

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	5	05/03/1961	Letter	Note from Murray Chotiner to Dick St. Johns and Chuck Bakaly re: purposes and programs for Republican clubs. 1pg.
65	5	n.d.	Report	"Some Purposes and Programs For Republican Clubs." 5 pgs.
65	5	9/n.d./1961	Report	"Technical Specialists and the 1960 Republican Campaign" by Cornelius P. Cotter of Stanford University for Delivery at the 1961 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. 10 pgs.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Campaign poster titled "Do You Want This Kind of Governor in California?" 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Campaign flyer titled "Your Pension Is In Jeopardy!"
65	5	11/n.d./1962	Other Document	Campaign flyer printed to look like Postal-Gram form the California League of Senior Citizens urging seniors to vote for Brown. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Campaign flyer titled "Your Pension Is In Jeopardy!" 1 pg.
65	5	09/25/1962	Letter	Campaign letter from John J Keller of the Republican committee To Re-Elect Governor Brown requesting assistance in electing Brown. 1 pg.
65	5	10/18/n.d.	Other Document	Campaign flyer for a "Special Rally" for Gov. Edmund Brown sponsored by the California League of Senior Citizens re: "the Plot to Force the Elderly off Pension Rolls." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Note "To Bill Stover." 1 pg. Not Scanned
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Campaign poster titled "Questions NIXON won't answer about the \$250,000 Hughes Tool Company loan." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Brochure	Double sided campaign brochure titled "California Labor moves ahead with Governor Edmund G. 'Pat' Brown." 2 pgs.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Poster offering carpenters "\$1,000.00 in prizes" for voting sponsored by the Public Relations and political Education Committee. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	5	n.d.	Report	"List of [19] distortions and smears by Brown." 1 pg.
65	5	10/30/1962	Other Document	Western Union Telegram from Alfred Tisch to Bob Haldeman re: anti Nixon campaign literature. 3 pgs.
65	5	n.d.	Newspaper	Clipping of "Controversial Postcard" "Smearing Governor Brown as Red Appeaser!" 1pg. Not scanned.
65	5	n.d.	Newspaper	Article titled "Nixon Opens Valley Tour" in unidentified newspaper. 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	5	11/1/1962	Newspaper	Article titled "Fair Practice Group Hits Political Booklet" in unidentified newspaper. 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	5	n.d.	Newspaper	Article titled "Apologies For Errors in Telethon Film" in unidentified newspaper. 1 pg. Not scanned.
65	5	10/29/n.d.	Letter	To H. R. Haldeman from A Wood re: Campaign flyer titled "Have You Had Enough??" 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Campaign flyer titled "Have You Had Enough??" 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Oversized sample ballot pre-marked with suggested candidates issued by the Get Out The Vote Committee of the Democratic State Central Committee. 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Campaign flyer titled "Your Pension Is In Jeopardy!" 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Note from Bob Haldeman re: "Nick's Acct." 1 pg.
65	5	11/05/1962	Letter	From Office of the Vice President to Rose re: tip that Brown might challenge Nixon's brother to explain the "Hughes Loan." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten notes titled "Hiss Case," "General," and "TV Shows." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten names Z. Wayne Griffin, Dick Moore, K R Haldeman, and J K Horton. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten notes titled "Retainers," "Arizona Conference," "Nixon people guidance," "Check on," and "Tribute party to RN." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten directions "File RN Personal Report" and "File Special Projects." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten list of names for the "Arizona Conference." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten list of names titled "RN Top 100 List." 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten list of names titled "early January-Political Power."
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten notes listing names and figures. 1 pg.
65	5	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten notes listing names.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
65	5	n.d.	Newspaper	Article titled "Spanish-Speaking Community Leaders Endorse Gov. Brown." 4 pgs. Not scanned.

Murray Chotiner

May 2, 1961

TO: Dick St. Johns & Chuck Bahaly

FROM: Murray Chotiner

Enclosed is a summary of "Purposes" as revised.

cc: Dick Nixon
Bob Finch
John Halderman ✓

160 South Robertson Boulevard
Beverly Hills, California
Leander 5-5950

SOME PURPOSES AND PROGRAMS FOR REPUBLICAN CLUBS

Dick Nixon stated recently in a speech at Sacramento that "the mistakes of 1952 and 1956 must not be repeated".

The purpose of forming a Republican Club is to help avoid the repetition of those mistakes. In the 1952 and 1956 presidential campaigns millions of people worked for Republican principles and Republican candidates. After the elections no real effort was made to bring them into existing Republican organizations.

Local clubs can serve as an effective basis for a state and nationwide grassroots organization for these millions of people, both Republicans and non-Republicans, who believe in the candidates and the policies of the Republican party. The formation of a Republican Club need not conflict with existing Republican organizations. For example, an important function is the search for and selection of outstanding candidates. Many of the existing Republican organizations such as the Federated Republican Women and the Young Republicans do not participate in the pre-primary selection and endorsement of candidates. The formation of a Republican Club can help fill this void.

The following is a list of projects which could be undertaken by an active and aggressive group in a Republican club. Few, if any, clubs will undertake all the projects listed here, and there are many which could be added. These are suggestions only.

1. CANDIDATE PROCUREMENT. There are many outstanding people, including members of the younger professional groups, who would, if properly approached, become candidates for various offices. One of the primary purposes of a Republican Club would be the examination of available offices and potential candidates to fill them. One of the great needs of the Republican party at this time is to supply able candidates for partisan offices such as the State Assembly, State Senate and Congress. No major league baseball team could possibly be successful without an adequate farm system. Similarly, no political party can be successful without a discovery procedure and training ground for potential candidates. A primary aim of the club would be to find, discuss with and persuade able people to take an active role in seeking elective office at all levels.

2. PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PRESS. Another primary function of the club would be to contact, on a weekly, certainly a monthly basis, representatives of all local news media, i.e. press, radio and television where feasible. Specified people should be designated to develop these contacts and to maintain them. This will provide a two-way flow of information. First, to establish a contact which can be used in getting out news releases, speeches and other information coming from the party and major figures, and secondly, to secure and refer back to a centralized information gathering source the views of the local news people concerning suitability of candidates, local issues, failures in the opposition party's program, etc.

3. VOTE ANALYSIS. The detailed study of the voting patterns for the local area should be prepared, both for the information of local candidates and for an analysis by a state-wide group. Voting records of each precinct should be prepared for the last eight years in all elections, assembly, congressional, city, county, etc., together with a brief summary of the candidates and the issues. This will be an important guide for future candidates.

4. WIN CAMPAIGN. Specified people should be put in charge of the organization of particular groups. This program was successfully used by Senator Hiram Fong in Hawaii during the 1960 campaign. For example, lawyer members of the club should be put in charge of contacting all members of the legal profession in the club area. Doctors, engineers, merchants and other groups should be contacted; lists of names and addresses compiled; people prepared for specific campaign procedures such as providing literature for doctors' offices during the campaign; providing speakers on various issues; forming groups to analyze legislative programs specifically important to their particular vocation.

Public service projects can be inaugurated. For example, a group of Republican lawyers can set up a legal aid society under the Republican Club sponsorship. A group of Republican doctors can organize a free medical clinic for polio shots. Activities often can be undertaken with particular emphasis on voter groups who have specific needs.

