

William Safire Papers

A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress



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Washington, D.C.**

2010

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Contact information:

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<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/eadmss.ms011045>

LC Online Catalog record:

<http://lccn.loc.gov/mm86061986>

Prepared by Nan Thompson Ernst with the assistance of Patricia K. Craig, Angela Moore, and Todd Rosa

Collection Summary

Title: William Safire Papers

Span Dates: 1953-1980

Bulk Dates: (bulk 1960-1973)

ID No.: MSS61986

Creator: Safire, William, 1929-2009

Extent: 55,000 items ; 138 containers plus 2 classified and 1 oversize ; 56.4 linear feet

Language: Collection material in English

Location: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Summary: Author, journalist, speechwriter, and public relations consultant. Correspondence, diary notes, memoranda, minutes of meetings, reports, speeches, statements, writings, notes, press releases, press conference transcripts, annotated press reports, briefing books, advertising material, and photographs chiefly documenting Safire's close association with Richard M. Nixon as public relations consultant, speechwriter, and political advisor from 1960 to 1973.

Selected Search Terms

The following terms have been used to index the description of this collection in the Library's online catalog. They are grouped by name of person or organization, by subject or location, and by occupation and listed alphabetically therein.

People

Agnew, Spiro T., 1918-1996.

Buchanan, Patrick J. (Patrick Joseph), 1938-

Burns, Arthur F. (Arthur Frank), 1904-1987.

Colson, Charles W.

Ehrlichman, John.

Haldeman, H. R. (Harry R.), 1926-1993.

Huston, Thomas.

Javits, Jacob K. (Jacob Koppel), 1904-1986.

Kissinger, Henry, 1923-

Lefkowitz, Louis J.

Moynihan, Daniel P. (Daniel Patrick), 1927-2003.

Nathan, Richard, 1935-

Nixon, Richard M. (Richard Milhous), 1913-1994.

Price, Raymond K. (Raymond Kissam), 1930-

Rockefeller, Nelson A. (Nelson Aldrich), 1908-1979.

Rogers, William P. (William Pierce), 1913-2001.

Safire, William, 1929-2009.

Safire, William, 1929-2009. Before the fall : an inside view of the pre-Watergate White House. 1975.

Safire, William, 1929-2009. New language of politics: an anecdotal dictionary of catchwords, slogans, and political usage. 1968.

Shultz, George Pratt, 1920-

Organizations

Republican Party (U.S. : 1854-)

United States. White House Office.

Subjects

Elections--New York (State)--1962.

Governors--New York (State)--Election--1966.

Lexicography.

Mayors--New York (State)--New York--Election.

Presidents--United States--Election--1960.

Presidents--United States--Election--1964.

Presidents--United States--Election--1968.

Presidents--United States--Staff--1969-1974.
Speechwriting.

Places

United States--Politics and government--1969-1974.
United States--Politics and government--Dictionaries.

Occupations

Authors.
Journalists.
Public relations consultants.
Speechwriters.

Administrative Information

Provenance

The papers of William Safire, author, journalist, speechwriter, and public relations consultant, were deposited in the Library of Congress by Safire in 1985.

Processing History

The Safire Papers were processed in 1997. The finding aid was revised in 2010.

Additional Guides

A description of the William Safire Papers appeared in *Library of Congress Acquisitions: Manuscript Division* (1986): 18-19.

Transfers

Sound recordings have been transferred to the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division where they are identified as part of these papers.

Copyright Status

The status of copyright in the unpublished writings of William Safire is governed by the Copyright Law of the United States (Title 17, U.S.C.).

Access and Restrictions

The papers of William Safire are open to research. Researchers are advised to contact the Manuscript Reading Room prior to visiting. Many collections are stored off-site and advance notice is needed to retrieve these items for research use.

Security Classified Documents

Government regulations control the use of security classified items in this collection. Manuscript Division staff can furnish information concerning access to and use of classified material.

Preferred Citation

Researchers wishing to cite this collection should include the following information: Container number, William Safire Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Biographical Note

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Event</i> |
|---------------|----------------------|
| 1929, Dec. 17 | Born, New York, N.Y. |

1947-1949 Student, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

1949 Assistant to Tex McCrary, "Tex and Jinx" radio show

1949-1951 Reporter, New York Herald-Tribune syndicate

1951 Correspondent, WNBC-WNBT, Europe and Middle East

1952-1954 Served in the U.S. army

1954-1955 Radio-television producer, WNBC, New York, N.Y.

1955-1960 Vice president, Tex McCrary, Inc., a public relations firm

1961-1968 Established Safire Public Relations, Inc.

1961 Communications manager, Louis Lefkowitz mayoral election campaign, New York, N.Y.

1962 Deputy campaign manager, Jacob Javits senatorial election campaign, New York
Married Helene Belmar Julius

1963 Published *The Relations Explosion, A Diagram of the Coming Boom and Shakeout in Corporate Relations* (New York: Macmillan. 249 pp.)

1964 Staff member, Nelson Rockefeller for president campaign
Published *Plunging into Politics: How to Become or Support a Candidate on the National, State, or Local Level* (New York: D. McKay Co. 209 pp.)

