEN PRIMARY WAS TO PREVENT THE DANGER OF MACHINE POLITICS AND TO ALLOW MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES TO DECIDE FOR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

End 2

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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LLY233/3-

1962 MAY 9 PM 5 59

THEMSELVES WHO THEY WANT AS THEIR CANDIDATES IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS. THE FACT THAT THE DEMOCRATE PARTY HAS FORCED A PRE-DETERMINED SLATE ON THE PRIMARY BALLOT DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD MAKE THE SAME MISTAKE. I RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THE INTENT AND PURPOSE OF THE OPEN PRIMARY, AS PART OF THAT PURPOSE AND KEEPING WITH THE WISHES OF THE MAJORITY OF REPUBLICANS, I HAVE SUGGESTED, AND NOW REPEAT THE SUGGESTION, THAT WE APPEAR TOGETHER IN PUBLIC TO DISCUSS AND COMPARE OUR RESPECTIVE KNOWLEDGE OF AND APPROACH TO STATE PROBLEMS. I CAN ONLY

End 3

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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LL-9233/4

1962 MAY 9 PM 5 59

CONCLUDE FROM YOUR REFUSAL THAT YOU ARE NOT WILLING TO FOLLOW THE WISHES OF THE MAJORITY OF OUR PARTY. EITHER THAT OR YOU DO NOT FEEL SUFFICIENTLY AWARE OF OUR CONVERSANT WITH THE IMPORTANT STATE ISSUES SO THAT YOU COULD DISCUSS THEM PUBLICLY WITHOUT A PREPARED TEXT OR THE AID OF POSITION PAPERS OFFERED BY A COACHING STAFF.

I AM PLEASED TO LEARN FROM YOUR LETTER THAT DURING THE PAST MONTH YOU HAVE BEEN ADDRESSING YOURSELF TO SOME OF THE VITAL ISSUES OF STATE CONCERN. THOSE OF US WHO HAVE BEEN DOING THIS FOR TEN YEARS AND WHO HAVE BEEN SLUGGING

End of

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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LLY 233/5 =

1962 MAY 9 PM 5 59

IT OUT AGAINST MR BROWN ARE ALWAYS GLAD TO HAVE A NEW VOICE IN OUR CHORUS. AS A LIFE LONG REPUBLICAN WHO HAS ALWAYS STOOD SOLID FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR PARTY I AM FULLY AWARE OF THE NEED FOR PARTY UNITY. I BELIEVE SUCH UNITY CAN BE A STRENGTH WHEN IT IS BASED ON DEDICATION TO A PURPOSE, BUT I DO NOT ASSESS UNITY AS A STRENGTH WHEN IT IS FORCED BY PRESSURE TACTICS OF STEAM ROLLER MEASURES. IN THAT REGARD IT MUST BE POINTED OUT THAT LONG BEFORE YOU DECIDED TO USE CALIFORNIA TO RE-SEEK YOUR POLITICAL FORTUNES, THERE WERE THREE OUTSTANDING REPUBLICANS ALREADY ANNOUNCED AS CANDIDATES

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

End 5.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1962 MAY 9 PM 5:59

LLY 233/6

FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP. TWO OF THOSE FINE MEN HAVE SINCE DROPPED OUT. YOU ARE SUGGESTING THAT I SHOULD FOLLOW SUIT, OR RE-GEAR MY CAMPAIGN TO INNOCUOUS "ME TOO" LEVEL, THEN YOU ARE INDEED OUT OF TOUCH WITH OUR PARTY'S DEMAND FOR STRONG LEADERSHIP AND YOU ARE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE WISHES OF THE MAJORITY OF OUR REPUBLICANS IN CALIFORNIA. THEY ARE DEMANDING STRONG AND CONSISTANT LEADERSHIP. THEY WANT THEIR CANDIDATES TO STAND UP AND SPEAK OUT. I WILL CONTINUE TO MEET BOTH OF THESE REQUESTS. I HOPE YOU WILL RECONSIDER YOU REFUSAL TO APPEAR WITH ME IN THE FUTURE TO DISCUSS STATE ISSUES.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS EMPLOYEES

end 6

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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224233/7

BEST REGARDS=

JOSEPH C SHELL.

1962 MAY 9 PM 5 59

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COPY

May 8, 1962

Mr. Richard M. Nixon
Pacific Mutual Building
530 West Sixth Street
Los Angeles 14, California

Dear Mr. Nixon:

It has been brought to my attention that both you and I will be in the San Diego area with our respective campaigns this Thursday and Friday.

Inasmuch as we have heretofore not had the opportunity to meet in a public discussion of the issues of this campaign, I would consider it a great honor and pleasure to place my schedule at your disposal in order that we might arrange such a meeting.

Since I have not yet received a reply from you regarding my telegram of April 13, I am confident that there must have been some oversight in its transmittal to you. Therefore, I again would like to say that, in accordance with your expressed opinion that joint television appearances are here to stay, I would be more than happy to cooperate in arranging such an appearance with you for the benefit of the Republican voters of California.

However, since the pressure of previous commitments may make a television appearance infeasible, I would be perfectly willing to meet with you on any public platform before any audience in a discussion of state issues as they relate to the primary election campaign.

