

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
17	11	5/6/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Douglas L. Hallett to Johnathan Rose. RE: Discussions of the President's support having dwindled in a week's time due in part to questions concerning his leadership abilities. 4 pgs.
17	11	5/6/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Douglas L. Hallett to Jonathan Rose. RE: A discussion concerning the President's popularity and leadership abilities. 4 pgs.

## DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N-1 [Doc 19]	Memo	Hallett to Rose, re: thoughts on President's present situation <del>XXXXXXXXXX</del> [attached to cover note, L to H, 1/4/71]	5/6/70	C
N-2 [Doc 20]	Memo	Hallett to Rose, re: a few thoughts on my last memo [part of N-1 case file]	7/6/70	C
N-3 [Docs 21+22]	Memo	Copies of N-1 + N-2 [part of N-1 case file]	5/6/70	C
N-4 [Doc 23]	Memo	Dehuli to Warren, re: Executive Health Unit	6/8/71	C
N-5 [Doc 24]	Memo	Whitaker to JDE, re: White House Farmer - Bob Spitzer	7/20/71	C
N-6 [Doc 25]	Memo	Whitaker to HRH, re: White House Farmer	7/8/71	C
N-7 [Doc 26]	Memo	Whitaker to HRH, re: Raymond Gary + Allan Shivers	7/2/71	C
N-8 [Doc 27]	Memo	Whitaker to President, re: emission ment issue, with attachments	6/29/71	C
N-9 [Doc 28]	Memo	Whitaker to Huntman, re: Schmaltz for Texas Drought - Log P 1750	6/18/71	C

FILE GROUP TITLE

HRH

BOX NUMBER

273

FOLDER TITLE

[Misc. Memos (To Be Interfiled)] [3 of 3]

## RESTRICTION CODES

- A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.  
 B. National security classified information.  
 C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.  
 D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.

- E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.  
 F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.  
 G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.  
 H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 273

Folder: [Misc. Memos (to be interfiled)] [3 of 3]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>		
19	Return	Private/Political	
20	Retain	Open	
21	Return	Private/Political	
22	Retain	Open	
23	Retain	Open	
24	Retain	Open	
25	Retain	Close	Invasion of Privacy
26	Retain	Open	
27	Retain	Open	
28	Retain	Open	

May 6, 1970

To: Jonathan Rose

From: Douglas L. Hallett

Per your request, I will try to communicate a few tentative thoughts I have on the President's present situation. My first thought is that at this point the President is not in all that great trouble. One week is not going to kill off the kind of support he has had so far. What does worry me, though, is that there has been over the last few months a gradual erosion of Mr. Nixon's support and with the Cambodian speech the revival of an active opposition. These developments will not be stopped even if the Cambodian venture is successful and of short duration. Stopping, or at least limiting, them will require firm, positive leadership.

LBJ should have taught us that what is important is not what people think about the President's policies, but what they think about his leadership. Mr. Nixon's leadership is now in question. The kids and the news media sense it and they are ready to move in on him. The strike is going to be the beginning of a lot of political work this summer and fall; the days of despair and frustration are coming to a close. NSA is starting an effort to get graduating seniors donate cap and gown money to anti-war political campaigns. A lot more of this kind of thing will follow.

On another level, the Eastern Establishment is going to be mobilized. An effort is now being made to get a coalition of establishment types pledged to raise \$10 million to an anti-war effort this fall. The plan now is to mount a Congressional campaign on a presidential level with national TV advertising questioning the President's leadership. How successful it will be is unclear to me at this point. Watch for things like a statement from former DOD officials that's being circulated now to measure its initial success. They hope to get offices all over the country and local coalitions going by the end of the month.

These threats will have to be countered eventually. The President's leadership must be reasserted. You can't let the other side dominate the dialogue as LBJ did in late 1967. The kids and the intellectual elite have never been for Mr. Nixon, but you can't leave the now prevalent impression that the President can't handle them, can't answer them, can't confront them face-to-face. Don't let the President become a prisoner-President as LBJ was in his last year or so. He's got to be visible, vocal, outgoing. The kind of stuff Agnew throws out is no good now. There are too many kids who hate the President and too many parents who won't be able to dismiss their kids as campus "bums". The President's leadership must be firm, positive, directed.

For the immediate future, I wouldn't do anything particularly dramatic. Agnew should be phased down, but the environment is too tense right now for the President to take on a more aggressive stance. But by the end of the summer and certainly for the campaign the President should take the offensive, demonstrate his leadership, exhibit his personal control. The obvious vehicle for this effort would be television. It's the only way he can cut through the newspapers, the magazines, the commentators. Mr. Nixon has got to expose himself, open himself up to public view more than he has.

