

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
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65	16	n.d.	Report	Titled "Hinderaker Task Force." 20 pgs.
65	16	06/21/1962	Memo	To: H. W. Kalmbach From: J. H. Harriman Re: Registration and Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns. 3 pgs.
65	16	04/13/1962	Letter	To: Joseph Martin From: Leone Baxter Re: public relations and political strategy. 4 pgs.
65	16	03/15/1961	Memo	To: Bob Finch and Herb Klein From: Pete Re: Political Strategy. 3 pgs.
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Handaker Task Force

I. ASSUMPTIONS

- 1. It is essential to capture votes from independents and Democrats.**
- 2. The attack on extremists of the right represents a start at building the broad appeal necessary for the general election. This should be continued, and other elements of an unmistakably clear broad-appeal candidate and program should be introduced now, to be developed more fully as the campaign progresses.**
- 3. Although Nixon has been in the California public eye for a long time, the picture of him in the minds of those he needs most to win, is confused. What kind of a man is he? What does he stand for? What kind of leadership will he give? Many people still do not feel they know. Many of these still have minds open enough to be won over, but Nixon starts with a handicap of skepticism about him.**
- 4. The opinions about Nixon among the Independents and Democrats, and even some moderate Republicans, are likely to crystallize soon. Therefore, the alternative of taking it easy until the primary election is over is not a practical one when viewed against the requirements of the general elections.**
- 5. Nixon is still stereotyped by many of the groups whose support he needs as a "slick politician." If he can convince them that he would be willing even to lose the primary election to stand up for his beliefs and what is good for the state of California, this would be one of the most effective ways of dispelling the stereotype and winning both primary and general elections.**
- 6. In order to reach independents and Democrats, a sophisticated campaign will be necessary. Those who may desert Brown will do so for what they**

regard as intellectual reasons. They have to be appealed to on what, to them, seems an intellectual level. Beyond that, more intellectual depth will be expected generally of Nixon than Brown. Even though Nixon made it completely clear that he never again wanted to be measured in terms of the presidency, people will still include "presidential standards" in this judgment even though the contest is for Governor of California.

7. Valuable time has been lost -- perhaps necessarily so -- and the opposition has been allowed to gain too much initiative in telling the voter what he should think about Nixon. It is not too late to regain the initiative.
8. What happens in the 1962 gubernatorial race will depend largely upon Nixon. Brown is a known quantity. Nixon represents the big "unknown" variable at this time.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There should be no blanket denunciations of the Brown Administration. In order to establish credibility and thus gain a hearing with Independents and Democrats who are aware of both Brown's strong and weak points, Nixon should in some way indicate common ground with Brown on something or things important enough to indicate that Nixon is a reasonable man and not playing an "opposed to everything" political game. Perhaps this might be the water plan, if not in whole, then in part. Perhaps the recommendation of the California Commission on Senate Apportionment. Perhaps the Master Plan for Higher Education. Then, having established credibility through this and other means, Nixon can go on to make his own case.

2. Care should be exercised in attacking Brown to insure that the attacks do not overshoot the mark to produce sympathy instead of the desired reaction. Particularly is this so in respect to his indecisiveness. The "indecisiveness factor" should be related clearly to the welfare of the state and not to ridicule the man. As with Harry Truman, Brown has great sympathy potential with many voters who recognize his shortcomings but like him as a person and will take offense if he is dealt with too harshly in a personal sort of way.

3. Much of the attack on Democrats should be on the "wild ones" of the California Democratic Council. It should be spelled out with documentation, while at the same time recognizing that not all people in CDC are like that. The split among the Democrats is deep, and it should be brought further out into the open. Brown will be handicapped on this issue because of the commitments or understanding which must have been made to get surface unanimity for the Brown-Richards ticket. This point can perhaps most effectively be brought out by strong and frequent endorsements of Senator Kuchel's candidacy, regardless of whether or not Kuchel returns the endorsement. Kuchel's credentials with Independents and Democrats are so good that supporting him strongly would help much in establishing credibility with Independents and Democrats.

4. Something should be done to improve the quality of press stories of the Nixon campaign. Until the CRA weekend, Brown seemed to have the best of it on this front, even in the L. A. Times. To date there has appeared to be too much of Nixon's handshaking here and there and too little of substance and an underlying campaign theme with which to convince Independents and Democrats that they should desert Brown for Nixon.

5. Nixon must convince voters that he really wants to be Governor of California. At least until the CRA weekend, one was hearing this questioned quite often. Beyond that, he must convince them that he wants to be Governor because there are things which he believes he can do for the welfare of the state of California.
6. A main campaign theme, with inter-related sub themes, should be developed. This might best be accomplished through a series of carefully prepared major speeches, with "off-the-cuff" appearances in between used to underscore and remind between such major speeches.

III. CAMPAIGN THEME AND SUB THEMES

It would seem that the most desirable theme would be one which would at least indirectly call attention to Nixon's qualifications from the national level while at the same time permitting him to focus directly on state issues. Such a theme might be developed as follows:

The United States is locked in a cold war with the forces of Communism. There is no possibility of a total and quick victory. Therefore, we must be prepared for a long period in which our margin of national security is closer than it has ever been, and in which even the destruction of civilization as we know it is now a possibility. If we are to advance our position in the cold war, or even hold our own, it is necessary:

1. To support our Federal government in the things it needs to do to maintain and increase our social, economic, and military strength. Here some means should be found to indicate support for the President (among other things, good sportsmanship) without supporting everything he and the Administration are doing.