5. "MINORITY" PROGRAM. The "big city" vote for President Kennedy in the last election indicates that a particular weakness of the Republican organization was a lack of concentration on the needs and interests of various "minority" groups. Each "minority" group in a community should be included in the organization of a club and participate with all other elements of the club. In various areas "minority" members of the club have the responsibility for organizing, reporting problems, preparing literature, etc.

6. DEMOCRATS. All Democrats who believe in our program and wish to join a Republican Club should be welcomed. This applies particularly to Democrats who have had a change of heart because of the Kennedy administration. Every effort should be made to counteract the effects of extremists and the club should be a political "home" for people who have not been given an effective opportunity to participate in bringing about sane and sensible government.

7. VOTING PROCEDURES. A specified group should be put in charge of preparing and training "teams" for election day. This would include such projects as having a Republican on every election board in every precinct; providing poll watchers who are familiar with their legal rights such as procedures for challenges and vote counting; and providing absentee ballots.

8. FINANCES. No great financial cost will be involved in the formation of a club. Hopefully, each club will be self-supporting by charging nominal dues. However, in connection with financing not only the activities of the club but in financing endorsed candidates and expanded activities, there are a number

of financial programs which should be placed in the care of specified people. For example, one project could be a precinct solicitation of people to contribute one dollar a month to the Republican party or to the club. This would serve to (a) raise money and (b) supply interesting work for club members who wished to undertake the organization of this phase of a campaign. Also it will supply lists of interested people who, if they contribute, generally will work during a campaign. Before soliciting funds beyond membership dues it is necessary to have legal consent. Our general headquarters can obtain this for you.

9. CAMPAIGN PREPARATION. There are a number of projects which can be undertaken by individual clubs for the benefit of the entire Republican organization throughout the state. For example, one club could undertake the organization of a committee of architects, decorators, etc., who would prepare plans for decorating headquarters. This could be coupled with a standardization of campaign headquarters both for state-wide and local candidates and great savings could be achieved in ordering campaign material. The committee could contact suppliers and try to obtain contributions of the materials or at least quantity discounts for many candidates who would be able to use the same type of material.

10. RESEARCH. Another project which should be undertaken by each club is a detailed analysis of any opposition incumbent in their area as to background, qualifications, voting records and statements on all issues.

TECHNICAL SPECIALISTS
AND THE 1960 REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN

Cornelius P. Cotter
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Prepared for Delivery at the 1960 Annual Meeting
of the American Political Science Association,
St. Louis, Missouri, Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel,
September 6-9, 1961.

When I was sworn in as consultant to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in early July, the nature of the role I would perform as such was explained to me with a story. This is the story of the Eastern debutante who spent a few weeks on a dude ranch in Wyoming. After days of confusion in the use of the terms mare, stallion and gelding, she at last attempted to get her nomenclature clear. The cowboy whom she asked to explain the terms gulped, blushed, and proceeded as follows: "Well, ma'm, there are mares, and there are stallions, and the stallions run with the mares. Then there are geldings, and they run with the mares too, but only on a consulting basis."

I believe this story gets to the point of the matter. The expert is, for the most part, noted not so much as a person who has direct responsibility for doing things. He is regarded as one whose job it is to explain to those who can and must do things, how they might best go about it. The party nominee for President is not necessarily an expert on winning elections. But he has the mandate and the responsibility to win an election. Toward that end he will have available to him and will employ political experts whose guidance may concern the optimum use of television, the framing of itineraries, the formulation of positions on policy matters, and, among other things, the peculiarities of the politics of the states in which he must campaign--meaning all 50 in 1960. Of course, all of these "experts" are, in the context of the campaign, enlightened amateurs, like the candidate himself. In large measure their credentials depend upon the outcome of the campaign.

Before talking with more specificity about the role of the expert in the 1960 Nixon campaign, let us dwell for a few more minutes upon the concept of the expert, or that of expertness. The expert cannot make his contribution to a political campaign unless he is able to communicate his opinion and advice to the person who he is supposed to advise.

This means that the person whom he is supposed to advise must be willing to receive his ideas, his advice, and even his criticism. It means also that the so-called expert must be persona grata to the person he is to advise, for no amount of claim to expert knowledge suffices if the personality of the expert is such as to offend and alienate the individual who is supposed to draw upon that fund of knowledge, experience and skill.

Also, the concept of the expert implies some kind of organizational framework within which the expert is one part in some way articulated with other parts, all of which are operating to produce the product of victory at the polls.

George Belknap has, to our profit, chosen to focus his study of the political specialist in the 1960 campaign upon the role of motivational research in the Kennedy campaign. Unfortunately, it is necessary for me to be more general, for while I was one of the National Committee Faculty Fellows in 1959, and a hold-over staff member at the Republican National Committee until June of 1960, it so happens that during the major portion of the campaign I occupied a Civil Service position in the Commission on Civil Rights, and thus, under the Hatch Act, was cautioned against active political participation. There may be a second reason why it is necessary to describe the role of the political specialist in the Nixon campaign a bit more generally. And that is, it is entirely possible that no one body of expertise played as important a role in the Nixon campaign as motivational research may have played in the Democratic campaign.

Politicians, like bureaucrats and academicians, tend to distinguish between two major categories of people--those who are expert in raising money, and those who spend it. Within each party's professional staff, these two vantage points probably afford a more significant mechanism for differentiating attitudes, then does any set of policy alternatives.

The fund-raiser is always conscious of the difficulty of raising money, of the competing efforts within the same party to raise funds for purposes other than those for which the National Finance Committee might have in mind, for example, and also he is constantly aware of the fact that it costs a great deal of money, not only to win an election but to lose one. This is the irony of the situation. He goes into an election hoping to win, anticipating victory, cognizant of the possibility of failure, and aware of the fact that in the months following election day he may find himself a member of the out-party desperately continuing in his effort to raise

funds, but this time attempting to raise funds to eliminate a deficit incurred in an unsuccessful attempt to elect a president. Thus, as of the end of October, 1960, with election-day imminent, the Republican Party found itself with a debt of \$1,183,000--and little by way of immediate resources with which to meet it.

In the days prior to the convention a party facing a delegate fight is likely to discover that the party fund-raising activity must compete with those of the contesting candidates. Thus, in the pre-convention days, the Republican National Finance Committee finds itself competing with the candidates' pre-convention efforts to raise money. After the convention, the Republican National Finance Committee, even though it enjoys a quota arrangement with state finance committees, finds itself competing for funds with state and local candidates, and even with alternative fund-raising efforts at the national level, such as the neighbor-to-neighbor program which is directed toward securing broad-base small contributions.

The fund raisers do not necessarily exercise a restraining influence upon campaign expenditure. One reason for this is that the peaks and valleys of monthly receipts in a campaign year fluctuate so radically that a kind of political survival instinct dictates that funds be obligated whether or not they are on hand. Secondly, the two party organizations, like the American organization-man, have discovered credit-card living. Thus it is not at all abnormal for them to use a multiplicity of telephone and airline credit cards to achieve movement and communication which might be drastically curbed were cash on the line demanded. Indeed, it sometimes is easier to fly the party Chairman to Alaska than to send out a mass mailing, for the government has not yet developed a mail credit card, and is old fashioned enough to demand cash on the barrel head.

