

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>
65	4	n.d.	Memo	From Tom Knudsen re: Republican defeat in the elections of Congressmen, State Constitutional Officers, Senators, and Assemblymen in California. 3 pgs.
65	4	11/02/1962	Letter	From Julius A. Leetham to Th. R. Knudsen re: reduction of personnel in headquarters or service center operations. 1pg.
65	4	10/31/1962	Letter	From Julius A. Leetham to Kenneth Norris, Sr., Th. R. Knudsen, and Maurice Stans re: reduction of personnel in headquarters or service center operations. 1pg.
65	4	n.d.	Letter	Cover letter from Valley Knudsen and Henriette Cowgill for the "A Review of the 1962 'Nixon for Governor' Campaign and Recommendations for Future Campaigns." 1 pg.
65	4	n.d.	Report	"A Review of the 1962 'Nixon for Governor' Campaign and Recommendations for Future Campaigns" by Valley Knudsen and Henriette Cowgill. 9 pgs.
65	4	n.d.	Report	To Valley Knudsen from Tony Whan re: personal evaluation of the Richard Nixon for Governor campaign. 3pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	4	06/09/n.d.	Newspaper	Newspaper article titled "The Governor's Political Safari." 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	4	11/08/1960	Brochure	California Statement of Vote for General Elections and Special Elections in the 11th, 38th and 79th Assembly Districts. 31 pgs. Not scanned.
65	4	06/31/1961	Other Document	Note to Bob Haldeman from Rose Woods re: Nixon looking at a letter written by Don Mulford to Bob Haldeman on May 30, 1961. 1 pg.
65	4	n.d.	Other Document	Note to Richard Nixon from Bob Haldeman re: Nixon looking at a letter written by Don Mulford to Bob Haldeman on May 30, 1961. 1 pg.
65	4	n.d.	Other Document	Note to Rose Woods from Bob Haldeman re: Nixon looking at a letter written by Don Mulford to Bob Haldeman on May 30, 1961. 1 pg.
65	4	05/30/1961	Letter	To H. R. Haldeman from Don Mulford re: the situation in Sacramento. 2pgs.
65	4	05/26/1961	Newspaper	San Francisco News-Call Bulliten article by Jack S. McDowell titled "GOP's Leaders Fuming at Rebels" which as attached to Don Mulford's 05/30/1961 letter to Bob Haldeman. 1 pg. Not scanned.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	4	05/27/1961	Other Document	California Senate Bill No. 619. 2 pgs.
65	4	n.d.	Newspaper	Newspaper article by Donald K. White titled "State Ranks Tops Among Executives." 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	4	05/29/1961	Newspaper	San Francisco Examiner article by Sydney Kossen titled "Kent Fires Away at Nixon and Chotiner." 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	4	n.d.	Photograph	8x10 black and white image. 1 pg.
65	4	n.d.	Photograph	8x10 black and white image. 1 pg.
65	4	03/10/1963	Newspaper	Los Angeles Herald-Examiner article by Jud Baker titled "Nixon for President in '64." 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	4	n.d.	Form	Double sided registration card for California Republican Clubs. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	4	10/31/1961	Newspaper	Human Events Vol.XVIII, No. 41 - Section II "Was the 1960 Election Reported Fairly?" 6 pgs. Not Scanned.
65	4	04/30/1961	Newsletter	Los Angeles Times article by James Bassett titled "Grassroots Cultivation by GOP Is Under Way" reprinted by Republican Clubs. 1pg. Not scanned.
65	4	n.d.	Memo	To Bakaly, Finch, Haldeman, Chotiner, and Ulyate from Richard R. St. Johns re: Correspondence with John Krehbiel. 1pg.
65	4	05/03/1961	Letter	To John Krehbiel from Richard R. St. Johns re: organization of local community Republican clubs in California. 2pgs.
65	4	05/08/1961	Letter	To Richard St. John from John Krehbiel re:organization of local community Republican clubs in California. 1pg.

Now that election day has come and gone, and our Republican party has suffered substantial defeat in the elections of Congressmen, State Constitutional officers and in the California State Senate and Assembly, I believe it is time for those who were active in the campaign to report on their experiences and in that way find out what mistakes led to our defeat so we can avoid making the same mistakes in the future, and thereby help to re-establish sound, responsible government in our great state of California.

My own activities within the party have been limited to serving on the United Republican Finance Committee in the County of Los Angeles. I first joined this committee when it was headed by Mr. Ed Valentine and continued to serve under Bob Minckler, and my job was to contact large contributors and sell tickets for the \$100 plate dinners put on by the committee. The committee was successful in raising whatever funds were needed to support the party's candidates for office on the local, state and national levels.

During the summer of 1961, I spent about 6 weeks in Europe but I was shocked when I returned to learn that Messrs. Valentine and Minckler had resigned from the United Republican Finance Committee because of a "no confidence" vote cast by the County Chairman, Mr. Jud Leetham, having to do with some commitments made by them in good faith.

My first inclination was to resign, but on reconsidering, I decided to stay with it and work with the U.R.F.C. because I felt it would be needed to raise funds for the 1962 campaigns.