Since this is a state campaign, the details can and should be relatively vague.

2. To make California -- this year to become the largest state -- a truly great state. There is much to be done. Let's get going with the job of moving ahead to a new level of greatness.

Then should follow the process of spelling out the nature of the task for California.

Response to Fear in Cold War: Constructive Action From California and Not Hysteria.

We know fear of the awesome new age in which we live and the cold war struggle. This is as it should be, provided the product of our fear is constructive action. If it is hysteria we are lost. California's contribution to the nation in this crisis should be constructive and not hysteria. Working from this point could come a speech which:

1. Identifies what is wrong with the approach of the John Birch Society, going in detail beyond the problem of Mr. Welch himself. This process can take one deeply into American ideals, thus giving Nixon an opportunity to tell of his concept of American ideals.
2. Lays low the liberalism equals socialism equals communism line, and indicates that the Americans for Democratic Action should not be equated as the left-wing counterpart of the Birchers. Both points will have to be made and developed with force to get to many Independents and Democrats.
3. Distinguish between the external and internal threats of Communism,

assisted by J. Edgar Hoover's recent strong statement on the subject.

The stage has been set for such a development by the CRA weekend. There should be no doubt left in anyone's mind about the firmness of the position. (The reaction is widespread that what Nixon has said about Welch and the Birchers recently is the result of his reading the polls and concluding that such an attack is now safe or politically advantageous.)

A Strong California Economy, Based on Technology and Education.

California is the center of the defense industry. One of the reasons why this is so is a scientific and technologic and skilled working force matched by no other state. This, in turn, has flowed from the fact that California offers a fine climatic environment in which to live, from the fact that California's great universities provide a fine intellectual environment, and from the fact that California's public and private education at all levels is striving to develop the kind of abilities and skills required in the new industrial age.

If California is to grow in economic strength it must:

1. Strive toward a more balanced economy, improving an environment which encourages industrial expansion by:

- careful examination of the tax laws that might limit development (but not a broadside against all taxes);
- establishment of an Industrial Development Commission that understands what industry needs if it is to come to an area;
- maintenance of a good labor force situation;
- maintenance of a fine environment in which to live;
- maintenance of the finest public and private educational system in the United States.

2. Strengthen productivity in all parts of the economy through research. Research and Development is a major industry in California. We must apply research and development techniques at the state level to make sure that we can get the industry we want, and can accommodate the people necessary to man that industry.

URBAN PLANNING AND GROWTH -- A STATE DEPARTMENT OF
URBAN AFFAIRS.

State planning has not yet recognized the degree to which the actions of various state agencies have direct impact on urban growth in California. There is a need for a single agency -- a State Department of Urban Affairs -- which can coordinate the actions of these agencies and, in addition, provide advice and assistance to cities which want to plan for orderly growth in the future. These points need emphasis:

1. The decision as to where to put a highway or freeway will determine where congested growth will take place, yet the State Highway planners fail to take this into account.
2. The congestion and extra expenses which have been created by our freeway system and inadequate public transportation systems have constantly pushed up the costs of doing business in California.
3. All of our major California cities face problems of central decay and disorganized growth in the peripheries which cannot be solved except with state help, in terms of freeway planning, provision for government buildings, re-allocation of some state funds, and other ways.

4. Major cities in the north and in the south are slowly melding into single large megalopolises with problems transcending local political boundaries. The State needs to be the unifying body on this, but has done nothing so far.
5. Coastal cities bear the brunt of demands for seashore recreation, but the state has not recognized this and proceeds to handle the problem in a piecemeal fashion. In addition, the freeway programs threaten to take much of the best coastal beach and recreation areas, i. e. Malibu, Laguna Beach, Newport, etc.
6. Urban decay has already been recognized as a regional problem by the Federal government so that state leadership is needed for taking advantage of Federal aid, but more importantly, for seeing that any aid is directed to solving the most important state problems in urban decay.
7. Statewide planning needs to be done on all types of state resources, with a view to encouraging a more diversified industrial and economic base. We have had continued industrial growth primarily because of Federal contracts. These industries supported by Federal contracts can afford higher wage rates, discriminatory freight rates and higher taxes, but privately based industry cannot. California resources must be mobilized, organized and publicized so that the manufacturing base of the state is diversified.
8. The state has not taken advantage of its Pacific Coast location to assist the local cities in working more closely with major cities in foreign nations, to produce new markets. San Francisco and Los Angeles do this independently for the benefit of their localities, but this does not strengthen other cities.

9. In conclusion, Governor Brown has had study commission which have reported on many problems, but no solutions have been attempted. These problems are still being talked about but not solved: smog abatement; public transportation which is cheap and dependable; low-cost housing for low-income families. recreation facilities for urban populations; improperly planned freeways rapidly rising property taxes uncontrolled urban sprawl; adequate water for industrial and urban expansion. Shoving the problems up to the Federal level raises the cost of solving them, increases the period of time before they are considered, let alone solved, and produces solutions which may not benefit the state, yet this is almost the only solution offered by Governor Brown -- ask for Federal aid.

Social Security, Welfare and Education.

The problem here is how the economic progress which California continues to enjoy can be shared equitably by those who must pay for it and those who need it. Those who pay for it expect to see solutions to the present very heavy demand for financial assistance for welfare programs. Unless the state faces this problem squarely, it will find excessive Federal intervention, a draining of welfare funds from the state to the Federal level, and impossible costs for any programs it now has. Those who need it must be encouraged to achieve independence from it as soon as practicable. These seem to be the most important considerations:

1. The state has not solved the problem of providing housing nor seeing that the housing provided is safe, sanitary and reasonably priced for low-income families, elderly persons, and broken families. Tied

in with this is the discrimination faced by orientals, Negroes, Mexican ancestry persons, who are usually placed on guaranteeing equal market opportunity for any family with economic means of acquiring housing, and if the state cooperated with the building industry in a program of supplying low-cost housing.

