

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>
62	35	n.d.	Newsletter	Pamphlet. "Nixon's Program for Progress." 2pp.
62	35	n.d.	Newsletter	Pamphlet. "Brown's Blunders." 2pp.
62	35	n.d.	Newsletter	Pamphlet. "Crony Government Returns." 2pp.
62	35	n.d.	Newsletter	Pamphlet. "Is There a Difference?" 2pp.
62	35	n.d.	Newsletter	Pamphlet. "Your State Taxes." 2pp.
62	35	n.d.	Newsletter	Pamphlet. "What Is the Brown Record?" 2pp.

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62	35	09/22/1962	Memo	H.R. Haldeman to Charlie Farrington. Re: Proposal for pamphlet, "What Leading Democrats say about Nixon." 1pg.
62	35	07/30/1962	Newspaper	San Gabriel Valley Daily Tribune. Editorial. 1pg. Not scanned.
62	35	08/30/1962	Memo	AW to Richard Nixon. Cc: H.R. Haldeman, Chotiner, Klein, Farrington. Re: Chessman pamphlet. 3pp.
62	35	n.d.	Memo	Don Frey to H.R. Haldeman. Re: Oakley Hunter's proposed revision of pamphlet. 12pp. w/ attachments
62	35	09/04/1962	Memo	Richard Nixon to H.R. Haldeman. Cc: Paul W. Keyes. Re: Attached pledge. 3pp.
62	35	08/24/1962	Memo	H.R. Haldeman to Phil Boone, Ted Braun, Pat Hitt, Kai Jorgensen, A. Leopold. Re: Use of a pledge. 2pp. w/ attachments
62	35	08/23/1962	Memo	Charlie Farrington to Kai Jorgensen. Cc: H.R. Haldeman. Re: Nixon on Communism folder. 1pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
62	35	n.d.	Memo	Unidentified sender to H.R. Haldeman. Re: Suggestions for circular. 1pg.

DICK NIXON speaks out

WATER: "I have proposed a 13-point program to speed up construction of dams and aqueducts, to eliminate the present administrative hodge-podge created by William Warne, to reactivate the Power Committee, to put checks on executive power over water projects, and to oppose the 160-acre limitation where State water development is concerned."

CIVIL RIGHTS: "We cannot achieve progress and opportunity for all through purely legalistic approaches. A more positive approach is necessary. That is why, as Governor, I will use the moral and persuasive powers of my office to bring employers together for voluntary action in the field of equal job opportunities, and opportunities for promotion."

PARKS AND RECREATION: "Now is the time to move rapidly forward with a long-term program of land acquisition and development to keep pace with legitimate popular demand for adequate outdoor recreation facilities. In taking over land, there should be more consideration than in the past for the opinions of local residents. And a tight, responsible administration of the acquisition program is imperative."

COMMUNISM: "At the next session of the legislature, I will present a first priority anti-communist program. Among its provisions: it will deny the use of tax-supported institutions for speeches by any individual who refuses to comply with Federal and State subversive control laws or refuses to testify before Grand Juries or legislative committees investigating subversive activities..."

BOSSISM: "In less than four years, the mainstream of California politics has been polluted by Pat Brown's use of imported Tammany Hall political tactics. Our state, which from the time of Hiram Johnson, has established a reputation for placing the interests of the people above partisan considerations, has now been contaminated by a foreign agent—machine politics."

MEDICARE: "I am opposed to government medicine such as the compulsory King-Anderson Bill. I favor the Kerr-Mills Act, which provides for medical care for aged persons in need, and I will work to strengthen its implementation in California. There must also be more aggressive leadership to encourage the expansion of private health insurance programs."

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE: "The people know that first-hand knowledge of such matters as world trade and international negotiations will be a vital asset to California. California industry, agriculture and labor are threatened by foreign competition... I have the background, the knowledge, and the will to fight California's battle in this important arena."

LEADERSHIP: "What we desperately need in state government is not just a decisive leader as Governor, but a Governor who will surround himself with men and women of quality, men and women with fresh ideas, men and women of proven administrative ability. Only in this way can we close the leadership gap in California government."

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL: "In this crusade for a better California, we will be joined in November by hundreds of thousands of Democrats, who believe in our principles, and who recognize that the radical CDC clique controlling the Democratic Party in California is not representative of their philosophy."

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: "There is only one effective answer to the pressures for vastly increased federal aid. Our state and local school districts... must assume the burden of responsibility. The most effective way to avoid dictation on education from Washington is to do a better job of meeting the needs of education at home."

Nixon's Program For Progress



Never in the history of California has any candidate for Governor so clearly spelled out his position on the major issues confronting the state

This is Dick Nixon's Program for California:

Expand job opportunities, for a population that increases by 1600 each day, through a new administration that will encourage free enterprise, keep costs of government down, and avoid new taxes.

Cut crime by backing up local law enforcement officials with a realistic legislative program, including the ultimate penalty for big-time dope peddlers, and a top-level State crime commission.

Attract new industry by starting a "California Crusade for New Business Investment," cutting government expenditures so as to avoid tax increases, opening new markets for our products at home and abroad, maintaining a balance between labor and management at the bargaining table.

Cut the cost of government by correcting unsound fiscal policies, wiping out frills and extravagance, and eliminating red tape and excess paper work.

Streamline welfare programs by adopting my five-point action program that will clear away red tape, give greater local control to meet local conditions, and restore the concept of personal responsibility.

Improve education by resisting Federal control, while giving a wider choice of textbooks, more fully recognizing the need for vocational training, initiating effective anti-communist education, and re-examining the tax structure to relieve economic pressure on education and real property taxpayers.

Reorganize government by undertaking my 10-point program to eliminate the super-cabinet, headed by \$25,000-a-year men; throw out State-paid press agents; investigate government operations, and revise the State Constitution.

Encourage agricultural development by appointing the best-qualified men to key jobs in the State Department of Agriculture, without regard to politics.

This is the record under Brown:

California has more people unemployed than any other state. Our State has had a higher-than-average unemployment rate for the past three years.

California now has the greatest number of crimes of any state—as many crimes were committed in California in 1961 as in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined.

California ranks ninth among the major industrial states in starting new plants, according to an independent magazine. This year, New York has built three times as many new plants as California.

California has the most costly State Government in the nation. The cost of the Governor's office alone has gone up 52.7% under the present administration.

Two national magazines have singled out our welfare programs as shocking examples of slipshod administration. California welfare costs have risen 25% in the last two years, while the population has only gone up 7.5%.

California ranks close to the bottom (44th) in the ratio of teachers to pupils in our public elementary and secondary schools.

There are 360 boards, commissions, and agencies in California. The present Governor's plan has not eliminated a single job or abolished a single agency.