In spite of Harold Ramser's valiant efforts, it was very difficult to raise sufficient money to pay the cost of operating the Republican Headquarters. The resignations of Messrs. Valentine and Minckler was a terrific blow, destroying the confidence of many loyal supporters of the U.R.F.C. The financial situation became so bad that on the 28th day of December 1961, Hal Ramser came to my office and told me that unless I would be willing to sign a guarantee so he could borrow \$5000 from the bank there would be no funds to pay the salaries of the headquarters staff. I signed the guarantee.

I first met Mr. Leetham in January 1962 at a meeting called to discuss plans for raising funds in connection with General Eisenhower's speech on a closed national television hook-up on February 1st. It was decided to give a supper for General and Mrs. Eisenhower, and to charge \$1000 per couple, but before we could discuss the plans it was necessary for a committee to wait on Mr. Leetham to get his approval of the allocation of funds taken in from the supper. 81 couples paid admission to the supper, and a substantial profit was raised for the U.R.F.C.

My next meeting with Mr. Leetham took place either late in February or early in March when he attended a meeting of the U.R.F.C. At that meeting Mr. Leetham pointed out that we were not raising sufficient money to keep going with all the activities that had been deemed necessary to insure success in the coming elections. Mr. Leetham, among other things, suggested that we reduce the budget for the Republican Service Center to a point where it would be necessary to close it. After the meeting I discussed this with Mr. Leetham, pointing out to him this was the only contact we had with the 500,000 negro citizens living in our community. Mr. Leetham stated that we might as well forget the negro vote because it cost \$600 to change one vote from Democratic to Republican.

It should be pointed out here that this negro center was being financed largely by the Republican Advisory Committee, headed up by Mr. Paul Williams, and made up of some of the finest negro citizens in the community. Later, Mr. Leetham reversed himself and approved the allocation for the Center, but by that time great damage had been done and some of our ablest workers had left the Center because they lacked confidence as to what support the Center would receive from the Republican Central Committee.

On June 14 I attended a meeting of the U.R.F.C. where Mr. Harold Ramser pointed out that we had not been able to raise the funds necessary to meet our commitments to the National or the State Central Committee, and that we were faced with a serious deficit until the money began coming in through the efforts of the Special Gifts Committee and the two \$100 plate dinners that were planned to be given in September. He urged those members present to each sign a \$5000 guarantee so the U.R.F.C. could borrow money to tide it over until September. Together with a number of those present, I signed this guarantee.

On June 29th, I left for Europe. While there I received a clipping from the Los Angeles Times dated July 4th, stating that Waller Taylor had resigned as Treasurer of U.R.F.C. and that Jack Drown had stated that substantial money raisers won't work under Leetham's direction as Chairman, and that failure to raise party funds has put the committee in a deficit situation. In reply, Mr. Ramser had said that Drown's charge is not true--that he "apparently had relied on gossip and didn't bother to check the facts." An article in the Times dated July 6th stated that Jack Drown had pointed out that by September 1st the Republican party organization in Los Angeles County would have an \$83,000 deficit. This was promptly denied both by Charles Soderstrom and Mr. Leetham--in spite of the fact that these were the same figures given to us by Hal Ramser when we were asked to sign the guarantees so the organization could obtain a bank loan.

On October 28, an article appeared in the Los Angeles Times under the heading, "GOP Candidates Claim Nixon Grabbed Funds." In this article the Republican County Central Committee Chairman, Jud Leetham, was quoted as saying that as of last Wednesday not one Legislative candidate had received anything from the October 8th dinner proceeds. When I called Mr. Leetham and questioned him about this headline and the article he said he was not responsible for the article; it was candidate for State Senator, Pat McGee, who had given the information to the press and he had merely substantiated the facts and figures. To me, this indicates that both Pat McGee and Jud Leetham lacked political judgement or else they were trying to sabotage the election. An article like that could only do harm to the party's candidates.

On October 30, I was advised that Mr. Leetham had issued orders to dispense with the services of Ken Baker and the two girls who were helping him take care of the returns from the "Million Mailer." This information spread like wildfire among the volunteer Republican workers. When I called Jud Leetham about it he said it was necessary because he did not want to incur a deficit. I pointed out to him that I could think of no better way to lose the election and told him that, if necessary, I would undertake to raise the funds to pay the salaries of these people until the end of November 7th. I am informed that it was necessary to keep all three at work until and including November 14th in order to process the returns from the "Million Mailer." Ken Baker was not paid for the last week he worked there, on orders from Jud Leetham.

On November 1st, I received a letter, addressed to Ken Norris, Maury Stans and myself, copy of which is included herewith. When I questioned him about the amount necessary to keep the U.R.F.C. going until after the election he told me that he was planning to cut down on the staff of the precinct organization as well. I told him that, in my opinion, it would be a serious mistake to impair the precinct organization three or four days before election, and that it seemed to me inasmuch as we had been operating for a year or more with a deficit we might be able to carry on for 3 or 4 days longer. In any event, I told him I would attempt to raise the \$2000, which I did, so it would not be necessary to cut down our forces.