I shall await your reply as to the San Diego possibilities.
Yours for a strong and victorious Republican Party,

JOSEPH C. SHELL
Republican Candidate for
Governor of California

JCS:mc

Dear Joe:

Each additional time you challenge me to a debate and each time I reply supplies campaign fodder for Pat Brown in the General Election. TV debates are here to stay, but only for ~~po~~ political opponents in a general election for very obvious reasons.

~~xxxx~~ At the risk of providing a bit more ~~fx~~ such fodder, I must answer one point in your telegram. I am not suggesting that you drop out of the campaign~~x~~. Don't do it.

Yours for a strong and victorious Republican Party.

May 9, 1962

Undercover agent Fluent reporting on operation "Seashell"

There were about five women flitting around headquarters...the one I saw before was not among them.

Finally cornered one and asked her if she had any real gems of wisdom that would make me sure that I wanted to vote for Mr. Shell.

She gave me the usual line...nothing new in it. So I asked her if he was ever going to be on television, that if I could hear him talk, it might help.

She then told me about the Rally. Said they are real anxious and are trying very hard to fill up the arena. Tickets are \$1.00 each. I didn't buy one. I asked her if it was going to "be on television" and she said she wasn't real sure, but that they hoped so.

Then she said..."Oh, one thing. We are going to have two coffee hours. One will be on May 17 and one on May 31 on Channel 7 from 10:30 to 11:00 in the morning." I asked her then if we could send questions in and she said "just a minute" and went to talk to a rather large man with a decided scar on the right of his face. He talked loud enough for me to hear. He said that the first show was going to have to be taped because he couldn't clear the 10:30 to 11:00 hour at all locations, that for instance, in San Jose it would be on in the afternoon.

He said he wasn't sure whether the second one would be live or not because they might have the same trouble about clearing time. He said he hoped it could be live because it would give them a chance to answer any challenges that Nixon would throw at them. He said that the Morgan agency was busy right now writing and getting the script together for the first show.

When she came back to report this to me, she volunteered the information that they were going to have a spot saturation campaign the last ten days of the campaign. I asked her if Mr. Shell was going to be on these spots and she said she really didn't know yet but she hoped so. That someone had told her he was.

I asked her how it was going and she said simply wonderful. That everywhere Shell went they were gaining big blocks of votes. That all the major papers were for him and that everyone there at campaign headquarters felt that there was no doubt but what he would win.

I gathered up everything I could see which isn't much, but it is attached.

"This is the platform on which I have been campaigning and will continue to campaign as candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor.



"These are the facts and figures to which I have been alerting the people.

"I commend this article to your consideration."

**Assemblyman Joseph C. Shell
Republican floor leader.**

BUSINESS & GOVERNMENT

High State, Local Taxes Put Damper on Industry

BY RAY HEBERT, Times Urban Plans Editor

HIGH TAXES—both state and local—are putting a pinch on California's industrial growth by eating into business profits. What's more, because of the high costs of doing business here, some firms are bypassing California in their search for new plant locations.

These points, spotlighted during recent sessions of the California Manufacturers Assn., have emerged as perhaps the most limiting factors in California's industrial economy.

Many of the executives who attended the association's annual meeting at Hotel del Coronado went away with the feeling that while California may have a wide edge in climate, for instance, this element cannot be considered alone in judging the state's manufacturing advantages.

Of particular interest to CMA members were the critical points raised by two Southern California plant executives who were in a position to compare their companies' operations here with divisions doing business in other states.

Both agreed that state and local taxes have reached a burdensome level and, in some cases, constitute an alarming threat to profits.

A study made by Fred W. Mill, divi-

sion controller of the National Supply Co. of Torrance, a division of Armco Steel Corp., showed that California manufacturers are actually at a disadvantage when the taxes they pay are measured against assessments in other states.

Mill's survey covered the 28 states where Armco maintains facilities. California was the second highest with a tax bill of \$41.84 on every \$1,000 worth of inventory and assets.

"Louisiana is the highest, of course," Mill explained. "Our figure there is \$53.30 per \$1,000. You know, they are still paying for the frivolities of the Huey Long regime."

He made another comparison. By multiplying the firm's California investment by the Texas rate of \$12.32 per \$1,000, the company would pay only \$154,030 rather than its \$523,122 outlay here last year.

"If we had this investment in Texas, we would have an annual tax saving of \$369,092," he said. "This saving in 10 years would pay for capital expenditures in the amount of \$3,690,000. In other words, we would only have to pay 29.45%

"The following appraisal of business and governmental conditions appeared in the Sunday edition of the Los Angeles Times, November 26.

"It obviously is an unbiased analysis of the tax problem and the business climate in California.

"The article sets forth the arguments for less governmental expansion and a reversal of the welfare state trend, which has been the theme song of the Brown Administration.



