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<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: RN From: PWK Re: Appraisal of the television situation as an integral partner to our regular campaign activities in the Fall. 27 Pages.</td>
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In preparing for future telethons this fall, the boss has been looking at your memorandum of June 1. He appreciated your comments with regard to the telethon and for the most part agreed with your suggestions. However, he completely rejects your suggestion on the handling of the questions. He wants them to be handled as they come in. While this does not make for as smooth an operation and some subjects he may want to cover may be left out, he thinks the only fair way to do this is to take the questions of the listening audience as they come in.
HANDLING OF INCOMING QUESTIONS

We were much too concerned in the screening of the questions.

The general 'dullness' of the questions will be relieved in the Fall - because we will be in the real election where issues are more clear-cut and the sides more clearly drawn. Also, the competitive atmosphere between Brown and RN will be tenser - a situation which will allow us stronger defense, when required, and will justify stronger attacks, when desired.

As a rule of thumb, we should plan to attack more.

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1. Preparing in advance a series of 'dynamite' questions - both defense and attack, but positive in nature.
2. Having these 'dynamite' questions at Sorters' desk - and feeding one in to every 3 legitimate questions that come in on the phone. This, obviously, gives us complete 'quality control' of our subject matter.
3. Thus, we could predetermine exactly what would be given to RN in each batch of questions - he would know, generally, what to expect and could ease his mind on the matter.

Example of a batch of questions thus handled follows:
SAMPLE BATCH OF QUESTIONS FROM SORTERS TO RN:

Question No. 1 -- Prepared 'dynamite' question.
Question No. 2 -- Legitimately phoned in question.
Question No. 3 -- Legitimately phoned in question.
Question No. 4 -- Legitimately phoned in question.
Question No. 5 -- Prepared 'dynamite' question.
Question No. 6 -- Humorous question - prepared.
Question No. 7 -- Legitimately phoned in question.
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Question No. 9 -- Prepared 'dynamite' question.

Using this ratio - all questions would be fed to RN in batches of 9 - giving him assurance that we have a balance in that group that will be favorable to his cause. And which will be divided equally between defense, attack, legitimate viewer questions, prepared 'dynamite' questions and a humorous one.

Knowing the general make-up of each batch - RN can thus operate in the security of knowledge - that no matter what happens - his 1st, 5th and 9th (last) questions will be strong positions, the answers to which will be generally favorable to him.

Thus, no matter how dull the legitimately phoned in questions are - they will only be questions 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8 - and he can pass over them if he feels his pacing requires it.

* While ratio of questions may be varied - it is the device of control that is important here.
MORE ON SAMPLE BATCH OF QUESTIONS:

Also - sorters should write key word denoting subject of question along top border of each card so that RN's mind can immediately go to work even as he reads question.

I would also urge that the humorous questions be similarly designated - with some marking at the top of the card - so that he can find it immediately if he wants to go for it out of the normal order.

Now, a word about what I call the 'humorous' question. Let's first combine the meanings of 'warm' and 'humorous' in this category.

Frankly, RN pleasantly surprised me in his almost professional approach to the 'ad lib' throw-away he did on the air. I believe the warm and humorous type question helps humanize him to an antagonistic viewer as well as provide a needed change of pace to the program.

EXAMPLE: (exactly as I recall it on the air)
RN: Here's a call saying that since today is the President's birthday - do I plan to wish him a happy birthday on the telethon tonight......
AUDIENCE - WARM CHUCKLE,
RN: Yes, I am happy to wish President Kennedy many, many happy returns.
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RN: And while I'm about it - I would like also to wish myself many, many happy returns on June 5th and November 6th......
AUDIENCE: GENERAL LAUGHTER
ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE
MORAL: Out of a seeming completely legitimate situation -
RN was able to 'break the ice' in the program - and also
gain for himself in this order -
Warm chuckles.
Appreciative Applause.
General Laughter.
Enthusiastic Applause.

Now, the big point here is that all of these AFFECTIONATE RESPONSES
were directed to RN, the MAN, not to RN, the Candidate. I think that's
a telling point - one quite important in the overall image we must project
to the public.

Also - later in the program - the question -

'If you had your life to live over, what change would you make?'
received a warm response - and was completely believable. And the set-
up gave RN a rare opportunity to make his point about the PT Boat without
any appearance of dragging in the issue by its tail.

And the laugh it received helps 'relax' RN and establishes he has a
quick, witty sense of humor.

I urge we have many more of these in future telethons!!!!!
To: Haldeman, Hunter, Frey
From: Grassmuck
Date: August 29, 1962

Subject: Preparing Briefing Questions and Answers for use before the telethons.

Distribution:
This is a suggested procedure for working up a set of purposeful briefing questions.

The obvious purpose of the telethons is to help elect Nixon. The telethons should be handled so as to get RN and his program across as well as to destroy Brown and his administration. So the questions and the answers will need to be prepared with these major purposes constantly in mind.

The questions should be prepared in two groups:
1. Those which are bound to recur and which need to be repeated throughout the State in each of the telethons.
2. Those which relate to local matters that are important for particular telethons. These will be of use only once, probably.

LOCAL AFFAIRS:
The second group of questions, the locals, should be small. Even though many are submitted, the number of them that gets on the air must be regulated. These questions will need to be prepared close to the time of the particular telethon. They will be set in part at least according to what the local issues of the time and place may be. In this work local newspapers and local opinion leaders should be consulted.

STATEWIDE CAMPAIGN ISSUES:
The far greater effort should go into preparing questions and answers which will recur. These will deal with the hard issues of the campaign, the dynamite questions, the personal questions, and the humorous questions too. Preparation for these will include updating the questions used in the primary campaign and adding new Q&A material based on more recent research and decisions. This preparation can get underway immediately.

Each question can be typed on a 5x8 inch card. The question will be at the top of the card and the answer immediately below. The cards can be labeled at the top right, for example, according to major topic (Finance, Welfare, etc.)