In closing this report, I would like to say that in my opinion Mr. Leetham has failed to bring about unity within the party. He has destroyed the effectiveness of the U.R.F.C. which, for so many years, has played an important part in financing the Republican campaigns. Los Angeles County, with approximately 40% of all the votes in the state, is desperately in need of a new leader; we need new faces, unselfish leadership, and most of all, we need unity in the party.

All of us who believe in the principles that the Republican party stands for must join together in a new effort to rebuild the party that has always stood for freedom and opportunity.

Tom Knudsen



THE REPUBLICAN

Central Committee of Los Angeles County

JULIUS A. LEETHAM
CHAIRMAN

ROOM 3-1283
818 SOUTH OLIVE STREET
LOS ANGELES 15, CALIFORNIA

November 2, 1962

Mr. Th. R. Knudsen
3034 Edgewick Road
Glendale 6, California

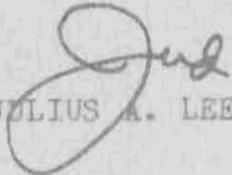
Dear Tom:

This letter is written in confirmation and re-assurance of our telephone conversation earlier today.

In view of your personal assurances to me concerning necessary financial support by you and your colleagues, I undertake and agree that there will be no reduction of personnel in the headquarters or service center operations. (I enclose a copy of a letter written in connection with the Service Center on South Western Avenue, but I am holding the original and other copies up until the election without mailing the same.) Naturally, I am glad to defer to your judgment that an unfavorable reaction might be created by pre-election discharges.

Best personal regards.

Very truly yours,


JULIUS A. LEETHAM

JAL:jag

cc: Mr. Kenneth T. Norris, Sr.
Mr. Maurice H. Stans

*P.S. Since writing the above, your letter and check
has been received. On behalf of the Party,
I am very grateful.*

October 21, 1950

Mr. Kenneth Morris, Sr.
Morris Thermador Corporation
5215 S. Boyle Avenue
Los Angeles 58, California

Mr. The L. Anderson
Knudsen Creamery Company of California
1974 Santee Street
Los Angeles 11, California

Mr. Maurice D. Stans
Western Bancorporation
600 S. Spring St.,
Los Angeles 14, California

Gentlemen:

This letter is written as a sequel to our telephone conversations from each of you concerning the continuance of U.R.F.C. staff personnel through the middle of next week, rather than terminate the operation today as originally planned. Naturally, although I abhor deficiency operations, I see the logic of your reasoning that the staff situation at the headquarters should be maintained at full level until after election day, whether in the finance departments or in the campaigns and precinct operations. Furthermore, in view of your generous offer to contribute to the support of these activities, a primary objection is removed.

Accordingly, I am continuing the staff operation at the headquarters until after the election. It would seem that approximately \$2,000.00 is involved in this decision. Accordingly, I am writing this letter in confirmation of my decision and commitment to you, and to indicate a procedure through which this may be handled: I would appreciate receiving from each of you a check or checks totaling \$700.00, made payable to "United Republican Finance Committee." Please forward these checks directly to my law office, because I propose to either hold them until next week or have them placed in a separate earmarked account by the controller for the purpose intended. As you can appreciate, with the pathetic problems which have appeared in many of the campaigns, it is difficult to withhold funds from candidates allocation or campaigns when an emergency and hysteria state prevails. I realize that it is contrary to your intention that this money be considered as in the nature of a general contribution and this is the purpose for which this letter is written.

Many thanks for your interest in the welfare and activities of the Republican Party.

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

THIS IS A FRANK REVIEW OF THE 1962 NIXON FOR GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN
AS IT LOOKS TO US.

IT IS MEANT TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE and we hope it will be
accepted that way. All of us must learn from experience.....
we are more than willing to receive our share of constructive
criticism from anyone.

We all did our best in this Campaign. This Campaign was
new to many in responsible positions. This makes it very diffi-
cult when there is so much to learn in such a short time, es-
pecially when our opposition is working with a well-trained
professional organization.

It is more effective if we have well-trained administrators.
Our great advantage is that all of us are dedicated to principles
and to a man who stood for these principles...but along with this
we must have the best Leadership available.

Please try and understand that the reason for these Reports
and Recommendations is a sincere desire only to be helpful.

Valley Knudsen

Henriette Cowgill

A REVIEW OF THE 1962 "NIXON FOR GOVERNOR" CAMPAIGN AND
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE CAMPAIGNS

By Valley Knudsen and Henriette Cowgill.

There are two categories to consider:

1. The Nixon for Governor Campaign
2. The Republican Party Campaign

I. NIXON FOR GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN - "ACTION PACKAGE"

A. "OPERATION TELEPHONE"

Our specific assignment was to have complete coverage of "Operation Telephone" in Southern California. To achieve this objective we held Coffee Hours to enlist volunteers and to obtain money to finance "Operation Telephone"; we sold jewelry, enlisted Nixonettes and Headquarters Volunteers.

When the Nixon for Governor Strategy Committee decided "Operation Telephone" was to be one of the "arms" of the Campaign, every County and Division Chairman should have put it into operation. From the first, some said their County or Division was different, they had everything under control and did not need "Operation Telephone". We spent time that could have been gainfully used elsewhere trying to obtain their cooperation.