(OVER)

TAXES PAID OR ACCRUED IN 1960

	Net Book Value Inventory Fixed Assets	Tax Paid Per \$1,000 of Inventory and Assets Within State	Total	Property	State and City Income	Franchise and Other Taxes	Gross Receipts and Use Taxes	Sales Tax Collected in 1960
California	12,502,418	41.84	523,122	489,350	20,260	3	13,509	274,462
Kansas	1,025,738	21.53	22,081	19,515	2,556	10	—	78,472
Louisiana	1,903,461	53.30	101,460	75,492	8,661	17,307	—	404,242
Ohio	2,652,712	11.11	29,467	14,034	262	12,191	2,980	4,955
Oklahoma	1,514,887	24.17	36,621	29,393	4,139	3,089	—	167,404
Pennsylvania	29,414,874	13.31	391,560	200,799	138,700	15,247	36,814	7,671
Texas	14,371,113	12.32	177,122	152,270	—	24,852	—	—
Wyoming	1,026,144	11.02	11,311	11,278	—	33	—	99,468
All Other	8,071,654	10.03	80,962	47,850	13,212	5,721	14,179	512,542
TOTALS	72,483,001	18.95	1,373,706	1,039,981	187,790	78,453	67,482	1,549,216

TAX COMPARISON—Compilation of 1960 tax rate by states on \$1,000 of inventory and assets as paid by National Supply division of Armco Steel Corp.

shows California ranks second only to that of Louisiana. In Pennsylvania, where company has heaviest inventory and assets, rate is only \$13.31.

BUSINESS & GOVERNMENT

One Firm Traces Tax Tribulations

Continued from First Page
of \$523,122, which would give us \$154,030."

Mill suggested that the only answer to the heavy tax burden on business in California is to keep state legislators "completely informed as to the cost of the various bills that are presented to them that require financing."

Another comparison of taxes paid by California plants came from Harry Ryman, assistant to the general manager, Grayson Controls of Long Beach, a division of Robertshaw-Fulton Controls. The firm operates manufacturing plants in five states, including California.

"Since all plants are en-

gaged in a somewhat similar line of endeavor, it is always interesting, and sometimes discouraging, to compare results," he explained.

"The discouraging part is to recognize conditions affecting our profit in California which apparently do not have the same impact in other states."

The plant here, he explained, has managed to reduce costs in a number of categories "but in at least two major areas we continually lose ground — labor costs and taxes."

Ryman, referring specifically to taxes, pointed to the concern caused by "the constant increase year after year with no end in sight."

As an example, he cited the increase in unemployment taxes. Next year, he said, this tax will jump—in terms of cost—from \$68,000 to \$175,000. He said this amounts to a per employee increase of \$63 — from the present \$43 to \$106.

Ryman referred to a recent report which showed that of the five states where Robertshaw - Fulton maintains plants, its facilities in California paid 59% of the corporation's total property taxes although California-based plants accounted for only 33% of the total assets.

He gave this rundown on the property tax cost for each \$1,000 of assets held by the firm: Pennsylvania, \$4.06; Ohio, \$8.81; Tennes-

see, \$19.79; Connecticut, \$21.67; California, \$32.44.

Actually, Ryman said, climate remains as the only major attraction among the advantages which drew the firm to California in the first place.

This was emphasized by a discussion he had recently with a company official about a new division that was being established in Lebanon, Tenn.

"He mentioned that they had considered a number of locations before making their decision," Ryman explained. "I asked if California was included and he made it quite clear that, under present conditions, California would not be a desirable location for future expansion."

Here's a news item about Joe Shell you might have missed



TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1962

13



Sports Patter..

By PAT FRIZZELL, Sports Editor, The Union

Athletes Score in Politics

This column has nothing whatsoever to do with politics, but there's no harm in noting that one of the most publicized athletes in United States history, Byron (Whizzer) White, has been named to the Supreme Court by President Kennedy. White, as the result of his sensational football and scholastic feats, had every would-be athlete of his not uncommon last name answering to the tag of Whizzer for a decade.

Athletes frequently have made able judges, senators, even presidents. Kennedy played football, Dwight Eisenhower baseball. Often enough, leadership learned or developed in sports has assisted in the realization of political ambition.

Joseph C. Shell, California State Assembly minority leader and a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor, possesses an exceptional football background. He was captain of the University of Southern California team which stormed through the 1939 season undefeated and beat Tennessee, 14-0, in the Rose Bowl.

This was Shell's third year as a blocking back under coaching of the famous Howard Jones. The Trojans were Pacific Coast Conference champions and Rose Bowl winners in each of the last two. He also played, as a junior, in the storied Rose Bowl game which USC won from Duke in the last 40 seconds, 7-3.

Shell Stood Out for Troy

"Antelope Al Krueger, the end who caught the pass from Doyle Nave that won that game, is a campaign worker for me now," Shell said Monday. "So are many other team mates of mine at USC. Most of them still live in California. All I've been in contact with seem to want to help out.

"Bill Snyder, an end for us, is my campaign chairman in Whittier, Dick Nixon's home town." Shell smiled. Nixon is a sports fan and was a football sub at Whittier, as most people know.

Shell, who stands 6 feet 2 and weighs 203 pounds, considerably under his top weight of 215 while he busted up opponents for Troy, reeled off names of other 1937-38-39 USC football players, many of whom are aiding in his campaign for the nomination. It resembled a who's who of PCC football in the late 1930s.

Shell's team mates included such illustrious performers as Amby Schindler, Granny Lansdell, Bobby Robertson, Jack Banta, Bob Peoples, Dick Berryman, Angie Peccianti, Bob Hoffman, Harry Smith, Ben Sohn, Don McNeill, Bill Fiske, Bob Winslow, John Stonebraker, John Thomasin, Bob Delauer, Phil Gaspar. If you were a football follower a couple of decades ago, you recognize the names.

Howard Jones Perfectionist

"At least 75 per cent of our players were Californians, and more than half were from Southern California," Shell said. "I came from San Diego, and we had many athletes at USC from there. I played football at Hoover High when Ted Williams was on the baseball team at that school.

