

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>
40	5	06/20/1968	Memo	From: Ellsworth. Re: Notes for Godfrey Sperlings "Breakfast Backgrounder". 3 pages.
40	5	n.d.	Memo	What Happened. Where We Are Now. What Happens Next. 9 pages.
40	5	03/07/1968	Memo	An Address by Richard M. Nixon on the NBC Radio Network. 4 pages.
40	5	06/11/1968	Memo	To: Leonard Garment. From: John Maddox. Re: The Negro and Independent Vote. 3 pages.
40	5	n.d.	Newsletter	Youth For Nixon Victory Progress Report. May 1968.
40	5	05/20/1968	Memo	From: Pat Hillings. Re: Los Angeles, CA Polls. 2 pages.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
40	5	05/21/1968	Newspaper	Rockefeller Still Best Candidate for Republicans. By Don M Muchmore for the Los Angeles Times. Not scanned.
40	5	05/20/1968	Newspaper	Nixon Remains First Choice of Republicans. By Don M Muchmore for the Los Angeles Times. Not scanned.
40	5	n.d.	Other Document	Telegram: Richar Nixons Campaign in Primary States are favorable.
40	5	06/17/1968	Memo	To: Mitchell and Haldeman. From: Flanigan. Re: Free Enterprise Committee for Nixon.
40	5	06/17/1968	Memo	To: Mitchell and Haldeman. From: Flanigan. Re: Telephone Program.
40	5	n.d.	Brochure	Nixon: Key to Victory.
40	5	n.d.	Newspaper	RFK- In Sorrow and Shame. By Murray Kempton for unknown newspaper.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
40	5	n.d.	Brochure	Nixon's The One. Oversized- Not scanned.
40	5	06/07/1968	Memo	From: Wm. Dowd. Re: Campaign Film For TV Spot Use, Using Law Students.
40	5	06/02/1968	Memo	To: Tome Evans. From: Mort Allin. Re: Youth For Nixon- Past & Future. 10 pages.
40	5	n.d.	Brochure	Nixon's The One Campaign Materials Catalog 1968. Not scanned.
40	5	n.d.	Letter	To: Len. Re: Automobile Safety and Insurance.
40	5	n.d.	Other Document	Ocotber 1968 Calender.
40	5	n.d.	Other Document	November 1968 Calender.

June 20, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: DC
Mitchell
Haldeman
Flanigan
Garment
Kleindienst
McWhorter
Sears
Klein

cc: Price, Buchanan

FROM: Ellsworth

Here are the notes utilized in connection with the Godfrey Sperling "breakfast backgrounder" of Thursday, June 20. In addition, the Bachelder polls were distributed.

The difficult points in the give-and-take were:

(1) The Candidate's schedule. Where was he going? When was he going there? My replies were limited to a reiteration of the paragraph in the middle of page 5.

(2) The alleged contrast between a "moratorium" and the substance of the paragraph in the middle of page 5 about moving through media and in personal appearances in selected states. Was this in response to Rockefeller's intensive campaign? In response to critical editorials? My response was to emphasize the integral and organic theme and to insist that it is simply a continuation of the general election campaign which was started in late January.

(3) Vietnam. When was he going to start speaking on Vietnam? Couldn't he say something that would favorably affect the chances for success in the Paris negotiations? How could he expect to appeal for votes to those who seek a change in the policies of the Administration without indicating both that he does represent a hope for change in Vietnam policy and also indicating what direction those changes will take? Had I seen Senator Brooke's thoughtful and constructive speech of the day before yesterday which could not help but have a favorable effect on the negotiations? My response was that Nixon had said repeatedly the President is the only one in this country who has a chance to get an honorable peace in Vietnam, and as long as that is the case, he, Nixon, as a Presidential candidate, will not say or do anything that might adversely affect the President's chances on that score, and that, as a Presidential candidate, he is in a different position from a Senator or editorial writer, etc.

(4) Lily white Southern delegations. The question was raised: How can Nixon avoid political embarrassment if a very large number of his votes at the Convention come from lily white Southern delegations -- and how can he pose as the Candidate of reconciliation if he refuses to exert leadership to get Negro representatives on the Convention delegations from the Southern states?

My response was the delegates to the Republican National Convention from all the Southern states (with one possible exception) are selected in accordance with established, local, ~~d~~emocratic procedures, working from the grassroots level, up through precinct, county and district conventions to the state level, and that it would be inappropriate for the Nixon organization to intervene in that process -- that, by contrast, the delegates to the Democratic National Convention from all the Southern states are appointed.

I stated that Nixon was not going to be embarrassed by any vote he received at the Convention or in the general election in the fall.

NB: For your information, Callaway advises that it now appears that only 2 of the Southern delegations -- Mississippi and Alabama -- will be lily white. (This is for your information only and was not mentioned by me at the backgrounder since it is not yet a fact).

In response to questions re Rockefeller Strategy, I indicated that we are not reacting to Rockefeller in terms of the delegate situation, but that we do have some concern insofar as the anti-Nixon aspects of the Rockefeller campaign are concerned, in terms of the damage that is being done for November.

- I. What has happened.
 - II. Where we are now.
 - III. What happens next.
-

I. What has happened.

A. Troubled nation:

LBJ abdication

King assassination

RFK assassination

- needs: reconciliation and stability.

B. Nixon: Stunning success in what has been a national primary.

1. 10 states with 128 electoral votes.

Every geographical section of the country (by Gallup groupings: East, Midwest, South, West) except the South.

All but one by 70% or over.

In the two states where NBC polled, Nixon got a substantially higher percentage of the vote than the polls said he would.

The details:

PRIMARY STATE	NBC POLL NIXON %	ACTUAL NIXON %
New Hamp.	73%	80%
Wisconsin		80%
Penn. (write-in)		80%
Mass. (write-in)		27%
Indiana		100%(Nixon polled over 500,000 votes
Nebraska		70% which was a 20% increase over his
Oregon	55%	70% 1960 primary poll of 400,000 votes.)
N. Jersey (write-in)		80%
So. Dakota		100%(Nixon got more votes than all the
Illinois (write-in)		72% Democrats put together.)

2. The national character of the 1968 primaries is seen in the fact that the size and quality of the primary victories indicate Nixon general election wins in 21 states with 225 electoral votes.

The specifics:

PRIMARY WIN	INDICATED NOV. WIN	ELECTORAL VOTES	
New Hampshire	New Hampshire	4	
	Vermont	3	
	Maine	<u>4</u>	11
Indiana Illinois	Ohio	26	
	Illinois	26	
	Kentucky	9	
	Michigan	21	
	Indiana	<u>13</u>	95
Wisconsin Nebraska	Wisconsin	12	
	North Dakota	4	
	South Dakota	4	
	Nebraska	5	
	Iowa	9	
	Kansas	<u>7</u>	41
Oregon	Oregon	6	
	Washington	9	
	Idaho	<u>4</u>	19
Pennsylvania New Jersey	Pennsylvania	29	
	New Jersey	17	
	Delaware	3	
	Maryland	<u>10</u>	<u>59</u>
			225

This total does not include the states listed as Nixon states in the Christian Science Monitor survey published June 15:

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTES	
Arizona	5	
Colorado	6	
Florida	14	
Montana	4	
Nevada	3	
New Mexico	4	
Oklahoma	8	
So. Carolina	8	
Texas	25	
Utah	<u>4</u>	<u>81</u>
		<u>306</u>

(270 electoral votes required to win)

NB: With respect to New York, it is interesting to note that in New York City, Nixon got 37% of the vote in 1960 while Rockefeller got 38% in 1966. In New York State, Nixon received 3.4 million votes in 1960 -- 47% of the total vote cast for President -- while in 1966 Rockefeller received 2.7 million votes which was 44% of the total vote cast for Governor.

II. Where we are now.

1. Delegates.

We are strong with a majority of the delegates, in terms of first-ballot votes. We do not have them "locked up" under lock and key, because the delegates are in fact human beings, selected by independent local grassroots procedures. Analysing the Reagan and Rockefeller maximum potential delegate strengths (on first ballot), our assessment of the situation is:

Delegates		1,333
Rockefeller	373	
Reagan	<u>182</u>	<u>555</u>
Balance		778

III. What happens next?

John Mitchell said on June 16:

"As for Mr. Nixon's personal plans, these remain what they have been. When he opened his campaign in New Hampshire, he made it clear that he was engaged in a nine-month campaign for the Presidency, not just a six-week campaign in New Hampshire. After four months of primary campaigning, he intends to concentrate between now and the convention on preparing for the intensive campaigning after the convention. He will continue to speak out on the great issues before the country, as is appropriate for a leader of his party who seeks to lead the nation. But his campaign activities will be directed toward the national election in November."

Specifically:

Our strategy ~~will be~~ will be to continue to aim at the general election in November, through media and personal appearances in selected states among the 7, 8, or 9 high-electoral vote states. This strategy is an integral and organic part of all that has gone before.

Rockefeller's strategy, he has made clear, is to take the Madison Avenue route in an effort to affect the public opinion polls through the expenditure of \$4 million to \$6½ million. We will not compete on that basis and indeed our candidate is not rich enough to do so.

Both Nixon and Humphrey, based on recent Presidential vote statistics, have approximately equal chances to win the Presidential election in 1968 regardless of their party identity.