2. The present heavy in-migration to the state is composed primarily of large families in low-income brackets and with minimum if any, education. Immediate steps are needed to plan for the training of these persons so that they can be productive. Such training programs are also needed for persons now dependent on welfare. Welfare as a way of family living should be made unprofitable.
3. The junior college system of free education and allocation of funds according to average daily attendance standards represents a real boondoggle. Allocation should be related to school age population and educational needs of local populations. Many junior colleges have no entrance standards and no realistic academic standards, so that persons who cannot possibly succeed are permitted to take any training or college work they choose, because this builds the "ADA" reports and budgets for that school. The Master Plan still does not recognize that solid educational programs are needed for those who cannot or will not go to college. These persons need to be taught industrial and business technical skills which will make them employable. For example, estimates have been made that 50% of the graduates of our secondary schools will be employed in businesses, yet the Master Plan calls for State Colleges and University programs designed to serve almost exclusively the needs of the approximate one-third or less of secondary school graduates who

will go to college. We are not facing squarely the problem of providing good training and education for those who cannot benefit from college education.

4. More attention is paid to building facilities at state colleges and universities than is paid to developing good teaching and teachers. Currently, unrealistic certification requirements for high school teachers fails to recognize that high schools need persons who can teach welding, electronics, computer work, carpentry, printing, secretarial sciences, office skills, etc. Failure to assess adequately and realistically the educational needs of the state has produced excessive teaching loads for teachers, uneven pay rates for the same teaching responsibilities, inequitable systems of fees for those taking the programs, top-heavy administrative structures and costs. Furthermore, the universities now reserve admission to a particular percentage of the high school graduating classes instead of being forced to set achievement standards which will get the most outstanding students into the university.
5. Who in the educational system is going to provide the businessmen, social workers, political leaders we need, if the current trend to over-emphasizing science and math continues? We need a more balanced approach to education which will provide all levels of skills and education which are commensurate with state needs.

Housing.

1. Housing is vital to everyone -- social, psychological, economic reasons.
2. Housing is vital to the state: prosperity in the economy -- general

well-being of the community.

3. California housing industry has done a superb job but there are problems that have developed simply because of the changing nature of the economy and of the size of population to be served.
4. California has been the land of home-ownership but this privilege is becoming more and more difficult to achieve because of increased costs of home-ownership. Something can be done to alleviate these problems:

Real Property Taxation. This is clearly a local problem but the state can provide great technical assistance.

- a) We believe that the Real Property tax is the mainstay of the local government and nothing should be done to undermine this revenue source by special dispensations and exemptions.
- b) Tax revenue could be increased through better administration.
- c) Tax studies are needed to see what changes can be brought about.
- d) Convene a Blue-Ribbon Commission to study the technical aspects of real property taxation and make the results available to all cities and towns in the state.

Real Property Financing. Again the lending institutions have performed well but costs of home financing are higher in California than the rest of the nation.

- a) Clearly examine all state legislation to see if there are any hindrances to the development of institutions geared to lend

- b) Remove any legislative impediments to the flow of funds into the state -- "the FHA-insured loan program is not in fact working we can solve these problems at the local level".

Special Housing Problems.

- a) Must see that senior citizens are adequately housed, but this does not mean rash programs that may hinder the total development of the state.
- b) Housing for minority groups must be a fact not a fiction.
- c) Adequate housing must be supplied for agricultural workers -- "these are local and state problems and they can be solved best at the local and state level".

Land Use.

- a) Most important resource in the state is urban land.
- b) We have a great supply of land but we are not using it properly and, as a result, land prices are rising out of proportion.
- c) Must find ways of making land more available, and this means improved communication systems: the end of talk about rapid transit and some serious consideration as to where it is needed and how it can be accomplished.
- d) Must return worked-out old land to its highest and best use through imaginative working urban renewal programs (nothing to speak of has been finished in this area in the state of Calif.)

- e) Laws that will effectively permit private redevelopers to use land for new purposes will be developed.
- f) decisions with respect to land will be made in relation to the needs of people: it is clear that environment has a good deal to do with shaping the citizens of tomorrow; freeways cannot be allowed to destroy beach areas; camp-sites must be opened and preserved; the way that we permit the cities to grow; the way that we use land creates the nature of our state tomorrow.
- g) We have grown without recognition of this fundamental fact and it has created problems that only effective visionary government can change.

State government must be concerned with these problems -- they are the essence in creating the nature of the state -- and yet they are given only token attention. For example: does the Division of Real Estate have the most superior type of analyst as Commissioner?

Most needed factor in the state today is a Department of Urban Affairs. The problems are local and must be handled at the local and state level.

When the population of the state doubles in the next ten years, will the planning of land use, the supply of mortgage capital, the solution to tax problems be accomplished to assure potential citizens with an environment within which they can be productive and really live the way California citizens ought to be able to live....