"A funny thing," Shell remembered, "is that, while I spent most of my time as a back, I was a center on the USC freshman team—because I'd played center as a high school sophomore. Hobbs Adams, who was coach at San Diego High then, had seen me play for Hoover High. By the time I got to USC, Adams was freshman coach there, and he used me at center. I'd spent my last two high school seasons in the backfield, though, and I moved into the backfield again before my USC freshman year was over.

"As a sophomore at USC, I played right half, which was the wingback position in Howard Jones' system. "The next two years I was at left half, which on his teams was the blocking-back position. We had tremendous material. Some of the toughest games I played were scrimmages with our Spartans, or junior varsity.

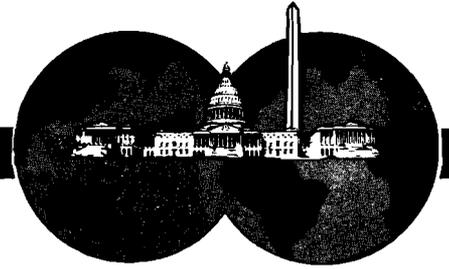
"Howard Jones was a real perfectionist. We never ran into an opponent which tried anything he hadn't diagrammed or otherwise anticipated for us. If the opponents' plays worked, we players knew it was our fault. Jones' idea was to attack an opponents' strength, not his weakness. We usually ran our first several plays at the lineman considered the other team's toughest. If we could soften him up, the others would follow. That was Jones' theory."

Against unscored-on Tennessee in the Rose Bowl game on Jan. 1, 1940, Shell recalled, "we even told their players where we were going and then did it. And Tennessee had some such famous linemen as Bob Suffridge and Ed Molinsky."

Candidate Starred in Bowls

Shell's most treasured football memory is of the high praise the cold, methodical, straightforward Jones, who died in 1941, gave him at the senior banquet following the Trojans' victory over Tennessee. Jones told the group the best job of blocking he'd seen was that of Joe Shell in the Tennessee game.





EXCLUSIVE

April 4, 1962

THE FEELING IS GROWING IN CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN CIRCLES that Richard Nixon is going to lose the November gubernatorial election to Democratic incumbent Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. This despite the fact that Brown is a colorless, mediocre politician and Nixon is a national figure who lost the Presidency by a hair.

One of the most highly placed strategists in the Republican command confirms the pessimistic outlook in a confidential statement to EXCLUSIVE. In his judgment -- "Nixon is frightened and frustrated and reads all the signs wrong."

Indeed, some GOP politicians believe that Nixon is not even assured of winning in the June 5 primary. His opponent, Joseph C. Shell, minority leader in the California State Assembly, is making spectacular progress. Two months ago it was estimated that Shell would receive only some five per cent of the primary vote. As of now, it is estimated that he would receive as much as 40 per cent of the vote.

The causes for Nixon's decline are many and varied. For one, his organization is confused and chaotic and torn with inner conflict. Former Governor Goodwin J. Knight remains a bitter opponent, may publicly support Pat Brown if Nixon receives the Republican nomination.

Also, Nixon is repeating a major mistake of his 1960 Presidential campaign. Again, Nixon is playing the "loner," making himself inaccessible to friendly critics and advisers within the Republican Party.

What is more, Nixon has made a series of tactical blunders which will cost him dear. His attack on the John Birch Society, for example, was politically unnecessary. It represents his perennial but futile drive to present an image acceptable to the Liberal Establishment.

The Birchers in California are powerful, not only numerically but financially. Loss of their support, by itself, can cost Nixon the election.

Nixon also lost potential Democratic supporters by his inept attacks on President Kennedy. The resurrection of the Cuban invasion issue as discussed during the television debates ended, at best, as a question mark. Nixon's characterization of the President as a carpetbagger was not only in poor taste. It was a political miscalculation which Nixon can ill afford.

For Nixon to win the California gubernatorial contest, he needs at least 90 per cent of the GOP vote and 20 per cent of the Democratic vote. (The Democrats total 1,200,000 more registered voters than the Republicans, in the ratio of three to two.) Thus far, Nixon is needlessly antagonizing voters in both parties.

Governor Brown entered the contest against Nixon filled with his usual self-doubts and vacillations. Nevertheless, he is moving ahead slowly and inexorably. Thus, the California Poll (directed by Mervin D. Field) in June, 1961, showed: Nixon - 53 percent; Brown - 37 per cent; undecided - 10 per cent. A sampling taken in October showed Brown gaining. The latest poll for February, 1962 showed: Nixon - 47 per cent; Brown - 45 per cent; undecided - 8 per cent.

The California Poll also showed Nixon having the support of 29 per cent of the Democrats last June. Significantly, the March, 1962 poll showed Democratic support decreased to 19 per cent.

As Governor Brown's relative popularity grows, he will start to hit harder. And Nixon, visibly strained and irritable seven months before the election, will probably flail out against his opponent, awkwardly and ineffectively.

In short, Nixon does not carry the aura of victory. This is clearly sensed by the liberal columnists who now adopt a patronizing tone in place of their customary viciousness.

Thus, Marquis Childs: "The ordeal to which Richard Nixon is about to subject himself is almost more than flesh and blood -- not to mention ego -- should have to endure. Running for Governor of California he is in the midst of a seventh crisis. He is playing it alone, keeping the decisions to himself. But that is an essential of the familiar, long-established Nixon who now once again defies fate and the lightning of the gods."