There must be discipline and unity of purpose if a Campaign is to be successful.

RECOMMENDATION

In any future Campaign the Strategy Committee should insist there be complete agreement of County Chairmen if "Operation Telephone" is used.

B. LINES OF COMMUNICATION

Lines of communication within the two Campaign Headquarters

and other departments in the Campaign were not always clear. It seemed at times as if we were all going in different directions. No Campaign should be conducted where there is not time to "Stop, Look and Listen".

One reason we lacked co-ordination in this 1962 Campaign was because we did not have weekly meetings with the leadership of "Action Package" and representatives from the entire Campaign. Those assuming leadership of responsibility should have had the opportunity to discuss their problems and plans. They should have known more about the over-all Campaign strategy of which they were a part.

When weaknesses in a Campaign show up they should be tackled immediately, because they can "snowball" and ruin the objectives. We often had the feeling that no one wanted to hear about the weak areas and lack of leadership we found. In fact, there were many times it seemed we were up against a blank wall and unable to get through to those who knew of the problems but did not discuss them with us. We had the impression with the State Headquarters, that we were intruding. We never were made to feel we were an integral part of State Headquarters.

RECOMMENDATION

In any future Campaign, there should be better communication and closer co-ordination in all departments.

C. FIELD MEN

The field men were as fine a group as you would meet anywhere, but they were not trained political strategists. They were learning by the time the Campaign was over, but then it was too late. Many difficult situations could have been avoided had

they been experienced.

RECOMMENDATION

✓ In future Campaigns, Field men should have "A.B.C." political training. The opposition had trained men--and the money to get experts. We recommend in future Campaigns if an "Action Package" is ever done again, those in charge should be assigned Field Men to work specifically with them.

D. VOLUNTEERS AND STAFF

A successful campaign must rely on dedicated volunteers to carry the load. (The Republicans will never have a half million dollar slush fund to buy workers!). It is sometimes difficult for the Staff to realize that volunteers are the backbone of a Campaign. A dedicated volunteer will work around the clock if necessary to eliminate friction. The Staff should understand the role of the Volunteers always.

RECOMMENDATION

In future Campaigns the Staff should always be briefed on the role of the volunteer. (Note: This was done by us through a memo to all Staff members.)

E. LEADERSHIP

Our "Action Package" leadership was the best we have ever had in any Campaign. We had more Chairmen in Southern California than we ever had before--over 500 in the 11 Counties and the 7 Divisions in Los Angeles County. However, some of the County and Division Chairmen were slow in organizing and appointing their Women's Vice Chairman. This held up our program. In those areas

some were not appointed until the middle of August although we started to organize in February.

RECOMMENDATION

In future Campaigns, the Strategy Committee should insist that County and Division Chairmen organize as quickly as possible and a constant check should be made to see that the Chairmen are functioning.

F. REPUBLICAN PARTY CAMPAIGN

It seems to us that with seven campaigns behind us, the entire Republican Party organization here in Southern California should be thoroughly studied and reorganized. It is time the Republican Party come of age and face the facts of life! A divided party cannot expect to win. There is need of strong leadership and DISCIPLINE. There was lack of unity in the Republican Party in many areas.

In Los Angeles County we had little or no cooperation from the Los Angeles County Central Committee. There was plenty of evidence that we were sabotaged in many places. On the other hand, we had excellent cooperation from the Republican Women's Clubs Federated, all over Southern California.

G. FACTS OF LIFE

Our opinion is that the Republican Party can't rely on that 20% Democratic vote.

Our opinion is that the Republican Party can't rely on Democrats NOT voting.

Our opinion is that the Republican Party must henceforth

stand on its own feet.

Our opinion is that the Republican Party has important decisions to make:

- a. Is it going to combat the opposition by "machine tactics" and buy votes for \$10.00 each?
- b. Is it going to start from precinct level to build a strong organization with top leadership?
- c. Is confidence going to be restored by having top leadership?
- d. Is it going to unite its many ramifications and present a strong, unswerving front?

H. MACHINE POLITICS

California has seen the bold hand of machine politics operate successfully in this campaign. Votes were bought by hiring precinct workers where it would do the most good -- in the minority areas. Our own workers were told how foolish they were to work for nothing.

We were told by a negro who was working on Operation Telephone at 5141 West Adams Blvd., that he was asked what he was doing at Republican Headquarters. He replied that he was working for Dick Nixon by phoning. The other man asked if he were being paid and when he said "no", was told he was a fool, and that if he phoned for the Democrats he would receive \$10.00 for every four hours.

RECOMMENDATION

That a careful study be set up to combat this menace.

I. WRITE-OFF OF THE MINORITY VOTE

For years the Republican Party has been writing off the

minority vote as hopeless. The Democrats have worked the field continuously. The votes are there if we would go out and get them. We will continue to lose elections if we continue our present lack of strategy.

RECOMMENDATION

A careful study to determine action in the minority field.

J. PRECINCT WORK

We discovered lack of precinct activity in many Los Angeles areas. There was a condition that there existed an obstruction in the Los Angeles County Central Committee where we were concerned.