Looking to the experts who obligate funds in ways calculated to win elections, let us, with perhaps an excessive emphasis upon classification, divide them into three groups.

First, there are those whom I would call the strategic experts. This group comprises the Bill Rogers, the Fred Seatons, and the Len Halls. It includes the trusted newspaper man and the occasional state chairman of experience and influence. What this group shares in common--presumably--is a certain claim, grounded upon training, talent, and experience, to knowing the temper of the times and the mood of the people. Presumably this is the level at which the candidate will consult prior to deciding whether the campaign should be dominated by the effort to win the independent vote, whether

to ignore the South, because you have it anyway, or to attempt to capture it, in the event that it is not a fief of your party.

The second group might be called the tactical experts. The tactical expert is an individual whose scope is limited and whose expertness is deep. He is the individual who will tell you what television time to buy, how much television to buy, and how far in advance of campaign needs you should purchase it. He will conduct polls and advise the candidate of their implications concerning the course of the campaign and the type of appeal which should prove effective in courting the voter, or various categories of voters. He may be an expert at framing efficient campaign itineraries, balancing the dictates of time and distance against speaking opportunities and political imperatives. This will be the man who will offer advice on whether to stop off in Louisiana on the way to Texas, and if so, whether to put down at New Orleans or Lafayette. Indeed, at a lower, but by no means unimportant level, it will be a tactical expert who will attempt to see that the campaign plane is properly equipped to accommodate electric typewriters and mimeograph machines. Probably most of the work of the candidate's press assistant falls into the tactical category, although, of course, he would have more opportunity than many to offer strategic advice.

One of the most important persons in this second category will be the public relations expert who plans and executes the mass media campaign for the party. In 1955, in anticipation of the 1956 campaign, the Republican National Committee negotiated contracts with the major television networks securing at a reasonable cost, all of the time which would be required in the course of the 1956 campaign. The time was contracted fully a year before it was used. The sense of public responsibility of the network, coupled with the enterprise of the public relations director of the Republican National Committee, Lou Guyley, combined to secure for the party A #1 time, without the expenditure for pre-emption costs which characterized the 1952 Republican campaign. In 1955, also, the Republican National Committee contracted for five-minute spots which were to appear at the beginning, or at the end, of some of the most popular programs then on the air. The Republicans thus captured for themselves audiences which had been built up through the largesse of some of the largest television advertisers in the country. Following the Republican example, the Democratic National Committee also made advance commitments for television time. In 1960, the cast of characters and the stage were pretty much the same. Eisenhower was in the White House, Nixon was running for President, the same faces were to be found either at the National Committee or on the Nixon staff, yet it was not until September-October 1960 that commitments could be made for television time. The reason

for this was not a lack of expertness. One of the most skilled persons in scheduling television time was on the Nixon campaign staff. Another proven performer was on the staff of the National Committee, but clearance could not be secured. And, in 1960, all clearance came from the Vice President.

Another of the great demands in campaign time is the demand for speakers. The Anchorage, Alaska, Young Republicans feel perfectly at ease in placing a long-distance telephone call to the Speakers Bureau of the Republican National Committee demanding the appearance, if not of the presidential candidate, at least of the vice-presidential candidate, or a senator or a representative, or a state-side Republican, at their quarterly barbecue, to be attended by three hundred persons. Such demands may not be ignored and must, if possible, be met. There is a kind of expertness that comes not so much from reading books and taking college courses as from developing contact and profiting by experience. This is the expertness of the speakers bureau, operated by people who know what senators will go where, and that most will not go anywhere; for one of the enduring, although perhaps not endearing traits of the Republican delegation on the Hill is a lack of interest in making speeches.¹

Charges and counter-charges are so broadcast during the campaign that the problem of being certain that one has met every possible charge acquires expert treatment. In the 1960 campaign, the Republicans maintained a so-called answer-desk, staffed by Oliver Gale, former special assistant to the Secretary of Defense. The job of the answer-desk, as Republicans saw it, was to nail down every canard uttered by the Democrats and to provide an effective response to it. In addition to the answer-desk, there was a so-called "truth squad", familiar from the 1956 campaign. A prominent Senator and a member of the House jointly headed the

¹One might parenthetically remark at this point that the willingness of a Goldwater or a Tower to accept speaking engagements to talk to the Montgomery County, Maryland, Young Republicans and the Bloomington, Indiana, Ladies' Club, while not passing up the opportunity to address the Phoenix, Arizona, Rotarians, could well have a great deal to do with the supposed popularity the exponents of ultra-conservatism enjoy today. People like people who are accessible. If the people who are accessible are ultra-conservative, but are liked as people because they are accessible, the transfer from liking people to accepting, or liking, ultra-conservatism may be more readily effected than we realize.

"truth squad". The idea here was to trail Senator Kennedy in a chartered airplane and attempt to correct what, since the Senator was a Democrat, must be distortions of the truth in his representation of what would happen to the country were the Republicans to be given another lease on the White House. In the public relations field beyond this point, one finds himself dealing with general campaign literature produced by individuals who are expert at phrasiology and at the manipulation of ideas, and such campaign gimmickry as campaign buttons, fender stickers and placards. A logical question at this point is, where were the speech writers? Miscellaneous people in, around and outside of the Republican National Committee and the Nixon Campaign organization wrote speeches. The truth of the matter is, however, that none were written for the Vice President, who wrote all of his own speeches.

Backing up the efforts just described were, of course, the research personnel of the Republican National Committee and of the Nixon campaign headquarters. Very high quality people, indeed, developed facts and ideas, produced intellectual biographies of candidates and otherwise attempted to provide material which would be of use in furthering the Republican campaign cause. I find that a friend of mine who attempted to analyze in shorthand terms the allocation of responsibility for research in the Republican campaign effort for 1960 made the following note? "Grassmuck vs. Hamlin vs. Shepley vs. GOP (?)." The reference is to the fact that George Grassmuck, a political scientist from the University of Michigan, was taken on by the Nixon campaign staff in a research capacity. Prior to George's joining the Nixon campaign group, John Hamlin, formerly an assistant to the President with an office in the Executive Office Building, had moved into a suite in the Sheraton-Park Hotel, where he proceeded to put together a file on Kennedy for the use of the Vice President. For a time, many people regarded Hamlin as the Nixon research man. When Professor Grassmuck came along, many people regarded Professor Grassmuck as having replaced Hamlin. Then along came Mr. James Shepley from the Time-Life organization. At this point many persons wondered who had replaced whom. Cordial as this trio's relations were with personnel on the Republican National Committee staff, there was always a question in the Committee as to whether the research division of the Republican National Committee was working with, for, or being worked against by the research staff of the Nixon campaign organization.