The State Board of Agriculture has been turned over to one political party. One recent State Director of Agriculture was involved in a national scandal; another tried to bury the Department in a bureaucratic

Dick Nixon's pledges for a better California

As Governor of California I pledge:

- *To bring to California a State Administration that is worthy of the first and greatest State in the Nation. I will put an end to rule by clique and crony.*
- *To bring into State Government a team of the best executives and technicians in the State. And I will kick the second-raters and political hacks out of Sacramento.*
- *That California will lead the Nation in job opportunities for all our citizens by creating the best climate for new private investment of any state in the Union.*
- *An Administration dedicated to attracting new industry—not an Administration that can be smug when we rank ninth among the major industrial states in building new plants since the beginning of 1961.*
- *To replace the spineless soft-on-crime attitude of the present Administration with strong, vigorous backing of local enforcement officials.*
- *To wage an all-out campaign to make the homes, streets and highways of California safe for our citizens.*
- *To cut the costs of State Government so that we can reduce the tax burden borne by our citizens.*
- *To initiate the most effective State program in the Nation for fighting communism—a program that will include education, on the student and adult levels, on both the dangers of communism and the positive alternatives of freedom.*

This pamphlet expresses Dick Nixon's position on some of the vital issues facing California today. If an issue of special concern to you has not been covered here, please write to: *Dick Nixon, Nixon for Governor Headquarters, 3908 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 5, California.* The information you seek will be sent to you immediately.

In a major Telethon on May 29th, Dick Nixon answered 146 questions on State issues. Some of the more important issues have been discussed in this pamphlet.

Win with NIXON

NIXON FOR GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Harold C. McClellan
So. California Chairman
3908 Wilshire Boulevard

Andrew D. Orrick
No. California Chairman
525 Market Street

**AREN'T YOU A LITTLE
TIRED
OF ALL THIS BLUNDERING ???**

**CAST YOUR VOTE FOR
EFFICIENCY, IMPROVEMENT,
AND RESPONSIBLE STATE
GOVERNMENT - - - -**

**VOTE REPUBLICAN!
WORK TO HELP
REPUBLICANS
WIN !**

THE REPUBLICAN TEAM

GOVERNOR RICHARD M. NIXON
 LT. GOVERNOR GEORGE CHRISTOPHER
 SECRETARY OF STATE FRANK JORDAN
 CONTROLLER BRUCE REAGAN
 TREASURER JOHN BUSTERUD
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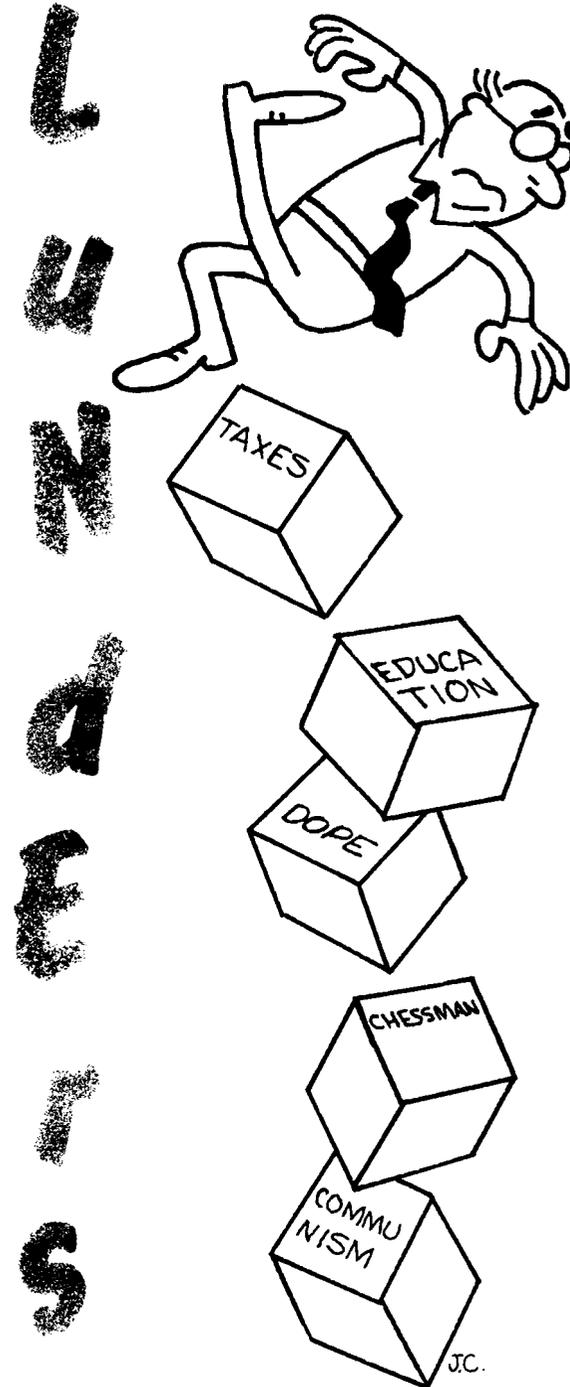
 (Your Assembly Candidate) (District)

 (Your Congressional Candidate) (District)

**WORK FOR . . .
VOTE FOR . . .
REPUBLICANS**

REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE
 of Los Angeles County
 914 S. Olive Street
 Los Angeles, California
 Julius Leetham, Chairman Philip Brooks, Sec'y.

BROWN!



CRIME . . .

California's crime rate tops all other states (but its population does not).

In 1960, California's crime rate equalled that of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania combined! (Their populations combined double ours).

Total offenses in 1961 per every 100,000 population showed:

California	1928.5
Illinois	1696.5
Michigan	1228.7
Texas	1125.8
New York	1066.0
Pennsylvania	654.6

BLANK CHECK SPENDING . . .

Voters rejected Brown's latest bid for indiscriminate spending. He was turned down on another of his "blank check" schemes, this time balancing his 1962-63 budget with an expected \$88 million revenue from Proposition 3 (State Construction Bond).

CRONY GOVERNMENT . . .

Brown has proved a master at the spoils system—appointing such administrators as William Warne, Hale Champion, Fred Dutton and James Ralph, all well known for their incompetence and bungling.

TAXES:

(OUR MORTGAGED FUTURE) . . .

State taxes in 1961 totaled \$2.58 billion; the proposed tax needs for 1962 totaled close to \$3 billion.

Since Brown entered office in 1959 the state debt has doubled.

At the same time, while population has increased 18.4%, the budget is up. . . 45%!

BOOK BURNING . . .

Last year, under Brown's administration, the state Department of Education burned 185,000 new elementary textbooks—because they were "outdated."

There were 600,000 more books ready for the flames as the matter was finally brought to public attention.

EASY ON COMMUNISM . . .

Brown was twice a member of the National Lawyers Guild, a known Communist front organization. He received favorable mention in the Communist Peoples World through 1946. He supported granting citizenship to Harry Bridges, called a "threat to industrial peace" by the U. S. Immigration Dept.

SL-O-O-OW ON NARCOTICS . . .

Brown has continuously promised to veto any narcotics legislation to strengthen realistic vehicle search and seizure.

This puts California in the rather unique position of allowing search of cars crossing the borders for wildflowers, vegetables, fruit flies, etc. . . practically everything but dope!