Two sets at least of these cards should be kept—one set for the candidate and the other set for researchers and for use in briefing. After each
telethon both sets should be returned to Research for reworking. The old local questions can be replaced by those for the next stop, and the standard or statewide questions can be reordered and refurbished.

For the sake of all concerned as well as the campaign, the questions in this group should be limited in number. A hundred is a large batch to prepare properly and to use effectively in a briefing.

In preparing all these questions we should get Brown's bad points and Nixon's good points across either directly or indirectly, within the limits which the question poses of course.
TO: HALEMEN
FROM: Grassmuck
DISTRIBUTION:
SUBJECT: Notes and suggestions on the telethon operations; at random.

1. Briefing. A top man from research in whom RN has confidence (Dave Hunter) should arrive on the scene of the telethon early in the day preceding the telethon. Then he should be able to size up local issues, determine what local help he can count on, and what special matters appear to be needing attention. Experience, perhaps with the wrong technical experts, leads me to believe that there are gaps in an RN political presentation which can better be filled by a researcher than by the sound and picture people.

If Hunter has the responsibility of briefing, he might confer with Hess on the morning of the telethon. Then the two of them, or Hunter alone, could work with RN for a couple of hours. Here is where the prepared questions and answers would be effective.

2. Handling Questions during the Telethon. A set sequence of types of questions should be prearranged, understood and cued. RN as well as the immediate handler of questions, Hunter here if all goes well, should know this pattern in advance. The pattern suggested by Paul Keyes in the attached memo may be used, or different sequences may be set provided they are simple and easy to follow. The demands of the telethon may call for different patterns.

The kinds of questions asked and the way in which they are asked are determined by the needs of the campaign primarily, and only incidentally if at all by the nature or type of questions that are received over the telephones. The opposition sometimes gangs up on the telephones according to predetermined sabotage plans.

Telephone operators should write legibly, know political terminology, and keep the questions to as few words as possible. The questions they receive should then be screened, and the good ones typed in good English. These should be passed to Dave Hunter, or an assistant of his, for blending in with the prepared questions.

3. General Observations. After the first two out-country runs, you should have a tight show which is ready for the big time and the big towns. Your show will be markedly improved if Ray Arbuthnot is given the opportunity to shepherd the celebrities. This can well be his sole function.
OUTLINE FOR SUGGESTED PROMOTION

to precede

Richard Nixon Telecasts
What I have outlined here are the beginnings.

I have approached these beginnings with but one thought - how do we get the most people to watch the Telethon? That has been my guide here - and must be the guide of all thinking to follow. For only if the Telethon is SEEN can it be EFFECTIVE!

I have also leaned on a few devices designed to attract DEMOCRATS to the program - the registration percentages in California bear witness to our need for this.

I believe each of the following should be considered - then either accepted as part of our Promotion or Eliminated - but each major approach that is eliminated must be replaced by another device.

My point being - the time to plan our promotion is now - in the calm, cool hours of concentration - not later in panic.

On a following page, I urge we retain the services of a PROMOTION DIRECTOR to work on each Telethon - and while I may not be here in the Fall during the Telethons - I will be here in July and would certainly hope to meet with whomever you choose as Promotion Director and get everything ironed out - even to preparing a 'Guide to Telethon' work book to be distributed to our people around the state so that all of their efforts can be combined and controlled for maximum effect - removing the hit/miss aspect that comes from lack of general communication no matter how good their intentions may be.

Yes, we will always need 'ad libbing' on the local level - but let them do our work first - then 'wing' it locally.
One other point - and a major one.

I think the new idea of citizen-participation in a campaign is a positive one - for when people become involved, they become increasingly more dedicated.

Also - active participation gives them something to talk about - positive aspects - in their free hours - and assuming many of them occasionally talk to Democrats - we are thus creating a statewide 'floor of conversation' - non-politic in nature - but people-to-people.

I can't stress too much the importance we should put on wide participation in the telethon effort.

But it must always be controlled and directed by us lest it become dissipated along the way.
NEED FOR A PROMOTION DIRECTOR

Just as we hire a Producer to Produce the Telethon, I think it is imperative we retain the services of a Promotion Director to Direct our Promotion prior to the Telethon.

Facing Facts - that the Telethon must be widely seen to be effective - I think we've got to avoid the hit or miss aspect of promotion and remove it from regular workers who add it to an already long list of assignments.

In short - we need a man whose ONLY assignment will be to promote the telethon - and we must make available to him the cooperation and channels of the Agency, the press boys, the campaign mailing staff, the producer of the program and all other avenues at our disposal.

We need a personable specialist who can go into each of our eight cities and spur activity - always retaining supervision of it. Some of the devices I have outlined in the following pages will require baby sitting - and we've just got to get a good baby sitter.
AUTOMATIC PROMOTION DEVICES

There are certain things which we must do automatically.

1. Agency should secure station break promotion from all TV stations purchased for the Telethon. We, as a sponsor, are due this - it's part of the business.

2. Pre-mailing by Nixon Headquarters. We must send out maximum mailing - and angle should be for everyone to invite a Democrat to watch. (I'll be happy to help prepare this in July).

3. Agency will (as before) purchase HIGHLIGHT LISTINGS in newspapers day of Telethon - as well as in the week's TV Guide.

STATION BREAK SATURATION PLAN ON RADIO

This is a good device - and we should plan to purchase it in each of the Telethon cities - choosing the most listened radio stations.

There are variations - but I think we can just agree on what we want - and negotiate with the stations to buy this for the day of the Telethon - from sign on to the beginning of our Telethon.

Idea is to tie our short, crisp plugs in with the station identification - all day long.

Example - 'This is WXYZ in San Diego - where Southern Californians can see Richard Nixon answer questions four hours tonight starting at 9 on Channel 4.'