The Cambodian speech was all wrong. The President read it. He appeared defensive, cold, calculating, and nervous - all the usual cliches about him. He's got to begin doing things which are warm, spontaneous - things to which people can relate. In my view, the very tentative use of television that the President undertook in 1968 against Humphrey should be expanded to full-blown use this fall. This kind of thing is risky and I'm sure the President won't buy it, but I think it may be the one thing which could help him most if the present erosion in his support and the increasingly vocal opposition continues.

For the campaign, I would throw out the possibility of the President having a series of half-hour TV discussions, maybe three or four. One on the economy with two businessmen and two labor people. One on law enforcement with, say, a judge, a police chief, a prison official, a social worker type. One on foreign policy with somebody from State, a guy like Lewellyn Thompson, Resor from Defense, and a mild critic of the President's policy - maybe even Reston. One on domestic problems with Finch, a black like Whitney Young, a post-VISTA volunteer or young social worker type, and a state or city human development official. Finally, one on problems of the young with four students, two for Nixon and two against.

Now I know that this is going to be dismissed as a hair-brained idea from an idealistic college student, but I think it's viable politically. The President is at his best one-on-one in short answer. This would let the nation see him at his best. It would give him an opportunity to show that he can meet his critics, answer their questions, beat them at their own game. The objections to doing this kind of thing are clear and obvious. It's denigrating the Presidency, making Mr. Nixon into a Johnny Carson. But it would still be fantastic. Leadership in this country is not by office anymore; it's by man. Media exposure of all kinds is too great for a man to hide behind his job, to isolate his person; LBJ showed that. What may be needed by the fall is to bring Mr. Nixon out behind the veil of his job

to show that he can exercise personal, not just presidential, leadership. I think Mr. Nixon can do that and I think he will have to do so eventually to avoid letting the TV commentators, the newspaper columnists, the intellectuals, and the kids convince the country that Mr. Nixon can't handle them.

Knowing that the President will never buy what I suggested above, there are a few other things that could be done. The presidential road-show to the Midwest was a good thing. Do more of that kind of thing. Let the people see Mr. Nixon in-action. Send him not just to conventions at D.C. hotels, but out into the field to look at problems on their own turf. Take more advantage of issues like the environment where Mr. Nixon is strong by letting the news media see him in national parks, examining polluted rivers, walking through desalination plants. The President has exploited the space program beautifully, but I don't think he's used his other strong issues nearly as well as he could. Even hard issues like civil rights could be dealt with more visibly. Have Mr. Nixon go into the South personally to talk with local officials on both sides of the desegregation question.

Use the straight speeches the President gives more effectively. Make Mr. Nixon eloquent. At his best, as with the State of the Union Message, the President is quite good. Do more of that kind of thing. The "Sub Belt" strategy or whatever it is doesn't preclude the possibility of the President being positive from time to time. That Bill Brock report on students was terrific. Why can't the President say something like that? There are basic policy problems which prevent the President from sounding like John Lindsay, but there's no reason why he can't come out for free speech and the right of dissent. There's no reason why he can't empathize with the problems of the poor, the young, etc. and appear to be visibly dealing with them. Show the nation that the President has a philosophical direction - that he is human and doesn't always know he's right, but that he does have positive goals in mind.

*(Why not Hard Hat too?)*

Other resources in the administration could be used more effectively. The only people I ever hear about giving speeches are Bill Rogers, Spiro Agnew, and Herb Klein. Why can't Schultz and Finch be made into the John Gardners of this administration? Finch, especially, has a national image and is clearly loved by the press. Teach Finch how to give a speech, get him a new writer, and send him out - not just to Republican fund-raisers, but to prestige events, campuses, etc. I know Finch is controversial in the South, but he can be used very effectively in the North. Finch went over beautifully at Harvard Law last fall, I think it was. This kind of thing soothes the antagonism which gives rise to visible, vocal opposition.

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Most important thing is not what Mr. Nixon does, but how  
he does it. Your biggest worry is going to be how vocal the  
opposition is, not who it is. No matter how much people  
agree with Mr. Nixon and no matter how much interest they have  
in keeping his policies continued, the President's support will  
erode if it appears that he cannot confront and deal with his  
critics. You've got to recognize the right of other people to  
have views. You've got to stop these petulant, protective attacks  
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believe in Mr. Nixon's leadership in the conference room, show  
him to the country on those terms. Open up the Presidency and  
keep it at a high level. That was the beauty of the 1968 campaign  
until you froze in the final month. I went a weekend with  
Mr. Nixon in New Hampshire; he looked like a President and talked  
like one and he was visible at the same time. Bring that kind  
of thing back. Don't let the media give the country the impression  
of Mr. Nixon that it wants to. Use the media yourselves creatively,  
imaginatively to show the country the President you know - not  
just for the campaign, but on a continuing basis - and I think you  
will be able to control the rising tide of opposition.

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Washington bureau of the Wall Street Journal at the end of the  
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*What does  
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Send him poll  
G. K.*

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