Democrats are not the majority party in this country when it comes to Presidential elections: the Democratic nominee has received a majority of the popular vote only once in the last 5 Presidential elections while the Republican nominee has received a popular majority twice. When all the popular votes received by the two principal nominees in the last 5 Presidential elections are added up, neither party appears to be a majority party. The fact is that the party label does not mean nearly as much in Presidential elections as it does in local and Congressional elections. The statistics are as follows:

1948	Truman	24,176,345	49.5%
	Dewey	21,991,291	45.5
	Other	<u>2,623,190</u>	5.0
	TOTAL	48,790,826	
1952	Ike	33,936,234	55.0
	Stevenson	27,314,992	44.5
	Other	<u>299,692</u>	.5
	TOTAL	61,550,918	
1956	Ike	35,590,472	57.0
	Stevenson	26,022,752	42.3
	Other	413,684	.7
	TOTAL	62,026,908	
1960	JFK	34,226,731	49.7
	Nixon	34,108,157	49.6
	Other	<u>503,331</u>	.4
	TOTAL	70,644,510	
TOTALS:			
	Democrat	154,870,302	49.6
	Republican	152,804,342	49.1
	Other	<u>4,176,735</u>	1.3
	TOTAL	311,851,381	

Assuming Humphrey is the Democratic nominee, he will have to carry the burden of association with the most unpopular national administration this country has had since Hoover. Remembering that Nixon in 1960 had been part of one of the most popular national administrations this country ever had; remembering that all the Presidential candidates this year except Humphrey have emphasized the need for substantial change in national policies --

-- Nixon's opening promise, in New Hampshire and through all the primaries, of "new leadership",

-- the fact that McCarthy and Kennedy both have campaigned for change and together received 75-80% of the vote in the Democratic primaries this spring,

-- that portion of Wallace's appeal which is based on a call for change,

-- now Rockefeller's echoing call for new leadership,

-- even Lausche's defeat by Gilligan in Ohio and Kuchel's defeat by Rafferty in California --

we are confident that Nixon will win in November.

NB: One significant aspect of the political situation this year is the supposed effect of the Wallace candidacy. Mr. Joe Bachelder, the well known pollster of Princeton, New Jersey, has conducted surveys for us recently in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The results are summarized here comparing Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace preferences with Rockefeller-Humphrey-Wallace preferences.

ILLINOIS

Nixon	43	Rockefeller	34
Humphrey	33	Humphrey	35
Wallace	9	Wallace	13
Undecided	15	Undecided	17

In Illinois, Nixon does far better against Humphrey than Rockefeller does. Nixon is preferred over Humphrey, while Humphrey is preferred over Rockefeller.

OHIO

Nixon	38	Rockefeller	44
Humphrey	37	Humphrey	32
Wallace	10	Wallace	9
Undecided	15	Undecided	15

In Ohio, either Nixon or Rockefeller is preferred over Humphrey, although Rockefeller by a wider margin.

NEW JERSEY

Nixon	47	Rockefeller	46
Humphrey	36	Humphrey	34
Wallace	7	Wallace	10
Undecided	10	Undecided	10

In New Jersey, both Nixon and Rockefeller are preferred over Humphrey, and by about the same margins.

PENNSYLVANIA

Nixon	41	Rockefeller	42
Humphrey	40	Humphrey	38
Wallace	12	Wallace	11
Undecided	7	Undecided	9

In Pennsylvania, both Nixon and Rockefeller are preferred over Humphrey, Rockefeller by a slightly wider margin.

1. Nixon took the Primary Road to the people -- Rockefeller is taking Madison Avenue. No doubt Rocky's advertising campaign will cause his ratings to go up in the polls. But polls fluctuate, and this year especially we have seen that Nixon campaigning changes minds. The record shows it.

2. Nixon strategy now is to continue to move and speak on the issues before the nation, as an integral and organic part of his campaign to date.

For Release: 5:30 P.M. EST
Thursday, March 7, 1968

An Address

by

Richard M. Nixon

on the NBC Radio Network
Thursday, March 7, 1968

In the course of this year's Presidential campaign, I will be discussing with the American people many issues—what I see as the nation's needs and its strengths; its problems and its purposes; the dangers we face, and the opportunities that are ours to seize.

Tonight I would like to talk with you about the number one issue of 1968—the number one issue in the United States—and the number one issue in the world.

This is the problem of order.

By order I mean peace at home, and peace in the world. I mean the containing of violence, whether by armies or by mobs or by individuals. I mean the essential stability, the decent regard for the rights of others, that makes life livable and progress possible.

It was more than a quarter-century ago that President Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed "freedom from fear" as one of the Four Freedoms. And yet today, fear stalks our lives as never before.

There are many kinds of fear today—fear of the loss of individuality, fear of human obsolescence, fear of economic deprivation—but the central fear is the most primitive—the fear of physical violence.

We live today at a time of deep and fundamental questioning, when millions of Americans are asking whether their country can survive, and whether their world will survive. Both abroad and at home, the forces of destruction threaten our lives and our institutions.

Here at home, we have been amply warned that we face the prospect of a war-in-the-making in our own society. We have seen the gathering hate, we have heard the threats to burn and bomb and destroy. In Watts and Harlem and Detroit and Newark, we have had a foretaste of what the organizers of insurrection are planning for the summers ahead. The President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders now cautions that "in the summer of 1967, we have seen in our cities a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless none of us shall escape the consequences."

Abroad, we have lived for a generation with the abrasive tensions of the cold war, with the threat of nuclear weapons, with the explosive instabilities of a rapid dismantling of the old colonial empires. We have fought World War II, Korea, Viet Nam, and the peace is still elusive. Still we live in a world in which tyranny and greed and fanaticism march behind the barrels of guns. Are we, then, to be divided forever into warring worlds?

And here at home, are we to become two nations, one black, one white, poised for irrepressible conflict?

On both counts, the answer is no. But we cannot have peace abroad by wishing for it. And we cannot heal the wounds of our nation either by blind repression or by an equally blind permissiveness.

The peace we want in our cities is not the illusory peace of an abdication of authority, and not the sullen peace of the dispirited, but the peace that springs from participation—participation in the processes of growth and change, in the excitement of the present and the promise of the future.

As they survey the prospects of our cities, some cry out in despair that all is lost, that nothing can be done, that The Fire Next Time already is licking at the window-sills. Even President Johnson said not long ago that "we will have a bad summer," and "we will have several bad summers before the deficiencies of centuries are erased."

This is not a time for Pollyannas, but neither is it a time to throw up our hands in helplessness. Violence in a free society is never inevitable—unless we accept its inevitability.

The first responsibility of leadership is to gain mastery over events, to shape the future in the image of our hopes. If the present Administration persists in its weary voice of defeatism, its tired counsels of despair, it will have abdicated this great responsibility.

We should not for a moment underestimate the threat to our safety and our stability. But neither should we underestimate the means we have of countering that threat. Above all, we should make clear to those who threaten that these means will be employed—and thus that they cannot hope to carry out their threats and get away with it.

For a generation now, America has had the chief responsibility for keeping the peace in the world. In meeting this responsibility, we have been learning the uses of power—and specifically the uses of power in preserving the peace. We have learned from our successes, and I would hope that we have learned from our failures. Those lessons are needed today at home as never before.

The first lesson is that the best time to display both power and the will to use it is before trouble starts—to make transparently clear to a potential aggressor that the price of aggression is too high, and the chances of success too slight.

A second lesson is that force alone is not enough. Force may deter a great power. But force is no answer to despair. It is no answer to those who think they have nothing to lose, whether among the hungry nations of the have-not world, or among those in our own cities nursing the grievances of centuries.

Only if we can light hope in the ghetto can we have peace in the ghetto—but that hope has to be real, and achievable, and it has to rest, not on the expectation of being *given* something, but on the chance to *do* something. It has to be the kind of hope that builds responsibility, not dependency.

In the case of our threatened cities, I am not making any flat predictions. But I will say this: 1968 *can* see a cooler summer, rather than a hotter one. I say it can for three reasons:

First, because we have been warned. The violence being threatened for this summer is more in the nature of a war than a riot. A riot, by definition, is a spontaneous outburst. A war is subject to advance planning. But if those threatening war can plan, those being threatened can also plan.

The second reason I say it could be a cooler summer is this: among responsible Negro leaders, there is a growing spirit of resistance to the extremists. After all, the great, quiet majority of America's Negroes *do* live by the law, and do share the ideals of the society we all belong to. Yet it was *their* neighborhoods that were destroyed, their homes ravaged, their lives made hostage to terror. And now their voices are being heard, providing a climate once again more receptive to the common-sense Negro leadership that recognizes that the only lasting way to progress is the peaceful way.

The third reason I say it could be a cooler summer is that this is a Presidential election year—a fact which provides a peaceful focus, a political focus, for the great challenge of combining peace with progress, and through peaceful progress bringing about a new spirit of racial reconciliation.

But we can expect a cooler summer only if we do two things, and do them both with compelling urgency.

On the one hand, we must take the warnings to heart, and prepare to meet force with force if necessary—making it abundantly clear that these preparations are made, and that retaliation against the perpetrators and the planners of violence will be swift and sure.

But on the other hand, we must move with both compassion and conviction to bring the American dream to the ghetto.

I spoke a moment ago about lessons we learned abroad that could be applied here at home. There also are lessons from our experience at home that are relevant abroad. One of these is, quite starkly and quite simply, that what happened in Watts and Detroit could happen in the world, unless we move with a sense of urgency to create among the lagging nations and peoples of the world a sense of belonging, of participation, of hope, that has been lacking in the slums of our own cities.

The world is becoming a great city—a city in which communication is instantaneous, and travel nearly so; a city in which civilizations centuries apart in development are suddenly side by side. It is becoming a city in which the extremes of national wealth and national poverty cannot forever co-

exist in explosive proximity, without inviting upheaval—and the difference between the violence we have experienced in our cities and the violence this would invite is the difference between Molotov cocktails and the ultimate weapons of annihilation.

Another and more immediate lesson is that we dare not let the forces of violence get out of control.

All history has been a struggle between man's thrust toward violence and his yearning for peace. One measure of the advance of civilization is the degree to which peace prevails over violence.

Today, the apostles of violence are testing their doctrines—in Viet Nam, in Thailand and Laos, along the border between North and South Korea, in Africa, in Latin America, where roving bands of Castro's guerrillas operate. The old violence parades today in a new uniform. Both at home and abroad, it has wrapped itself in propaganda.

At home, it may masquerade as "civil disobedience," or "freedom," and it sometimes marches under the banner of legitimate dissent.

Abroad, violence calls itself a "war of national liberation," and tries to justify terror and aggression with slogans of social revolution. But the new war is still the old imperialism.