This is good for us - because it will reach a maximum number of people - certainly worth the money in car radios alone. And it is not only a reminder - but a CONSTANT reminder.

It may be necessary to alter the announcements to comply with the 'Paid political' laws - which I will be happy to do.

But - whoever does them - they must be short, crisp, snappy.
LOCAL TV PERSONALITY TIE-IN

1. Arrange with each station that is to carry the Telethon to have one of its local TV personalities invite his local viewers to submit questions during the week prior to the Telethon - the idea being that Mr. Nixon will answer the 'majority' (most frequently asked) during his Telethon.

2. This local TV personality then will be scheduled into our Telethon (8 stations means one of them per half-hour on a four-hour Telethon). We will call him at pre-arranged time - and his call will be scheduled on a Beeper phone to RN.

3. The local TV personality will be 'written for' to avoid wasting expensive TV time . . . . and will say: (to RN, beeper phone)
   'Good evening, Mr. Nixon, this is (NAME) up here in San Francisco - all week long my viewers in the Bay Area have been submitting questions - and the one they most frequently ask is this . . . . '
   (GIVES QUESTION)
   Mr. Nixon gets the question, thanks the TV personality for calling - hangs up - and answers the question.

4. This will get us good, solid, on-the-air promotion for a full week prior to the Telethon. Because we 'involve' (and thus flatter) the local guy, he will give us plenty.

5. This should be worked out between stations and our agency - and not willy-nilly - it is genuine promotion which the station must do for the purchase we are making of their facilities during the Telethon. This should be part of our purchase deal.
NIXONETTES

Here, again, we rely on our personal approach, direct contact with the voter.

And we gain from the cute attractiveness and enthusiasm of the Nixonettes.

This will occur on the day of the Telethon - D-Day.

We must flood our streets in busy areas with the Nixonettes.
(Also, at or near factories where we reach the workers).

Their message to passers-by will be as follows:

'I hope you and your friends will watch Richard Nixon answer questions about our California government for 4 hours tonight on Channel 4 - starting at nine o'clock. Thank you.'

The girls will either recite this - or pass out small white cards (size of business cards) with the message printed on it).

In addition, to the number of individuals reached - we get fringe benefits just from having the girls seen out en masse like this.
TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN (Pre-program)

This gives us the 'direct contact' approach which is very effective.

In each of the 8 cities which are to carry the Telethon, volunteer workers are to be organized one week ahead of time. For each of the 7 following days, each volunteer will complete 100 calls - easily accomplished within 2 hours, dialing time and all.

There will be no ad libbing. The standard message will be:

'Hello, this is Joan Doe - I'm a Volunteer for Richard Nixon, and we hope you and your friends will watch Mr. Nixon (NIGHT) on Channel 4 as he answers questions regarding our State government for four hours - starting at nine o'clock. Thank you.'

With each volunteer committed to completing 100 calls a day for a week - you can see how this mounts up.

Each girl will complete 700 calls in the week.

Merely 10 girls doing this in each city gives us 7,000 homes reached in each city.

Or 56,000 homes reached in all eight cities. Averaging less than 2.5 viewers per home, we will reach over 100,000 viewers in this personal approach.
TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN (during program)

Our aim here will be to contact Democrats.

We will have teams of girls operating in each city - making calls from our Republican Headquarters. Naturally, total number of persons reached is dependent upon the number of girls we use - but figure each girl working for an hour can make a call a minute.

(If you assume a minimum average of 10 girls working out of each Nixon Headquarters all over the state - and estimating say 150 such headquarters - we could reach and maintain 1500 calls per minute.)

The standardized message (our girls must always open and close the message in one spurt, avoiding dialogue or we lose our pace) to be as follows:

'Good Evening, this is Joan Doe. Richard Nixon is answering questions that are important to you right now on Channel 4. I hope you and your friends will watch and that you'll call and remind others. Thank you.'

Consider, please, 150 centers with 10 girls each making 60 calls an hour - our goal would thus be to reach 90,000 first contacts an hour. (And at 2.5 viewers per house, we approach 225,000 viewers).

Most efficient operation will be to have girls work in teams of 2 - first girl doing the actual talking - other girl getting the next number ready and dialing the minute first girl hangs up. They can switch off to spell each other. But they must keep at it every minute.
TELETHON POSTERS FOR SUPER MARKETS

1. We must create special posters for the Telethon - and while I designate them for super markets - they may be, of course, used elsewhere.

2. However, my main interest here is the area of the super markets - because here is where most of our wives and mothers - who spend the money - must go at least once during the full week prior to the Telethon.

3. Important, I think, to hit the women here where it hurts - because with posters at or near the checkout counters - we will be reaching them at the precise moment they are painfully aware of rising costs and inflated economy when they are reaching into their purses to buy food, (necessities) at high cost levels.

4. With this in mind - our posters should have a message in that direction . . . . something like:

   'Richard Nixon will answer questions about the high cost of living in California next (Tuesday) starting at 9:00 PM and continuing for 4 hours, etc.

5. Obviously, we will pick up fringe benefits from these posters.
TV - Appearances during week before Telethon.

1. RN should guest again on the Regis Philbin show, Saturday night, in San Diego and promote the Telethon.

2. RN should also appear as a guest with the fellow in Santa Barbara. I don't know his name - but RN guested with him two weeks ago and promised a return visit.

3. Art Linkletter thrives on interviewing youngsters, and since he is 'with' us, I feel it would be advantageous to have Julie and Tricia on his show the week of the Telethon in their Nixonette costumes. Naturally, the Telethon will be 'brought up' in the interview.

4. Arrange for Chuck Connors to be guest with Tom Duggan and promote telecast - preferably the night before if we again preempt Duggan's show.

5. Arrange for a big name 'Star' who is favorable to us - and who will be in New York the week prior to the Telethon - to get booked on the "Tonight" show and mention the Telethon. I believe I can aid in securing this booking - if you can deliver a good 'name' to me.

