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To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Subject: Background on Housing Article
Distribution:

The attached memo shows the comedy of errors and obvious weak spots of Farrington first and Research second.

Al deserves credit for going forward and getting the material together at the last moment. But I would respectfully suggest that you simply have to raise some hell with Farrington and with those in Research responsible for the foul-up.
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM
Nixon for Governor

To: R N
From: Al Moscow
Subject: Background on Housing Article
Distribution: Haldeman Farrington

Date: August 21

The chronology on the article for the Southern California Home Buyers Magazine is as follows:

July 16--R Farrington received call from Dorothy Wright to phone magazine about an article. Farrington did so and recommended to Bob Haldeman that it was a "good idea" and we should go ahead with it—an article over your signature on home buying and future plans on housing for California.

July 18--Bob said "Go Ahead—!! have research prepare the material. Farrington phoned request to Sophie Telfer in Research.

August 2--Farrington called research and found nothing had been done on it. After checking with Haldeman he then gave the project to me—saying that we were committed to doing the article by August 15.

August 2—I phoned Agnes Waldron for research material. A day or so later I got a slim folder on housing, with no information about private home building in the state.

August 2-13—After checking for names with Dan Waters, I phoned Udall in San Diego, Butler in Los Angeles and a fellow named Brady and finally Webster Jones, PR man for the Home Builders Assn of Southern California. I also got your tape of speech before Home Builders Assn for further information.

After doing two drafts, which were unsatisfactory to me, I waited until after the 18th for your return, knowing you would want to approve this article because of the newness of the subject matter.

I put together the final draft yesterday, August 20; it was typed by Farrington's secretary today, and with the Magazine clamoring because their deadline was August 15, I said send it ahead and tell them we may have changes in it to make. The magazine editor showed his heart was on our side by sending us a copy of Brown's matching article (received here August 20), which was pretty dull stuff....
To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Subject: Distribution:
Date: July 25, 1962

Joy Anderson -- pretty girl who handled the Western flight from Los Angeles to San Francisco last Friday -- she would be very good in that stewardess group. She is married to a pilot.

[Handwritten note: RN stewardess group will contact her direct]
It is terribly important for our people to talk to more of the volunteer types, finance and key political types, that we have.

We must not assume that I am the only one who can talk to these people. It is a constant hand-holding operation.
To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Subject: 
Distribution: 

Date: July 25, 1962

What do we have comparable to this job the Brown people have put out on me? On my record -- as well as on Brown's?
To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Date: August 14, 1962

Subject: Distribution

I want to be kept up-to-date on what is going on with regard to the Democratic State Convention. Putting Brown on the spot with regard to the CDC type resolutions, etc.

[Handwritten notes:]
- Are you know Murray is on top of this to give you an idea what's going on?
- Will you give RN a run-down on its job?
To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Subject: Re Attached Correspondence

Date: August 14, 1962

On the liquor law thing if we send the attached letter as suggested by Al Moscow are we going to stir up a lot of animals as far as the liquor people are concerned.

Chotiner would be able to tell us for sure whether this is good. Run it by Chotiner et al before it comes back to me for signature.
8-17-62

Murray -

- on the attached re: Alcohol Council - will appreciate your checking out and letting RN have your advice direct.

- many thanks.

BOB HALDEMAN
I need to know what television spots -- what radio spots -- we have for koffee klatches, etc. I need to know what is our total requirement in this field. These will have to be done the first week in September or before on most of them and we should be lining them up.
Ralph Bunje feels very strongly that while Steve Hess may be a great speech writer, his limitations in the farm area are great.

He urges that you not use Hess for preparation of the farm speeches to be made during the campaign. He feels that Hess does not grasp the problem and, more importantly, that his tricky and colorful phraseology will not set well at all with the farm group.
To: Bob Haldeman  
From: RN  
Subject:  

Date: August 14, 1962

Would you please see that this memorandum goes to everyone who prepares drafts for speeches, tapes, etc.

I do not want to see any drafts of statements, tapes or speeches prepared for my use where we call Brown "Pat Brown." I have mentioned this several times but it constantly appears in material presented to me for consideration.
To: Bob Haldeman  
From: RN  
Subject:  
Distribution:  

Date: August 14, 1962  

Would you please see that this memorandum goes to everyone who prepares drafts for speeches, tapes, etc.