The sloganeering of the new violence confuses many people. That's what it intends to do. But when the slogans are stripped away, it still is violence plain and simple, cruel and evil as always, destructive of freedom, destructive of progress, destructive of peace.

The war in Viet Nam is a brutal war, and a terrible war, as all wars are brutal and terrible. It has cost us heavily in lives, in dollars, in hostility abroad and division at home—in part because of the Administration's failure convincingly to strip away its masquerade. But the men dying there are dying for a cause fundamental to man's hope: the cause of checking aggression, of checking violence, and of moving us one step closer along the difficult road to a lasting peace.

I have long been a vigorous critic of the conduct of that war. Our *military* power has been frittered away in a misguided policy of gradualism; if we had used our power quickly, we could have ended it with far less than we are now using.

The Administration's failure to inform the American people of the full costs of the war—its failure to take the people fully into its confidence on the war—has sown distrust and suspicion about the war, both here and abroad.

But even more fundamentally, the Administration has failed to understand the nature of this new kind of war. This is different from other wars, and far more complex. It is a war for people, not for territory, and it cannot be won by military means alone.

Because of its failure of understanding, the Administration has failed to press those non-military measures—diplomatic, economic, psychological, political—that could have vastly increased the effectiveness of the military effort. It has failed to use diplomacy effectively with the Soviet Union, to enlist the Soviets on the side of peace. It has failed to do enough to enlist the South Vietnamese fully in their struggle—enough to train their military, and enough to give their people the hope, the stake in the future, the spirit of independence, that are needed if they are to have something to fight *for*, as well as against.

Only when our political, economic and diplomatic efforts are given a priority equal to our military effort will this war be brought to a successful conclusion.

Only this way can we get the negotiated end of the war that we want—not a military victory in the conventional sense, not unconditional surrender by the other side, but a durable peace in which the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people is respected by all nations, including North Viet Nam.

I think that with different policies the war could have been ended before this. I think that with new policies it could be ended sooner—though not as quickly or as cheaply as if those policies had been adopted when they should have been.

It is essential that we end this war, and end it quickly. But it is essential that we end it in such a way that we win the peace. And just as the cause we are fighting for is larger than Viet Nam, the peace we must be concerned with is larger than Viet Nam. The peace we must be concerned with is peace in the Pacific for the balance of this century. But Viet Nam alone will not secure that peace. It requires a preventive diplomacy, designed to concert the rapidly growing strengths of the Asian nations themselves.

We are a nation of 200 million people, powerful and rich. But there are more than 2 billion people in the free world. In Korea, the United States furnished most of the arms, most of the money—and most of the men. In Viet Nam, the United States is furnishing most of the arms, most of the money—and most of the men.

As we look to the future, we must establish conditions in which, when others are threatened, we help if needed—but we help them fight the war for themselves, rather than fighting the war for them. This means that the other nations in the path of potential aggression must prepare to take their own measures, both individually and collectively, to contain the aggressor. They must not be allowed to suppose that they can continue indefinitely to count on the United States for go-it alone protection.

This is not a retreat from responsibility, and not a new isolationism. It recognizes three fundamental facts:

First, that the job of keeping the peace is too large for the United States alone;

Second, that among nations as among individuals, self-reliance is the foundation of pride and the cornerstone of progress;

And, third, that by establishing new collective security systems, the total effective strength of the free world will be increased, and thus the Communist powers' temptation to launch new wars will be reduced.

We as a nation must still do our share, but others must do their share, too. In the long run, peace can be maintained only if the responsibility for maintaining it is shared.

What then are the prospects, both at home and abroad?

Are we doomed to live with an ever more terrible violence? Are the bitter agonies of these wars of the past and the present—the war in Viet Nam, and the war in our cities—to be magnified? Or is it possible that finally, after three foreign wars in a generation, and after the battles that have set our cities aflame and seared the soul of the nation, we can move on now to a peace of understanding abroad and a peace of reconciliation at home?

I say it is possible. It is not only possible, but imperative. But we live in a world of hard facts and harsh realities, and these make firmness and fortitude necessary.

Eventually, we can and must look forward to the day when the Communist powers will abandon the pursuit of their ambitions by military means. We can and must do all in our power to enlist them, too, on the side of peace and not on the side of war. I am convinced that in the term of the next President substantial progress on this front will be possible. But it will only be possible if we persuade them, first, that aggression does not pay—that just as they finally learned in Korea that they could not expand by the old-style war, they must be shown in Viet Nam that they cannot achieve their goals by the new-style war.

The war in Viet Nam is not a war to end war. But it is a war to make a larger peace possible. Only if this war is ended in a way that promotes that larger peace, will the cost be justified.

If we are to achieve a peace of reconciliation here at home, there is one thing we must make crystal clear.

We increasingly hear angry cries that ours is an unjust society, that the whole "power structure," the whole social and economic and political structure, is evil and ought to be destroyed. Whether the cry comes from extremists in the Black Power Movement, or from the far fringe of the New Left, the message is still one of intolerance and hate, and it still is wrong.

These mounting threats of violence come when there has never been less cause for violence, and never less excuse for rebellion. Never have we been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, in which the age-old wants of man are met and the age-old grievances of the disinherited set right.

There are injustices. There are inequities. But there also is a massive popular will to correct those inequities and right those injustices.

Equally important, we have the means to correct them in peaceful and orderly fashion. America was born in revolution. But the architects of the new nation saw clearly that if the society was to be secure, the means of peaceful change had to be provided. They built into our structure what the colonies had rebelled for lack of: a system by which the people of America could be masters of their own destinies, in which all could be heard, and the power of persuasion substituted for the power of arms as a means of bringing about progress and change.

This points up a major deficiency in emphasis in the recent report of the President's riot commission—its tendency to lay the blame for the riots on everyone except the rioters.

Among the causes of the riots the commission noted that "frustrated hopes are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the civil rights movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South."

It might also have included the inflated rhetoric of the War on Poverty, which added to the dangerous expectation that the evils of centuries could be overcome overnight.

One thing worse than not keeping a promise is making a promise that cannot be kept.

The commission rightly sounded a note of urgency, and it rightly pictured the task ahead in the cities' slums as massive.

But it would be unrealistic to raise hopes that the vast programs the commission proposed might all be done at once.

And it would also be a disservice to suggest to the dwellers in those slums that they need only wait for Federal housing, Federal jobs, a Federally guaranteed income.

Jobs, housing—all the things of the better life—will come, ultimately, when two things happen: when private enterprise gets into the ghetto, and when the people in the ghetto get into private enterprise—as workers, as managers, as owners.

We can and must make far greater progress than we have, but we can only do so by a far greater enlistment of private enterprise in rebuilding the cities, in providing the jobs, in constructing the housing.

During the course of this campaign I will be recommending programs to move us toward this goal.

More than almost any of the great issues facing America today the tortured problem of race requires a careful balance and a clear perspective. Much that is desirable, much that is urgent, takes time to achieve.

America still is going through an agony of transition.

It takes time for old myths to give way to new awareness. It takes time to erase the old stereotypes.

But the point is that we are moving forward, and moving rapidly, toward what the riot commission refers to as a "single society"—one nation, one people, one common ideal, in which each person is measured as an individual, and in which legal rights are fleshed out with actual opportunities.

We must do more. But if progress is to be made, the first essential now is order.

The riots shook the nation to a new awareness of how deep were Negro resentments, how explosive the grievances long suppressed. But that lesson has been learned. And those who now cry "burn" tempt a new conflagration that could engulf not only the cities, but all the racial progress made in these troubled years.

Excesses on one side bring excesses on the other; we could too readily be drawn into a spiral of violence and vengeance. We can ill afford the destruction of our cities; we could even less afford the ravaging of our society.

We cannot be complacent about our country's faults, but neither should we be apologetic about its strengths.

What began in rebellion nearly 200 years ago has become a peaceful revolution and a permanent revolution—a revolution that has transformed the world, and that has stood for these two centuries as a beacon for man's aspirations and a symbol of his liberties.

This permanent revolution is not yet finished. Lincoln freed the slaves. Our uncompleted task is to free the Negro. Franklin Roosevelt promulgated the old, negative freedoms *from*. Our uncompleted task is to make real the new, positive freedoms *to*.

The architects of our country provided the means for peaceful change. Our uncompleted task is to damp the fires of violent change, to cement our mastery of the pace of change, and to make the most of our opportunity for constructive change.

Change is the essence of progress. But there can be no progress without order, no freedom without order, no justice without order.

And so our first commitment as a nation, in this time of crisis and questioning, must be a commitment to order.

This is the commitment that makes all else possible. This is the commitment that is needed if our unfinished agenda is to be finished, and the American Revolution—the permanent, peaceful revolution—is to fulfill its promise to mankind.

FSR

office memo

6/11/68

TO: Leonard Garment

FROM: John Maddox

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Bob, This may
be of
some
interest
John Maddox

THE NEGRO VOTE

A postgraduate research sociologist at the Survey Research Center, Berkeley, published a paper last summer in the PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY which sheds some light on the effect on voting behavior of individuals who are "alienated" from their society, who feel they are deprived of full and equal participation in the American system.

The research study he reports, though small in sample size, seems sound technically. Its internal consistency is high. The sample consisted of white collar and blue collar white families. Negroes were removed early because of the extreme degree to which they showed the hypothesized effects. The state of being "alienated" is measured on a well-established standard scale.

The original paper is attached.

Whether or not Senator Kennedy or any of his advisors ever saw this paper, or whether he operated in this area by political intuition alone, his campaign approach to Negro voters appears to have been directly in line with the key finding of the study, namely, that "...alienation is mobilized when an issue is defined in terms of good and evil" - i. e., "moralistic" as opposed to "pragmatic." Kennedy's impassioned and persistent use of the phrase, "It is not right!" went straight to the hearts and minds of the "alienated" among the Negroes (which is probably the majority).