Brown further refuses to consider any measures on the protection of confidential informants in narcotics cases (with information leading to arrest of suspects) as suggested by District Attorney McKesson.

CHESSMAN . . .

Brown's comment on Chessman: "The evidence is 'overwhelming' . . . a deliberate career of robberies and kidnappings, followed by sexual assaults and acts of perversion, accomplished at the point of a loaded gun."

Yet, ten hours before death time, Brown issued Chessman a reprieve—an action typical of Brown's vacillations, termed by many as "politically expedient."

Compare this with the proven records of the Republican team . . .

RICHARD NIXON, governor . . . 1946 elected to House of Representatives over five-term opponent; 1948 re-elected to House on both Republican and Democratic tickets; 1950 elected to U.S. Senate - 700,000 vote plurality; 1952 and 1956 elected vice-president of the United States.

GEORGE CHRISTOPHER, lieutenant governor . . . 1945 elected to San Francisco board of supervisors; 1955 elected mayor of San Francisco - largest majority candidate had received for that office; 1959 re-elected mayor.

FRANK JORDAN, secretary of state . . . 1942 elected secretary of state; 1946-50 re-elected, winning both Republican and Democratic nominations in primary; 1954 and 1958 re-elected secretary of state.

BRUCE REAGAN, controller . . . assemblyman 48th district 1949-50; assemblyman 47th district 1959 to present; member of the Finance and Insurance Committee.

JOHN BUSTERUD, treasurer . . . 1956 elected to assembly, 22nd district; 1958 and 1960 re-elected to the assembly; former chairman, Committee on Constitutional Amendments.

JUDGE THOMAS COAKLEY, attorney general . . . judge, Superior Court of Mariposa County, appointed January 1953; judge, elected to six-year terms, June 1954 and 1960; deputy attorney general, California, 1939-1941.

THOMAS KUCHEL, senator . . . 1936 elected assemblyman; 1938 re-elected assemblyman; 1940 elected state senator; 1944 re-elected state senator (while on active Navy duty); 1946 elected state controller; 1950 re-elected state controller; 1952 appointed United States senator; 1954 elected United States senator; 1956 re-elected United States senator.

JAMES FLOURNOY, State Board of Equalization . . . former member of the California Advisory Committee to Commission on Civil Rights; member of Crenshaw Chamber of Commerce - Legislative Committee; lawyer; founder and member of the Inter-collegiate Council; also former mathematics teacher.

PAT MCGEE, state senator . . . 1950-58 member of the assembly; 1957-1961 member of Los Angeles City Council.

**REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE
of Los Angeles County
914 S. Olive Street
Los Angeles, California
Julius Leatham, Chairman
Philip Brooks, Sec'y.**

**WORK FOR . . .
VOTE FOR . . .
REPUBLICANS**

CRONY GOVERNMENT returns



CRONY GOVERNMENT RETURNS

Governor Brown, prize bungler, is setting new records in his choices of unqualified, irresponsible, political appointees—along with a few unnecessary new bureaus, all at taxpayers' expense. Just a few of the most "outstanding":

WILLIAM WARNE — Director of the Department of Water Resources and head of Brown's super Resources Agency.

Career highlights:

- Turned his Point 4 "mission" to Iran into an Ugly American luxury stay by staffing one of his offices with 53 automobiles and 41 chauffeurs — all for 55 employees!
- Put \$3.5 million into a dam in Iran — still listed as unfinished; meanwhile, oil rich Iran went ahead and built its own generators.
- "Lost" \$25 million in machinery and physical assets on his tax-supported Point 4 "mission" to Iran.
- Built a sugar beet factory in Iran — when the Iranians didn't know how to grow the beets.
- As assistant secretary in the Department of Interior "constructed" \$60 million in shoddy, often unusable dams in the U.S.

NORTON SIMON — Regent of the University of California

Qualifications:

- Heavy contributor to the Brown campaign.
- No background in the field of education.

JAMES RALPH — Past head of the California Department of Agriculture.

Recent "achievements":

- Fired by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in connection with the Billy Sol Estes scandal (had quit California post to take higher job).

HALE CHAMPION — State finance director.
Financial experience:

- Former newspaper reporter.
- Brown's press secretary in 1959.
- No background in business and government administration.
- Was charged with violating the Hatch Act (prohibits political speeches by state employees working in activities financed by U.S. grants or loans).

FRED DUTTON — Regent of the University of California.

Qualifications for regency:

- Executive director of Brown's 1958 campaign.
- Obscure assistant secretary in State Department.
- Lives in Washington D. C.
- Knows little of California problems and unprecedented growth of the University.
- Will cost taxpayers \$335 each time he "commutes" to board meetings from Washington D. C.

MRS. HELEN E. NELSON — Consumer counsel. (Brown's latest bureaucreation.)

Duties:

- Heads the latest of the More-Openings-For-Patronage-Appointments bureaus, which overlaps the work of nearly a dozen other government and private agencies, including the Better Business Bureau, Chamber of Commerce, Attorney General's Office, etc.
- Receives \$15,000 a year for this "message center" — budget shows a 45% increase since 1961, at an estimated \$105,000 for fiscal year 1961-62.

HOW MUCH GOVERNMENT

Democrat claims the prime responsibility of government is "guiding" the economy and increasing spending on what it thinks is good for you.

Republicans believe that government should do for the people only what they cannot do at all, or so well, for themselves.

SPENDING

Democrat calls for increased personal income taxes for Californians—to finance more huge borrowing-spending programs.

Republicans favor "paying as you go" in all but extreme emergencies—keeping taxes and spending to a minimum.

INDIVIDUAL CHOICE

Democratic administrations have continuously fostered so-called "give away" policies—that hand you "gifts" with one hand while strangling you in red tape with the other.

Republicans prefer making their own decisions to being the ward of a "Big Brother" welfare state.

FOREIGN AID

Democrat advises aid to any nation "in need" regardless of whether its government is Communist or not.

Republicans look upon aid to Communist countries as gifts to strengthen our enemy, a system that aims to destroy our free world.

DOMESTIC SECURITY

Democrat calls for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and abolition of all state and federal loyalty oaths.

Republicans value legitimate organizations and committees which keep us informed on threats to our national safety.

FOREIGN POLICY

Democrat advocates total disarmament under "U.N. controls," an end to nuclear testing without inspection and abandonment of our military bases lining the edge of the Communist empire.

Republicans believe that the way to keep peace is to keep strong; that unilateral disarmament, base withdrawal and other one-sided moves are naive and dangerous.

WORLD ORGANIZATION

Democrat wants repeal of the Connally amendment in order to "remold" the U.N. into a world organization to enact, interpret and enforce directly on individuals world law (a world totalitarian state).

Republicans regard abandonment of our traditional separation of powers to an all-powerful world government as surrender of the very foundations of our system—as the sure road to slavery.