We were told consistently by the Republican Party in this Campaign that the precinct work was under control and well covered. Until the party makes an honest and critical appraisal of the whole set-up the precinct organization will still be full of holes.

We recommend that all primary precinct sheets be completed with all telephone numbers of Republicans, Democrats and Undecideds. When November sheets arrive transfer all new voters to the June sheets and not attempt to look up numbers twice. This will save a lot of valuable time.

Weeks before November 6th, Mrs. Tony Whan, Chairman of Operation Telephone, called Don Anderson and others in the Los Angeles County Precinct Organization and asked if they had any areas not covered, where they did not have a good organization; she offered to concentrate on such areas with the Telephone Blitz and get out the vote.

MRS. WHAN NEVER GOT AN ANSWER. NO WEAK AREAS WERE EVER REPORTED.

On November 3rd, Herb Kalmbach called a meeting attended

by Mrs. Whan, Valley Knudsen, Henriette Cowgill, John Kalmbach, Mr. John Harriman, Mr. George Richie and the Chairman of the Victory Squad, Mr. Grannis Bonner, who had been appointed by Mr. Jud Leetham, Chairman of Los Angeles County Central Committee. We asked if any areas were not covered and were assured everything was well in hand.

We urged a review of the situation several times, because we knew full well there must be some weak spots. We were ready to send our people to help.

On Election Day we found plenty of holes in the picture and extended our Telephone Blitz. Unfortunately, it was too late to shore up the work for which the Victory Squad had been responsible.

From past experience we knew that only very well organized areas can be fully covered in all respects. This seems to be exceptional.

RECOMMENDATION

A complete overhaul of the precinct organization. In future Campaigns Operation Telephone should continue through Election Day to supplement Precinct work and the Victory Squad.

K. REGISTRATION

Republicans are not doing a good registration job. This was proven in a dramatic fashion.

Learning ten days before registration closed that Orange County was running ahead in the number of Democrats for the first time in history, Valley Knudsen decided to investigate. She

called a meeting with Gladys O'Donnell, State Chairman of Republican Women Federated, and Dorothy Goodnight, Southern California Chairman, Mrs. Tony Whan and Mrs. Ann Bowler, Los Angeles County Chairman, was out of town.

On asking about registration she was told it was all in the hands of the precinct organizations. The women had not been given a free hand to go anywhere and register Republicans in this Campaign. The precinct organization had asked for the club's roster and planned to make its own assignments. In most cases the women refused.

Following this meeting we asked for another one, with Don Anderson, Executive Secretary of the County Central Committee, and Mr. John Harriman, Chairman of this work for Nixon for Governor Southern California. Also present were Mrs. Tony Whan, Mr. Herb Kalmbach and Mr. Chad McClellan.

We asked the precinct organization to give full authority to the women of Republican Federated Clubs to register Republicans during the next ten days. It was agreed, but by the time the word got around only eight days remained.

For an incentive, Valley Knudsen offered \$500 to the club in the outside counties that registered the largest number of Republicans, and another \$500 to the club registering the most in Los Angeles County.

Costa Mesa, in Orange County, won the first \$500, with 4,535 registrations and Arcadia, in Los Angeles County, won \$500 with 882 registrations.

RECOMMENDATION

That all Republican registrations be turned over to the Republican Women's Clubs, Federated, and let them compete for prize money given by some good Republican.

L. VICTORY SQUADS

We know we lost votes because of incomplete coverage by Victory Squads, mainly because there was not complete coverage of poll watchers.

RECOMMENDATION

Organize now for the 1964 election. You cannot have an inefficient Victory Squad and win.

M. MISCELLANEOUS

There has been too little attention paid to details. Most people in the campaign didn't have time for details. It is of many details that the whole is made, and if one is neglected the whole is incomplete.

It is vital that the worst be known in a campaign, so that it can be remedied.

We must inspire workers on the volunteer level. We must educate those in minority groups so that they realize it is "better to give than receive".

We feel that the entire Republican Party structure should be analyzed--and strengthened.

We are not losing hope. We do have a weapon--DEDICATED SERVICE. We are not willing to sell our priceless heritage--the vote--for \$10.00.

TO: Mrs. Valley Knudsen, Chairman
"Action Package"
Southern California Nixon for Governor Committee

FROM: Mrs. Tony Whan, Chairman
"Operation Telephone"
Southern California Nixon for Governor Committee

With your permission, I would like to devote the first part of this report to a personal evaluation of the recent campaign for Richard Nixon for Governor. Following this part I will give you a report on Operation Telephone.

We have just emerged from a campaign in which we indulged in several luxuries that a minority party cannot afford.

1. Internal party quarrels that became seriously divisive.
2. Unwise political statements from the candidate (although sincerely uttered) that drove segments of the party hopelessly away from the campaign.
3. A lack of political skill in campaign personnel which eventually left us vulnerable.
4. Finances. A Plus.

Point One: Internal Friction. The Los Angeles County Central Committee seemed constantly embroiled in blocking a solid drive for votes. While the Nixon campaign had made an early declaration of cooperation at the precinct level with the L. A. County Committee in carrying out Operation Telephone, we were never able to obtain the necessary information from the County Committee to carry out our declaration. (which precincts they were covering). We found solid evidence of a County Committee member campaigning for a candidate of another party. Then we became very aware that the members of a right wing organization whose members are also registered Republicans were urging that our candidate be passed over on the Ballot when their members voted.