Urban Recreation

The higher family incomes and shorter work weeks which are characteristic

of California, and which will continue into the future, are creating an almost insatiable demand for recreation facilities. The state has not in any way managed to keep up with this demand, as is evidenced by the fact that on a pleasant day in summer all facilities will be taxed to over-capacity. This pressure not only produces local problems but also problems at distances from the city as the urban population seeks less crowded facilities elsewhere. These problems need to be faced and solved, the California Outdoor Recreation Plan needs to be implemented, and much more needs to be done as follows:

1. Immediate action to permit the reservation of open spaces in areas where growth is expected. Properties located around recreation areas always have high values which they retain.
2. Various state agencies affect recreation: water resources boards, forestry, freeways, to name a few, but there is no central coordinated plan for controlling and directing their efforts towards a common recreational goal.
3. Highway location and design will have a strong effect on what areas are used for recreation, but this has not been recognized in planning for recreation. Currently, for example, attendance at state beaches on peak days is limited by the access and parking available for autos.
4. Recreation problems cross local political boundaries so that a firm hand from the state is needed to encourage joint local effort where it is not present, and to implement joint proposals where joint recommendations have been developed, (as is true in southern California). The state should not proceed on plans of its own without coordinating with local agencies; this is not being done.

5. Cities need immediate assistance in planning municipal parks to be used to the very young, the elderly, the low-income families, who cannot afford the costs of using distant state recreational facilities. This problem is becoming acute and is contributing to problems of juvenile delinquency, broken homes, etc.

WHY BE ELECTED GOVERNOR? BECAUSE OF EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING IN EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES ON A SCALE COMMENSURATE WITH THE PROBLEMS OF WHAT WILL BE THE LARGEST STATE.

This can be visualized by citing the functions which the governor should perform, but which have been performed badly or not at all.

Planning.

The state has grown like Topsy; the growth has not been directed or planned; the rate of growth has been left to accidental forces. We need a sound program of attracting balanced population, industrial and economic growth. What is needed first is long-range policy which anticipates the natural growth, for the next decade and then decides how to channel this growth and control it.

What objectives should this state achieve -- in terms of economic diversification? Population dispersion? Creation of new towns? Remodeling governmental structures? Refurbishing our cities so that they become efficient economic units and pleasant places in which to live?

What do we need in terms of immediate planning -- what about smog? Traffic congestion? Lack of balance in industrial base?

What policies should be implemented now and in the future to achieve our planned goals?

What procedures are needed -- is our present method of financing various state activities most efficient at least cost? What agencies could be consolidated? What programs are unnecessary -- the consumer council?

What strategies should be introduced so that California will maintain a pre-eminent position in competition with other western states? What can we do to establish strong capital markets here so that we need not pay high prices for eastern money?

Organizing.

The line functions of the state government need to be identified, strengthened and coordinated by the Governor for reasons of efficiency and cost. Staff functions which merely support should be reduced in number and importance. The Governor needs an administrative council which will examine all present activities in the light of growth needs and suggest the reorganization to make this possible. Present piecemeal creation of agencies and commissions, many semi-independent, need to be halted in favor of a well conceived organizational plan for the future. Authority and responsibility needs to be shifted to the lowest possible administrative level so that problems can receive immediate attention rather than current delays as they sift through agencies with divided authority and responsibility who proceed to finally pass everything through the Governor.

Organizational lines need to be drawn to reduce areas of authority conflict between such agencies as State Beaches and Parks and the Freeway Planners.

The Governor needs a competent board of directors drawn from business and education to help organize and implement his programs; not more study commissions.

The Governor must take the lead in establishing policy and giving instructions on how to achieve it. A characteristic of Governor Brown has been to vacillate or ignore problems until they solve themselves or are solved for him, then he jumps aboard and accepts undeserved credit for the solutions.

The water problem should have been solved many years ago, and the present solution is basically a compromise which does not recognize the realities of the future. Too many state agencies are busy "putting out brush fires" or "fighting snakes" to be concerned with any but the most acute problems. They are waiting for direction from the Governor but they are receiving none.

There is confusion as to the motives of the present administration and what its objectives really are; witness failure to solve the most pressing urban problems. Directives are needed to freeway planners, equalization boards, housing boards, economic commissions, etc., to coordinate, to anticipate the future, and to proceed according to definite time patterns.

Staffing.

More attention needs to be paid to careful selection of key staff executives who are good managers and who understand basic functions of management. Key jobs should be examined carefully, their training and educational specifications prepared in detail, and then selections made to fit. True bi-partisanship is needed here to get the best talent. Moreover, more jobs are probably needed at the Governor's staff level so that he can use expert talent. Key jobs now in existence need to be redefined and evaluated as to their need.

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All State Budget proposals need to be re-stated to show:

1. What will be accomplished with the spending.
2. In what order the spending will be done.
3. What each item will cost.
4. What means will be used to check spending.
5. How the results will be evaluated.
6. When a report will be prepared on an evaluation of the program.

Performance budgeting is needed so that results can be checked. Sources of funds need to be related to the functions performed with the funds -- are license fees used to improve the industry or activity which is licensed, as well as to pay the costs of licensing? Are license agencies, such as the Real Estate Commission, forced to be efficient in their spending, and are they held accountable for doing what they should do? Is the Commissioner really effective -- what about the continuing poor levels of performance of licensed persons, particularly in Real Estate? Do fees charged for state facilities represent a realistic charge for services rendered, for example in parks, recreational areas, etc.? Are the costs of the various commissions such as the Economic Advisor, the Consumer Council, the Housing Board, really just means of awarding jobs to many without requiring them to be efficient? To save the taxpayers money commensurate to the costs of their operations? Has the state really tried to cooperate with such organizations as the California State Employees Association to see that high standards of employee productivity are established and maintained in return for the many excellent benefits which these persons now receive?