***CDC is the California Democratic Council—made up of the hard-core Party workers. It is the real policy-making organ of the Democratic party—for without its endorsement and support, few Democratic candidates could get beyond the primary in California.**

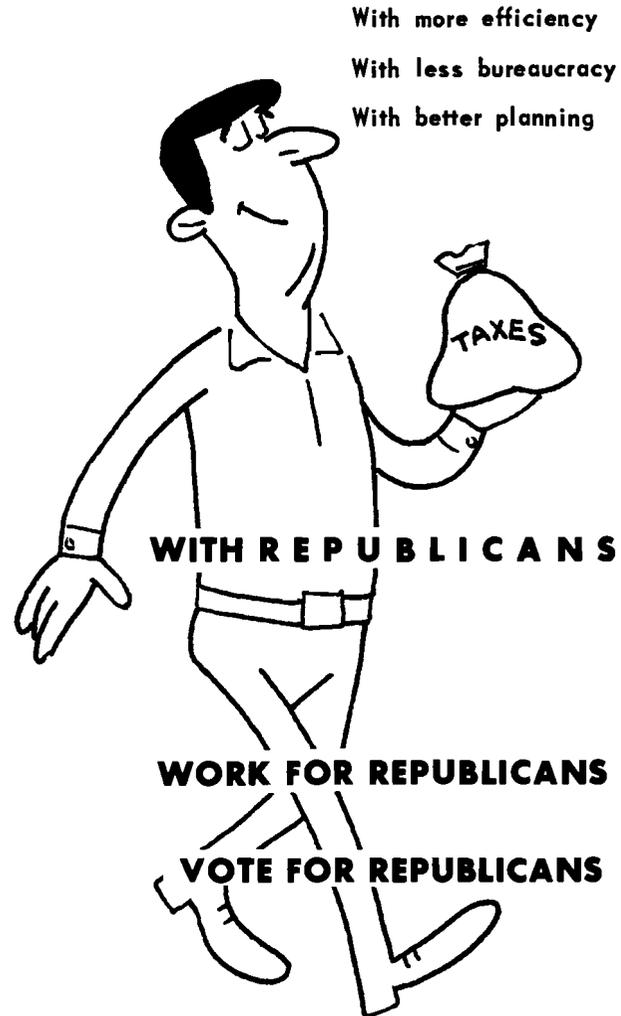
****ADA is the Americans for Democratic Action—the national version of CDC, holding in its ranks dozens of key administrators (Orville Freeman, Abraham Ribicoff, Ted Sorenson, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, G. Mennen Williams, John K. Galbraith, etc.)**

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 (Your Assembly Candidate) (District)

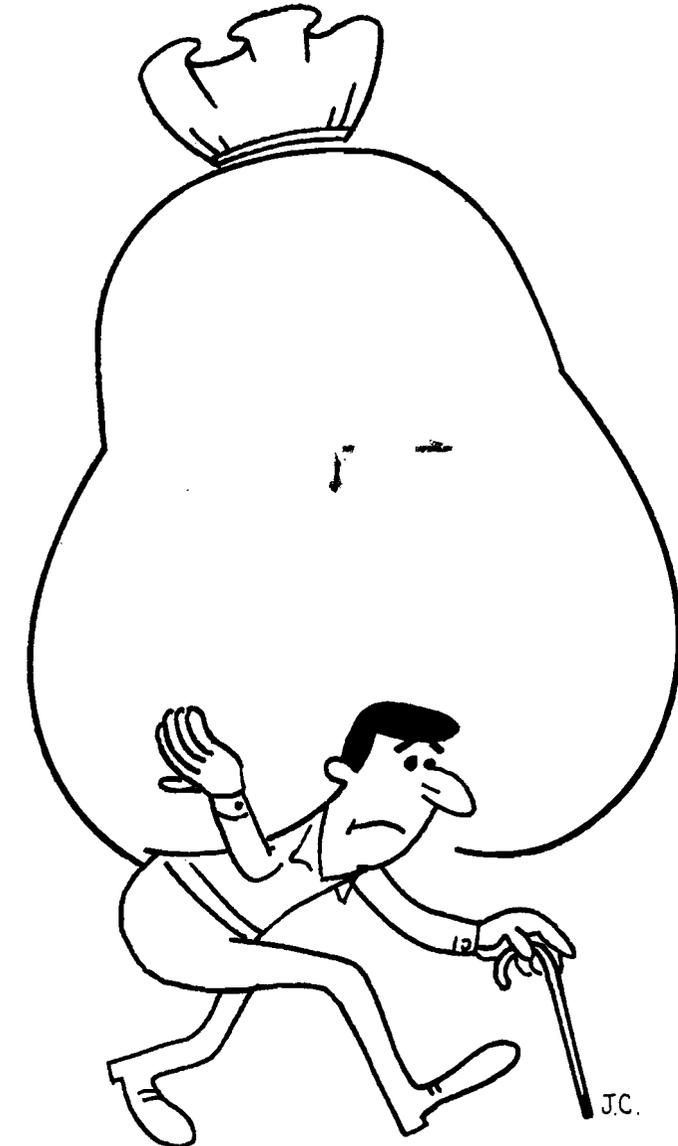
 (Your Congressional Candidate) (District)



Legislative Analyst Alan Post has predicted that more money will be needed to finance state departments if the state continues to spend at the current rate and as population goes up. More spending means more taxes!

WORK FOR . . .
VOTE FOR . . .
REPUBLICANS

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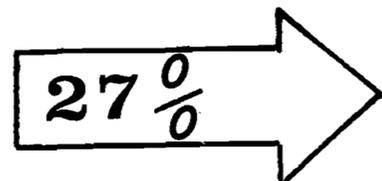


Since Brown

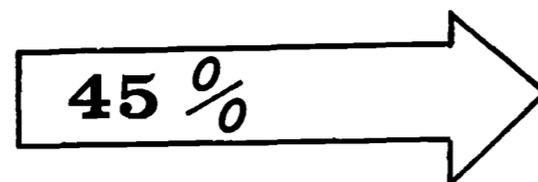
POPULATION HAS GONE UP



BUT . . . STATE EMPLOYEES INCREASED



AND . . . OUR BUDGET JUMPED



\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$

Since Brown

WHILE YOU TOOK HOME

AN EXTRA \$16.50



YOU PAID BACK IN TAXES

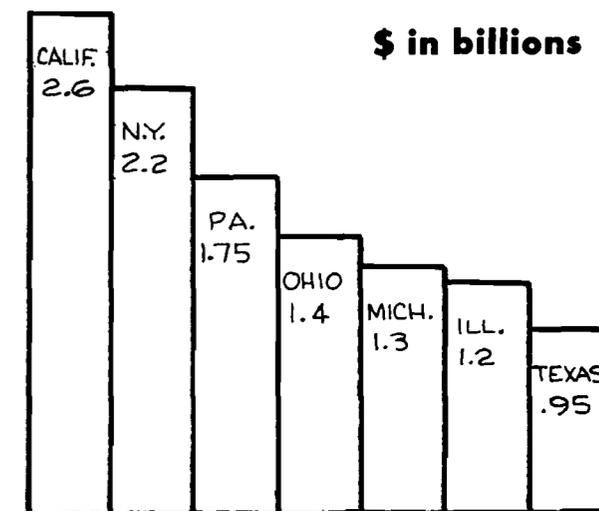
AN EXTRA \$20.00

WHY?