THE "INDEPENDENT" VOTE

The same study raises a question concerning the extent to which "undecided" and "independent" voters may be individuals with a greater than average degree of alienation from the political society. The following quote from the report indicates this possibility:

"To the extent that national political decisions are defined in terms of specific policies and programs, we should expect to find it a relatively unsatisfactory

avenue for the expression of alienated moral indignation. Under normal conditions, presidential elections provide an occasion for voting for specific policies and programs. Both major parties present themselves as "responsible" national voices and both are in fact committed to the established political system. As such, neither provides the citizen with the opportunity to validate his personal rejection of the political system.

"One predictable consequence of these characteristics of the national political process is the withdrawal of alienated citizens from political participation. Such withdrawal was evidenced in the data in a number of ways. A measure of political consistency was devised by combining responses to questions of party identification and 1956 and 1960 voting behavior. Republicans who voted for both Eisenhower and Nixon, together with Democrats who voted for both Stevenson and Kennedy, were compared to other respondents whose party voting pattern was, in one way or another, inconsistent. Alienated citizens contributed disproportionately to the inconsistent response patterns.

"Within the middle class and the working class, alienated individuals tend to withdraw from politics, in terms of both their knowledge and their interest, and to vacillate between parties in their voting behavior."

If there is more than a grain of truth in this as a partial diagnosis of "switchers," it has a bearing on the tone or mood with which national issues should be defined in order to reach these voters most effectively.

Broadly speaking, there are two choices of mood in setting up an issue for subsequent discussion: (a) to describe the issue in rational terms, or (b) emotional (moralistic) terms. And, of course, in sequence, the recommended program of action concerning the issue can also be presented either emotionally or rationally.

To appraise the relative effectiveness of these two alternatives, we should ask a simple question: What rock bottom jobs do all people hope their new president will perform for them?

1. Perceive all needs (my needs) in their human, personal relevancy (i. e. , emotionally, moralistically).
2. Solve the problems of those needs with the greatest possible degree of knowledge and intelligence (i. e. , rationally).

There are thus four possible combinations of mood with which a presidential candidate can address the electorate concerning his capability for doing the jobs they hope for.

	<u>The way he presents his understanding of the voters' concern (the problem as seen)</u>	<u>The way he presents his solution to the problem (the action recommended)</u>
1.	rationaly	rationaly
2.	emotionally	emotionally
3.	rationaly	emotionally
4.	emotionally	rationaly

Combination One reaches no one with warmth; represents a totally objective and therefore remote approach ("He doesn't really understand"). Has strong appeal for very limited audience.

Combination Two will carry mobs to the barricades (mobs who have no children or other serious commitments to the future).

Combination Three which clearly spells out problems and then proposes emotionally charged solutions will leave very large numbers feeling insecure at the gut level about delivery (a visionary?).

Combination Four tells voters that this man "really understands my problem because he has just described it the way I feel about it." It also tells them that "he has got sense enough not to go off half-cocked on a very tough problem."

* * * *

Combination Four has important implications not only for approaching Negro and Independent voters, but for the total campaign use of public relations, advertising and speech-writing.

John Maddox

ng

YOUTH FOR NIXON

Number 4



May 1968

RN TRIUMPHS AT MAJOR COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL MOCK CONVENTIONS

HUGE NIXON LANDSLIDE IN OREGON

Upsetting the polls, columnists and even his own supporters, Richard Nixon amassed an amazing 73% of the vote in the crucial Oregon primary. He defeated Governor Rockefeller 18-1 in the only state ever won by the New York Governor in 1964. Despite a massive television and press campaign by Governor Reagan, RN trounced him by a margin in excess of 3-1.

Robert Ellsworth, National Director of the Nixon for President Committee stated: "There is no precedent in Oregon political history for the crushing victory. No other Democratic or Republican candidate in a contested Oregon primary has ever recorded as many votes. The greatest political victory Governor Rockefeller has ever won outside of his home state was in the Oregon primary in 1964 where his supporters justly hailed his 33% - 93,000 vote victory as a "major triumph". Today Mr. Nixon has more than doubled the Rockefeller vote—and jumped the winning margin from 33% to an incredible 73% of the vote." Mr. Ellsworth pointed out the following conclusion: "Nixon's original strength in the great cross center of the GOP has rapidly broadened in the last four months of primary campaigning to encompass increasing segments of the Party. He is now the first choice of something like 3 out of 4 Republicans—and a thoroughly acceptable and welcome candidate to them all."

The Christian Science Monitor stated RN's "triumph among all voter categories was testimony to the skillful, relaxed, moderate-conservative campaign he has waged. Mr. Nixon is clearly outdistancing all competition."

Lexington, Virginia May 4

The nation's most realistic mock convention has nominated Richard Nixon to carry the Republican standard in 1968. Washington and Lee University, where all 1300 students participate as delegates, named Nixon on the third ballot following the withdrawal by other prominently mentioned candidates. The delegates began writing state and national officeholders last fall and continued to add to their authentic portrayal of GOP sentiment by remaining in phone contact with numerous state leaders on the Convention weekend. The message came loud and clear once the favorite sons began to release their delegations. The Nixon campaign was led by graduating law student **H. F. "Chip" Day** and help was generously provided by **Henry Graddy, Jeff Wainscott, Joe Wilson, Ken Cribb, Alan Stedman** and others. RN himself accepted the nomination by phoning the Convention and promising to serve them honorably as the nominee. Washington and Lee Mock Conventions have forecast the nominee of the party out of power correctly since 1952.

(continued on page 3)



Enthusiastic Nixon supporters wave signs and balloons during Caledonia, New York mock convention.

Perspective/Choice 68

Richard Nixon's national strength was underlined by the amazing total of votes cast for him in Choice '68, the national collegiate Presidential election sponsored by *Time* and the Univac Corporation. RN captured nearly 200,000 votes on college and university campuses. His closest Republican challenger had only 10% of the votes and failed to carry a single region while RN swept 4 major regions of the country in mounting his impressive total. Sen. McCarthy, a candidate who has made a direct appeal to college students was chosen by 1 out of every 4 students, while RN was selected by 1 out of every 5. The Nixon vote dramatically indicates that his reasoned and rational approach to the problems of our Nation has won him great respect among students.

An even larger turnout of voters in Choice '68 might have resulted in a complete Nixon victory. Less than 20% of the eligible students voted in the poorly publicized election. Past studies suggest that the moderate students more concerned with studies than campus political affairs, tend to be often uninvolved in such events as Choice '68 unless publicity is extensive. If a greater number of the moderates had par-

MEMOS TO MEMBERS

1. PLEASE send us a change of address notice if you have not yet sent in the postcard from our last mailing. We want to keep in touch over the summer and must have your home or vacation address.

2. Enclosed with this mailing are RN's widely acclaimed speeches on the Urban Crisis—"Bridges to Human Dignity." Read and reread each of them. Spread the message to every middlesex, village and farm.

3. Help double our National membership. Use the enclosed application to enroll a friend or two. Bring them aboard the rapidly moving Nixon band wagon. Don't put the application aside—move now to recruit additional members for YFN.

4. Law Students for Nixon will be preparing this summer for expansion in the fall. Send us the names, home addresses or schools of any and all law students whom our LSFN chairmen can contact.

anticipated we feel confident that the most responsible candidate—Richard Nixon—would have been their choice. It is up to each member of Youth for Nixon to help activate the students of the center. We can and shall win in November with their support.

NIXON ON THE ISSUES

THE MILITARY DRAFT

"I believe that when the war in Vietnam is over, the draft should be ended and we should shift to the concept of an all-volunteer army. I say this not only because of the inequities inherent in any draft system, but also because the nature of war has changed.

"One of the lessons of Vietnam is that the wars which may threaten in the future will require highly professional armed forces, thoroughly trained in the new techniques of a new and more sophisticated warfare.

"Korea was probably our last conventional war. Those we must prepare against in the future are either nuclear exchanges, in which the draft would be irrelevant, or guerrilla wars. To be fully effective in a guerrilla-war situation, we need a highly skilled, highly motivated professional corps which can train and work with the local, indigenous forces supplemented by a civilian corps of equally skilled nation-builders under civilian control.

"Since World War II the Nation has relied on a peacetime draft in large measure because of the unwillingness to pay enough to attract enough recruits to meet our military commitments. But the draft is simply not adequate to meet the needs of this highly professional force of the future. By raising military pay scales and ending the draft, we can have better military protection with a smaller armed force—while eliminating the inequities of the draft in the most effective way possible, that is, by eliminating the draft.

"The shift to an all-volunteer army cannot be made in the midst of war, and the draft machinery must be kept available on a standby basis in case of a sudden, unforeseen emergency. But the shift should be made when the war is over—not only in the interest of the young people whose lives are clouded by uncertainty, but also in the interest of an effective defense geared to the new and different needs of a new era."

MOCK CONVENTION TRIUMPHS (continued)

Richard Nixon has won a bipartisan mock convention at Purdue University with over 2,000 students participating. The victory was the result of hard work by Nixon's Boilermaker supporters who were led by **Dirk Reek**. The delegates did extensive research on their states to better understand the sentiment which really existed in each state. The combination of factual information and enthusiastic support for RN led to his choice as the likely winner in November.

High school mock conventions from coast to coast have shown further evidence of the increasing support for Richard Nixon. In a state-wide high school conclave held in Portland, students followed a colorful and prolonged demonstration for RN by nominating him to lead the GOP ticket in 1968. The highly realistic convention served as valuable support to RN's Oregon primary campaign. Key individuals in the Nixon victory were **Bruce Plumb, Clayton Klein, Bill Bails and Mel Davis**.

- In Bellevue, Washington with several major area high schools participating, RN won a smashing victory.

- Arlington Heights High School in suburban Fort Worth, also gave the nod to RN.

- In Caledonia, New York, the hard work of YFN charter member **Curtis Smith** resulted in a Nixon victory right in Governor Rockefeller's backyard. Curtis visited national headquarters during spring vacation to pick up literature, buttons, balloons and posters to wage his campaign.