Civil Rights: A state Human Relations and Civil Rights Commission.

One speech might be on the subject of civil rights, again reaching down deep into American ideals; an equal educational opportunity for all, something which has been in large part attained; an equal economic opportunity for all (even giving

some credit to Democrats on this point for what has been done in recent years); and a statement of race problems in the housing field. A proposal to set up a "blue ribbon" Human Relations Commission something like the national Civil Rights Commission would have a major impact on Independents and Democrats, provided it was done in a context broad enough to show Nixon's strong feelings on the subject and the promise of real leadership from the Governor in this area. Such a speech would also make it possible to work in contributions which Nixon made in the civil rights field as Vice President.

SUMMARY

In summary, there should be a series of speeches through which the candidate would establish the reasons why he should be elected governor. Each speech could briefly summarize the main and the sub themes of the campaign so that the overall message received proper repetition. Such major speeches should be done in text to achieve wider newspaper publicity than would be the case without advance texts. Perhaps a battery of major speeches could be completed in time to have them printed in pamphlet form for distribution about a month before the general election.

Throughout the approach should be a positive one, looking ahead, demanding greatness, and doing this in such a way that it is obvious that Nixon is the man to lead the way as governor. Too much of the Republican approach has been negative and has given the appearance of clutching for a past which is no more.

To: H. W. Kalmbach

June 21, 1962

From: J. H. Harriman

Re: Registration and Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns

It is my understanding that the Nixon campaign organization will put major emphasis on a massive, statewide registration drive and an intensive get-out-the-vote program and that we will attempt to coordinate our efforts as fully as possible with the Republican precinct organizations in all counties. To achieve these objectives, I recommend the following program:

1. Nixon volunteers should be encouraged to join the party precinct organization as precinct captains, block workers, deputy registrars, etc.
2. Nixon volunteers who do not wish to take positions in the precinct organization should be encouraged to make themselves available for an evening or afternoon from time to time to take part in door-to-door registration canvasses under the supervision of precinct organization leaders in precincts that do not have precinct captains.
3. Nixon volunteers who will not do door-to-door canvassing should conduct a registration canvass by telephone in precincts that cannot be covered door-to-door.
4. All Nixon workers, regardless of what other assignments they have, should be strongly urged to help get out the vote on November 6 by signing up for Victory Squad assignments.

5. In addition to supplying manpower to the precinct organization as indicated in 1-4 above, we should assume the responsibility of creating precinct organizations in counties and communities where none exist or where the existing organizations are wholly inadequate. This should be done (preferably after first obtaining the approval of the county or district central committee concerned) by providing the leadership, manpower and know-how and furnishing the recruiting and training aids and precinct captains handbooks and other basic materials developed by the Los Angeles County precinct organization for use anywhere in the state.

6. To implement this program, it is essential that full-time field men be assigned to this activity and given no other responsibilities. To do the job right, we should assign at least one man to Los Angeles County, one to the other Southern California counties, one to the Bay Area and one to the other Northern California counties. They should be assigned to registration work immediately since registration closes September 13. It takes at least several weeks to get an effective registration drive under way, and one that is not in full swing by late July will not be effective. Since there are only 82 days remaining before registration closes, it might be possible to get some young executives released on a leave of absence basis for that period.

The decision to proceed with this program or some modification of it must be made this week if you want me to work up the details, as I will be out of town from June 29 to July 23. If possible,

the field men should be recruited early next week so I can brief them before June 29.

We should bear in mind that COPE has appropriated \$1,000,000 and assigned hundreds of organizers to a systematic registration drive on behalf of the opposition and have selected California as the primary target. A major effort on our part beginning immediately is the only thing that can prevent our falling hopelessly behind in registration.

cc: Bob Finch
Bob Haldeman ✓

Whitaker & Baxter International

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4.13.62

Personal

Mr. Joseph Martin
400 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Joe:

As I said, while I should have been golfing and rooting for those beautiful Giants, I've been considering how the objectives you and Bob and I discussed Saturday could be accomplished. Here's (1.) the way the situation looks to me and (2.) how we might go about trying to improve it.

The complications are clear to all of us: the publicity shutout, the lukewarm or opposing press, the lack of public enthusiasm, the shortness of time, confusion in our own ranks, limited funds, the shock of a decline instead of the buildup we should be experiencing at this point, defections in public leadership which should be in Dick's camp--and the fact we all know--that the opposition's big guns haven't ^{even} warmed up.

None of the problems seems to me insurmountable. Only one is unusual: the handicap of operating at arm's length, which we'll have to do in this one. I think even this can be managed if it's important to try to turn this situation around. The factor that supercedes everything else is the clear fact that Dick has lost prestige and is slipping at a point in the campaign when he should be starting his most enthusiastic buildup to the election day peak. We shouldn't kid ourselves any longer that this isn't true.

4.13.62

As you know I've felt that permitting Dick to win his own nomination by any slimmer margin than necessary was a negative strategy we'd have to pay for in loss of both voter and financial support when he'd need it most. The situation looks to me as though he must start building at once or face another crisis, only incipient now, but which he conceivably might not weather in November.

If we want to go ahead along the lines discussed to try to straighten out some of the most critical problems and build as much public support as possible in the brief time we have, here's what I'd suggest: First I'd try very quickly to pull together a small nucleus of the most competent people available, lay out a program and direct them closely in executing it. These would include:

1. A top bracket news man. I'll bring in the man I mentioned if I can get him. He has high integrity, excellent contacts and speaks with the authority of both publisher and editor. He hasn't had direct campaign experience, but knows how a story should be put together that will run, if any will. I'd direct the ideas, copy and campaign techniques so there'd be no weakness here. His cost per month would be: 1,500.00

In respect to publicity; we certainly have to break this block.