One time party leaders either said nothing on behalf of our candidate or they damned him with faint praise or they endorsed the opposition party candidate.

Point Two: Statements by Candidate. The Candidate made statements that drove segments of the party even further away than they had any need to be, in our opinion. This was borne out by reports from the field that whole areas were opposed to our candidate with no hope of luring them back. A more moderate view by the candidate would have helped immeasurably in this instance.

Point Three: Inexperienced personnel. This was almost worse than the first two points. Good-natured, well-intentioned staff workers are no substitute for political skill and experience. Apparently the seriousness of the lack of preparation was never understood by

the chief of the field men. Appointed chairmen were allowed to fall down on the job and as far as we knew, this fact was not reported to the top. Some field men never seemed aware of the weakness of large geographical areas and if they knew, in the later days of the campaign, it was not passed on to me. But forty-eight hours before election day it became all too evident. Eight hundred unprepared and/or uncovered precincts were dumped onto Operation Telephone without warning. Some precinct sheets came in from Community Chairmen, some came off shelves and out of closets in the Southern California Headquarters, still wrapped and tied, never having been in the field. We in Operation Telephone did all that was possible on an emergency basis. We managed, with the help of dedicated volunteers, to do about seventy percent of the job, at least in the heavy Republican precincts of the eight hundred. Some of Operation Telephone's problems came from communities who refused outright to engage in the blitz. We applied gentle pressure where we felt it wouldn't alienate too many volunteers. These areas were a small minority of the whole but in a campaign where every vote counted so much, it hurt.

There is a fourth point that I feel should be mentioned for future consideration. The Policy and Strategy Committee and its function. Where was the Strategy Committee? I was asked as a volunteer, to do a very detailed and important phase of the campaign but at no time was I ever contacted by the State Campaign Manager or anyone close to the candidate. There was altogether too little communication between the top of the campaign and the working sections.

For what it is worth, I sincerely believe the above statements point up the real reason we lost this election. We are a minority party indulging in luxuries we CANNOT afford.

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The following report is on the important points of Operation Telephone. A complete and detailed plan was offered to each of the eleven Southern Counties in the Southern California Campaign district. We began with complete details on how and where to do the Friendly Democrat poll, explaining the importance to the candidate of the results. Some counties did a very creditable job. Operation Telephone then produced a handbook on how to do the blitz job. I am sure a copy of this book is attached to the complete report. All counties reported the day before the blitz, November 1st, that they were ready to begin. But the results leave me with grave doubts that this was true. On advice, I concentrated on Los Angeles County because of its large population.

Operation Telephone was set up for Nixon for Governor on a much firmer foundation than the same activity for Nixon for President.

We tried to improve the planning and carry-through so we could produce a high turnout on election day. We knew it would be

more difficult on an off-year election to duplicate the excitement and enthusiasm of a presidential year as 1960 was. We tried for more dispersed telephone locations and used headquarter space more often than before. We began early to encourage community chairmen to raise the funds for their own telephones. Likewise, we urged the recruiting of telephoners at the community level, thus spreading the responsibility for the Blitz over a wide base.

For the most part we were successful in this effort. But to care for the weak spots with funds and manpower we carried on recruiting and fund-raising from Southern California Headquarters. When November 1st arrived we had sufficient funds and manpower to take care of the need that had been reported to us during October.

Our problem arose from community or headquarters leaders not being candid about their progress or lack of it plus the break-down on the part of the County Precinct Organization to produce the support that had been promised. A tremendous burden was thus placed on Operation Telephone.

Aside from a few communities that refused to do Operation Telephone we have only praise for chairmen of our part of "Action Package".

A survey of all areas in Los Angeles County who engaged in the Blitz shows 635,000 calls were made. This compares very favorably with the 500,000 calls made in 1960. While we did not raise the amount of money this year that was raised in 1960, we did raise between \$14,000 and \$15,000, which amply cared for our needs. I believe there was some money left to put in the general campaign fund.

I would be remiss indeed, if I did not give high praise to the volunteer staff who worked so close and devotedly with me at Southern California Headquarters: Mrs. Marion Martin, Mrs. Janet Martin, Mrs. Daurine Irvin, Mrs. Ruby Burton, Mrs. Marjorie Dudley, and Mrs. Edythe Novak.

Let me close this with my grateful thanks to you, Valley Knudsen and Henriette Cowgill. Never in the twenty-four years of campaigning has it been my privilege to work with more understanding and devoted women than you. I can be very difficult under pressure but you made me seem otherwise by your kindness and quickness to give me the benefit of your calm actions.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
STATEMENT OF VOTE

GENERAL ELECTION

and

SPECIAL ELECTIONS

in the

**11th, 38th and 79th
Assembly Districts**

NOVEMBER 8, 1960

PARTY REGISTRATION
VOTING PRECINCTS
TOTAL VOTE CAST



Compiled by
FRANK M. JORDAN
Secretary of State

Bob 6/13/61

Returned as
per our
conversations.

rmw

RN:

I will have to ^{denied}
reply to attached
from Mulford.