**BECAUSE THE STATE DEBT,
WHICH YOU PAY FOR IN TAXES,
HAS DOUBLED!**

\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$

**TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT
YOUR STATE SPENT IN 1961
COMPARED TO SIX OTHER
LARGE STATES.**



What they say about Brown

Arthur McCardle, chairman of the Veteran Board, resigned with these words:

I have nothing but absolute disgust and repulsion for the lies, deceit and treachery coming out of Sacramento.

Robert McCarthy, former Chief of the Department of Motor Vehicles under Brown, resigned with this blast:

It has become increasingly difficult for me to work for a spineless administration that lacks both courage and principles.

When I accepted your appointment in January, 1959, we agreed to the seriousness of the traffic problem and the need for vigorous leadership.

Since this time, your support has dwindled steadily and by now has completely disappeared.

During the past two years more than \$4,500,000 has been saved in the operation of this department with no support whatever from you.

Leadership on your part could have saved the people of California additional millions in the operation of other departments.

My attempts to curb the drunk driver, while initially receiving lip service, saw you come in to pressure for a softer law. Leadership here could have saved lives. These experiences are symptomatic of a sick administration.

This is the record of Brown "firsts" for California

1. **FIRST** in total state taxes.
2. **FIRST** in total general expenditures.
3. **FIRST** in sales taxes.
4. **FIRST** in property taxes.
5. **FIRST** in total number of state employees and payroll.
6. **FIRST** in business failures among major business states.
7. **FIRST** in bankruptcies.
8. **FIRST** in highway fatalities.
9. **FIRST** in major crime.
10. **FIRST** in total criminal offenses.

Are these the "FIRSTS" California wants?

**For a California that's FIRST in
Achievement, give California a Leader**

VOTE FOR DICK NIXON FOR GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON

Z. Wayne Griffin Merritt K. Ruddock
3908 Wilshire Blvd. 525 Market Street
Los Angeles, Calif. San Francisco, Calif.

What is the BROWN record?

What kind of a Governor has BROWN been?

**Every thinking Californian
should decide for himself**

Here is Brown's "box-score" in nine crucial areas

FACT: California today has the highest total state and local tax collections in the nation.

FACT: In Brown's first year as governor, the largest single tax increase in the history of any state became law in California.

FACT: During Brown's four years as Governor, per capita tax collections have gone up 23%... per capita income only 9%.

QUESTION: Can California stand 4 more years of tax increases?

FACT: Brown's high-tax policies are preventing new industries from coming to California—and even forcing some existing businesses to leave California.

FACT: California unemployment is above the national average.

FACT: New York had more than three times as many new industrial plants start last year as California.

QUESTION: Do you want to see the Brown trend continued...with more and more California jobs—perhaps your job—threatened?

FACT: Brown has a world-wide reputation—for indecision. Cases where he has embarrassed Californians include:

- (1) the Democratic Convention in 1960;
- (2) the Chessman case; (3) outlawing professional boxing in California; (4) need for narcotics legislation in California.

QUESTION: With California industry, agriculture

state have a governor who lacks international stature or experience... a man who has consistently failed to stand up and protect our interests?

FACT: California's state government spends more money than any other state in the nation.

FACT: The costs of running Brown's own office have increased 52.7% since he became governor.

FACT: Brown has superimposed on the already thick layers of state government an extra layer of "fat"—i.e., his "superagency" plan.

QUESTIONS: Should California's future growth be penalized by Brown's bureaucratic empire? Should California continue a program of extravagant spending that includes 51 press agents on the state payroll?

FACT: California has the worst record of major crime in the nation, in spite of the efforts of dedicated local law-enforcement officials.

FACT: In 1959 and 1960, Brown ignored the need for better narcotics control legislation, despite a petition signed by hundreds of thousands of citizens, despite pleas from civic and church groups, despite deaths in Los Angeles County High Schools.

FACT: In 1961, Brown consistently delayed effective narcotics legislation until the State Legislature forced him to act.

QUESTIONS: Do you think the present governor, by word or deed, has recognized the seriousness of the problem?

Do you think he is capable of supplying the leadership to attack the problem?

FACT: California has the largest number of students of any state in the nation, but in the pupil/teacher ratio (number of students per teacher) ranks 44th.

FACT: The "Master Plan For Education," claimed by Brown as one of his accomplishments, is actually a bi-partisan achievement, with most of the work done in the Knight administration.

QUESTIONS: Has the Brown administration ever shown it wishes to avoid control of education from Washington, D.C.? Has it ever shown it believes in more local and state action in education and welfare?

FACT: The Fair Employment Practices Commission established during the Brown regime has made no significant breakthroughs in opening up closed fields of employment.

FACT: Democrat "liberals" redistricted the majority of Los Angeles Negroes into one Congressional district, forming, in effect, a Negro "ghetto." The Los Angeles Sentinel commented as follows: "... the actions of the

ernment reveal them as the true enemy of the development and self-expression of our community."

FACT: At the Governor's conference in 1962, Brown said he didn't want a resolution on civil rights ever presented, because it might "divide" the Democrats. When a resolution finally was introduced, Brown was absent when the vote came.

QUESTION: Are you proud of a governor with such a record in the field of equal opportunities and civil rights?

FACT: The Brown administration has urged a state minimum wage law for farm workers, which would place many California farmers in a position where they could not possibly compete with other states.

FACT: Brown has made three "political appointments" to the key position of Director of Agriculture. The first, William Warne, a former Federal Foreign Aid Administrator, was cited by Senate and House Committees for "boondoggling" in Iran, Korea and Brazil. (Warne TODAY is Brown's Director of Water Resources.) The second appointment to the Agriculture post, James Ralph, was subsequently fired from a national administration post (Assistant Secretary of Agriculture) for involvement in the Billie Sol Estes case. The third appointment, Charles Paul, was picked for political purposes over the heads of qualified career men.

QUESTION: Can California hope to compete successfully in the world agricultural market with its problems handled by misplaced persons, second-rate administrators and political hacks?

FACT: One of Brown's sons-in-law is Assistant to the State Director of Corrections.

FACT: Another of Brown's sons-in-law is a Deputy Attorney General.

FACT: Brown's brother is a State Inheritance Tax Appraiser.

FACT: Brown's record of appointments shows nearly four Democrats for every Republican.

FACT: Brown appointed Dutch Woxberg, a former Jimmy Hoffa aide, to a state post (Small Boat Harbors Commission).

FACT: Our State Director of Finance is a newspaperman, without financial experience.

FACT: Regarding the appointment of judges, Brown says... "I have picked them irrespective of their politics." The record of judicial appointments: 165 Democrats, 34 Republicans, 1 no party affiliation.

QUESTIONS: Do you like political bossism... with government by-and-for cronies?

Do you wish to see a political dynasty built in California?