This is somewhat more than a calculated shutout by certain areas of the press. We might talk over an idea which may work even on the Examiner, to relieve the metropolitan situation considerably; I'd rather discuss this than write.

Meanwhile, many California campaigns have been won in the non-metropolitan areas with the city press opposed. It's a little late to start anything complicated, but we can discuss a simple, well organized plan which may be of help.

The problem is not entirely with the press. Without criticism of anybody, we simply must put a new face and form on our publicity to make it consistently acceptable to the press.

Long direct takes from Nixon's speeches without news leads give the political editors no help at all--but a job of hunting for the lead. It makes them do all the work and indicates no enthusiasm for the candidate even in his own campaign press room.

Similarly, political editors couldn't care less about straight announcements of committee appointments. Unless somebody can put the time and thought on these to crack out with excellent statements on specifics--no generalities and repeats on what a fine man Nixon is--sending them out is a terrible waste of time and money.

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We must play Nixon's own good strong constructive statements on specific issues and work hard at dramatic, arresting and quotable language.

Any criticisms he makes of the Administration should be done in fighting, volatile language, or not done at all. If handled softly he might as well support the opposition.

2. A liaison man to work with the headquarters research people, organization department and all the other sources necessary to dig out the material we would need quickly, particularly respecting Dick's position on the few salient subjects and issues.

1,200.00

If not already done, we'll get this material into succinct and newsworthy language and try to put a sheen of newness on it. This man will act as liaison also with the San Francisco headquarters, through which our materials and ideas and stories and organization devices would be released or carried out.

It would be necessary for Spencer to understand the objectives and the authority for the operation. With a good understanding here, we could fashion our efforts to help his operation shine like Geniuses at Work.

We must meet the constant criticism: "What does Nixon stand for?" Now that he has covered most of the bases, we should identify him with two or three main issues on which he can propose some fresh new ideas that haven't been presented elsewhere. To capture public imagination he needs to originate. If for any reason this can't be accomplished, then he needs to make his general proposals concerning public issues in language people won't forget. We must try to present every position he takes in language so dramatically pointed it can't fail to catch the average voter's attention and hold it until the point is made.

3. An organization- and field-trained woman to help secure top leaders in education, agriculture, veterans affairs, urban problems, business and industry, youth, tax organizations, women's clubs, little business, professions, national leadership, etc.--who will stand for public statements backing and supporting Dick's speeches and positions. I've looked over the clips and am appalled that Dick has so very few really highly regarded leaders speaking out emphatically in his behalf. He simply has yet to prove that he has the strong confidence of the leading Californians whose judgment the voters trust.

Lack of this help in the campaign so far has indicated to the public and unfortunately to the newspapers that there is a dismal failure of public enthusiasm for the candidate.

750

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4. A secretary. I think we can manage with one, if as I assume, extra work, copying, etc., can be done at the Nixon headquarters. 400.00

5. Telephone. 700.00
I hope the Northern and Southern headquarters have a direct line or teletype connection. Otherwise wire costs are going to be high when the situation gets tighter as election day nears.

6. Office expense. 100.00

7. Space; I may need one more office. 300.00

8. An attacking force to launch a real assault on the administration, and carry it up to election day. Dick's campaign must begin to get Pat on the defensive soon or he never will regain the initiative. We must also begin to weaken Pat's popularity within his own Party ranks in order that his margin doesn't make Dick look too bad at the Primaries. This can be done.

The attack force is a valuable and necessary balance to the constructive work but its real importance we should discuss further. 1,500.00

9. Direction. I had intended to do what I can without fee. But the effort would require more time than I should give on such a basis. 2,000.00

10. I know the financial situation is bad. Would like to discuss a plan that could be helpful in this area.

I figure the cost of the effort would total around 7,000 a month. Some of this could not be done on a temporary basis. Two of the best people I have in mind couldn't be had for a month or two. They'd have to be assured of continuity if Nixon gets the nomination. It will be worth it of course to have top people continuing what needs to be done in these areas during the interim, thinking and working out practical procedures so we don't have to cope again with a last minute situation that puts our candidate in a bind. He needs to be on the upgrade, ascending all the way in the finals.

I should much dislike to be thought critical of somebody's campaign. Heaven alone knows what the problems are that outsiders can't see. This is simply an analysis of a few of the salient things that if corrected may turn Dick's campaign around and even give him the margin such a man should have at the Primaries.

Leone Baxter

March 15, 1961

TO: Bob Finch, Herb Klein.

From my own observations and talking to others here in Sacramento, at the CRA convention in Berkeley, YR convention in Anaheim and elsewhere, I get an increasingly pessimistic picture of RN's chances.

One very respected newsman says "he's lost his touch."

I think the CRA disproved that, but I am concerned about five specific areas.

These are his press relations, his relations with community newspaper publishers, some very peculiar campaign techniques and personnel, failure to carry the fight to Gov. Brown and most important his unwillingness or inability to campaign on state issues.

First, press relations.

At the start, I believe he had at least an even break among the Sacramento regulars and possibly better elsewhere in the state. Now I'm not so sure.

Why? He or his staff have ignored the basic premise of all good press relations--keep the working stiff informed. Thrice, in San Francisco, San Diego and most recently in Sacramento he blew into town with little or no notice. Maybe there have been other instances.