Thus, the New York Post's Max Lerner: "Nixon is his own choicest victim, his own executioner. Those who once regarded him as evil will have to revise their estimate. He is only, in a minor and persistent way, history's fool. The fact is that the only effective thing Nixon ever did was in the Hiss case. Everything after that -- the fund, the Caracas trip, the kitchen debate, the ghastly TV shambles -- was only pathetic."

Jason Lewis J.

Vol. VIII, No. 14

EXCLUSIVE is published every Wednesday by SPECIAL REPORTS, INC., Suite 300-D Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington 8, D. C., for private distribution. The subscription rate is \$24.00 per annum. COPYRIGHT 1962 BY SPECIAL REPORTS, INC.



BILLS INTRODUCED & CO-SPONSORED - 1961 SESSION
ASSEMBLYMAN JOSEPH C. SHELL

- A.B. 2519 - Introduced by Mr. Shell, relating to the detention and commitment of the mentally ill. Referred to the Committee on Social Welfare.
- A.B. 2491 - Introduced by Mr. Shell. The Kosher Food bill. Referred to Committee.
- A.B. 2823 - Introduced by Mr. Shell and Mr. Levering, relating to State aid to Junior Colleges. Signed by the Governor.

The following four bills were introduced by Mr. Shell as a result of the Citizens Advisory Commission Report:

- A.B. 3106 - relating to Academic Freedom in Public Schools. Referred to Committee
- A.B. 3107 - relating to Courses of Study in Schools. This bill was dropped in favor of a similar bill which incorporated most of AB 3107.
- A.B. 3110 - relating to psychological treatment and psychiatric treatment of students without written consent of parents. Signed by the Governor.
- A.B. 3111 - relating to psychiatric treatment of school children transporting them to another location. Referred to the Interim Committee on Education.
- A.B. 3143 - relating to courses of study for secondary schools. Incorporated into a similar bill, introduced by Mr. Casey, which passed and was signed by the Governor.

Here's a news item about Joe Shell you might have missed



SACRAMENTO UNION
Nov. 10, 1961

Affairs of State

Picture Shell Paints Certainly Not Pretty

By HENRY C. MacARTHUR
Capitol News Service

As one of the less flamboyant candidates for the Republican nomination for governor, Joseph Shell, Los Angeles assemblyman, probably has a better chance to evaluate the "feel" of the voting public, particularly on conditions applying to California economics at the present time.



His report as to what he is seeing doesn't add up to a pretty picture. The candidate has made 307 speeches in the past three months, in all sections of California, and has talked to hundreds of people in virtually all walks of life.

There is a general feeling, he said, that the state government is being operated in an ineffective manner, and a general belief that changes in the administrative force, from the governor down, should be made.

HEAVY TAXES

Also, he declared that most of the people he has talked with believe government is taxing too heavily for what the public is getting out of their burdensome taxes.

Specifically, Shell noted that probably the worst situation now on record is the fact that many firms either are changing plans to locate in California, moving out of the state, or are curtailing their operations here, with resultant losses in jobs, personal incomes, and of course taxes to support the state government.

He pointed out that in the San Francisco Bay area, the state lost about \$50 million a year through these causes, along with 9000 jobs.

OTHER TYPES

Shell was specific in stating that that was only a small portion of the industry refusing to come to California, or moving out to a more favorable tax climate, in some other state. The Bay Area situation, he said, applied only to metal trades, but there are scores of other types of businesses involved.

The state can ill afford to be losing ground in the maintenance of current jobs, and the creation of new work through establishment of new industry and business in California.

With the rapid growth of population, recession in jobs can result eventually only in more welfare programs, such as the present administration is sponsoring, all of which means greater costs to the California employers who now are financing some of these programs, like increases in unemployment insurance taxes imposed by the Legislature with the sponsorship of Governor Brown.

EMPLOYER SQUEEZE

The state's receding economic picture travels in a vicious, contracting circle, with the employer eventually to be squeezed in the middle by high welfare taxes.

Shell said the showdown must come soon as to whether the people of California want to continue the present trend toward the welfare state. He recommends discontinuing the trend through a change of administration.

The Los Angeles assemblyman is the first candidate for the state's highest office who has discussed economics dispassionately, and pointed out the path the state is taking.

In fact, most of Shell's thinking is dispassionate, but exceedingly full of facts, figures and sound opinions concerning the trends of 1961, along with some cogent ideas for remedies.

He is at least bringing some of the real issues of the forthcoming campaign for governor into the open.

Nixon for Governor

BOB HALDEMAN

Date: May 7, 1962

CHARLIE FARRINGTON

SHELL TV BUYS

Herb Kalmbach

In Los Angeles, as of this date, Joe Shell has purchased the following TV spots on these Stations:

KRCA -- 20 and 10 second spots -- \$15,000.

KTLA -- 60, 20 and 10 second spots -- \$6,000.

KABC -- 60 and 20 second spots (all prime) \$15,000.

KHJ -- 10 second spots (all prime) \$7,000.

KTTV -- 60 second spots -- between \$ and \$7,000.

KNXT -- No purchases as of this date.

All of these spots are scheduled to begin on May 13, two days prior to the start of our contemplated schedule.