6. All other TV we can get - but we have to provide them with guests to discuss it. Our contacts with movie and TV stars can help here. For example, I'm sure any local TV personality would be happy to have, say, Gene Raymond and Jeanette MacDonald suddenly become 'available' for a local TV appearance. The 'price' the local TV personality pays is merely allowing them to plug the Telethon. This approach is VERY STRONG and we must work at it - so that we have star-types favorable to us on somewhere locally each of the 7 days prior to our Telethon.
GIVE-AWAY ASPECT

I think this would get us into the papers - and start good word of mouth about the Telethon for the entire week preceding the Telethon among ALL voters - Republicans and Democrats alike.

1. We must buy (at cost) or obtain a new model automobile.
   (of American manufacture.)

2. We must have identical (except for numbering) tickets printed and available at all Nixon Headquarters, statewide.

3. We must release - (to break 7 days in advance of Telethon) - a news story that a new model car (glamorously described) will be given away during the Nixon Telethon.

4. All Californians - Republicans and Democrats alike - are invited to stop in at their nearest Nixon Headquarters to receive, free and without obligation, their ticket - one of which will be drawn by the candidate (or perhaps by name guest to avoid RN's participation) at some time during the Telethon - the holder of the ticket so drawn to receive the new automobile. (Good for post Telethon publicity, too)

5. To counteract possible counterfeiting of tickets - each ticket must be signed on the back by the Volunteer worker at the time it is given out.

6. This has many built-in benefits:
   (a) It promotes the Telethon by strong word of mouth.
   (b) It 'forces' us into the newspapers for the week before.
   (c) It creates a traffic pattern into our Nixon Headquarters.
(d) It draws and HOLDS viewers to the Telethon - since we will plan (but NOT announce) to make the drawing close to the end.

(e) It is one of the few promotional features which will 'involve' Democrats in our Telethon.

7. Against it - it will undoubtedly be tagged by our opposition as 'Madison Avenue' - but if it works, so what? ? ? ? ? ?

* We need a ruling on legal aspects - and may have to qualify our approach.
'ENTHUSIASM' LETTER FROM RN

A week before our Telethon date, I believe a letter over RN's signature should go out to the key field workers/leaders.

This would be a very brief note in which RN expresses his enthusiasm for the Telethon and flatters the local man by informing him that the burden of success rests on the man's ability to get people in his area to watch it.

Final paragraph would urge local man's cooperation with our Promotional Director.

If this is approved, I'll be happy to draft the letter.
THE UNKNOWN QUANTITIES

These, of course, could give us our best promotion.

If only a new issue could 'arise' or let's say be 'awakened' just prior to the Telethon - it would help gain viewers immeasurably.

If only some new angle in the campaign could be 'made' to crop up a few days ahead of the Telethon - it would give us the biggest hook we could hope for - which briefly is - that the Telethon would be the first opportunity the public would have to hear RN's views on it.

And the hotter the better!!!!!!!

We have a lot of time between now and the Fall Telethons - certainly - if we all work together on it - we should be able to scare up a good-sized bombshell.

This alone would assure us our maximum audience.
MORE TO COME

PWK

6/7/62
HOW TO IMPROVE OUR TELETHON TECHNIQUE

GENERAL REACTIONS:

First off, let's agree what needs improvement is the program, and not RN's Performance, which was excellent!

We must surround and protect him better.

Another PLUS was RN's make-up and lighting. These, I feel, were near perfect.

Corey, of course, was completely wrong. As Duggan's and Connor's later appearances proved, we need an ad libber to do an ad lib job. Point is, we require someone who is at home before the TV cameras -- a man with some wit -- and a stronger personality than Corey's -- so he can spur RN on.

Gene Raymond and Jeanette MacDonald - while not exciting as we know the word - were good simply because they are such attractive people. Also, I feel the 'happily married' image is a good one for us to project at all times.

Move phone operators away from RN so he can have a better atmosphere for 'THINK.'

One thing we did not satisfy is the viewer's thirst for blood. To the antagonistic ones - the ones we are trying to swing over - we must remember - that to them - this is Rome again - RN is the man and every question is a potential Lion. We need some Bloodthirsty questions - more about that later.

We must have a 'showman' at the Porter's Desk.
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The general 'dullness' of the questions will be relieved in the Fall - because we will be in the real election where issues are more clear-cut and the sides more clearly drawn. Also, the competitive atmosphere between Brown and RN will be tenser - a situation which will allow us stronger defense, when required, and will justify stronger attacks, when desired.

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Enthusiastic Applause.

Now, the big point here is that all of these AFFECTIONATE RESPONSES
were directed to RN, the MAN, not to RN, the Candidate. I think that’s
a telling point - one quite important in the overall image we must project
to the public.

Also - later in the program - the question -
‘If you had your life to live over, what changed would you make’-
received a warm response - and was completely believable. And the set-
up gave RN a rare opportunity to make his point about the PT Test without
any appearance of dragging in the issue by its tail.

And the laugh it received helps ‘relax’ RN and establishes he has a
quick, witty sense of humor.

I urge we have many more of these in future telethons !!!!!!
VISITING FIRE CHIEFS:

There must be a new way to handle the 'visiting Fire Chiefs' - if it is decided to use them at all. However, since we will always feel obligated to use some of these lest we injure ourselves politically by slighting them, I think the thing to do would be to have another desk (in possibly another studio) where a Duggan or top-flight name or even a Lt. Governor candidate would handle the 'Fire Chiefs' endorsement - with an absolute maximum of two minutes.

We could control them much better here - (and perhaps we gain strength for the Ticket by having the Lt. Governor candidate involved in this matter).

Also - this will free the heavy on-camera traffic in RN's stage area and free his mind for the real purpose at hand - to get through the cameras to the people at home.