I do not want to see any drafts of statements, tapes or speeches prepared for my use where we call Brown "Fat Brown." I have mentioned this several times but it constantly appears in material presented to me for consideration.
To: (as noted)                                      Date: 8-18-62
From: Bob Haldeman
Subject:
Distribution: G. Grassmuck
             S. Ness
             D. Hunter
             H. Klein
             A. Moscov
             J. Reynolds
             M. Younger

Before submitting to RN for his consideration drafts of speeches, statements, tapes etc., if Brown's name is used, be sure to refer to him as "Mr. Brown" -- never "Fat Brown".
Bob Haldeman

Your August 15 memo re: regular contacts with major contributors.

We have been developing plans for similar activity and will add your suggestions to same.

We all agree this is very important.
While I have covered with you verbally most of the points listed in your memorandum of July 25th, I will recap present status herein:

1) Al Moscow has had the responsibility for the book project with regard to libraries etc.

2) Mrs. Virginia Wilson (recommended by Murray) is in charge of the paperback book distribution project. 25,000 copies have been ordered. Plans for distribution and follow-up will be handled by Mrs. Wilson and her committee set up solely for this purpose. They will be given the recommendations covered in your several memoranda. We are also going to use the leather bound version and are developing plans for it.

3) Distribution of the Reader's Digest article will be set up according to the recommendations in your memo to the maximum extent possible; however, part of the distribution plan outlined in my original proposal will accomplish some of the goals you have stated, and I do not think it should be completely abandoned.

4) Charlie Farrington is in charge of campaign literature. You have seen several basic pieces which are now in production. As you know, a number of the other pieces, i.e. those suggested by Paul Keyes, are also in preparation.

5) Murray Chotiner is responsible for the attack group, and in this capacity is guiding the activities of Jerry Reynolds and the investigative arm of the research group; Don Jackson and use of the McDonald files; Bill Price who is doing special investigation.

6) Murray will also take the responsibility for "Free Democrats." As you know, Kalmbach is not negotiating with Moore. This is being handled by Nate Jacobs' agency and is completely separate from the campaign organization.
7) The responsibility for women's clubs outside of the Republican Clubs is divided. Ivy Stevens will be covering the area you suggested for her, i.e. top level women executives etc., although she tells me her activity will have to be very limited due to doctor's orders. My mother is working with a group of the younger Junior League types, and also bringing the Lungren types into this activity. Rose is going to talk to Bea Linville regarding Business & Professional Women.

8) I still don't have the guy to be in charge of the drive for young executives, but am pushing on this.

9) As far as I can determine, Bill Ross has quit giving us the needle and our relations at the moment, at least, are pretty good with Baus & Ross, so don't think we should take positive steps at this point.

10) We have gone over the master schedule with you.

11) I am revising the priority list of expenditures and will go over the new draft with you this week.

12) We had an ideal volunteer all set to take charge of mail, but she had a heart attack the first week on the job. We are now trying to line up a replacement. Meantime, Oakley Hunter has agreed to work with Loie on special mail relating to California political problems and, as you know, Lichstein is now able to take on some of the work.

13) We have set up a Schedule Committee for Pat consisting of Gladys O'Donnell, Pat Hitt, Herb Klein, Rose Woods, Alice Leopold and myself, with Bessie Newton as secretary and staff member responsible for Pat's itinerary. This group is meeting Wednesday.
To: Bob Haldeman
Date: July 25, 1962
From: RN
Subject: Nixon for Governor

I need for my own guidance the names of people who specifically are going to take responsibility for the following projects:

1. My book project with regard to libraries and purchases by individuals like Gainey, et. al. On this one, I admit I will have to do something but I want to know what you are doing.

2. The paper back project. What is the plan for distributing it in California?

3. What about the Reader's Digest?

4. Who is in charge of campaign literature? In this field I need to see the basic literature, particularly with regard to any statements of mine or positions -- just to read it quickly. What are the plans for literature? Specifically, here, one thing that I constantly still get questions on is when are we going to get our issues summary out?

5. The attack group.

6. The positive drive for the Democratic votes. In that connection I am concerned about having Kalmbach negotiate with More. I think you ought to get this away from your office and get it in the hands of some independent group or at least someone more sophisticated than Kalmbach handling it.