- And in Lincoln, Nebraska, Southeast High School pointed the way for the Cornhusker State to follow in Nebraska's May 14th primary. With candidates of both parties on the ballot, seniors **Art Pansing, Clipper Walcott** (both members of National YFN) led the forces of RN to victory on the 8th ballot besting the junior senator from New York. Their highly effective communications committee was headed by another YFN member, **Joe Ayres**.

Mock conventions and elections also chose RN at North Little Rock (Arkansas) High School, St. Mary's Jr. College (Raleigh, N. C.), East Texas State University, University

of South Florida, Grove City College (Pennsylvania), West Liberty College (Ohio), University of North Dakota, University of South Carolina, Roberts Wesleyan College (N. Y.), Newport Harbor (California) High School, and a multi-college (32 schools) Convention at California State College at Fullerton. Additionally, RN was chosen by a 2-1 margin at the recent Midwest College Young Republican Convention in Chicago.

RN also led the way at Martin Behrman High (New Orleans, La.), Ralston (Nebraska) High School, Illinois State University, University of Tennessee at Martin as well as the main campus at Knoxville, Montana State University, Wm. Carey College in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and Southwestern College in Oklahoma.



RN and Joe Louis at United Citizens for Nixon opening.

NIXON/NEWS

Sen. Howard Baker has declined the Tennessee GOP's endorsement as favorite son and announced his support for "the candidate most keenly tuned to these times"—Richard Nixon. The highly respected freshman Senator stated that he has been impressed by Mr. Nixon's speeches and statements during the campaign. "I find in those statements imagination, vitality, compassion and firmness" . . . Roy Innis, Associated National Director of CORE has praised RN's stand on the need for black pride and Negro self-help and an infusion of "black capitalism" in the ghetto . . . RN received over 75% of the write-in votes in the recent Pennsylvania primary easily outdistancing Governor Rockefeller . . . Maryland Gov. Spiro "Ted" Agnew, one of Governor Rockefeller's earliest supporters, recently expressed his enthusiasm for RN referring to the "extremely astute, knowledgeable statements" both on the urban crisis and on general matters made by Mr. Nixon . . . 19 of 20 Michigan State Senators have endorsed RN . . . Recent appointments as Youth for Nixon directors include **Ron and Don Johnson** of 5901 Liberty Cove, Little Rock, Arkansas, **Hawthorne Farr and Anne Asplund**, P.O. Box 1352, Enid, Oklahoma, **John Eidsmoe**, 118 Quadrangle, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, **Jim Kopley**, 12 Plymouth Rd., Clifton, New Jersey, **Craig McMillin**, 316 Anderson Hall, Caldwell, Idaho, **Allen Rains**, 2601 Chain Bridge Rd., Vienna, Virginia, **Ken Payne**, P.O. Box 55391, Indianapolis, Indiana and **David Bowers**, 22 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois . . . Both the *Washington Star* and the *Christian Science Monitor* have favorably commented on RN's position paper on crime. You may receive a copy of it by writing to us for "Toward Freedom From Fear". . . A recent California poll shows RN the choice of 56% of Republicans, Rockefeller of 32% and Reagan of 8% .

NEBRASKA and INDIANA: The Nixon Success Story Continues

The vote for RN in both Nebraska and Indiana far exceeded the most optimistic predictions of the Nixon camp. In Indiana he received over 500,000 votes—a 25% increase over his 1960 total—and he decisively outpolled each Democrat. His record-breaking vote was achieved despite the overt attempts by Branigan and McCarthy to woo GOP voters to their side.

United Citizens For Nixon Opened With Visit By RN

Washington . . . May 17, A broad-based grass-roots organization, United Citizens for Nixon, has begun full-scale operations under the leadership of National Chairman Charles Rhyne and National Director Thomas Evans. In speaking before a packed house of 2,500 at the opening ceremonies, Richard Nixon called on Republicans, Democrats and Independents to join together with him in a coalition which can effectively deal with the problems of our Nation. Mr. Nixon stressed that only with the help of volunteer workers can the Democrats be defeated in November. Boxing great Joe Louis was introduced at the meeting as a backer of RN and received a tremendous ovation. Youth for Nixon will continue in seeking to effectively mobilize student supporters of RN as a division of United Citizens.

YOUTH FOR NIXON

A Division of
United Citizens for Nixon
918 16th Street
Washington, D. C. 20006
Lyndon (Mort) Allin
Executive Director
Phone (202) 783-1560
or 783-7320

The *Washington Star* commented, "The only clearcut winner in Indiana was Richard Nixon."

In Nebraska, RN increased his 1960 vote by 70%. Despite an intensive television campaign for Gov. Reagan, the Californian drew only 22% while listed on the ballot. With no campaign effort at all, Henry Cabot Lodge polled 16% in 1964 on a write-in. Rockefeller supporters bought 247 TV spots and 564 newspaper ads and the New York Governor polled only 5%. The total vote for Nixon was nearly three times the combined vote of the other Republicans and further evidence of the enthusiastic support which he has across the United States.

RN has now received 25% more votes than he did in 1960. Through the first four primaries of that year he drew 887,354 compared to the 1,102,569 he has polled in the same states of 1968.

Key to Victory Launched

Victory Keys will begin to find their way onto thousands of door-knobs across the Nation within the next few weeks. YFN members will have the opportunity to make a major contribution to the campaign through participation in the Key to Victory Program. By ordering Victory Keys from the order blank on the Key to Victory brochure, members will take the first step in developing a large force of volunteers to assist the Nixon campaign in all states. All members are urged to carefully read the brochure before ordering Keys. Be especially sure you check with your local GOP headquarters regarding precincts in which you should begin your work. Only members of Youth for Nixon will be distributing the Keys. Therefore, it is incumbent upon each of you to make every effort possible to make Key to Victory a success in your area. Make this a summer project which can insure Victory in November.

KUDOS to:

Bill Yates of Alexandria, Virginia for extended volunteer duty at the National Headquarters.

John Neville, Scott Hogg and associates who set up a literature distribution table and recruited members at Ohio State University.

Bill Bowman, Joe Becker and **Cliff Massa** for similar duty performed at Northwestern University.

Ralph Coleman for an informative newsletter published for Bowling Green State University (Ohio) Youth for Nixon.

Rosemary Shinnors and **Cathy Luginbauer** for serving as Nixon girls at the recent Rock Creek Republican Women's Reception and distributing buttons and bumper stickers to a most appreciative crowd.

Oklahoma Youth for Nixon directors **Hawthorne Farr** and **Anne Asplund** for their excellent organizational work on Oklahoma college campuses.

Oregon Youth for Nixon for their shopping center windshield project. They clean off the windows and leave the following message: "Now that you can see clearly, we hope you'll vote for Dick Nixon."

Brian Raub of Greenville, Pa., **Jay Conger** of Alexandria, Va. and **Steve Tidwell** of Douglasville, Georgia whose membership drives continue to roll on. Jay has attributed the growth of his Victory Team "to the interest of today's youth in the government which will be theirs in the future."

Paul Dawson of the San Fernando Valley College Campus Citizens for Nixon (California) for manning a Nixon booth during the recent Political Forum week held on his campus.

Dennis Powers and **Michael Greenfield** who travelled from Towson State (Maryland) to campaign in the Indiana primary.

Jeff Lotvicky of Flint, Michigan who has pledged a dollar a week to the campaign from now until Victory in November.

Mike O'Neal for editing an excellent newsletter for the East Henderson (N.C.) TARs—the last issue of which included a picture and write-up on RN.

May 20, 1968

TO: RN
John Mitchell
Bob Haldeman ✓
Pat Hitt

FROM: Pat Hillings

I'm in Los Angeles working on the California picture and I will have an analysis within a few days when I return to Washington.

Today's L.A. Times is carrying a Don Muchmore poll (attached) which indicates that Rockefeller would defeat all democrat candidates for the Presidency in California and that RN would lose to Humphrey, McCarthy and would defeat Kennedy by 47% to 45%. This is in stark contrast^x Muchmore's poll of yesterday (it is generally referred to as the California poll which is not to be confused with Merv Field's State poll). In the poll yesterday, RN was shown as the strongest Republican contender in California and Reagan scored a bare 8%.

Today's poll by Muchmore leads me to believe there is something wrong. RN's position in California is damn strong and there is no chance that a Mc Carthy or a Humphrey could beat him here today. I think he will defeat Kennedy in California but we can't assess Kennedy's strength here at the moment. Suffice it to say, he is the strongest Democrat candidate in the field as far as California is concerned,

I've known Don Muchmore since Young Republican days and I'm familiar with a number of his affiliations. I believe he can be bought and it is quite possible that he has been. On April 19 my Los Angeles secretary, Mrs. Engerran, talked with Muchmore at a UCLA symposium and he told her that Bobby Kennedy had purchased a poll from him for \$25,000. There is other information available which indicates he can be had and I'm not so sure that the Kennedy forces are not working with him closely. Incidentally, one of Muchmore's "angels" over the years has been Howard Edgerton who is one of the biggest names in the Savings and Loan industry in the country and professes to be a friend of RN's.

~~M. F. L.~~
~~How~~

The question now is: Should we go after Muchmore as a pollster for sale in view of the demands in Congress and elsewhere for investigations of people who set themselves up as political pulse-takers? In the alternative, should we have some of our friends in California go after Muchmore and give him a very bad time? There are also other alternatives.

I do not think we should allow this sort of thing to continue in the Nation's largest state and I will be happy to take the responsibility to do something about it. I suggest John Mitchell advise all concerned of what action program we should initiate.

Howard Seelye, a political writer for the L.A. Times, told me today that Muchmore's poll is always available for hire and he doctors the figures. He has done this for the L.A. Times on past projects and also for the Ridder Papers. His polls in 1966 were way off on the Reagan and Finch campaigns. The more I've checked into this the more I believe that the Rockefeller or Kennedy people have gotten to Muchmore.