One other point - there should be a room adjacent to stage area - where each of these Fire Chiefs could be rehearsed before going on - where we can tell them where 'to cut' and hold them to our minimum.

For this, I believe we should have an Associate Producer - assigned exclusively to handling of Fire Chiefs - again, a 'showman' who knows his timings and 'entertainment' values intuitively. Also - by having this kind of man shorten and control the Fire Chiefs (as against a member of RN's staff) you avoid the 'political' hurt feelings.
Obviously, the opening copy of the sign-on went downhill - not by subject - but by delivery. We need a 'salesman' in that opening spot - and should accept nothing less.

We must tell the phone operators who is boss - and that when he asks to speak to a caller - let him, dammit!

When RN goes into the audience - incidentally - there were some very good questions asked there - he must remember to ask the names of the persons to whom he speaks.

A so - since RN is more than a candidate but a 'celebrity' as well - we should get some 'fans' up into that audience - it would have been impressive to see him asked for autographs while up there - also - some should have copies of his book for him to autograph.

I think the idea of our half-hour 'wrap-ups' is a good one - and should be continued - the lists were very impressive - but, again, here, we suffered from Corey's lack of enthusiasm. We need a 'salesman' for these as well as our Opening.

**PITCHES FOR FUNDS AND CONTRIBUTIONS:**

First of all, we have to recognize that to successfully get contributions we must successfully ask for them.

In this line we must not mimeo our requests and repeat one particular pitch throughout four hours as we did last time.
Secondly, next time we must go into the show with a variety of amounts already pledged - which we can release from time to time throughout the show. We would lean toward having some larger amounts already in the bag, but yet unpublished.

Also - we need to make note of the Profession or Grouping of our contributors. In this way, for example, we can announce a contribution of $100 from a Professor - who gives the money to help elect RN so we can improve the 'climate for education' in California.

Then again - we should recognize those groupings which may be against us - and play heavily off them. Example - get a few contributions pledged in advance from Laborers - Union Members . . . . and from time to time through the show - release them . . . . 'And here's a pledge of $10 from (NAME) who is a member of (NAME A UNION).

Thus, by recognizing our areas of weak support - and doing some missionary collecting before the program - we will be able, by intelligently spaced releases of these during the show - to give viewers at home the impression that in these heretofore enemy camps - the tide may be turning.

I think this is very important!!!

These should be released - as also new ones which come in during the show - from time to time so that we can create the impression of a snowball in RN's direction - everybody wants to get in on something that's working - and this fact alone will cause some to dig down and pledge money to us.
Now, as to how the subject of money should be handled on the air:

RN should not discuss it - must stand above asking for money.

Here's where we can use our actors/actresses. Now, what is an actor? An actor is a person who has given up his life to playing a variety of roles. And if Romeo and Juliet are roles - if Rhett Butler is a role - if Dr. Kildare is a role - so also is that of Contribution Solicitor.

Each pitch must be worked out separately so they will be varied and exciting. Those who can ad lib it - good - but we can't rely on that and should have a series of 'fact sheets' printed on why money is needed - the use to which it is put - that all contributions will be used to extend RN's campaign - and that a contribution now may well be the difference in the November election.

I think each star-type should first read off a list of 10 or 15 contributions that 'have just come in' and then go on to ask for more. This is flattering to the ones whose names are read off - it gives the feeling of momentum to the flowing-in of contributions - and it gives our appeal for funds some marquee value - in that the average home viewer will pay attention to a star - even when he asks for money.
Just an added gimmick here - we ought to have a Cash Register on stage somewhere. And every time our contributions pass a new "$100 mark" - hit it. The sound will be good and serve as a frequent reminder that money is an issue here. (Not in the middle of an Answer, obviously).

Sound of the occasional cash register will also give RN a chance for an ad lib about it - and he should be provided with a list of these for use throughout the evening.

ROLE FOR MRS. NIXON:

There should be a specific role for Mrs. Nixon. The public loves Mrs. Nixon and wants to see and hear her.

There are many ways to handle this - and we can discuss them separately - however, one that comes to mind now is this:

For five minutes out of each half hour, Mrs. Nixon should go among the telephone operators and relieve one of them on incoming calls. During this time - when Mrs. Nixon is actually taking calls, we should take a LONG SHOT of all operators at work - then zoom in for Close Up of Mrs. Nixon on phone, and by means of a LAVALIER mike - we should hear Mrs. Nixon's side of the conversation. (Other side, too, if you wish, by a Beeper phone).

This establishes Mrs. Nixon as an Active Participant in her Husband's Campaign - yet avoids the personal embarrassment both of them must have by forcing small talk in public. It will also spur new calls.
IMPORTANT

There are two things we missed out on the other night.

The first was a 'new' issue. All we did was rehash old issues.

The second was an 'emotional' issue. The closest RN came to this was in defense of spending his own money for his own house for his own family the first time he discussed Martin Lane the other night.

Regarding the 'new' issue - we ought to have a Blockbuster ready to be exposed on each Telethon. A phone call can seemingly 'trigger' it - and if we handle it correctly - we can get more calls on the same subject - and each of RN's successive answers on it can either add to the information about it or attack it from a new angle. This will, of course, build viewership. But it's got to be a 'hot' one.
(Blood thirsty, if you will.)
Finally, an emotional issue.

All the facts in the world on the 160-acre limitation and water rights will never add up to excitement.

There is no rallying point in cold hard facts!

We must take pains to prebuild into every future rally the occasion for an emotional issue — for here is where RN can talk man-to-man with an audience — get them all steamed up — raise his voice — and let me tell you — the voice of protest is a great one!

Only over an emotional issue can RN stir the people — get them excited at home — get them into a fighting spirit — whether he has to assume indignation — personal hurt — or you name it — our cause will best be served when the people cannot but feel themselves 'involved' with RN — and they won't bother to get 'involved' about tired, already over-discussed issues.