Ideas and images have appeals which may vary from group to group. George Belknap has referred to President Kennedy's refusal to be divisive in his campaigning and to make specialized appeals to varying groups. There are those, of course, who feel that the Martin Luther King telephone call constituted a

specialized appeal and a superb political gesture. There are those who feel that the refusal of Richard Nixon to make a major campaign speech in Harlem constituted an ill-informed effort to avoid the impression of pandering to, or attempting to solicit the votes of specialized groups. Each of the national committees directed specialized appeals to special groups. The Republican National Committee has long maintained an office whose function it is to attract Negro voters. Without budget and without any demonstration of interest, there was little for this office to do in the 1960 campaign. The Republican National Committee traditionally attempts, in a campaign year, to round up nationality votes, as does Democratic National Committee. Both the Democrats and the Republicans found themselves accused of political trickery in the editing of film during the 1960 campaign. You will recall that in October, the Democrats were accused of editing the film of a Nixon-Kennedy debate in such a manner as to favor their candidate. There was also talk concerning the use of the film of Senator Kennedy's talk with the Baptist ministers in Texas in such a manner as to court the Catholic vote. Through its nationalities effort, the Republican National Committee ran into the same kind of criticism as a result of a film produced and shown in Washington, which seemed to give the Vice President credit for some decisions in the international relations field which actually had been made by the President.

Appeals to specialized groups were also framed in the area of senior citizens, college professors, and farmers. The farm group at the Republican National Committee appears to be the only group, other than the Young Republicans, which was able to maintain a field staff in 1960. The Vice President, during the campaign, enjoyed the advice of two farmers from Southern California. But it would appear that in this area, as in the area of specialized appeals to intellectuals, the Nixon campaign organization, at some point, conceded to the Republican National Committee authority to do the job. The National Committee was never able adequately to exploit the contacts which it does have within the major labor union organizations. As with the Negro voter, the labor voter was not allocated funds, and the persons responsible for maintaining contacts with these groups were, in consequence, hamstrung.

One of the divisions at the Republican National Committee which is particularly influential at any time, and was perhaps peculiarly influential during the 1960 campaign, is the Southern Division, headed by the Virginia State Republican chairman, Lee Potter. The Southern Division exploited the talents of Barry Goldwater in an effort to break the south for the Vice President. Nixon, it will be recalled, went to Greensboro, North Carolina, to deliver a speech on civil rights. Beyond that he visited such

other states in the south as South Carolina and Louisiana and Texas. Indeed, he fulfilled his claim to visit every state of the Union. The course of the campaign suggests to this observer that the Southern Division at the Republican National Committee probably exerted more influence upon the thinking of the party candidate for President than any other group within the Committee staff.

We have mentioned two of the three categories of political experts active in the 1960 Nixon campaign. The third group I would designate operational experts. This is the person on the electoral firing-line. This person generally is operating at the local level, although he may be located at the Republican National Committee or, during the last campaign, might have been found at the Associates Building on 19th Street in Washington, working for the Nixon campaign staff. This is the individual who knows approximately the number of votes by which the Kennedy majority in Chicago will be depressed if an expenditure of X thousand dollars is made by the Republicans for poll watching on election day. This is the individual who knows how to get out the vote, and how to hamper the efforts of the opposition to do so. He may be skilled in the technique of stealing votes (whether by fixing voting machines or by more traditional methods), and he certainly is skilled in the techniques of preventing others from doing so. This is the party hack, the individual who many believe to be the key instrumentality for winning elections in the United States.

We have talked of the kinds of experts who participated in the Republican campaign, but have said little of the role which was allocated to them. Perhaps we can get at this by contrasting the 1956 and 1960 Republican campaign organizations. Probably the 1956 campaign was one of the best managed Republican campaigns in this century. Probably, one of the most efficient campaign organizations ever composed was that which managed the re-election of President Eisenhower in 1956. This is not to suggest that President Eisenhower would not have been re-elected had the campaign organization supporting him been inefficient. Indeed, it might be true that he would have been re-elected had he had no campaign organization. It remains true, however, that the Republican National Committee, in the 1956 campaign, was probably as well organized and as effective as it ever has been. You will recall that in that campaign Leonard W. Hall of New York was chairman. Below Len Hall the following divisions were arranged. The Campaign division, under the direction of Robert Humphreys, had responsibility for plans, programs, and implementation of policy incidental to the campaign. The executive division, under the direction of Chauncy Robbins, a veteran National Committee staff man, had charge of such matters as patronage and budget. The public relations division, under

L. Richard Guylay, a master of political public relations, had charge of the mass media aspect of the campaign, including, of course, radio and television, billboards, newspapers, the production of display materials, art and literature.

The organization of the National Committee--which in 1956 was the campaign organization--was that simple. All of the other activities of the Committee, including specialized appeals to minority and ethnic groups, Young Republican activities, and activities directed especially at women, or at professional groups, were arraigned under one or more of these divisions. The national campaign telephone directory for 1956 is probably one of the best campaign organization charts ever produced, and it is significant that its major heads relate to campaign functions.

Granted, the 1956 campaign organization was misleadingly simple. What really mattered was not the symmetrical arrangement of the telephone directory, or the patterns of organization charts, but that people knew to whom to go for prompt decisions in various areas of activity, and, in many instances, it was possible to make decisions with confidence, months prior to the time they were to take effect. Here, of course, the once-disputed term "planning" comes into play. But charts and directories were in 1956 indicative of the sense of direction which pervaded the campaign.

And so they were too, in 1960, when the telephone directory for the Republican presidential campaign, could be produced only as an alphabetical listing of everyone of significance in any of the various cooperating, competing, and at times conflicting campaign organizations, scattered about Washington. It can be argued that a lack of campaign organization--or, perhaps, too many campaign organizations--was the hallmark of the 1960 Republican campaign.

It can be argued that a lack of clear-cut campaign organization was the hallmark of the 1960 Democratic campaign also. And this I would be willing to concede. However, if there was lack of organization, and if there was impression of chaos in the Democratic campaign, at least one thing was true of the Democratic campaign organization which was not true of the Republican campaign organization, and that is that persons were delegated authority to speak for the candidate, and individuals had authority to frame decisions. Discretion may have been allocated on a haphazard basis in the Democratic campaign organization, but it was delegated, and because of this, while individuals who were ready, willing, able, and competent to work in the Republican national campaign were sitting on their hands for lack of authority to act, members of the Kennedy campaign

organization were moving. Thus, I am suggesting that whether or not he wishes it, the candidate must take on a form of expertness. Either he must be an expert on selecting people and delegating authority to them to act in his name and on his behalf, while reserving to himself the role which is normally associated with the candidate, namely, that of public appearances, speeches, etc., or for lack of being able and willing to assign functions and delegate authority, he must play the role of the universal expert, retaining at the top the prerogative of making all decisions, and thus, of course, foregoing the framing of decisions which he does have time to make.

I say this at this point because it seems to me that the role of the expert in the Republican campaign in 1960 was that of court attendant rather than confidant and respected ally. This comment is based not only upon newspaper research, but upon interviews with scores of persons who were active in the 1960 Republican campaign. And it cannot truly be taken as criticism of the Republican party's presidential candidate in 1960. Such is the nature of American politics that he who wins a presidential campaign is a hero. The method which he employed to win that campaign is effective and must be conceded to have been suited to the needs of the time. It is significant that in Theodore White's book on the 1960 campaign, he minimizes the closeness of the outcome. It is a book about a hero and a failure, but it must be remembered by serious students of American politics that the difference between the Kennedy victory and the Nixon failure was a difference of approximately one-half of one per cent of the popular vote. If there was a tendency in the Nixon campaign to fail or to refuse to delegate, and not so much to keep the expert on tap rather than on top, as to fail to turn on the tap, nonetheless, the decisions which the former Vice President made in the course of his quest for the presidency came within a hair's breadth of winning it for him.