While pleasant, he has been vague, especially on state issues. Reporters are not hostile. But they are smart. They know when a guy is coasting or faking knowledge. And they suspect it here.

Remember, they want copy most. That's what they're paid for. More important, that's why they are in the business--to write. At CRA, RN gave the press copy. And they were for him. In this last miserable performance in Sacramento, he didn't. And they resented it.

To digress, I firmly believe the hostility of the press in 1960 was chiefly due to the fact they heard the same tired speech over and over, unrelieved by inspiration of expression or variety of thought.

We, or I should say RN, face the same danger now. He should have come out against reapportionment, an easy thing to do, here in Sacramento. It was a slow news day. Instead he said nothing. I hope he hits hard next time he's up here.

He's a little too condescending to the press at times. They've seen him several times around now--it's time they felt a part of his campaign; they're gonna be whether they like it or not.

Next, community newspapers.

In view of Sam Yorty's election, demise of the Mirror and Examiner and expected end of the News-Call Bulletin, it would be well to pay particular emphasis to these.

I understand RN alienated many publishers at CNPA convention in Coronado by excluding them, while Shell asked everyone to his reception.

Also I'm told he doesn't pay enough attention to them when he visits these towns. And there is little if any staff liaison. Wouldn't it be a good idea to set up some staff people out on the stump? It's swell to stump a supermarket but the appearance is soon forgotten without a friendly and remembering press.

And, campaign techniques. And, staff.

Is there a deliberate attempt to get inexperienced people or 'yes men' on the staff? Or does it just look that way? Who are these people?

There was a lot of complaint in 1960 that nobody could get anything out of a Nixon staff man, recipients of this memo excepted, and it looks that way now. Only worse.

As for campaign techniques, I'm sure the greater Tule Lake Beet Association cares about Viet Nam, but how long will they and their counterparts get their information from a candidate for governor of California? Is the purpose of this hopscotch itinerary to get the 58 county pledge over with in a hurry? It sure isn't proving much except that RN has considerable celebrity value which he can't cash in on forever. And it isn't putting much pressure on...

Gov. Brown.

This man has a tremendous operation. The greatest handout mill in the West. A competent staff who effectively is keeping his foot out of his mouth. Tremendous resources of information.

But an awfully thin collective skin. Especially when RN speaks.

He hasn't given them much to worry about so far. Maybe he's trying to lull them into overconfidence. If so, he may be succeeding.

What to do?

RN can pick his issues if he will. Hit him hard and often and all over the state. Keep him on the defensive. And after the primary, challenge him to a TV debate.

Last year, his press secretary told me he'd probably accept. Convinced of RN's ignorance of California, he no doubt will now. If he doesn't, a great issue. If he does, he's got an administration to defend. But insist on different ground rules from 1960. I'm afraid the California press would ask RN questions he truly couldn't answer. Which brings us to the clincher...

ISSUES

There are quite a few in California. And they can be developed without the help of GOP legislators, Pat Brown's suggestions or the national and international scene. Here are a few:

Jobs. This will be number one. There will be great unemployment in San Diego and spotty elsewhere. Is Brown administration luring industry? Are they thinking of creating jobs or just handouts? Joe Shell's basic speech is pretty good. Get a copy for later. But make it more positive. How about RN industry contacts saying, at the right time, that a more friendly climate in Calif. could lure a new Chrysler plant, e.g.?

Capital punishment. Timed right, before Nov. and right after a particularly brutal child sex slaying, RN could come out in favor of it. It's pretty cheap, but it would work.

Crime. Narcotics is still OK, but he needs better information. Plain old rise in crime rate is good provided he can think of some dramatic solutions.

Education. Takes up most state dollars. Here's a good lead. In budget analysis recently, A. Alan Post suggested four quarter state university and college plan. Like Stanford's. Keeps expensive plants busy all the time. No need for traditional summer vacations on college level--started when farmers needed kids back. Don't now. Could pay teachers more--cut down huge bond issue costs. Ignored by Demos. And tread easily on extending it down to high and elementary schools.

Legislative record. Play up RN's role as a legislator. Brown's lack of experience dealing with Legislature. Failure to get programs across. He'll have a lousy record this year. Fights with Senate. RN's an old senator. Vice president too. Speaking of that, have him rap Brown's weak spots like Glenn Anderson. Christopher will handle him easily. Mention McCarthy too. Popular where he's known. Get up list of items on Brown's special call and point out how he's laid an egg like RN did with JK in tag end Congress session in 1960.

Civil defense: Brown didn't put ~~it~~ on special call. Lay off huge state programs. But how about tax write-off for private shelters? Legislature didn't act on that in 1961.

Mention Brown considers poker a greater threat to California than nuclear fallout and pot luck suppers a bigger menace than prostitution. Facts to back this up.

Oppose state senate reapportionment plan but be for better urban representation. I like idea of senators at large. Could be from LA County or other metro. area but whole state would vote for them. And you know at large legislators are apt to be Republicans.

State printer and state architect are big boondoggles. Only Bee likes them. Could make a lot of points here. And lose nothing you haven't already lost.

Squaw Valley is disgrace. See attached story.

Above all, get somebody up here to find out where the bodies are buried. Listen to him. And start talking about California. Brown has picked up Shell pitch that RN knows nothing about the state.

He's damn near got me convinced. I think Brown would win today. I hope he doesn't in November.

pete

Strat.