What we need is an emotional issue — one which will case the audience as a large orchestra and RN as their Conductor — then he can 'play' hell out of them.

Enough for now — more later.

P WK.
Paul Keyes' memos - returned
by Agnello -
1) Telephone Technique
2) Ovalle TV Plan

BOB HALDEMAN
Note to RN:

Attached is my appraisal of the television situation as an integral partner to our regular campaign activities in the Fall.

I hope you will farm this out for the best professional opinions available to us before accepting or rejecting it in all or in part.

You and I share equally a deep appreciation of the potential of TV in the campaign and know full well the results we reap will be in direct proportion to our intelligent use of the medium.

And it is with that in mind I urge you to seek out the best professional minds available to us regarding each of my proposals.

In matters of such paramount importance I find the only thing better than the double-check is the triple-check.

Respectfully,

PWK
Suggested Treatment of the Role of

Television

in the election campaign of

Richard M. Nixon

together with a reappraisal

of the medium of television

with the goal of creating a

political philosophy for it.
First, some observations and candid appraisal of what is generally wrong to date in the use of television in the political arena.

As far as I can see, the candidate is too often considered a 'product' which needs selling to the people and is treated as such - to take his place along with detergents, used cars and soft drinks between programs.

As such, the candidate becomes merely another item on the crowded shelves of TV's supermarket.

Rather than enter this already overcrowded super-market of items 'for sale' to viewers, I feel we must consider television not as a sales force at all but as what it should be - the most dramatic means of mass communication ever designed by man.

With that uppermost in mind, what we must do then is to create a philosophy of our own regarding television - a philosophy in which everything done to date becomes archaic and in which we reverse what has gone before in such a way as to rid ourselves forever of the image of a man trying to 'sell' himself to the voters and replace it with the image of a ground swell of private citizens who are rising up to demand that the candidate serve them.

In short, we will replace the insensitive selling of a product with the sensitive affection for a candidate.
To accomplish this goal, it is imperative we achieve maximum value from every TV spot we purchase, and we cannot achieve that 'whole' without combining a variety of 'parts', which I cover in this report under Phases.

What follows then is a new approach to Television in Five Phases.

Their implementation will be a lot of hard work, much coordination and greater supervision.

The prime need will be the selection of a TV Coordinator to supervise the overall operation followed by the designation of others to baby sit each of the Phases.

Never forget, there is more to successful utilization of TV than the creating and scheduling of spot announcements - first and foremost is the need of a basic, honest understanding of what we are trying to do.

But while manipulation of thought is at best a risky endeavor, we can feel confident of our efforts, because our goal is such a worthy one - the election of RN in November.
Now then,

Phase One,

which we will consider as Opportunistic buys........
OPPORTUNISTIC BUYS

Always remembering that whatever TV we do must have strong identification with the majority of viewers. We cannot let the World Series viewers escape our grasp - but rather must reach this vast audience using as our spokesman one of their own.

(We must, as soon as we can, determine what nationally known and respected sports figures are 'with' us and begin preparing a series of TV spots utilizing their acceptance to strengthen our message.)

The same goes for the thinking behind using Chuck Connors in the station break immediately following his own show during the 4 weeks before election day. This is no hit and miss opportunity, but a calculated gesture to win votes by association.

And if Ronald Reagan will do the same for us in the station break following GE Theatre, all the better.

Our watchword throughout must be - the best buy for the money where we can reach a maximum audience in announcements with the flavor of 'identification' running through them as our main theme.

And so let this summarize Phase One of our television approach to the people:

a calculated creation and placement of television spot announcements relying heavily on the popularity and acceptance on people in public life to 'follow themselves' on TV in the role of private citizen concerned with the best interests of the people of California.
In other words, we will arrange for celebrities to speak to their own fans about the 'need' for Richard Nixon in the Governor's office. And, especially in the case of the world series buys, we will be doing this to a maximum audience.

Also, regarding the world series, we should consider the early evening sports casts on television - to catch the many viewers who worked during the day and who tune in for the recap of the day's games.

And where we can afford it, we should consider radio spots on world series stations - the car radio audience alone is one to be respected.

Enough for Phase One.
Our full one minute television announcement must be scheduled with but a single goal - the ultimate goal of exposure to the voters - not under-exposure nor over-exposure - but on our best estimate as to what scheduling will best allow the average viewer to see it only once.

There are charts and rating estimates that can help us lock this in - but as you will see later in this report that I favor and urge maximum use of the 20-second station break type announcement throughout the campaign, we must gear ourselves to use the one minute announcements sparingly.

These one minutes basically are aimed to cover the only aspect of our approach that cannot and should not be squeezed into a 20-second commercial announcement.

Our method here is to turn what the opposition cries is a negative into what we and the voters must realize is a positive. And that is the matter of RN's out-of-state experience.

Our philosophy must be solidified into one which tells the California citizen what a lucky man he is that such a national and international leader will accept California's call to leadership.

The one minute announcement so described is on the following page.
Phase Two.

This will be our only use of

full one minute television announcements.
ONE MINUTE TELEVISION FILMED ANNOUNCEMENT

(FLATTERING PICTURES OF RN WITH PEOPLE)

*VOICE:

This is Richard Nixon.

Born and raised in his native California.

One of the most famous men in the world.

(FILM CLIP VICE PRESIDENCY INAUGURATION)

Known internationally as the most effective Vice President ever to be elected and re-elected in the history of the United States of America.

(CLIPS OF RN WITH EISENHOWER, CHURCHILL, ETC.)

Admired and respected by the leaders of the free world.

(CLIP, FINGER POINTING INTO KHRUSHCHEV'S FACE)

Feared and propagandized against by those who honor no God but slavery.

(THE NIXON FAMILY)

Yes, this is Richard Nixon.