From the
NIXON'S DEED

THIS DEED Made this 5th day of JULY

of the year ~~1950~~ ¹⁹⁵¹ fifteen hundred and fifty-one by and between W. C.

AND A. N. MILLER DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, a body corporate duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, acting herein pursuant to a Resolution of its Board of Directors, and Stockholders, party hereto of the first part; and RICHARD NIXON and PATRICIA R.

NIXON, his wife, of the District of Columbia, parties hereto of the second part;

WITNESSETH, that for and in consideration of the sum of Ten Dollars the said party hereto of the first part, do grant unto the said parties hereto of the second part, in fee simple, as Tenants by the Entirety,

the following described land and premises, with the improvements, easements and appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate in the District of Columbia, namely:—

Lots One (1) and Twenty-four (24) in Block Fourteen (14) in George H. Corey and John Croissant, Trustees' subdivision of land now known as "American University Heights," as per plat recorded in Liber County No.9 folio 98 of the Records of the Office of the Surveyor of the District of Columbia.

NOTE: At the date hereof the above described land is designated on the Records of the Assessor of the District of Columbia for taxation purposes as Lots 1 and 24 in Square 1111.

And the said parties hereto of the second part, evidenced by their signing and sealing these presents, do hereby covenant and agree as follows:

TWELFTH. No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased, or rented, or given, to negroes, or any person or persons of negro blood or extraction, or to any person of the Semitic Race, blood, or origin, which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians and Syrians, except that; this paragraph shall not be held to exclude partial occupancy of the premises by domestic servants of the said parties hereto of the second part, their heirs or assigns.

In Testimony Whereof, on the day and year first hereinabove written, the said W.C. AND A.N. MILLER DEVELOPMENT COMPANY

has caused these presents to be signed with its

Corporate name by EDWARD JOHN MILLER its Vice President

, attested by LEWIS W. MACHIR its Secretary

and its Corporate Seal to be hereunto affixed, and does hereby constitute and appoint EDWARD JOHN MILLER its true and lawful Attorney in fact for it and in its name to appear before any officer authorized by law to take and certify acknowledgments of conveyances of land in the District of Columbia, and then and there to acknowledge and deliver these presents as its act and deed.

W. C. AND A. N. MILLER DEVELOPMENT COMPANY,

By

Edward John Miller
Vice President



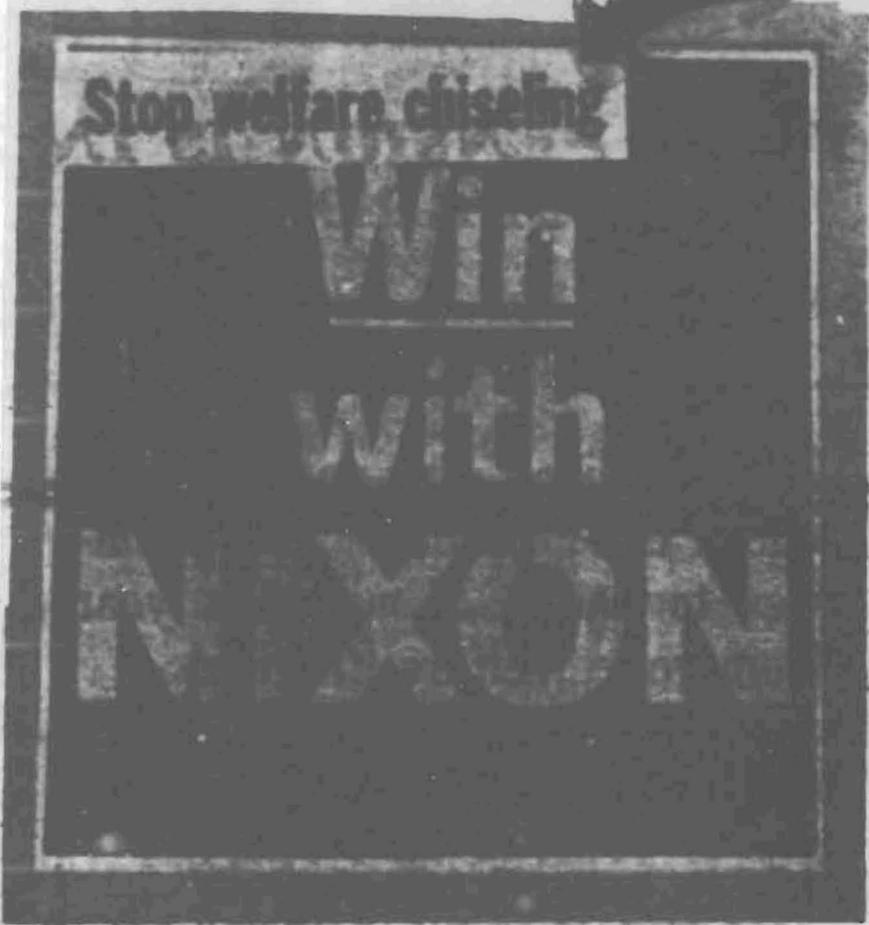
Lewis W. Machir Secretary.

Signed as to covenants:

Richard Nixon (Seal)
Richard Nixon

Patricia R. Nixon (Seal)
Patricia R. Nixon

EXECUTED WHILE RICHARD NIXON WAS UNITED STATES SENATOR



We took the picture of this sign Wednesday, Oct. 24, 1962 at the corner of 9th and Figueroa Streets, Los Angeles. It speaks for itself. There are others like it all over the State.

DON'T RISK YOUR SECURITY!
For Governor, Vote for:

EDMUND G. (PAT) BROWN	X
-----------------------	---

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR OLD AGE PENSIONS
11 So. Grand Ave. • Los Angeles 15, Calif. • Richmond 9-7686
George McLean, Chairman

(OVER)

YOUR PENSION IS IN JEOPARDY!

Richard Nixon says your Pension check is a "handout". He promises to slash \$27 million a year from your Welfare Program.

Are You a "Chiseler"?

Nixon says there are too many "chiselers" among the Elderly.

(Over)

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

POSTAL-GRAM

VIA AIR MAIL REGISTERED MAIL

FULL RATE	
LETTER	
TELEGRAM	
OTHER SHIP	

NOVEMBER, 1962

DEAR FRIEND:

WILL YOU HELP MAKE THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER A REAL THANKSGIVING FOR THE CALIFORNIA LEAGUE OF SENIOR CITIZENS? WE HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO EARN THE THANKS OF EVERY AGED, BLIND AND PHYSICALLY DISABLED PENSIONER.

I WAS SO BUSY LAST MONTH PUTTING A SPOKE IN THE WHEEL OF THE TULARE COUNTY GRAND JURY'S "HATE THE NEEDY SCHEME" - I DIDN'T HAVE TIME TO SEND YOU MY REGULAR MONTHLY REPORT. CONSEQUENTLY, MANY OF OUR MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS FORGOT WE EXISTED.