Shell has further purchased time on KCOP in Los Angeles and KTVU in San Francisco, from 8:30 to 9:30 on May 23, to televise his Rally from the Sports Arena.

Charlie

*Total, in LA only, \$50,000 +
for spots --
plus about \$3,000 for the ra*

Shell file
in Sherry's
home to
Bab Waldeman

Mrs. Henry Sherry
138 Safford Ave
San Anselmo

gl. 3-4877

Talked to Alderman's wife
& she told her "bit of a"
story

April 12, 1962

*Shell
file*

to -- All Northern California Chairmen
from -- Bob Alderman

NEWSPAPERS One and two-column mats are being sent your county newspapers this week. All northern California dailies and weeklies on this headquarters mailing list will receive mats of Joe. If your local paper is getting releases from this office, it will receive the mat.

IDEA FROM STOCKTON The attached advertisement from the Stockton Record was sponsored by a local Stockton firm. The San Joaquin County Committee requested donation of the space. The use of material from the Joe Shell story is especially effective used this way and makes for relatively inexpensive production costs. Can you use this idea in your area?

DON'T MIX CANDIDATES We have had some complaints in various areas that some well-meaning Shell supporters are tying Shell in with other candidates, urging support of issues, selling books, etc., etc. We want to emphasize that THIS campaign must be concentrated on getting Shell the gubernatorial nomination. We cannot and must not divide loyalties and confuse prospective supporters. Remember that the person whose vote you are soliciting may be a strong Kuchel supporter, so if asked to vote for Jarvis or Wright, we might lose the Shell vote. **STICK WITH SHELL** and stay away from all other side issues and/or candidates, please!

ZERO HOUR There are still a few counties that haven't as yet forwarded their medical committees to Headquarters at 1155 Market St., SF. If you haven't done so, please send names of MD's, DDS's and RN's who have given permission to use their names on Joe Shell's committee. This is urgent as we would like representation in each county.

DID YOU KNOW? In 1957 Joe was responsible for introducing and the passage of AB 2880 which provided enforcement for the State Kosher Food Law. Passage of the bill was hailed throughout the State. Leading Rabbis congratulated and commended Assemblyman Shell stating that his name will always be remembered with gratitude and revered in the Jewish Community. This information is from Rabbi Glasner of Los Angeles, a strong Shell supporter.

GOVERNOR BROWN'S SCHEDULE

Sandy

To: Charles O'Brien

April 16, 1962

From: Dick Kline

Calendar changes:

-
- April 23 - Cancel Mother Lode Tour and Modesto dinner
should read Sacramento office
 - April 24 - Hold, afternoon SAN FRANCISCO, meeting with Reorganization
Committee
 - April 26 - LOS ANGELES, evening; private dinner
 - April 27 - LOS ANGELES, dinner preceding DSCC telecast
 - April 29 - SAN DIEGO, cancel Red Mass
add SANTA ROSA, 8 p.m. civic reception for Bishop Maher
 - May 1 - cancel MERCED and FRESNO
SACRAMENTO, dinner
 - May 2 - LOS ANGELES, 8 p.m., taping for KHJ
 - May 4 - MONTEREY, arrive by 6 p.m.
 - May 5 - MONTEREY all day
 - May 8 - LOS ANGELES, Town Hall Lunch
SAN DIEGO, tour afternoon and evening dinner
 - May 9 - SAN FRANCISCO, Archbishop Awards dinner

JUNE dates to be held:

- June 4 - Rotary International Convention, 9 a.m., LOS ANGELES
- June 12 - SOUTH LAKE TAHOE, Dist. Attys. Convention
- June 14 - 16 -- SEATTLE Worlds Fair
- June 21 - PALO ALTO, AP luncheon
- June 22 - SAN JOSE, American GI Forum Convention

* *** *

Miss Bot - Shell file

From books of this
it's addressed from the
Junior League list

Mildred

Here's a news item about
Joe Shell you might have
missed



Oakland Tribune

ESTABLISHED 1851 ... PUBLISHED DAILY ... EXCEPT SUNDAY

HOLMES ALEXANDER

Joe Shell's Views on State Elections

In San Diego high school and the University of Southern California, Joe Shell was consistently president of his classes and clubs, captain of the football teams and twice a Rose Bowl winner halfback.

Today, at 43, limber and gregarious, loaded with confidence, charm and conviction, Shell is in his fifth term as California Assemblyman from the 58th Los Angeles District, in his third term as Republican floor leader and is one of the three candidates for the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

To continue the winning streak which his life so far has been, Shell must defeat Richard Nixon and Harold Powers in the June primary and knock off Governor Brown in the November election.

He is sure he can do it because the spirit of the times is with him.

"We're having a conservative explosion out here," Shell told me. "Nobody who apologizes for being a conservative is going to win in California. People know I am a man of conviction, whatever else, and they ask, 'What's Nixon?'"

"They haven't forgotten his sellout meeting with Rockefeller just before the 1960 convention."

TO WIN ELECTION

For any Republican to win in California, he will need to take about half of the 1.3 million registered votes by which the Democrats exceed Republican.

Nixon says he will do this by going left of the GOP — Shell by going right of the Democrats.

Nixon has a splendid vision of a California Governor being an oracular statesman of national and world affairs — Shell has a homely concept of the governorship as an unglamorous, absorbing job to rescue the State from bankruptcy and worse.