Husband

father

patriot - proud of his California birthright.

who now offers himself to the people of his home state whom he has served so proudly and so long in the highest councils of our government.

(CU RN)

Richard Nixon - whose unparalleled knowledge and understanding of the world we live in can best serve your interests at home.

Richard Nixon - the man truly worthy of your vote as the next Governor of his home state of California.

*(VOICE TO BE DOCUMENTARY 'QUALITY' TONE WITHOUT HARD SELL)*
Phase Three.

Here is where we begin to turn the candidate over to the 'demands' of the people.
RN wants to be Governor of California. We know that.

Now, what we must know is that the people want RN to become their Governor. And the best way we can learn that the people of California want RN to become their next Governor is to have them tell us so - daily, effectively, dramatically, simply and in their own language.

That's what Phase Three is all about.

We will seemingly remove RN from the speaker's platform and introduce instead his fellow citizens who will speak up for him, creating what will roll into a statewide snowball of enthusiasm for RN.

This will have equal appeal to and effect on Democrats and Independents (who watch TV too, you know).

In this approach we recognise the unfortunate fact that the average man more easily identifies with the 'amiable bungler' than he does with the honor student. We can overcome that disadvantage by sowing the seeds of demand in the homes of California. I know these seeds will take root.

Examples of the seeds we are about to sow follow:
I am Jane Doe, a housewife, from Santa Barbara. I've lived in California and been a Democrat all my life. But this year I'm voting for Richard Nixon - this world is beginning to frighten me - and I'm convinced California needs Richard Nixon - we should all be grateful he will serve us.

I'm John Doe, a San Francisco insurance salesman. I've been a Democrat all my life - until Richard Nixon offered himself to the people of our state. Nixon is bigger than party politics - and I'm just afraid we'll go down the drain if we don't elect Nixon in November.

I'm Joan Doe, a teacher in San Leandro. I made the great mistake of voting for my party candidate 4 years ago - and helping elect him. Well, I've learned a lot in these 4 years - and I know now we need Dick Nixon. And we should all be grateful that he is around to serve us for 4 years.

I'm Jack Doe, a lathe operator in Santa Barbara. Two years ago my company had to move out of this state because of the rising costs here. and I lost my job. I didn't know what to do about it then - but I do now - I'm gonna vote for Dick Nixon in November - I'm a Democrat - but I'm still gonna vote for Dick Nixon in November.
I'm Harry Morton. I own my own farm here in Palo Alto.

Now, I'll tell you something - the farm situation in California is a disgrace. 4 years ago I voted Democrat - but it didn't solve anything - so this year I'm voting for Nixon - I just feel he can put some dignity back in our lives.

I'm Bill Smith - California's my home - always will be.
I'm proud of my state - and now that it'll soon be the first state in the nation, I think it's about time we did something about getting some real leadership here - that's why my vote goes for Dick Nixon.

I'm John Doe - I'm a student at UCLA, and this is the first year I'm eligible to vote.
I'm gonna vote for Nixon - cause I hope to marry and raise a family in California - and I think the state and all of us will be in a lot better hands for the next 4 years if we elect Nixon in November.

(NEGRO) I'm Harry Doe, and I live and vote in California - and my vote's for Richard Nixon - I've listened to them both - and Nixon is the one I believe will give me equal opportunity - and that's all I ask out of life -- all I want - all any of us want - is just a little bit of equal opportunity. And I know Mr. Nixon will give us that.
(OLDER MAN) My name is John Smith. I love California, but I'm scared the way it's been heading. Why if it keeps up, pretty soon there'll be nothing from Oregon clear down to Mexico - nothing but big government... My vote is to stop all that kind of thinking - my vote is for Richard Nixon.

(HOUSEWIFE PUSHING CART OF GROCERIES OUTSIDE SUPER MARKET)
I'm June Doe - I live here in San Diego - and I just get sick at the prices we have to pay for things.
And the thought of another tax raise under Brown would just kill me - that's one reason my husband and I are voting for Mr. Nixon in November.
Regarding the preceding spots in Phase Three.

They will be sound on film.

They will all be filmed out of doors where we can use God's light and save on electricity.

When shown in the Fall, they will be placed locally, and bicycled around the state.

These are samples - there will be more - I prefer complete variety here as against the insistent pounding of one piece of film down the viewers' throats.

As any vital issue comes up in the campaign, we make another of these film clips - and rush it to the airwaves - giving us quality control at all times.

Casting will be difficult - but worth it. We will tell all of our Area Leaders what we need and hope that cumulatively they can furnish everybody.

Full value can, of course, only be reached if every single 'buy' we make when scheduling these is an opportunistic buy heavily favoring us.

In short, 'we the people speak.'
Phase Four.

Here is where we allow and encourage statewide Republicans to raise money to put themselves on television 'declaring for Dick' at the local level, always retaining our control and guidance of their messages.
To start from the beginning:

In all cities and areas which have local TV stations - we will create - out of our existing Republican organizations - an isolated branch, let's call it the Telenixon Volunteer Group.

All Telenixon Volunteer Groups will be entirely self-supporting - not drawing from our regular campaign money banks.

Here is how they become self-supporting - they will put themselves on television only as they gather enough money to pay for each spot. Incidentally, we will create some bit of competition among groups to spur them on by weekly reports detailing progress to date of all Telenixon groups.

We will need a shrewd advertising/showman to be in charge of this overall plan - and it will be his first assignment to visit each of the cities/areas to be involved and set up the framework to our satisfaction.

Let's agree here and now that all such television will be in the form of station break 20-second spots. I am convinced, for the most part, what we need is FREQUENCY of Television, not LENGTH of television. Except as noted earlier, I don't think there is one damn thing to be gained in 60 seconds that we can't do in 20.
In our Telenixon approach, we rely heavily on the psychological reactions of people in all areas seeing their neighbors and friends on television - paying for the spots out of their own pockets and the pockets of other friends and neighbors 'to speak up for Dick'. We must create wherever we can the ACTIVE interest in RN instead of relying on the heretofore PASSIVE role of the private citizen.