Charlie Farrington

9-22-62

Bob Haldeman

This is a suggestion for a piece of literature which I think should be given immediate priority. It could be extremely effective in the last several weeks of the campaign.

On the day that Nixon announced the vote count for the Presidency and then made his retiring speech in the Senate, many of the Democratic leaders rose to comment on and commend his outstanding service, character etc.

These quotes will all be in the Congressional Record and Agnes should be able to supply them.

The literature piece I am thinking of might be a folder which, on the cover, simply says "What Leading Democrats say about Nixon." Inside would be the quotes referred to above, with perhaps a picture of each of the individuals. Added to this might be the Eleanor Roosevelt quote regarding Nixon's leadership of the President's Committee on Government Contracts. Frey has this quote.

Will you please get someone going on this? I would especially look for Kennedy, Johnson, Rayburn, McCormick, Mansfield etc.

5

30 August 1962

MEMORANDUM

FROM: AN

TO: RM

COPIES TO: Haldeman, Chotiner, Klein, Farrington

SUBJECT: Chessman

Attached is a leaflet I have designed on Chessman. The front page will have an ugly picture of Chessman which I am in the process of obtaining. ✖

I think it is worthwhile to remind the populace of the enormity of Chessman's crimes as well as Brown's vacillation on the issue and more recent claims of compassion.

I now have it

For information

BACK

"I made a decision on clemency (refused). .
and I have no intention of hearing this
matter again, or making any change."

Press Conference 10/23/59

"I want to hold no further hearings on the
Chessman case whatsoever."

Press Conference 2/12/60

On February 18, 1960, Brown granted
Chessman a 90-day reprieve on the basis of
a telegram from the State Department - -
it was later revealed that the telegram
was politicized. Chessman finally died
on May 2, 1960.

"I know exactly what I am doing---and
I did...all during the Chessman
controversy...I was showing compassion."

Edmund G. Brown

INSIDE

THE record of the man for whom Brown felt compassion

- 1937 - Arrested in Los Angeles at age 16 for auto theft and burglary. Sent to reform school.
- 1938 - Arrested after release from 1937 sentence. Again sent to reform school.
- 1941 - Arrested and convicted of five counts of robbery, one of assault with a deadly weapon. Sent to prison.
- 1943 - Escaped from prison.
- 1944 - Returned to prison with additional count of first degree robbery.
- 1947 - Released from prison December 8.
- 1948 - Sent back to prison after conviction for the following crimes committed in a 20-day period:
- Jan. 3 - Robbery of a shoe store.
- Jan. 13 - Theft of an auto.
- Jan. 15 - Robbery of a man driving along highway.
Robbery of a man parked in an isolated area with a woman companion.
- Jan. 19 - Robbery of a man parked in an isolated area with a woman companion.
Robbery of the woman
Kidnapping of the woman.
Sex perversion against the woman.

- Jan. 20 - Attempted robbery of a man and woman parked in an isolated area.
- Jan. 22 - Attempted robbery of a man parked in an isolated area with a girl companion.
Kidnapping of the girl.
Attempted rape of the girl.
Sex perversion against the girl. *
- Jan. 23 - Robbery of a store owner.
Robbery of the store clerk.
Kidnapping of the store owner with bodily harm.
Kidnapping of the store clerk.

* This girl, as a result of this traumatic experience, was and still is confined to a mental institution. Where is Brown's compassion for her, or for that matter Chessman's other victims?

Bob -

I think Oakley is splitting hairs ---

do you think any comment to him or DF
is necessary?.....I don't.....

No

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

N i x o n f o r G o v e r n o r

To: Don Frey
Republican Research Center

Date: September 5, 1962

From: Oakley Hunter
Mail Office

Subject:

Distribution: ✓ Bob Haldeman

Maybe I'm all wet, but I would suggest any reprints of the attached yellow sheet on Brown be changed to eliminate the phrase, "Which Shade of Brown?"

The NAACP could very well take this out of context and accuse the Republicans of another instance of Negro bias, i.e., using words in criticism of Brown which are a reflection on the color of one's skin.

W H I C H S H A D E O F B R O W N ?

Four Years of Taking B O T H Sides of Every Issue . .

Unless otherwise noted, all quotes are taken verbatim from Brown's news conferences, speeches, press releases, and letters, or as reported in major newspapers.

ON NARCOTICS . . . DOUBTS, DODGES & DELAYS

IN REFUSING TO SEE A GROUP OF LOS ANGELES HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO CAME TO PLEAD FOR PLACING A STRONG NARCOTICS LAW ON THE AGENDA FOR THE 1960 SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE -- AFTER ONE OF THEIR CLASSMATES HAD BEEN KILLED BY TWO YOUNG ADDICTS:

"I don't believe (in having) 250 children calling on the Governor to discuss something they know nothing about." (quoted in L. A. Herald-Express editorial, March 8, 1960.)

At the same time, the U. S. Senate Subcommittee investigating juvenile delinquency issued a report which included, among other things, the fact that in one Long Beach junior high school 59% of the students were marijuana smokers.

DESPITE MOUNTING EVIDENCE OF THE KIND NOTED ABOVE, AND THE FACT THAT OTHER STATES HAD PROVED THAT STIFFER PENALTIES COULD REDUCE NARCOTICS CRIMES, BROWN STEADFASTLY REFUSED TO PLACE NARCOTICS ON THE LEGISLATURE'S AGENDA:

On March 29, 1960, he said:

"We know from long experience that stiffer sentences do not necessarily curb serious crime."

And on April 4, 1960:

"I have had over sixteen years experience in this field as district attorney, attorney general and now governor. I know that simply enacting further increases in penalties or restrictions would not rid us of this menace."

But, on January 31, 1961, after another year of sharp rises in narcotics offenses, and the clamor of law enforcement officials, civic and church leaders, he said:

"We propose harsher penalties for narcotic offenders--so that for the peddler the profit will not be worth the risk."

And finally, two years too late, a tough narcotics law was passed. Result, an 18% drop in adult felony narcotics violations in 1961.

IN LAW ENFORCEMENT, REVERSED DECISIONS

ON CONVICTED KIDNAPPER-RAPIST CARYL CHESSMAN:

"I made a decision on clemency (refused) . . and I have no intention of hearing this matter again, or making any change."

Press Conference 10/23/59

"I want to hold no further hearings on the Chessman case whatsoever."

Press Conference 2/12/60

On February 18, 1960, Brown granted Chessman a 60-day reprieve on the basis of a telegram from the State Department -- it was later revealed that the telegram was solicited! Chessman finally died on May 2, 1960.

ON DESERVING POLICE OFFICERS AND FIREMEN:

According to the San Francisco News-Call Bulletin (9/21/61), Brown had the police and firemen's representatives from San Francisco in his office on June 15, 1961, to have their pictures taken with him signing a bill which granted policemen or firemen full pension rights if they had a heart attack after ten years or more on the force.

As is customary in these cases, he didn't really sign the bill at the time, but sent the representatives autographed pictures of the ceremony.