"Basic socialism — not liberalism any more," Shell brands the Sacramento government. "I'm running for governor to get that blue executive pencil in my hand."

California law gives the governor an item veto so that he can chop out legislative provisions which in recent years have raised state bureaucratic employment by 30 per cent and expenditures by 35 per cent.

The blue pencil is a fiery sword against pressure groups, something that President Eisenhower yearned for in the six years he worked with a Democratic Congress.

The only Republican candidate now in public office, Shell is running on a record of always voting for economy, voluntary labor unions, compulsory loyalty oaths.

While he doesn't care to go out on "tangents" with the John Birch Society, he says the members whom he knows are "fine, solid, constructive citizens."

He says he's read the JBS Blue Book, while most people have only read rumors about it.

"What I found there is anti-Communism, and I'm for that. But I'm no freak, or else I wouldn't be chosen as minority floor leader. I'm no extremist. Conservatism by definition can't be extremism."

NATIONAL CONVULSION

The contest of Nixon vs. Shell is, of course, a microcosm of the national — perhaps of the global — convulsion which is trying to give birth to an acceptable doctrine of free government.

Nixon, while not a scholar, is something of a theoretician. By reading, cogitation and conversation, he tries to evolve formulae for discovering the center of political gravity — and to plant himself there.

Recognizing the conservative groundswell, he also feels the earth-tremor of greedy materialism. So he tells his interviewer: "We want conservatism — but we want it as an instrument of progress."

But what does it mean? What does Nixon stand for? As a sports fan, is he also a grandstand quarterback?

Shell, a participant in sports while Nixon has been the observer, the Navy pilot while Nixon was the ground officer, the button-holer on the Assembly floor, the glad-hander in Republican circles while Nixon is searching for what he calls "philosophy," a relative unknown while Nixon is a celebrity — this man Shell must be like thousands of obscure, dissatisfied, puzzled Americans with a drive to "do something" about the wrong way in which their country and the world are drifting.

Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.



At Last!

A CANDIDATE WILLING TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED

before election day!

Here's where Joe Shell stands
on the issues that face
every thinking Californian



WITH JOE—
YOU KNOW!

TAXES—They must be reduced. Millions of hard-earned tax dollars are going down the drain to pay the bills of big state government. Governor Brown and his administration have proposed a 1962 budget of 2 billion, 885 million dollars. That's right—well over two and three-quarter billion dollars! "More of everything for everybody—all free—easy street here we come" might well be their battle-cry. But more taxes? ... "why that's just a lot of talk from some old football player named Joe Shell." Then, gently, when the Campaign roar has subsided, when your mind is on the World Series or Christmas, when they figure the time is ripe, there will be some quiet administrative razzle-dazzle and you'll get the bill! I've been fighting this in Sacramento for nearly 10 years. I've seen it happen—time and again. Frankly, I'm tired of turning my pockets inside out for things I don't want and couldn't use if I did. I'm tired of more laws, more bureaucrats, more forms to fill out, more confusion and more waste. I'm tired of a year-in, year-out increase in the number, size and scope of state agencies and the crazy-quilt services they provide. I'm tired of paying everybody else's bills and having nothing left for my own. I think most Californians feel precisely the same way. Taxes are **much too high**. They must be reduced—and they will be! Just give me the chance!

Today, thanks to the staggering tax load, the man with a family to feed and **too few** dollars to do it with is a Conservative—regardless of what he may call himself. Millions of Californians are having to face the financial facts of life. It's time their State Government did the same. Reducing taxes by eliminating waste and administrative "fat" in Sacramento is the quickest way I know to put more dollars in your pocket. As a Conservative, that's **exactly** what I would do.

Basically, my credentials are these. I am the only candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor who is—here and now—a working member of the State Government. I've been a member of the State Legislature for nearly 10 years. I am completely familiar with California's problems, legislative processes and people. We're all in this together. With your help, I know I can do the job. I can and will justify your confidence in me. Thank you sincerely.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION—I support both programs but I favor a **more realistic** approach in their administration. Unemployment insurance is a good example. As an "idea," it's a good one. However, in many cases, we've gone far beyond the original intent. It's a matter of attitude. In Sacramento today, we have a kind of bureaucratic inflation; a galloping increase in the size, scope and budget of the state welfare agencies—not because of population growth or some other real need, but simply because more and more expensive non-essentials are being added. I'm 100% "for" helping people who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in need; but I'm against simply doing good "to" people for no very clear reason.

EDUCATION—I am against entrenched bureaucrats in Sacramento telling our local school boards how to run the schools in their district. I am appalled by the State's attempts to force the teaching profession into a progressive mold by dictating textbook selection.

There has been a gradual "watering down" of law enforcement under the Brown administration. This, to a point where "social welfare" would be a more appropriate name. Let's give law enforcement the **legislation** and **support** it needs to **do** the job, particularly with regard to narcotics peddlers and users. They have been getting away with **murder**—literally.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—I support it. Capital punishment is an important deterrent to crime and an important protection for our law enforcement officers. This has been proven **beyond question!** Remember, even for a murderer, there is no such thing as life imprisonment without the possibility of release. Decent people have a right to be protected—**for life**—and capital punishment is society's most effective means.

COMMUNISM—I would outlaw the Communist Party by definition in California. I am against Communism, fellow travelers and all their treasonous works.