WE HOPE THEY WILL MAKE UP THIS MONTH WHAT THEY FAILED TO SEND IN LAST MONTH. DON'T FORGET - 60 DAYS FROM NOW THE STATE LEGISLATURE WILL AGAIN MEET IN SACRAMENTO. WE MUST PLAN NOW TO BE THERE TO SUPPORT GOOD LAWS AND OPPOSE BAD ONES.

IF THE ELDERLY FAIL TO TURN OUT ON ELECTION DAY TO VOTE FOR BROWN - AND NIXON IS ELECTED - THE OLD, THE BLIND AND THE PHYSICALLY DISABLED WILL BE FACED WITH A DESPERATE FIGHT JUST TO RETAIN WHAT THEY HAVE.

ONE WAY OR ANOTHER WE MUST PREPARE NOW - TO STRENGTHEN OUR FINANCES, GET OUT OF DEBT, AND BE READY FOR THE NEXT SESSION OF LEGISLATURE. OUR ORGANIZATION MUST STILL ASK FOR \$100, \$50, \$20 AND \$10 DONATIONS - TO BE STRONG - TO CONTINUE TO GIVE YOU THE REPRESENTATION YOU MUST HAVE BEFORE THE LAWMAKERS.

BEST REGARDS,

GEORGE McLAIN, CHAIRMAN

YOUR PENSION IS IN JEOPARDY!

Richard Nixon says your Pension check is a "handout". He promises to slash \$27 million a year from your Welfare Program.

Are You a "Chiseler"?

**Nixon says there are too many
"chiselers" among the Elderly.**

(Over)

107



6

REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT GOVERNOR BROWN

140 Montgomery Street • San Francisco 4, California • YUkon 1-5827

100

September 25, 1962

Dear Friend:

As American citizens of Polish descent, it is imperative that we take an active part in the government of our City, State and Nation. The country of our ancestry is not free to participate in the election of its leaders, therefore we should value highly the privilege that is ours in the land of our adoption.

On November 7th, Californians will elect a Governor to lead us for the coming four years. We must choose for Governor a man whose primary interest is to serve the people of California.

Incumbent Governor Edmand.G. 'Pat' Brown is the man for the job. He has given us true leadership...with integrity. He is not interested in using our State as a stepping stone for his personal ambitions. Under his direction, California has continued to grow and prosper until we are now first in the Nation.

Enclosed you will find a pledge card. Whether you are registered as a Democrat or a Republican, will you please join with us in our campaign to re-elect Governor Brown by signing the card and indicating what you will be able to do to help insure his election.

Sincerely yours,

John J. Keller

John J. Keller

18/25

P.S. THE ATTACHED IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Attention • Senior Citizens *file*

YOUR WELFARE IS AT STAKE!

SPECIAL RALLY

HEAR

**GOV. EDMUND G. BROWN
GEORGE McLAIN**

"Mister Senior Citizen"

and State Officials

**Learn About the Plot to Force
the Elderly off Pension Rolls**

THURSDAY, OCT. 18th - 1:30 p.m.

Morgan Hall - 835 Locust Ave.

Long Beach

Free ————— Free

SPONSORED BY:

CALIFORNIA LEAGUE of SENIOR CITIZENS

**CHESTER WOOD, Regional Director
1138 E. 7th Street, Long Beach 13**

**Phone: HEmlock 7-1336 or
436-1037**

TUNE IN RADIO - MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, FRIDAY

KGER (1390 k.c.) 2:30 p.m.

XERB (1090 k.c.) 5:45 p.m.

(over)

^P/
Bill
Stover

you be the judge . . .

Four years of Governor Brown's administration have ranked it with the greatest that working people have known in the progressive eras of California's history.

It began in 1958 when a new partnership in progress was launched with the overwhelming defeat of the vicious "right to work" initiative and the election of Governor Brown to office.

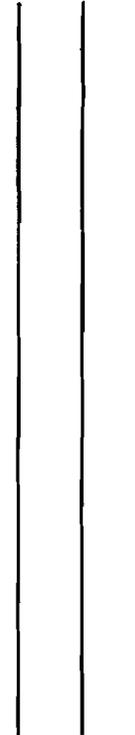
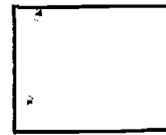
The constructive force of labor was harnessed to liberal, forward-looking programs for California. The Brown record is rich with achievement: Unprecedented gains in social security and social welfare programs. . . . FEPC, fair housing, and other history-making equal rights laws. . . . New job training and retraining programs. . . . California's first Consumer Counsel, first Economic Development Agency, first Master Plan for Higher Education, first Air Pollution Control Law and first Master Plan for Mental Hygiene. . . . And much more. . . .

But trouble lurks on the horizon. The anti-labor forces spawned in 1958 have never stopped working. Bolstered by the emergence of the John Birch Society and other extremist groups, they have taken over, lock, stock and barrel, the campaigns of their favored candidates. Richard Nixon's roster of campaign leaders reads like a "who's who" of the "right to wreck" movement of 1958.

The record speaks and reads clearly. Governor Brown's record matches the needs of the fastest growing state in the nation. Nixon's is a record of subservience to the special interests that have directed his political life.

Read the record, and know it . . . and pass judgment for yourself.

FOR GOVERNOR (Vote for one)	
Edmund G. 'Pat' Brown <i>A record rich with achievements . . . demanding recognition by every working man and woman.</i>	X
Richard M. Nixon <i>A record devoted to double-dealing . . . for the benefit of special interests.</i>	



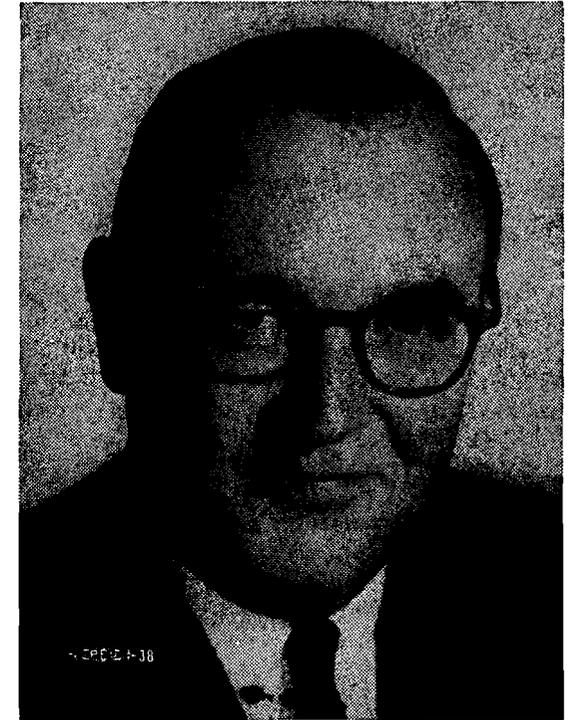
- Preserve Progressive Government in California
- Vote for California's Future Growth and Social Responsibility
- Vote to Re-elect Governor Edmund G. 'Pat' Brown

California Labor Committee for the Re-Election of Governor Brown
 Thos. L. Pitts, Chairman

846 S. Union, Rm. 112
 Los Angeles

995 Market, Rm. 810
 San Francisco 3

California Labor moves ahead



with Governor Edmund G. 'Pat' Brown



a look at Governor Brown's record . . . and the record of his opponent



AUTOMATION AND YOUR JOB

- Training programs to keep workers' skills abreast of technology.
- Job training in new skills for displaced workers.
- Unemployment insurance payments to maintain family income while retraining.
- Labor market studies to anticipate new skill requirements and develop planned manpower training programs.

PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH AND JOBS

- ✓ Work begun on a master "State Development Plan" to meet the challenge of the state's population explosion.
- ✓ Creation of California's first Economic Development Agency to promote industrial growth and new jobs.
- ✓ Aid to communities to plan for economic growth and industrial balance.

COMPENSATION FOR WORK INJURIES

- Workmen's compensation increased 40% a week for temporary disability; 31% for permanent disability.
- Death benefit for widows and dependents boosted 36½% to \$20,500.
- Administration of workmen's compensation program improved. . . . Greater doctor selectivity given injured worker.
- Waiting period removed in hospital cases. . . . Life payments increased for permanent disability ratings of over 70%.

PUBLIC NEEDS AND ACTION PROGRAMS

- ✓ Consumer protections—Establishment by law of nation's first Office of Consumer Counsel. . . . Legislation enacted to safeguard consumer interests at the market place and save workers millions of dollars annually.
- ✓ Public school system overhauled to provide best educational opportunities in the world. . . . Development of the first master plan for higher education. . . . Reform legislation passed to raise teacher training standards.
- ✓ State Master plan developed for mental hygiene.
- ✓ Creation of Office of Radiation Protection, and passage of state's first air pollution control law.
- ✓ New advances in planning to meet the state's growing recreation needs. . . . Expansion of state parks system.

PROTECTION WHEN UNEMPLOYMENT STRIKES

- Unemployment insurance payments increased—maximum benefits boosted 37½% a week.
- Jobless benefits extended automatically to 39 weeks during periods of heavy unemployment.
- Improved job placement services, plus retraining benefits.
- Higher payments for non-work-connected disabilities—UCD maximum increased 40% a week, with automatic escalator clause; Private carrier raiding of UCD fund blocked.

HISTORIC EQUAL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

- ✓ Enactment of state Fair Employment Practices law, with administrative enforcement by FEP Commission.
- ✓ State Civil Rights Act extended to prohibit discrimination by all business establishments, including real estate firms.
- ✓ Fair Housing Law enacted . . . prohibiting discrimination in housing benefiting from government assistance programs.
- ✓ Employment discrimination based solely on age banned by new law aimed at increasing job opportunities for older workers.

OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

- *Social Welfare*—Unprecedented increases in basic aid for needy aged, disabled, blind and children; Aid programs extended to non-citizens; Undue burden on children for care of aged parents either removed or substantially reduced; plus other historic achievements.
- *Farm workers* extended workmen's compensation, unemployment disability insurance, and minimum wage coverage for women and minors. Health care clinics established; Annual registration and pre-occupancy inspection of farm labor camps required; Safety orders issued to reduce work injuries and cut transportation accidents.
- *Public Employees* — Organizational rights secured; Teacher tenure extended to small districts with protection for probationary teachers; Coordinated social security benefits made available to state employees; New state employees health care plan enacted.

. . . and here is Nixon's sorry record

Richard Milhaus Nixon's official record in Congress is 87 percent in support of the special interests that have financed and directed his turbulent political life—87 percent against working people. Here are some of the critical points in that record:

Labor Legislation — Nixon has failed to cast a single vote for fair labor-management relations legislation. For example:

- He voted to outlaw industrywide collective bargaining, and to force unions to bargain at the plant level with giant corporations.
- He voted to pass the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto.
- As Vice President, he cast the tie-breaking vote that converted an AFL-CIO-supported "union democracy"

Minimum Wages — Nixon voted to remove one million workers from the Fair Labor Standards Act and to scuttle enforcement.

Social Security — He voted to remove 625,000 workers from Social Security coverage and even supported a Knowland amendment to force jobless workers to become strike-breakers or go without unemployment insurance.

Taxes — Nixon cast eleven conservative votes in favor of the wealthy and corporate interests against the general taxpayer. For example:

- He voted for post-World War II tax reduction legislation giving 37 percent of the total tax relief to the wealthiest 4 percent of the taxpayers.
- Nixon voted three times to over-ride Truman's vetoes of this kind of "rich man's" tax bill.

- He voted to give Korean War profiteers a \$500 million tax bonanza.

Education — As Vice President in 1960 Nixon cast the tie-breaking vote against aid to schools and teacher salaries.

- In the face of an acute shortage of doctors Nixon even voted against providing scholarships for medical students and financial assistance to medical schools.

Housing — Nixon voted five times for real estate and bank interests against housing programs for low and middle-income families. As Vice President, he cast a tie-breaking vote to increase interest rates on veterans' housing loans. Repeatedly he voted to kill public housing programs.

Consumers — The record shows that Nixon cast ten votes out of twelve against the welfare of consumers, and in support of wartime commodity speculators, natural gas interests, and others antagonistic to consumer rights.

Civil Rights — Nixon opposes FEP and fair housing laws. In Congress he registered three key votes against equal

CARPENTERS

\$1000.00 IN PRIZES

WIN ONE OF THE PRIZES

Costs you only the time to VOTE

Are you Registered to Vote ?

If not, Register Now

Voter Registration Closes September 14th

YOU CAN REGISTER AT THE

Union Hall City Hall Bank Markets

BE SURE YOU VOTE -- SAVE YOUR BALLOT STUB

**Every Carpenter and one Voting Dependant are Eligible
Take your Ballot Stubs to your Union Office before
November 15, 1962**

**Drawing held at Los Angeles District Council
Meeting, December 10, 1962**

WINNER NEED NOT BE PRESENT

Sponsored by the Public Relations and Political Education Committee, LACDCC



List of distortions and smears by Brown. Please add your thoughts, *and return to Bill Stov*

- ~~1.~~ Brown, speaking to negro Baptist Alliance of L. A. said RN would reduce old age pensions ~~and~~ across the board.
- ~~2.~~ In the same talk Brown said RN is against the FEPC law and wants only a voluntary plan - in fact RN wants a voluntary plan in addition to the FEPC.
- ~~3.~~ Cropped picture of water spillway on television commercial.
4. Brown's taking credit for California water plan.
- ~~5.~~ Brown's taking credit for free education in California.
- ~~6.~~ Anderson's taking credit for ending segregation in California schools.
7. Malaxa smear.
- ~~8.~~ Brown's technique regassing Hughes loan.
- ~~9.~~ Nixonpedia
10. Whispering campaign re house
11. Distribution of Reuben book
- ~~12.~~ Slanderous statements we are circulating Prussian pamphlet.
13. CDC purchased 1,000 copies of above book.
14. McLain papers.
- ~~15.~~ ~~Picture in Beverly Hills Democratic Club with anti-semitic inference.~~
- ~~16.~~ ~~Letter sent to Poles in San Francisco, with enclosure intimating RN is anti-~~
17/ Catholic and anti-Jewish because of an immigration bill vote.
17. Wyman said on Duggan show that Nixon called Truman a traitor.