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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

TXA014 PILBB011
B COA021 DL PDF CONCORD NHAMP 23 1001A EST
MAURICE STANS, NATIONAL FINANCE CHAIRMAN, NIXON FOR PRESIDENT
COMMITTEE
1726 PENN AVE WASHDC
EARLY RECEPTION OF RICHARD NIXONS CAMPAIGN IN PRIMARY STATES
HAS BEEN OUTSTANDINGLY FAVORABLE. WE CAN WIN BY GOOD MARGINS
IF WE CARRY OUT PLANS TO REACH VOTERS BY TV AND RADIO. THIS
REQUIRES SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF MONEY AND I URGE YOU TO STRESS
THE NEED FOR FUNDS NOW TO ALL DICKS FRIENDS. YOURS FOR VICTORY
ROBERT ELLSWORTH NATIONAL CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR
(08).

Read

June 17, 1968

Memorandum to Messrs. Mitchell
Haldeman ✓

The Free Enterprise Committee for Nixon has been started with 50 good names from industry and finance. It is expected that this initial solicitation will result in 100 leading names. You will remember that the purpose of this committee is two-fold: (a) to indicate that the bulk of the business community around the country is behind Nixon and (b) to provide a means by which a non-political business community can think it's advising the candidate and not repeat the 1960 claims that he refuses to take advice.

The agreed program for the committee is as follows.

Membership solicitation will cut off on Wednesday, June 19. Nixon will write a letter to those who have accepted thanking them for their willingness to serve and asking them to meet with him on July 2. A news release regarding the formation of the committee will be issued, possibly surrounding the meeting of Nixon with the committee. At the first appropriate time the committee will run a nation-wide advertisement, with all the names listed. Such an opportunity would be a statement of support for the proposed economic speech by Nixon.

P.M. Flanigan

Read

June 17, 1968

Memorandum to Messrs. Mitchell
Haldeman✓

Telephone Program

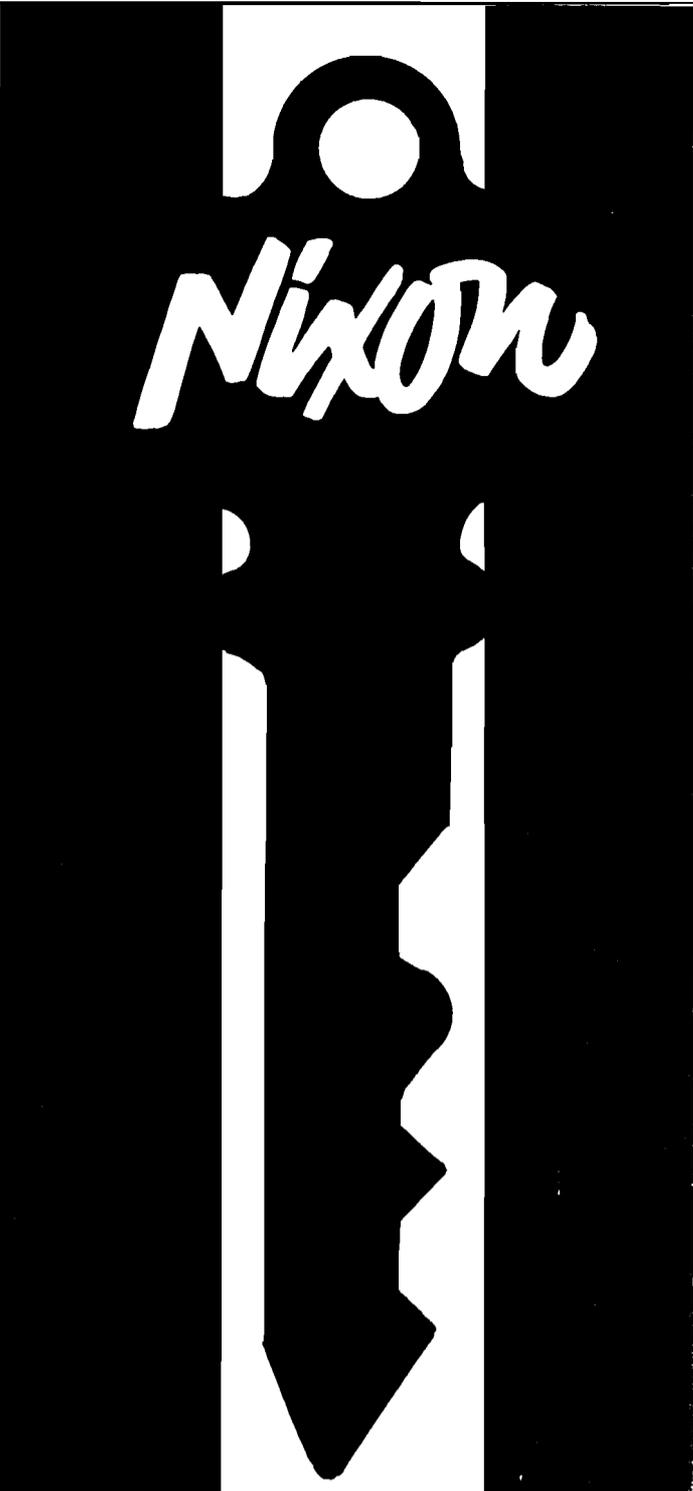
I confirmed with Alan Peterson that we wanted him to undertake his telephone neighbor to neighbor program in certain areas in the swing states. To put this into effect, the following schedule was agreed upon.

Peterson will go home by the week of June 17. From there he will telephone his key people and alert them to the Program. He will return to New York June 24 to receive from us a list of states in which we wish him to operate. In conjunction with our State Chairmen he will determine those areas in the swing states where his Program can be effective. These will be urban and suburban areas where neighbors know one another, and are not solid Democrats, and that are not solid Republican areas well served by the Republican Party.

After this Peterson will prepare his Program in detail, including staffing chart, timetable and budget which will be submitted in July. Peterson will return to Salt Lake City at the beginning of August for the birth of his child, which will hopefully arrive in time for him to come to the Convention. After the Convention Peterson will proceed to Washington where he will be joined by his staff to begin active implementation of the Program. The neighbor to neighbor program will be run out of the space now partly used by the Key Issues Committee. The Program will be run as a campaign division and as such will have a divisional budget.

Peterson had been told by Clark that he was on the National Campaign payroll after May 28. Since that time he has been working in Oregon determining the results of the Program there and preparing the presentation for the National Campaign staff. I agreed to this and to his continued employment at \$1,200 per month.

P.M.Flanigan



KEY TO VICTORY

VICTORY KEYS ORDER FORM: Complete and mail to YOUTH FOR NIXON, 918 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006

- (Check one) I am working as an individual. I am *not* a member of a Victory Team.
 I am Chairman of a Victory Team. (Team members must order through their Chairman.)
- (Check one) First order.
 Re-order. All keys sent previously have been distributed.

Please send me the quantity of keys I have circled below: (Individuals may order maximum of 200; TEAM CHAIRMAN may order maximum of 500. Letter of explanation must accompany *special orders*.)

50	100	150	200	250	300	350	400	450	500	special order
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------------

(Please print clearly)

Name _____ Age _____

Address _____ Phone _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

MY MEMBERSHIP CARD NUMBER IS _____ (This number must accompany orders.)



KEY TO VICTORY

THE GOAL: The election of Richard Nixon to the presidency in 1968.

THE JOB: To locate thousands of volunteers who are needed to take polls, conduct voter registration drives, serve as election officials, staff campaign headquarters around the country and carry out hundreds of other tasks in the most important election year in our Nation's history.

NEEDED: YOU—and thousands of young Americans who are increasingly assuming greater responsibility in the political affairs of our time.

The political equation for 1968:

**YOU plus VOLUNTEERS plus NIXON
equals VICTORY**

HOW YOU CAN HELP

PARTICIPATE now in **KEY TO VICTORY**, a unique, simple and efficient program designed to contact thousands of citizens who can make this the **NIXON** year.

HOW KEY TO VICTORY WORKS

The main item in this project is a **VICTORY KEY** which is designed with a hole in the top of it to enable you to hang it on a doorknob. This makes it easy to distribute and it is more certain to be found by the homeowner or apartment dweller.

The **VICTORY KEY** carries a message asking citizens to volunteer their time toward the election of Richard Nixon. Citizens will fill in and mail the postcards which form the bottom portion of the key. The upper postcard will be sent to our headquarters. We will, in turn, send the postcards to your State Citizens for Nixon organization, which will contact the volunteers and make assignments when the time is right. The other postcard can be used by the recipient to send to a friend urging support of Richard Nixon.

If you locate at least 25 volunteers and they mail in their postcards, you will receive a Silver Key Certificate from Youth for Nixon. At the end of the campaign a Golden Key Award will be given to the Youth for Nixon member in each state who has located the greatest number of volunteers and awards will be given to the members of the Victory Team that, as a group, has found the most volunteers.

How do we keep track of those who find volunteers? If you will check the postcards on the **VICTORY KEY** you will find the words "distributed by" in a small box in the corner. Now check your Youth for Nixon membership card and you will find it has a number on it. Just write this number in the box on the postcards before you distribute them and as the postcards come in we will keep track of how many volunteers you have located.

HOW TO GET STARTED ON KEY TO VICTORY

1. Order a supply of **VICTORY KEYS**. See instructions below for ordering.
2. After you receive the keys call your adult friends who are supporters of Richard Nixon first. Ask them to mail in their volunteer postcards at once.
3. Distribute keys in your own precinct.
4. Visit your local Republican headquarters and ask to see the precinct map for your city. Also ask them which precincts have the heaviest concentration of Republicans. These are the precincts you will want to distribute keys in next.
5. Don't forget to put your Youth for Nixon membership card number on the postcards before distributing them.

REMEMBER

The idea is to find as many volunteers in varied precincts as possible. Don't worry if you cannot go to every home and apartment in a precinct, but do try to cover a third of them. It is better to have 100 volunteers in different precincts than to have 1,000 in the same precinct. Your objective is to locate two or three workers in as many precincts as possible.