Only one hitch developed, he never did sign the bill, which had passed the legislature unanimously, and it never became a law!

The Firefighters Local 798 sent their picture back with the comment from their president, Daniel Driscoll, that:

" . . . evidently the rumors are true, and Brown doesn't know what he's doing, and that his staff is running the organization."
quoted in S.F. NCB 8/21/62

STATE FINANCES . . . DECEPTIONS, DISTORTIONS, DUPLICITIES

PLANNING AHEAD, BROWN CAREFULLY CALCULATED THE FUTURE IN HIS '59 BUDGET MESSAGE:

"In the first full year of impact for these new taxes, the estimated revenue is \$256.6 million. Every dollar I anticipate will be needed!"
1/28/59

Actual surplus, June 30, 1961: \$131.3 million!

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

"I believe in old-fashioned fiscal solvency in government."
9/21/59

"Shall the balance sheet become the balance wheel of our society, or shall we understand that there is a higher accounting . . . "
To CDC leaders 5/7/60

TAXES, AND LOVE FOR THE LITTLE MAN . . .

". . . a careful, moderate revenue program (the 1959 tax increases)."
1/5/60

The 1959 tax increases were the largest general tax increase in the history of any state, and much of the burden for the increase was placed on low income families:

- . 400,000 new persons began to pay state income taxes.
- . the tax on the workingman's drink, beer, was doubled.

- . three cents was added to the cost of a package of cigarettes.
- . the minimum corporation tax, which hits small business, was raised 300 per cent.

Brown's campaign literature says:

NO TAX INCREASES IN T H R E E YEARS.

IN 1960, IN ANSWER TO REPUBLICAN BILLS CALLING FOR REPEAL OF THE SALES TAX ON PRESCRIPTION DRUGS AND INCOME TAX RELIEF FOR WORKING MOTHERS:

"I see no room for any tax cuts whatsoever."
2/2/60

In 1961, after trouble at the polls in 1960, such cuts became part of the Governor's Program for the Legislature, and were passed.

ON THE STATE CONSTRUCTION BONDS AND THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE VOTER:

"The people of California are not stupid. They're smart....They know we have need for these things, and the amount of the budget, the amount of the bond issue, . . is understood by them."
4/4/62

"I believe that it (the college bond issue) went down to defeat because . . . the wording of the issue was not too clear and I don't believe the people understood."
6/18/62

MISCELLANEOUS PROMISES, PROCRASTINATIONS & POSTPONEMENTS

IN AGRICULTURAL LABOR DISPUTES, THE FARMERS ARE PROMISED LAWS -- BUT GET A BOB-TAILED COMMISSION:

"There must be some legislation to protect the farmer from those strikes at the time of harvest."
6/23/60

"We in California can not sit idly by and wait for Washington to act. We must do our job for progress as we see it.

"I propose that all of us work together during the next legislature to develop legislation that will protect the farmer and the farm worker next year."

9/17/60

By March, 1961, with the legislature in session, but no laws proposed, the Governor fell back on his usual out:

"I have . . . recommended that we establish a balanced fact-finding committee."

The legislature acted to establish such a committee - but by August 10, 1962, according to Brown's Los Angeles office, he had appointed only three of the five members authorized.

LIP SERVICE TO LIBRARIES . . .

"The time has long passed when California, proud of her progress in so many other fields, can afford to leave her libraries waiting at the church."

1/21/61

Despite this, he gave no support to a bill which would have provided additional library support, and no such funds were included in the Governor's 1962-63 budget.

PROGRESS IN MEETING THE PROBLEMS OF AUTOMATION MOVES AT A PRE-MACHINE AGE PACE . . .

"I have just started an investigation."

9/17/59

"I am going to appoint a small working committee."

5/3/61

And finally, full circle back to '59 . . .

"I am going to announce the establishment today of a 24-member Governor's Committee on Automation and Technological Development to investigate the impact of automation on California's economy. . ."

6/18/62

ON WELFARE ABUSES, WORDS BUT NO ACTION . . .

"I want to announce that there is going to be a conference on Aid to Needy Children."

9/6/60

"We will be setting out to reform the laws that cover financial aid to needy children. We want to crack down on the cheaters."

9/23/60

But in 1962 Brown was still talking . . .

"We must redouble our efforts to weed out the cheaters who at best are taking money from those who really deserve it and would bring the whole welfare structure down in a cloud of public disgust."

4/30/62

MOVING AHEAD ON SMOG . . .

"We have begun to move on smog...We cannot afford to lose a year in the fight to clear up the air."

1/5/60

"1960 may well be a turning point in this murky battle."

1/18/60

In late 1962 we are still waiting for an acceptable automobile exhaust control.

THE LOYALTY OATH, THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL
AND THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

BOTH SIDES OF THE LOYALTY OATH CONTROVERSY ...

" . . . The lingering McCarthyism of negative loyalty oaths (is) still in our midst."

Speech to the CDC 2/12/60

"I disagree with the CDC's position (calling for the repeal of negative loyalty oaths)."

7/25/62

FOR, AND AGAINST, THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL'S RESOLUTIONS:

"The CDC has adopted many intelligent statements and policies, none of which bears the slightest resemblance to Nixon's distorted and hysterical dossier."

5/28/62

"I disagree with the CDC on this issue (abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities)."

"I do not favor admitting Red China to the United Nations."

"I disagree with the CDC's position (on reduction of military spending)."

"I disagree with the CDC's position favoring such (Police Review) boards."

7/25/62

All of these positions were among those mentioned by Nixon.

ON THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY . . .

"I'm not worried about them."

3/21/61

After the JBS became a potential campaign issue:

"Several months ago, I made my position clear on the John Birch Society. I warned then that its cloak-and-dagger brand of patriotism was a threat to our country and all we stand for."

2/20/62

BUMBLES, BOGGLES AND BOONDOGGLES

ON THE NEED FOR THE GOVERNOR TO LOOK BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THIS STATE:

"I am convinced that no longer can a Governor operate solely within his own state . . . when you hear a debate on the foreign policy of the United States, the question of nuclear testing, the question of whether there should be closer integration of the Federal Reserve Bank with the Treasury Department, these are things that a Governor can't become an expert on, but he certainly should know something about them."

7

12/1/59

"Katanga and Berlin and Southeast Asia -- the items which attract your fellow journalist from Los Angeles -- are important. But they have little to do with a California governor's need to meet the challenge of the greatest mass migration in human history."

1/8/62

ON THE SLAUGHTER ON OUR HIGHWAYS:

"Bob McCarthy (Director of the Motor Vehicles Dept.) has done a magnificent job and no one will know how many lives have been saved by reason of this tough policy."

1/29/60

In resigning, McCarthy had a different story to tell:

"When I accepted your appointment ... we agreed to the seriousness of the traffic problem and the need for vigorous leadership. Since that time your support has dwindled steadily and by now has completely disappeared.

"My attempts to curb the drunk driver, while initially receiving lip service, saw you cave into pressure for a softer law. Leadership here could have saved lives."