LOYALTY OATHS—I am not naive enough to think a loyalty oath would stop a Communist. Deceit is their stock in trade. Nonetheless, I see nothing wrong in asking any real American to stand up and be counted "for" his country—and in no **uncertain terms**.

THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM—I support it without reservation.

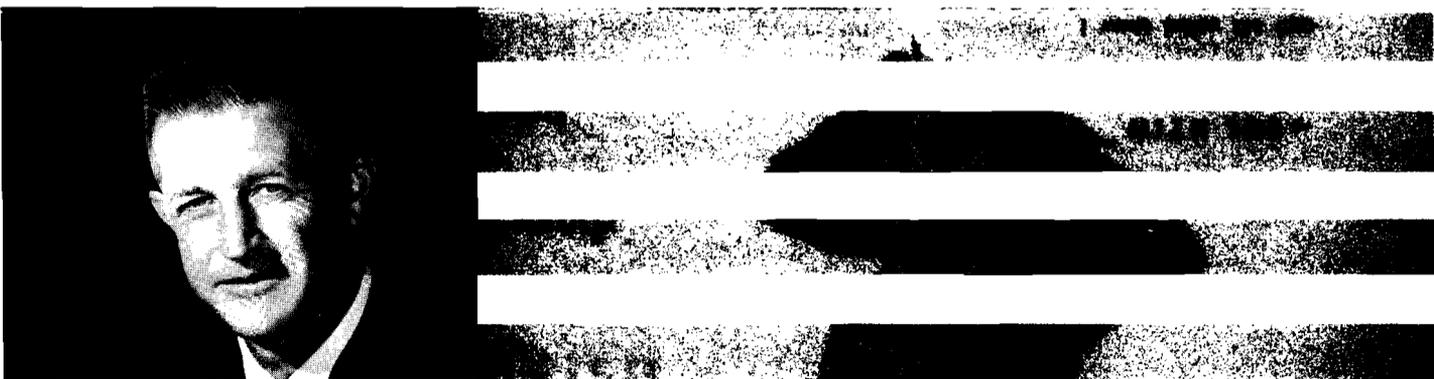
GOVERNOR EDWARD BROWN—He has proven himself completely incompetent. His indecision, his "politics-first, seat-of-the-pants, let's cross-that-bridge-when-we-come-to-it" philosophy of government is a well publicized fact. This expensive confusion, which his spokesman and advisor Assemblyman Jesse Unruh helped create, has brought California to the brink of financial disaster.

JOE PEARSON—I support him. He's a clean-cut, hard-working man who will fight hard—but clean. I don't deal in mud, abuse or innuendo. I'll leave that to those with nothing better to say. I stand with the people—**NOT** the State—and for **less** Government interference in their affairs—**NOT** more! That's what we're here to decide and the only real issue in this campaign. I'm proud to be the only Candidate offering the people that **choice!** I would welcome a debate with my opponent. Quite frankly, I don't understand his reluctance to meet me head-on. The voters of this state deserve the chance to size us up on the same platform, face-to-face, in action. That's the way to make up your mind—and the American way. Smoke-filled rooms aren't my style.

Meet Joe Shell

Joe Shell was born in the State of Washington and has lived 41 of his 43 years in California. His parents, Judge (retired) and Mrs. J. L. Shell have resided in San Diego since 1920. Joe was educated in the San Diego public schools, graduating from Herbert Hoover High in 1936. He holds a degree in Business Administration from the University of Southern California where he also captained the 1939 Rose Bowl Championship football team. Joe is married to the former Barbara Morton. They have 5 children: Barbara, Joe Jr., David, Harold and Diane. He served in the United States Naval Air Corps as a pilot during World War II and is of the Episcopalian faith. Prior to his election to the State Legislature in 1953, Joe spent 21 years in the oil business. Re-elected to the Assembly in '54, '56, '58 and '60, he has been Republican Floor Leader for the past three years. Joe Shell is currently serving on the following Legislative committees: Government Organization; Industrial Relations; Manufacturing; Oil and Mining Industry; Revenue and Taxation.


Joe Shell for Governor



JOE SHELL FOR GOVERNOR

LEGISLATOR • BUSINESSMAN • VETERAN

Shell
file

MEMO TO: Kai Jorgensen
FROM: Mildred Fluent
DATE: April 4, 1962
RE: Report of Visit to Shell Headquarters

Found them most excited about the result of last night's YR meeting at the Ambassador. Guess they really dressed it up. Shell flew down from Sacramento while his buddies up there kept a "filabuster" going until his return. As he walked down the aisle at the Ambassador a pile of balloons was let loose. Had great press coverage including NBC-TV and it is reported that it will be on Chet Huntley's show tonight at about 6:00.

They had no actual new poll results other than something from Orange County where it shows that while Shell hasn't yet really passed Nixon that the number of "undecideds" is growing fast and it was reported that this was true all over the state. And that an undecided meant "undecided about Nixon."

They have 70 state headquarters and expect to add at least 2 a week while Nixon has only 3 - one in San Diego, one in Los Angeles and one in San Francisco. The San Francisco headquarters is run by a Democrat.

They plan on using TV spots heavily, some newspaper and some outdoor.

They report that the GOP is not solidly behind Nixon as they were at first and are actually pulling money away from Nixon.

They say that of course they don't have too much money either as everyone seems to be waiting until the primaries are over before making their donations.

Picked up all available literature which is attached. That is all except some of the things which cost money!

MF/cv