HOW TO ORDER VICTORY KEYS

Only members of Youth for Nixon may order keys at no cost. Use the form in this brochure. A re-order form will be sent with every shipment.

If you are working alone, that is, if you are not a member of a Victory Team, you may order a maximum of 200 keys at a time.

If you are a member of a Victory Team, your Team Captain must place the order. He can order a maximum of 500 at a time. Remember, each member of the Team should put his own membership card number on the postcards he distributes.

KEY TO VICTORY AND YOU

Richard Nixon's victory in November will not begin when the first vote is cast, but when you place the first **VICTORY KEY** in your area. The victory equation can result in **VICTORY** only if you do your part. In November, **YOU** will be certain that Nixon's triumph began with your commitment.



RFK—In Sorrow and Shame

MURRAY KIMPTON

I am sorer that Robert Kennedy is dead than I am about the harsh things I said about him before he died, but that smaller sorrow is a very large one indeed.

Reconciliation with his death is in a minor way easier but in a major way much harder than with the death of his brother. It is easier because President Kennedy must have been so happy when he died and Sen. Kennedy must have been so unhappy, not so much as he was five years ago, but in a way quite obviously acute enough.

An old friend, long defected to Sen. McCarthy, visited him in San Francisco the weekend before he was murdered. The conversation went so badly that the visitor departed feeling that each had lost a friend.

"Going away," he remembered, "I said that I wished I could think of a joke to cheer him up, and he answered that it wouldn't do much good."

Robert Kennedy was greatly able to be happy and greatly able to be unhappy. It was impossible not to feel that the last 10 months, first of withdrawal and then of sudden eruption, had been generally unhappy for him. He was so vulnerable in so many ways and most of all to the hurt of being disliked by persons to whom he had never done or contemplated harm. When he died he had just won the California primary by not quite enough votes to relieve him of that hurt.

* * *

And then, great as his charm was, he was the Kennedy least suited to life on campaign. He was designed to be the trainer rather than the horse, the manager rather than the candidate. He did not have that courteous, detached contempt for his rivals that his older brother had; and the nature which cheerfully endured making enemies in his brother's cause suffered when he made them in his own. Even his ambition did not have that pure and selfish quality which can make the life enjoyable for successful politicians; it was an ambition less for himself than for the restoration of a time that could not be restored. It is an awful and exhausting thing to have been forced by circumstance to identify history with yourself. There is, then, the small comfort of knowing that he can rest at last.

But there remains the larger pain that the life was so incomplete. President Kennedy died, after all, at his summit; Sen. Kennedy died on a long climb toward a height which was, by every sign,

beyond him this year. He had probably come to know that the stridency of his beginnings had passed after Oregon. His enemies said that his new bearing was a calculation to soften his image as a hard man. But those gentle manners are what those who saw him fairly often remember best; they were what was normal in him; the stridency had been forced.

His great wound was the best of excuses for an act which still seems to me unlikeable while his person never really was. We, as much as any people, know now what a horror is described when anyone says that politics begins at the barrel of a gun. We have endured five years of the politics of resentment. If Vice President Humphrey had beaten Sen. Kennedy at the end, his wound would, I think, have been closed and our painful history since his brother's death would have been healed instead of lying raw and open as it is now.

And then Sen. Kennedy's natural sympathies could have flowed as they were meant to; he could have become what he may have been better suited to be than any politician alive, the tribune of the losers in our society, the representative of the unrepresented. Now he is deprived of that high vocation and we of that great service. It is impossible, without the promise of that presence, to imagine what will become of us.

* * *

And now one more private thought. I cannot conceive a time when I can again write about our politics as the casual comedy it has most often seemed to me. Our politicians are just too vulnerable to be thought of in the old callous way; we must continually see them in life as we would in the shock of death when we would be conscious only of the good in them. We shall have always to remember that Vice President Humphrey's heart is as kindly as it sometimes seems feeble, that Mr. Nixon's persistence is as heroic as it is so often depressing. The language of dismissal becomes horrible once you recognize the shadow of death over every public man. For I had forgotten, from being bitter about a temporary course of his, how much I liked Sen. Kennedy and how much he needed to know he was liked. Now that there is in life no road at whose turning we could meet again, the memory of having forgotten will always make me sad and indefinitely make me ashamed.

Bob -
Just in case
you missed Kimpton
last night -
note the marked
section in the
last paragraph!
Dwight



June 7, 1968

MEMORANDUM

From: Wm. Dowd, field rep.

Re: CAMPAIGN FILM FOR TV SPOT USE, USING LAW STUDENTS.

When the late RFK campaigned for the U.S. Senate against Kenneth Keating in New York he naturally made much use of television. One of the most effective things he or any other candidate has ever done, in my opinion, was to make considerable use of taped sessions in which he answered usually hostile questions from students in small, obviously "controlled" college audiences.

To date, one of RMN's more successful appearances was at Wisconsin State, where he answered a hostile question about Latin America to the enthusiastic approval of the audience.

The campaign film which RMN forces are now using has not been well received by college audiences. While it is reportedly an attempt to portray the candidate in a friendly, human vein, a consensus seems to be that it is not oriented enough toward issues, and that it is not geared for college-age youths.

This memorandum is to suggest that a campaign film be made which portrays Richard Nixon parrying with an intelligent, uncommitted audience on the major issues of the day. Actually, such an event could form only a part of a "campaign film," and so this suggestion is further that such a give-and-take with law students at a leading law school be packaged into videotape segments that could be used to great advantage during the campaign, as well as into film shorts for use before college audiences.

Law students provide the ideal audience for a number of reasons: All such technical efforts are presumably expensive. Second and third-tries would be an extravagance. Accordingly, any college audience, whether hand-picked or "random," could well be a failure either because it does not present the candidate with articulate and/or difficult questions, or because its response is unrealistically approving or unapproving.

All such encounters, of course, run a certain risk, but the risks are much lower when the level of education/intelligence and interest of the audience(s) is higher. At law schools, this is generally the case.

Another advantage is that, even if this higher level, etc., of the chosen audience turns out to be illusory, the audience watching the film or seeing the TV spot is bound to be more impressed when RMN handles a law student audience rather than any group or any college group.

RMN

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tom Evans

COPIES TO: John Mitchell
Bob Ellsworth
Bob Haldeman
Pat Buchanan
Charles Rhyne

FROM: Mort Allin

DATE: 6/2/68

RE: Youth for Nixon - Past & Future

I. Mock Conventions and Elections

We won about 70% of those mock conventions (bipartisan and GOP exclusively) to which we sent materials. Of four major mock conventions -- Washington & Lee, Purdue, Notre Dame, Ohio University -- we won the first two and Hatfield and Rocky the others respectively. The Notre Dame loss was typical of several others which we lost (University of Missouri, Illinois State) where there was a large influx of New Left and/or McCarthy supporters who used the event as a direct adjunct to the peace movement. At Ohio University a typical situation developed with all possible nominees joining in a stop-Nixon effort. Although the students were supposed to represent the sympathies of the state which they represented, anti-Nixon feelings caused a revolt against such role-playing. At Ohio University, this revolt was nearly total. At Oberlin it had enough force to stop us at 530 votes. Several conventions which chose Percy did so because of his youth and freshness. Percy, followed by Brooke and distantly by Reagan, were prominent veep selections.

We recieved some excellent local publicity in California, Texas and Illinois as well as decent stories in campus press at the many other conventions which we won. Even at Northwestern, where McCarthy won, the well-organized and colorful Nixon

demonstration received the only coverage on Chicago television.

II. Membership

On the grounds that an individual who contributed \$ 1.00 would be more likely to actively participate in the campaign and utilize the materials sent him, we embarked on a paid membership drive. Approximately 18,000 direct mail solicitations have been made. Membership applications have also been sent with all youth correspondence -- approximately 15,000 letters answering requests for materials. About 20,000 membership applications were also sent to Choice '68 colleges. In 25 major college papers a membership coupon was included in the Choice '68 ad. Over 400 students responded to it.

Through these various methods we have reached a paid membership total of 3400 including members of 247 Victory Teams (groups of 5 or more). Monthly totals are as follows:

	<u>Total Members</u>	<u>Victory Teams</u>
January	622	67
February	872	91
March	1657	155
April	2745	211
May	3381	247

States with the largest memberships are New York - 208, Illinois - 305, California - 270, Ohio - 256, Virginia - 210, Indiana - 164, Wisconsin - 153, Texas - 118, Michigan - 107 and Washington - 105.

All members receive monthly Victory Progress Reports, Committee of One brochure (listing ways to help RV and providing order blank for materials), Key to Victory brochure (enabling them to order doorknob hangers) and other information such as RV's Bridges to Human Dignity addresses.

III. CHOICE '68

The Situation

TIME magazine last fall decided to sponsor an unprecedented national collegiate presidential election. They pledged their considerable reputation as well as sizeable amounts of money to promote this April 24th election. A board of directors composed of 11 student leaders (editors, government presidents, etc.) was to decide on policies for the election (candidates and issues to be listed) with Bob Harris, 24 yr. old former student president of Michigan State as the full time Executive Director. Harris was given considerable power and leeway in setting up the operation. In an extended conversation with him in late January, he stressed to me the objectivity and fairness which would be maintained by the Choice '68 staff.

(N.B. Harris is now serving as Rockefeller Youth Director)

OUR INITIAL REACTIONS

1) Not without a major effort -- RN extended college speaking tours, field men, large amounts of money and material -- could we expect to run a respectable race with McCarthy, RFK and Rockefeller. And if such an effort was made and defeat was received -- it would even more conclusively show the rejection of our candidate by college students.

2) But the prestige of TIME and their willingness to back the election all the way made it obvious that we could not ignore the election either.

3) Thus a middle course was decided upon. We would provide materials to those of our supporters who requested it. A request was made for additional college appearances by RN. The following minimum items were proposed:

- a. 10 copies of a film -- preferably along the lines of the NET Nixon interview.
- b. Semi-psychedlic (youth-oriented) posters.
- c. Issues sheet -- simply and inexpensively printed by which would clearly delineate RN's views on the issues.