Would appreciate
your guidance on
position to take.

Ref. to marked
7a only.

4.
BOB HALDEMAN

Have words - Ret to
I think I ^{Bob}
should be ^{Hal}
to give you an
answer to me.
before he does.
It is a lot
time in fact &
will have to say
something

BOB HALDEMAN

364 14TH STREET
OAKLAND 12, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE 8-3467

HOME ADDRESS
6460 MYSTIC STREET
OAKLAND 18

SACRAMENTO ADDRESS
STATE CAPITOL
ZONE 14
HICKORY 5-4711

COMMITTEES
REVENUE AND TAXATION
GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION
PUBLIC HEALTH
MILITARY AND VETERANS
AFFAIRS

Assembly California Legislature

DON MULFORD

MEMBER CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE, EIGHTEENTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

VICE CHAIRMAN
MILITARY AND VETERANS

May 30, 1961

Personal

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Vice President and Manager
J. Walter Thompson Company
6505 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles 48, California

Dear Bob:

I am sending some information to you. The enclosed SB 619 was approved in the Assembly last week. In its original form (please note line 8, Director of Finance), I objected to the measure and was responsible for causing the "Director of Finance" to be deleted.

Can you imagine the situation a Republican governor would be in with a hostile Democratic controlled Senate refusing to approve his Director of Finance?

The reorganization program is proceeding according to schedule. This is going to create some problems and may be worthy of investigation.

I also enclose a story regarding Chotiner which disturbs me because of the reaction I am receiving here in Sacramento. I believe you will agree that Chotiner is controversial. The reaction among people here, including some strong supporters, is one of serious concern if Chotiner is in fact moving into the picture. The fact remains that he is under a cloud because of the previous charge against him in Washington. His charge of anti-Semitism brought against Al Bell after his defeat certainly made him no friends among Al Bell supporters. If he is playing a fundamental part in the Republican organization, I for one want to know.



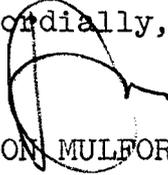
-2-

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
May 30

I believe you should recognize the fact that a substantial number of Legislators have told me that if Chotiner has a position of responsibility in the forthcoming gubernatorial campaign, they are going to "take a walk". I cannot emphasize too strongly the seriousness of this. I would remind you of the number of people who "took a walk" when Knowland returned to California and failed to grasp the local picture. The truth is we are badly divided; in fact, shattered, after last week's division in the caucus. We need every possible effort to bring us together. A highly controversial figure will not accomplish this, in my opinion.

Please let me have your reaction to this thinking because it is not mine; I am merely reporting the situation as I see it here and I view it to be serious.

Cordially,



DON MULFORD

enclosures

Introduced by Senators Burns and Miller

February 8, 1961

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL EFFICIENCY

An act to add Sections 1323, 1774.1, 1774.2, and 1774.3 to the Government Code, relating to appointments by the Governor.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

- 1 SECTION 1. Section 1323 is added to the Government Code,
2 to read:
3 1323. The appointments by the Governor of the following
4 officers are subject to confirmation by the Senate:
5 (a) Director of Agriculture
6 (b) Chief, Division of Apprenticeship Standards
7 (c) Superintendent of Banks
8 (d) ~~Director of Finance~~
9 (e) Director of Veterans Affairs
10 (f) Director of Motor Vehicles
11 (g) Director of Professional and Vocational Standards
12 (h) Director of Public Works
13 SEC. 2. Section 1774.1 is added to said code, to read:
14 1774.1. The Governor shall notify the Legislature of all
15 vacancies in offices to which he has the power of appointment
16 and of all interim appointments made to fill such vacancies.
17 When the vacancies occur or the appointments are made dur-
18 ing a recess of the Legislature, the notice shall be given at the
19 commencement of the next legislative session.
20 SEC. 3. Section 1774.2 is added to said code, to read:
21 1774.2. Whenever the appointment by the Governor of a
22 person to a public office is subject to confirmation by the Sen-
23 ate, and the Senate by a negative vote refused to confirm the
24 appointment, such person may not be granted an interim ap-
25 pointment to the same office for which the Senate refused to
26 confirm him. If he is holding that office at the time of the ad-
27 journment of the Senate, the office shall become vacant on such

1 adjournment, and he shall not be eligible to continue to dis-
2 charge the duties of the office notwithstanding the provisions
3 of Section 1302.

4 Sec. 4. Section 1774.3 is added to said code, to read:
5 1774.3. All offices filled by appointment by the Governor
6 and held at the pleasure of the Governor shall become vacant
7 on the ~~first Monday~~ after the first day of ~~January~~ *February*
8 following each gubernatorial election, *except such offices as are*
9 *filled by appointment by the Governor prior to that date and*
10 *after the first Monday after the first day of January following*
11 *the gubernatorial election.*

12 *This section is not applicable to railroad police or steamboat*
13 *police appointed pursuant to Section 8226 of the Public Utili-*
14 *ties Code.*



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I am interested in helping to form a REPUBLICAN CLUB.....