Letter of Resignation 8/15/61

SACRAMENTO THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE . . .

"Governor Edmund G. Brown made it clear today (in Washington) he is available for the Democratic Presidential nomination, but said he will not accept second place on the ticket."

Baltimore Sun 7/31/59

"I, of course, took myself out of the Presidential campaign. I never had any intention of entering it at any time since I've been elected Governor."

Brown Press Conference 5/24/60

ON OCTOBER 14, 1961, BROWN'S MEMORY WAS SOMEWHAT FAULTY IN REFERRING TO THE LEGISLATIVE FIGHT ON THE WATER PLAN:

"There was, you will remember, almost unanimous Republican opposition in the Senate."

Actually, of the 12 noe votes in the Senate, 11 were Democrats and only 1 was Republican.

ON THE DISTRESSED UNEMPLOYED IN SAN BERNARDINO . . .

"Nobody is starving as far as I know, and I think I would know about it."

Press Conference 1/24/61

But three days later . . .

"It is true that there are some families in San Bernardino County who do not have enough to eat."

Press Conference 1/27/61

IN 1962, BROWN "OVERLOOKED" THE FACT HE WAS GIVING HIMSELF A RAISE:

"I stand behind this budget in every particular, with the exception of one item, and that is the salary increase for the Governor of California. That is something that was not brought to my attention. . . "

2/6/62

ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SCHOOLS . . .

"I believe that there is grave danger of our complicating the work of the schools with too many jobs...The schools should not be given responsibilities which belong properly to the family, the church, or to a public agency."

1/21/60

But, only twenty days later

"There is much more that our schools can do. They must lay the moral foundation that will enable us to identify the less obvious manifestations of delinquency; conflicts of interest which corrupt public officials, rigged TV shows, mendacity in advertising, sensationalism in the treatment of murder, divorce and much more.

"In fact, I would include in this list such things as urban blight and our failure to meet the basic needs of about 20% of our people."

2/10/60

Nixon for Governor

To: **Bob Haldeman**
 From: **RN**
 Subject: **Attached Pledge**
 Distribution: **Paul W. Keyes**

Date: **September 4, 1962**

Who approved this pledge? I want to see this literature.

Also, I had asked that Paul Keyes see all literature before it was produced. Since he had written a different type pledge he, obviously, must not have seen this one.

Handwritten notes:
 9/4
 RN
 OK'd
 B. Haldeman
 Paul Keyes
 [Other illegible scribbles]

Nixon for Governor

To: **Bob Haldeman**

Date: **August 2, 1962**

From: **RN**

Subject:

Distribution:

Again I want to stress that I have to see any basic literature before it goes out. Anything for broad distribution I had better see. For instance the material that Hess is looking at now.

8/3
RN
"You will see in every case,
Hess is doing major
surgery on the present
stuff."
N.

Nixon for Governor

cc CF
10/1/62
10/1/62

To: Bob Haldeman
From: RN
Subject: Campaign Literature
Distribution:

Date: July 25, 1962

When it is available, as I mentioned before, I want to see proposed campaign literature. I also would like to have Paul Keyes take a look at any material we may have ready or in the works as he may have some suggestions on it.

RH
Paul Keyes
10/1/62
10/1/62

PR.
1/1/1

"See Below"

August 24, 1962

Bob Waldman

Pledge

Phil Boone, Ted Brown, Pat Hitt, Kai Jorgensen, A. Leopold

How does the use of a pledge such as the attached appear to you?

I'll appreciate having your ideas regarding ways in which it could be utilized and any suggestions on changes in wording.

Many thanks.

RICHARD NIXON'S PLEDGE

I pledge allegiance to the people of my home state of California, that each shall share equally in Constitutional freedom under God and that none shall suffer for his color or the Creed of his choice.

I pledge representative government truly representative of the people - that each voice shall be heard in decisions affecting him and his family - that none shall suffer the agony of crying in the wilderness of despair.

I pledge to remove governmental invasion of human rights, not to wedge it deeper.

I pledge to reduce the cost burdens of government by reducing government itself.

I pledge total dedication to the rights of the individual and to his family in upholding the liberty, freedom and dignity of each with honor.

I pledge proper balance between citizen and state - that the state be returned to its Constitutional role of servant of the people and that the promises of individual rights be reinvested in the individual where justice demands they abide.

Finally, I pledge return to government of the people - decisions with leadership - integrity with strength - and a new birth of freedom for the first state in the nation that our republic may know California has awakened to claim its rightful place in history.

Nixon for Governor

*File
P-R
fit*

To: Kai Jorgensen
From: Charlie Farrington
Subject: Communism Folder

Date: August 23, 1962

Distribution: ✓ Bob Haldeman
file

Will you please have your "experts" begin development of a "Nixon on Communism" folder.

This piece should highlight his direct activities, such as the Hiss case, the Mundt-Nixon Bill, the stoning in South America and the Khrushchev debate, as well as past and current statements which he has made regarding the whole Communism issue -- recognition of the menace, and the proper way to fight it.

I am attaching a copy of our reprint of two Nixon columns on the subject which may be of some assistance.

May I see suggested copy and a proposed layout on this no later than Friday, August 31.

Dear Bob:

Regarding circular, if you are going to keep the headings general, rather than hard hitting specific bullseye targets, than I would recommend you put the 10 Guideposts on the back page and permit the copy to go on the inside flap, since I don't believe the type will be large enough and easy to read as presently planned.

Then, of course, I agree that you might point the arrow to the right, altho, at present, it points correctly to the subject matter.

Also, speaking broadly in critical tones, altho, I hope, constructively, I do not believe the whole tone of the circular is strong enough in its copy, whether you keep the present head or convert them into meaningful headlines that easily point out the arguments.

Dick is being criticised for putting on national airs, having national dreams, etc...and this is supposed to react to that by being a State Circular. Yet, it has a few national references that don't belong, such as "the best way to oppose big government in Washington is to have better government in Sacramento." Even a turn of the phrase--"the best way to have good government in Sacramento is to...." But why bring in a critique of big government in Washington...why not go directly to the point attacking federal handouts in the fields of welfare, education, etc. *in the state?*

Similarly, with regard to education, forget the establishment of educational standards in Washington...it's negative...go positive on local and state control.

Can't you use "public" ^{or "state"} instead of "government", for example is No.7 of Guideposts..."The best men and women available, regardless of party affiliation or any consideration other than loyalty and quality, should be appointed to state jobs"...or "public", if you wish.

There's too much "government" and too many general statements, giving me the thought that the circular is more like a lesson in government ethics, too much general philosophy, not enough punch if you do want to go that way.

The circular should tell the people what to do---and that is VOTE FOR NIXON...I think the word, FOR, is important in a Nixon campaign.

NOT NIXON FOR GOVERNOR — BUT VOTE FOR NIXON

I agree - I don't think we need to make this a self-mailer - we could either enlarge the type or add some more points

I do not agree

I agree

I completely agree - can we change basic approach on this?

I agree this would help.