The posters were first pushed in November (delivered April 13!) as was the film (delivered March 18th). The issues sheet was requested in early March and delivered April 13th.

THE COURSE OF EVENTS

By early March an increasing concern for our position was evidenced by members of the staff. "What are we doing" and "Shouldn't we do more" calls were made more and more frequently to this office. Therefore, on March 9 the following decisions were made with cooperation and support of Bob Ellsworth and Bill Timmons and communicated at once to Len Garment:

1) Without RN on campuses, film definitely needed. Whereas mid-February or March 1 would have necessitated only 10 films, late March would require 20 if they were to be of value.

2) Campaign buttons, bumper stickers and decals would be supplied in sufficient quantities to make an impact on the campus.

3) Work on the youth-oriented poster should be accelerated immediately and completed to allow availability by April 2.

4) Prepare mats and repro-proofs of ad to use in college papers. Ads to be similar to "Thinking Man's Republican" (changed Republican to Choice) to prevent delays in preparation of new material. Hopefully these ads would be ready in time to enable us to send to local supporters who could finance insertion.

5) Immediate preparation of Issues Sheet. The anticipated distribution of 500,000 of these was not seen as an assurance of victory but more a realistic way to put the views of the likely GOP nominee on the campus now.

Results of these decisions:

- 1) 20 copies of film, delivered on March 18.
- 2) buttons, etc. ordered from Washington and received by March 25 - April 1.
- 3) Posters received April 12, although promised April 2.

- 4) Ads received April 10. In order to get placed in time, it was necessary to go through National Student Advertising Service in New York and finance ourselves.
- 5) Delay after delay resulted in final approval of issues sheet copy on April 13th. With rush printing job, costing \$600 extra, 500,000 issues sheets were delivered on April 12. To accompany issues sheet, relatively general in nature, 100,000 NYT December Urban Crisis interview and 100,000 Stevens Point Latin article were also reprinted.

Between Friday night, April 12 and Wednesday, April 17th, we sent materials to over 400 campuses. In all, we shipped supplies to 500 of the 1200 participating schools. Because of the delay in preparing of the issues sheet and poster, it was necessary to send much of the material air mail and air freight. This was an unnecessary expense resulting from the unbelievable back-passing and delays. This financial expenditure fails to realize the equally important complaining and dissatisfaction of our supporters.

Besides the above problems which developed on our end, several points should be made about actions of Choice '68 staff.

- 1) Underpublicized the event and thus failed to make many students aware of the election. Thus the moderate, and often apathetic student - with whom our support lies, was unlikely to vote.

- 2) Sent out a highly unfactual and biased article to their 1200 coordinators which stated that EN cared little for students and even less for Choice '68.

IV. The Future

Based to some extent on our third place position in Choice '68 as well as the results of those mock conventions which we lost, (and the close battles in those we won) I feel there should be a significant reappraisal of our youth effort from the highest levels of the organization. If RFK or McCarthy are able to upset HHH for the nomination, we can easily present the responsible candidate with whom the moderate student will quickly identify. However, if as appears more likely, HHH is nominated, it leaves us the excellent opportunity to state that those who wish to help lead America out of the Johnson Administration morass must join with Nixon. Like it or not -- he will be their only hope and without going too far with such a pitch, I think we can approach it and earn substantial support from those who wish to start anew with a new administration and new ideas. "Tired of Vietnam -- tired of our ostrich-like posture in the Middle East -- tired of the failure to confront our urban problems with realism and candor -- tired of ever-increasing financial headaches -- Choose the only candidate who can start anew with a fresh reappraisal of the direction of our Nation. Break away from the Johnson - Humphrey mistakes," etc., etc. I think such an appeal to college students, as well as to the public at large, will be well-received.

However, literature and small pockets of student support alone are not going to carry us through the fall on the campus. The candidate must make appearances on key campuses, expressing himself to students and vice-versa. Pick 5-10 major schools between Sept. and November and allow for 30-45 minute meetings before or after speech where student leaders -- either neutral or pro-NH -- have the opportunity to talk with the candidate. The effect of these meetings would be tremendous and would clearly indicate NH's desire to understand the concerns of the student generation.

Regarding the speaking engagements themselves, a "q" and "a" session should be held at each. Whether or not the students agree with each view of the candidate, they cannot fail to be impressed with his intelligence, logic and overall ability to be on top of all issues.

We also need a recognition from our state organizations of the importance of youth to the campaign. If many students who turned their back on LBJ then turned to HHH over RN, the result could be most adverse. If the state organization recognized the students as valuable volunteer workers -- that is a start in the right direction.--We must not allow our state organizations to react to the youth operation with either fear or indifference, let alone hostility. They must realize that other candidates to not have a monopoly on the interests of the young. Also, they should realize that students will no more say the wrong thing or get in the way and slow down a professional campaign than the little old ladies in tennis shoes.

RN's theme of the campaign has been to provide the best leadership possible to guide our Nation in the last third of the 20th Century. This period will be the time when today's students are shaping their lives and the policies of the U.S. They are, or should be, a key factor in the development of RN's campaign theme.

My primary recommendation, then, is for direct participation by RN on the campuses. If this does not occur there is little that can be done in developing the latent support for us on the campus. Our supporters and potential supporters have been inhibited by the McCarthy and RFK blitz. Obviously, both of them went too far and have alienated the middle-aged voter. But the candidate himself must show visible interest in the student if any of our organizational efforts are to pay off. Time and again key students - including Republican activists who greatly admire RN -- really wonder if the candidate gives a damn about the student population

V. Specific Plans for Summer and Fall

A. Utilize 3-5 fieldmen to enlist student leaders and develop our existing organizations at local and state levels.

1. Fieldmen will seek to contact student leaders (government, athletic, fraternity and sorority, dormitory, etc.) and either have them sign on dotted line for FN or open them to possibility of supporting him. Through this operation we will expand our Student Advisory Board - now some 60 strong. We will attempt to set up regional seminars where 20-30 student leaders will meet with such individuals as Jay Wilkinson, Jack Kemp and others who have not only a name but are qualified either through staff position or keen understanding of the candidate's views and background.
2. Fieldmen will seek to contact YFN college members, YR leaders as well as individuals suggested by student leaders and assist them in organizational plans for the fall. We will have a literature sign-up table on every campus possible on the first day of registration in the fall. We will also set plans for literature distribution at college football games.
3. Fieldmen will initially visit with NFP Chairmen and express our desires to help organize youth in their states to provide meaningful campaign assistance. By meeting with student leaders, YFN and YR activists, and the NFP organizational heads, we will plan to have a Youth Director in each state by Aug. 10th. (20 have so far been selected by state chairmen)

B. Key to Victory Program

To provide a program which students can participate in at this time, doorknob hangers will be sent to all members who request them. Besides giving the students a worthwhile activity, we will hopefully garner the names of adult volunteers. Attached is a Victory Key and the brochure describing this program.

G. County and State Fairs

The enthusiasm and color which young people bring to a campaign can profitably be utilized at such events. Hopefully our state chairmen will encourage the setting-up of booths at as many of these events as possible -- and that they will in turn use students with the girls attired in Nixon girl outfits and the boys in straw hats, etc. At major events of this type, Julie, David and Tricia could be considered for brief visits.

D. Registration Week Tables

We must have available the following items for these tables in the fall:

- 1) Issues Sheet
- 2) Buttons
- 3) Bumper stickers
- 4) Paper Posters

I am considering the best way of securing members for that time to enable us to defray expenses.

E. Debators

Whittier College students John Rothman and Dale Lewis, excellent speakers and most informed on RI, will be available from mid-August through the election to debate or take an individual speeches on an expenses-paid only basis. Radio talk shows, service clubs can be effective forums for them along with campus appearances.

F. Law Students and Graduate Students for Nixon

Under the direction of Bill Dowd, already in charge of Law Students for Nixon, a concerted effort will be made to use these individuals in campus leadership positions and in speaking engagements, both on and off campus.

G. Mock Elections

Where the climate looks favorable, we will seek to organize mock elections in conjunction with the Young Republicans. Gov. Munn's close win in 1966 was aided

greatly by the mock elections carefully set up by the Young Republicans. Nunn -- not exactly a youth hero-type visited the campuses and the supporters distributed youth-oriented literature.

VI. Concerns

A. A National Chairman -- Why not David Eisenhower?

B. Coordination -- We cannot afford to continue to have the hang-ups which occurred with Choice '68 materials as well as with membership applications revised three times with unnecessarily long delays.

C. Direct involvement by the candidate on the campuses.



Nov 30,

Dear Len,

I make no great claims for this, but am not unashamed of the final reference to service at sea and in the air....

In order that you might be clear who you might be getting, I enclose two papers. One on automobile safety, the other on insurance. Both are pretty tough on the business interests involved. The sensible men in each industry (and here, oddly, I include Roche of GM) have seen that what I have been saying to them the past decade is that unless they regulate themselves they will end up regulated by government. Which no one wants. But on balance I would imagine my reputation is not especially good, and you should know this.

I also enclose my HEW report, one of the best unread documents of the year. Alas the day it was ~~leaked to the Washington~~ issued the Washington Post decided to leak the Kerner Commission report! Also the New School talk, which I gave to the Atlantic.

You would be interested to know that among the cognoseenti the S.G.M. project in Baltimore (p. 3) is the thing in urban design. But we are getting a rough time from the highway types, and that is ever the story.

That was indeed a good dinner. Give absolutely no thought to this if it gives you trouble as I assume it will.

Best,

1968		SEPTEMBER					1968	
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OCTOBER

1968

1968		NOVEMBER					1968	
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20	21	22	23	24 <i>Garden City</i>	25	26
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1968		OCTOBER					1968	
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NOVEMBER

1968

1968		DECEMBER					1968	
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SUNDAY MONDAY TUESDAY WEDNESDAY THURSDAY FRIDAY SATURDAY

					1	2
3	4	5 GENERAL ELECTION DAY	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28 THANKSGIVING DAY	29	30