I am interested in joining a REPUBLICAN CLUB.....

I am a member of _____
(Name of Republican Organization)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ PHONE _____



SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 1961

Grassroots Cultivation by GOP Is Under Way

BY JAMES BASSETT
Times Political Analyst

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What do they propose?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

REPUBLICAN CLUBS

RICHARD ST. JOHNS - CHARLES BAKALY, JR.
Co-chairmen
Suite 216, 160 South Robertson Boulevard
Beverly Hills, California
Oleander 5-5950

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Bakaly
Mr. Finch
Mr. Haldeman
Mr. Chotiner
Mrs. Ulyate

From: Richard R. St. Johns

I am enclosing herewith copy of my letter to John Krehbiel dated May 3, 1961 requesting authorization for our club activities.

I am also enclosing a copy of a letter dated May 8th in response thereto.

Richard R. St. Johns

ram

Enclosure

LAW OFFICES OF
O'MELVENY & MYERS
433 SOUTH SPRING STREET
LOS ANGELES 13
MADISON 4-2611

BEVERLY HILLS OFFICE
136 EL CAMINO DRIVE
BEVERLY HILLS
CRESTVIEW 1-5267
CABLE ADDRESS "MOMS"

May
3rd
1961

OUR FILE NUMBER

Mr. John Krehbiel,
1422 West Colorado
Pasadena, California

Dear John:

As you know, during the Nixon campaign Chuck Bakaly and I were all over Southern California in connection with coordinating the Republican Party activities with the Nixon Clubs. During this time we met a substantial number of people who have not heretofore been active in politics who were extremely interested in the campaign. We feel that this group is a substantial potential force which can be utilized.

As we have discussed, we feel the best way to attempt to keep these people in the fold is to concentrate on the formation and organization of local community Republican clubs.

Naturally we would encourage any of these people to join existing volunteer groups, either in lieu of their club membership or in addition to it. As you know, the CDC's have been extremely successful in this type of organization.

We would in no way anticipate that this type of organization would be in conflict with any of the existing organizations, either volunteer or party.

We wish your authority to undertake this kind of program. We recognize the fact that by statute

Mr. John Krehbiel May 3rd, 1961

#2

such clubs would be required to receive recognition either from the County Central Committee, the State Central Committee or a member of the National Committee for California. Because of our determination to make this a truly state-wide organization, we feel that our proper contact with formal party organization should be through the State committee.

We will naturally not undertake any fund raising without your specific knowledge and written authorization directed to the club or clubs who wish to undertake such a project. Naturally this would not apply to nominal periodic dues to finance coffee at a club meeting.

I will end with two questions:

1. Do you think such a program and undertaking on our part is wise and advisable; and
2. May we have your authorization to undertake this program.

We will naturally keep you informed of our progress.

kindest personal regards,

Richard R. St. Johns

RRStJ:mm

STATE HEADQUARTERS
914 SOUTH OLIVE STREET
LOS ANGELES 18, CALIFORNIA
MAIn 2-1221



Republican

STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CALIFORNIA

NORTHERN OFFICE
222 MARKET STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
TYRee 3-2948

May 8, 1961

OFFICERS

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Chairman
CARVER W. WOODBRIDGE
Vice-Chairman
MRS. BOYD H. WAYSON
Vice-Chairman
MRS. EDNAH EBERHART
Vice-Chairman
MRS. CLARENCE O'DONNELL
Vice-Chairman
JOHN C. FINEA
Secretary
MRS. EMILY FINE
Assistant Secretary
ROBERT BOWEN
Treasurer
DOW MILANO
Assistant Treasurer
CARLES LAYN
Sergeant-at-Arms
FRANK TINSHULL
Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms
HENRY SALVATORE
Chairman of the Finance Committee

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mrs. ROBERT HITT
JOHN MARTIN, JR.
JOHN KREHBIEL

FRED J. HOFFMAN
Administrative Assistant to
the Chairman
LENA WASHINGTON
Executive Director

Mr. Richard St. John
453 South Spring Street
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dick:

I have your inquiry relative to stimulating interest among the people with whom you worked last fall during the Nixon-Lodge campaign, and attempting to channel them into the Republican Party through community Republican organizations.

Certainly every effort should be made to retain these people in our fold. In my opinion, they should be encouraged to join existing volunteer groups wherever possible. Of course, there are areas in California where volunteer organizations are either non-existent or dormant, and where a new Republican club would be most desirable.

Such organizations may by statute receive recognition from county central committees, state central committee, and members of the national committee for California. You advise me that you hope to make these contacts statewide, and I can assure you that the State Central Committee is happy to recognize all bona fide Republican units within their respective communities.

At the same time, I would urge that such organizations seek recognition from the County Central Committee concerned, so that complete coordination at the local level may be accomplished.

I trust that this answers your questions satisfactorily.

Sincerely yours,

JK:bw
cc: Mrs. Lucille Hosmer
Mr. Robert Lindsay
Mr. Pete Ashen
Mr. Joseph Martin, Jr.
Mrs. Patricia Hitt

John Krehbiel
Chairman