7. The women's groups. Who is responsible for these? In the case of organized women -- Gladys O'Donnell is going to handle that. I am referring to who is going to conduct the drive for women outside of the Republican Clubs so that we get a real active, live group -- particularly among those wives of professional and business types -- the Junior League types, the Lungren types, etc.

8. Who is going to be in charge of the drive for young executives -- the male opposite number of the women referred to above.

9. You referred to the fact that Bill Ross was giving us the needle. The counterattack here is to have one of his clients take him to task. Give me a report on what you can do on this score.

10. We really have to see a master schedule for the campaign and I think we have to see it before we get up to the state convention. Go forward and prepare a suggested timing for me on this.

11. Also before we get there I would like to see a priority list with regard to our expenditures in the campaign so that we can appraise our efforts in terms of geographical areas, media emphasis, etc.
(12) Who is in charge of Mail?

(13) Who is in charge of Pat's schedule?
I have asked for a rundown on where McClellan is - what he is doing, etc.

Meantime, I can assure you he has covered a tremendous amount of ground in the out counties organizational and fund-raising programs so that they will be set up and operating. He plans to concentrate from here on in Los Angeles county.

A complete report will follow shortly.
Bob Haldeman


My general memorandum covered this subject briefly, but this is to confirm that we will set up a key program to rifle shot the Reader's Digest reprint into key Mexican areas and other heavily Democratic-Catholic areas. We will also look for other specific groups who would be potentially against us, but who might be affected by this piece.

The plans for distribution of the paper back "Six Crises" will be firmed up immediately. We will follow the guideline of selling them at 80¢ or less, if possible, and will concentrate on those areas where we can get maximum effect.
The News Bureau now consists of Quinn and Zeigler since Reynolds has been detached and assigned to Research to handle investigations and preparation of attack material for other people.

Moscow has a series of other responsibilities covered in an earlier memo to you.

Quinn and Zeigler have been handling a few research-investigations and will continue to be available for this type of activity. They also have been working on updating of our records re: newspaper, radio, TV personnel, and Zeigler spends a great deal of time handling routine day-to-day requests and inquiries from the press statewide.

Herb Klein is now responsible and I presume he will want to do some reorganizing.
To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Date: August 14, 1962
Subject: Distribution

What in particular is the News Bureau doing each day now?
Your memo of 8/6 re: deterioration of prestige

As you know, most of the campaign group -- especially the advertising and P.R. people -- have always agreed strongly with Leone Baxter's position that we should not lose the advantage you have of being on a higher level than Brown. I think this has been reflected in literature, advertising etc. but not in scheduling for the primary, nor in press releases and background stories. I think our basic plan for the fall campaign provides the opportunity for campaigning in a way that emphasizes our strength rather than further deterioration, and we will keep this in mind in all planning from here on out.
For consideration of your public relations approach and as affects our literature, color stories, scheduling, etc. I have noted in looking at polls in depth that one of our major assets is the fact that I have been Vice President, and that this asset is substantially deteriorating. One of the reasons for this deterioration is, of course, lapse of time since holding office.

But from my conversations with several people part of the reason is due to our own tactics. We have been listening so much to the group that says as Jim Basset did a few months ago, "Nixon must forget that he was ever Vice President and act just like Brown does -- be a candidate for Governor." That has affected everything we do. There is a subtle problem here which Leone Baxter emphasized to me again when I saw her in San Francisco. She feels it is vitally important that we not lose the real advantage I have of being on a higher level than Brown from the standpoint of the offices I have held and the prestige we have had. She thinks that we have fallen into Brown's trap by trying simply to "do as Brown does" rather than to campaign in a way that emphasizes our strength. Kick this around the next time you have a public relations group; bringing up the subject may help to set some of those right who are making the same argument that Basset has made. You might tell them about the polls in depth to which I referred and see what they can come up with in a way that we can make use of our asset.

Give me a report at your convenience as to what changes and emphasis we can make to handle this problem more effectively.
Jackson is supposed to have information with regard to a number of CDC-endorsed candidates and nominees who have communist-front backgrounds. I would like to get the names of those for possible use in some sort of a statement. Also, I think we should get the names of those Democratic Congressmen - James Roosevelt and others - who have come out for abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and ask whether Brown repudiates them.
Herb Kalmbach

Bob Haldeman

Herb:

Will you see if you can run this fellow Pollock down and check him out?

Please let me know the result.