18. Eudorak by 58 shir-fs
~~At~~ Brown quote - 29th release - my opposition means
my opponent gratuitously - Cuba

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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

1107P PST OCT 30 62 LB731 0A841

OCHA115 LONG NL PD CHICO CALIF 30

BOB HALDEMANN, NIXON FOR GOVERNOR HEADQUARTERS'

3905 WILSHIRE BLVD LOSA.

DEAR BOB. REPUBLICANS HEADQUARTERS AT CHICO TURNED OVER TO ME TONIGHT A LETTER FROM JAMES M. ROSS OF CHICO FROM WHICH I QUOTE "I AM ATTACHING SEVERAL PIECES OF LITERATURE I RECEIVED FROM GEORGE MCLAIN OF THE LOSANGELES PROGRAM FOR THE ELDERLY. TRUSTING IT WILL MEAN SOMETHING TO YOU AS TO MYSELF I AM SORRY I DONATED A MEMBERSHIP TO THIS ORGANIZATION". AND AGAIN QUOTE " BUT I HAVE NO USE FOR CHISELERS AND DO NOT BELIEVE IN IT IN ANY FORM, I DO NOT THINK NIXON'S PLATFORM IS ALONG THIS LINE." AND AGAIN QUOTE. "I AM MERELY MAILING THIS LITERATURE FOR WHAT USE YOU CAN MAKE OF IT." ENCLOSED WITH THE LETTER WAS A PRINTED POSTAL-GRAM FROM THE CALIFORNIA LEAGUE OF SENIOR CITIZENS LOSANGELES DATED NOV 1962 OVER THE UNSIGNED PRINTED

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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

NAME OF GEORGE MCLAIN CHAIRMAN FROM WHICH I QUOTE. "IF THE ELDERLY FAIL TO TURN OUT ON ELECTION DAY TO VOTE FOR BROWN-AND NIXON IS ELECTED- THE OLD, THE BLIND, AND THE PHYSICAL DISABLED WILL BE FACED WITH A DESPERATE FIGHT JUST TO RETAIN WHAT THEY HAVE." ALSO ENCLOSED WITH THE SAME LETTER WAS A LITTLE ORANGE PAMPHLET ISSUED BY THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR OLD AGE PENSIONERS SHOWING ON ONE SIDE AN ALLEGED PHOTOGRAPH OF A SIGN APPEARING ON OCT 24 AT THE CORNER OF 9TH AND FIGUEROA STREETS SHOWING THE BIG SIGN "WIN WITH NIXON" AND ABOVE THE WORDS " STOP WELFARE CHISLINGS", ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SAME LITTLE PAMPHLET THE WORDS "YOUR PENSION IS IN JEOPARDY." ALSO "RICHARD NIXON SAYS YOUR PENSION CHECK IS A "HANDOUT" AND AGAIN ON THE BOTTOM OF THE SAME PAGE "NIXON SAYS THERE ARE TOO MANY "CHISLERS" ALONG THE ELDERLY;" YOU PROBABLY HAVE SEEN ALL OF THE MATERIAL

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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

BUT IN AS MUCH AS IT WAS FORWARDED TO HEADQUARTERS HERE BY AN ELDERLY PERSON IN LINE WITH THE EXCERPTS FROM THE LETTER I THOUGHT IT BEST TO PASS THIS ON TO YOU EVEN THOUGH THIS MAY BE OLD NEWS BY NOW. THE LETTER FROM THE GENTLEMAN CONTAINS MANY SPELLING ERRORS WHICH I HAVE NOT INCORPORATED IN THE ORIGINAL QUOTE. IF YOU WANT FURTHER INFORMATION YOU CAN CALL ME AT MY OFFICE TOMORROW AND I WILL BE GLAD TO FORWARD ALL OF THIS MATERIAL AS WE WANT TO BE SURE NOTHING IS LEFT UNDONE TO SECURE DICK NIXON S ELECTION. HOPE YOU HEARD FROM FILLERUP ON THE OTHER MATTER. KINDEST REGARDS. WIN WITH NIXON

ALFRED TISCH

HRH Monday Oct 29th

This leaflet was handed to me on the parking lot of the Blessed Sacrament Church on Sunday the 28th. There isn't a publishers name on this and I'm surprised that you would let something like this be circulated.

Arcelia Wood
2574 No. Beachwood
Dr
Hollywood Calif.

HAVE YOU HAD ENOUGH??

OF THE DEMOCRATS

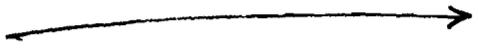
- 1. High Taxes**
 - 2. Dope Peddlers**
 - 3. Communist Sympathizers**
-

**IF YOU'VE HAD ENOUGH OF
THE DEMOCRATS, VOTE FOR OUR
FORMER VICE PRESIDENT**

RICHARD NIXON

HE WILL RESTORE OUR FREEDOMS

~~Notes
H408.12
as of 11/1/02~~



Ret -
90 NR 3000

BOB HALDEMAN

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

11/5/62

Rose,

Ann Duggan called and left this message: Someone called her and gave her a tip that at the last minute Brown is going to challenge RN to put his brother on to explain the "Hughes Loan" -- She thought we might like to know this in advance -- though she could not vouch for the validity of the tip -- it came from a Democrat.

Hiss case -

- Geo Murphy - hour documentary
- sta speech to Anti Coms for their spks bureau

General -

- list for books - pics - ltr
- list for Arizona Conference

TV Show -

- Dick Moore's reaction NY tel next week
- Dan Seymour - also agent or ngr

Z. Wayne Griffin - Wayne

Dick Moore

K R Haldeman

J K Horton

F/

Retainers - legal - or for study on businessmen in politics
need to make commitment

consider Cummings - Knudsen - Amundsen - Salvatori - Frawley

Arizona conference - list our needs.

Nixon people guidance -

Lipscomb - what does he think we should do? etc

Check on - Milloy - Sat Eve Post - major research project

Tribute party to RN - here and/or other states

RN expense filing form

to pay campaign

File RN personal report
" Special Projects

Arizona Conference

Flemigan

More

Chickman

Whitaker

Ruwe

Finch

Klein

Haldeman

Hess

RN Top 100 list

Stans

McLellan

Vaughn

Moore

Duggan

Putnam

McCarthy

Shrus

Niesen

Smith

Morison

Winter

Richard

Nichols

Franson

McKeen

early January - Political Power

Jim Smith

Fred Larson

Bob Nesen

Norm Hamilton

Dick Richard

Eles Gehres

Assemblymen & Senators
finance

Gladys O'Ronnell

Pat Hitt

Cap Weinberger

Joe Martin

Parky Parkinson

Hunter	1500		
Loie	1000		
Rose	<u>1000</u>		
	3500	- 14	14000

Agnes	750
Chuck	<u>500</u>
	1250

350	
500	5600

3 months - Loie } to Campaign start Jan. -
 Rose } contractual basis - 3 months
 /

Return - Digger

Walter Rusk -

David Cameron

Frank

Wall Street Journal

Communist -

Cracker

Dish Union -

Admission Register -

Raymond Wiley

Walter Rusk -

John F. Kennedy -

Cuba - How right he has been