All business between our local Telenixon group and the TV stations in their area will be conducted on the local, personal level realizing that these widespread local activities will of themselves generate words-of-mouth which collectively will indicate a state-wide citizen-participation flavor in the campaign.

Enthusiasm must become our middle name.

As to this local raising of money - it will be done completely apart from our regular money raisers - mainly by direct local mail and personal calls.

Now, let's face facts - we are going to win in November - and one way to win is to know we are going to win and to preconvince the electorate that we are going to win. A lot of voters staying quietly at home during the campaign are of no good to us over and above the vote of each, on election day. But if we take these people who are for us - and dramatically publish they are for us - we pick up a vital and positive force which will snowball enthusiasm of its own momentum.
EXAMPLE: If a voter in Santa Barbara who watches TV (and they all do) sees a parade of his neighbors, fellow citizens, customers and friends declaring themselves for RN AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE- he'll get the message that EVERYONE is for RN.

I'm convinced this grass roots vision of support for RN is far superior to a bunch of shiny, glossy, slick, too-perfect, too professional spot announcements.

We must also consider a strong motivating force which will aid us in this is that built into this plan is a form of self-advertising - especially where we utilize local small businessmen. We'll arrange for them to mention their own business as well as the candidacy of RN.

EXAMPLE: DRUGGIST ON SIDEWALK OUTSIDE HIS STORE, TRAFFIC NOISES IN BACKGROUND. HE TALKS TO CAMERA.

OR:

STILL PICTURE OF ABOVE, VOICE OF DRUGGIST.

Mr Harry Fleck - you all know my drugstore here on Main Street. I'm one of millions of Californians who will elect Dick Nixon our next Governor. I paid for this announcement myself, because I think it's time for all of us to speak up and declare ourselves.

Now, here is another example - one in which the TV spot is paid for not by one person, but by the joint contributions of enough as are required to pay for it.
(GROUP OF PEOPLE, EXTERIOR LOCATION. ONE SPEAKS TO CAMERA -

OR:

STILL PIC OF ABOVE, VOICE OF GROUP'S SPOKESMAN)

'All of us live and work here in (LOCAL CITY NAME) - and we collected enough money among ourselves to pay for this announcement - because we believe and know Richard Nixon's election as Governor will be a great step forward for (LOCAL CITY NAME) and all the people of California.'

The greatest momentum to this avenue of reaching the people will come after a few spots described above - when the druggist, for example, has customer after customer saying 'saw you last night on television' or when all the members of the group hear over and over again from people who saw them on TV - others, eager for similar recognition, will tend to contribute and join this 'TV parade for Nixon'.
We must prepare drafts of letters to bear RN's signature - to be sent to every person who is seen on TV in his cause. The druggist will, I am certain, frame his letter and put it in the window of his store - each of the members of the various groups who appear will show their letters to their friends - always generating new enthusiasm for the candidate. (Note: where a group appearance is involved, each of its members must receive a slightly DIFFERENT letter from RN).

If this plan is approved, I will draft the 'appreciation' letters.

I will also prepare ALL FRAMEWORK ANNOUNCEMENTS for adaptation by local groups. This entire project, to be successful, must represent our knowledge of the situation and can NEVER BE TURNED OVER TO LOCAL GROUPS who might, in all good intentions, not achieve maximum benefit from the TV exposure.

Finally, I feel one of the biggest plus factors in this plan - and one not considered enough - is that this Telenixon Volunteer Group idea fosters the illusion that the PEOPLE - common-ordinary-man-in-the-street-people - will over the state feel the surce of need for RN's leadership - and that more than a concentrated clique of trained politicians in Los Angeles are steering the campaign.
Regarding costs in Phase Four.

A brief survey uncovers the following:

A one-time, 20 second station break sound-on-film or slide with live voice-over announcement in the most expensive time periods will cost:

- $35 in Chico
- $75 in Santa Barbara
- $125 in Bakersfield
- $234 in San Diego
- $330 in Sacramento

There being a 5 percent discount when 26 announcements have been reached, 26 announcements in each city thus becomes our minimum goal.

26 announcements with discount thus range our totals in the above mentioned 5 cities from a low of:

$864.50 in Chico

To a high of

$8,051.00 in Sacramento.
Addenda on one time costs for 20-second station breaks in the most expensive time periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>CBS-TV</th>
<th>NBC-TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>$234</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>CBS-TV and NBC-TV range between $1,050 and $1,200, depending on weekday or Saturday and Sunday.</td>
<td>ABC-TV - slightly less.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would thus appear Los Angeles would not be a good market to include in this phase - Los Angeles appearing too expensive to be practical. Also, in such a major, widespread market it is impossible to create the 'home town' flavor required in Phase Four.
Phase Five

will be our Infantry.
We can't say what form Phase Five will take yet until we feel the demands of the heat of the campaign.

But with much of our thinking (outlined on previous pages) now accomplished - the previous Phases combine to become our air support - the 'cover'. Phase Five will go in to put out Brown's September Brush Fire Wars - will rush in to stop an October skirmish - will be readily deployed at the time of an early November attack.

And for Phase Five - we'll drop the charm in favor of inevitable infighting.

And for this we must rely on hard-hitting statements* by the candidate to be placed in and around the high rated TV newscasts.

Of all TV availabilities, only the pre-election newscasts offer us the 'climate for battle'. (Let's face it, you can't interrupt Dinah Shore to call Brown a liar!!!!)

So we must gear now to fight there. And we are early enough to select our own battlefield - the TV Newscasts.

*We'd better make these full minutes, too).
Note to RN:

Whatever you approve will be initiated;
whatever you reject will be replaced.

Respectfully,

PWK

6/12/62