Nixon for Governor

To: Bob Haldeman

Date: 11 April 1962

From: AW

Subject: The New Liberal Line

Distribution: Bob Finch

There has been a decided shift in the liberal line so far as RN is concerned. In my opinion, it is far more dangerous than the now discarded attempt to picture him as a dirty fighter "with an instinct for the jugular." They are now trying to present him as a pitiful, inept bumbler.

The new attack is far more subtle and far more sophisticated. It's intent, in my opinion, is to destroy RN not only politically but also personally. The genesis for the new line was somewhat apparent in Arthur Schlesinger's campaign tract, "Kennedy or Nixon: Does it Make Any Difference?". This hastily written screed used a pseudo-psychoanalytic technique that purported to analyze ~~his~~ his personality. Out of this it was determined that RN "lacked taste", "had no philosophy", etc.

The new line became very clear in Teddy White's book when there could be little doubt that his objective was to completely emasculate RN. White summarized his attitude in an interview in the New York Post when he characterized RN as ". . . something of a sad sack, an unsure man seeking approval."

The publication of RN's book has carried White's analysis even further: (emphasis added):

"The dreariness of this book reflects Nixon's dull, two-dimensional character. These memoirs have no distinctive personal charm, no intellectual detachment and few interesting reflections upon the man himself or the events he narrates." William Shannon, New York Post.

"He wrote the book, I think, in order to be an author: Didn't Whittaker Chambers write 'Witness' and John F. Kennedy 'Profiles in Courage'? He wants to explain himself, and keep explaining himself, not just to tell us how it was but to tell himself how it was. But what has emerged is a prime case of foot-in-mouth disease ... only a genius at blundering could have put into his book exactly what the hard Niss partisans have been saying for years ... After the 1960 campaign, one of Nixon's top lieutenants told me ruefully that the liberals had been exactly wrong on ... Nixon. They had called him a reactionary which he wasn't. And they had called him a cunning politician - which he also wasn't, but a sure and massive political blunderer." Max Lerner, New York Post

"There are numberless incidents in the book that show him as a lonely man who treasures tiny tributes as though they were sapphires...(he conducted) an incredibly bad campaign..." Time Magazine.

"What is pervasive is the tacit acknowledgment that Richard Nixon -- in Theodore White's phrase -- is one of life's losers .. 'This is a story of crisis primarily as it affects an individual' he says and wraps himself in a cloak of masochism. All the while his eyes are turned most harshly on the inner tumult, a separate self watches from his shoulder counseling apprehensively against an amorphous body of judgment which must be conciliated. Plainly the fear is of himself ... As a self-portrait, the swift transit of fourteen years in public life becomes a vehicle for self-destruction, devoid of eloquence or elegance, surcharged with banalities, intellectual cliches, and tasteless bravados .. Republican officials are saying Nixon is in deep trouble in his race ... better than anything else, this book gives the reasons why." William Costello, The New Republic.

It was, of course, to be expected that the liberals would do all that they could to discredit the book, but as can be seen from the above, they have carried this to the point where they are completely discrediting RN as a person.

From these comments it is evident that they are going to convert him into the bumbler without parallel while Pat Brown emerges as a strong, able and steady leader for California. This switch, if they can carry it off, will be as remarkable as Robert Wagner's successful pose as a reform candidate for a scandal-ridden regime.

Marquis Childs, writing from Los Angeles, commented: "No matter how great the odds, Nixon's chances of success should not be discounted in this political operation bootstrap. For he is the same Nixon who has gone so far on resources that in any objective view are seen to be limited." (emphasis added)

The Fresno Bee: "One does not know how many mistakes there may be in Nixon's just published Six Crises, but it seems possible it might better be called A Comedy of Errors."

Art Hoppe: "As I see it, it's going to be a very close battle ... between Bumbling Dick Nixon and Tricky Pat Brown."

Reston writing from San Francisco: "Everything .. (RN) .. says or does these days seems to go wrong -- luck helped bring him to the pinnacle of national politics - the luck of his age and his California origins - but his luck now seems to be running out. The harder he runs, the more he stumbles..."

Time Magazine (4/13/62): "...Though the election is still seven months away, much of the press is already talking of Nixon as a potential loser ... Marquis Childs ... recently compared Nixon to ... Dewey as a man with a losing habit."

The real danger in this propaganda campaign is that it appeals to not only the far left and the far right but it can also appeal to moderates and is certainly designed to undermine the confidence of supporters. It may also be designed to push RN further to the right.

It is painfully obvious that this blitz must be countered and at once. I think serious thought should be given to accepting the long-standing invitation to RN to appear on Meet the Press to knock down this destructive talk.

Secondly, on the state level I think we have to move in on Pat Brown's liabilities and hit them hard. We have not, to date, capitalized on the feelings of uneasiness on the part of the electorate about this man. When we talk about bungling, ineptness, cronyism, we should cite chapter and verse and imply he is a positive danger to every Californian and stealing us taxpayers blind. The trouble is we have, so far as I know, no long-range strategy or specific objectives. The overall effect has been a scattergun one, disconnected and I fear not especially effective. We must get Brown on the defensive and we must do it while he is proving so inept on the budget. Failing this, we must get him on the defensive and destroy his morale. If we don't move soon it will be too late. Secondly, if we take the offensive we can gain support from those leaning towards Shell and win others back who may be more committed to Shell.

Thirdly, we must get a top notch press aide to feed our line to the columnists, etc. As it is, we are being clobbered twenty times a day by Brown and Kennedy. The fuss over the carpetbagger statement is a case in point. If anyone on our side is feeding information on our point of view to the press, it certainly is not evident.

I hope you will think about the above and come up with some better ideas. I have not sent a copy of this to RN.