1965 Volunteer, John Lindsay mayoral election campaign, New York, N.Y.

1966 Director of public relations, Nelson Rockefeller gubernatorial election campaign, New York

1967-1968 Advisor and speechwriter, Richard M. Nixon presidential election campaign

1968-1973 Appointed special assistant by President Richard M. Nixon working primarily as speechwriter and media consultant

1968 Published *New Language of Politics* (New York: Random House. 782 pp.); revised and enlarged edition, 1972; 1978 (*Safire's Political Dictionary*); 1993 (*Safire's New Political Dictionary*)

1973- Columnist, *New York Times*

1975 Published *Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House* (New York: Doubleday & Co. 704 pp.)

1977 Published *Full Disclosure: A Novel* (Franklin Center, Penn., privately printed limited edition by Franklin Library. 535 pp.; and Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 525 pp.)
Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary

1980 Published *On Language* (New York: Times Books. 331 pp.)
Published *Safire's Washington* (New York: Times Books. 534 pp.)

- 1982 Published *What's the Good Word?* (New York: Times Books. 400 pp.)
Published *Good Advice: More than 2,000 Apt Quotations to Help You Live Your Life*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Times Books. 400 pp.)
- 1986 Published *Take My Word For It: More On Language* (New York: Times Books. 357 pp.)
- 1987 Published *Freedom*, a novel (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1125 pp.)
- 1988 Published *You Could Look It Up: More On Language* (New York: Times Books. 357 pp.)
- 1989 Published *Words of Wisdom: More Good Advice*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Simon & Schuster. 432 pp.)
- 1990 Published *Language Maven Strikes Again* (New York: Doubleday. 447 pp.)
Published *Fumblerules: A Lighthearted Guide to Grammar and Good Usage* (New York: Doubleday. 153 pp.)
- 1991 Published *Coming to Terms* (New York: Doubleday. 402 pp.)
- 1992 Published *The First Dissident: The Book of Job in Today's Politics* (New York: Times Books. 304 pp.)
Published *Good Advice on Writing*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Simon & Schuster. 288 pp.)
Published *Leadership*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Simon & Schuster. 258 pp.)
Published *Lend Me Your Ears: Great Speeches in History*, selected and introduced by Safire (New York: W. W. Norton. 957 pp.; revised and enlarged, 1997)
- 1993 Published *Quoth the Maven* (New York: Random House. 350 pp.)
- 1994 Published *In Love with Norma Loquendi* (New York: Random House. 349 pp.)
- 1995 Published *Sleeper Spy*, a novel (New York: Random House. 451 pp.)
- 2009, Sept. 27 Died, Rockville, Md.

Scope and Content Note

The papers of William Lewis Safire (1929-2009) span the years 1953-1980, with the bulk concentrated in the period from 1960 to 1973, the years of his closest association with Richard M. Nixon. The collection is organized in six series: [Public Relations File](#), [White House File](#), [Writings](#), [Oversize](#), [Classified](#), and [Top Secret](#). The subject of the collection is politics; very little of it concerns family or personal matters or Safire's activities before 1960 and after 1975.

The [Public Relations File](#) contains records from the consulting firm Safire established in 1961 in New York City. The Nixon file is the most extensive part of the series. Safire's long professional association with Richard M. Nixon began in the 1950s, and documents in the Public Relations File relate to various aspects of Nixon's presidential ambitions. The records begin with his 1960 presidential election campaign and include advertising material, correspondence, reports concerning strategy, speeches, and some of the evidence assembled to contest the election results, though Nixon decided against this course.

Following his loss, Nixon wandered in a "political wilderness" according to Safire but kept in touch with his public relations consultant, searching for a way back onto the national stage. Nixon's 1962 senatorial race in California is not

represented in the collection, but in 1966 Safire worked with Nixon on a nationwide campaign in support of Republican candidates. Records for the 1966 national campaigns include drafts of Nixon's "Manila communique," a statement published by the *New York Times* in which Nixon accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of playing politics with the war in Vietnam in order to gain advantage for Democrats in the general elections. Safire's part in the early planning for Nixon's 1968 campaign for the presidency is reflected in advertising material, speeches, statements, reports, notes, correspondence, and memoranda concerning their organization and strategy to win the Republican nomination and general election.

Nixon was not Safire's only client. The [Public Relations File](#) includes speeches, advertising, and other records that deal with media themes for several Republican candidates, mostly in New York, such as the Louis Lefkowitz 1961 New York City mayoral campaign, the Jacob Javits 1962 senate race, Nelson Rockefeller's 1964 presidential bid, and Rockefeller's 1966 reelection campaign for governor of New York.

The [White House File](#) contains papers from Safire's work in the Nixon administration, 1968-1973. Safire came to the White House as a special assistant to the president assigned to the writing staff. He was one of three speechwriters, positioned between Raymond K. Price and Patrick J. Buchanan to span the ideological spectrum. Speechwriting usually involved a conference with the president or his chief of staff on the themes and tone of the speech. Policy experts were then consulted, such as the secretary of state or national security advisor for matters of foreign policy, or the secretary of the treasury or director of the budget for matters of fiscal policy. Reports and memoranda were sometimes compiled or collected for review. Safire's draft might be revised numerous times before reaching the president for final revisions, and those drafts are preserved in the White House File. The same process took place with some published documents, such as the president's message to congress on the budget. Documents regarding Nixon's major speeches and statements on the war in Vietnam and the economy are included in the White House File, as are many more documents for other speeches and statements, all filed alphabetically by subject. One of the statements written in case of disaster is in the *Apollo 11* file, along with those made when the astronauts landed the spacecraft on the moon without incident in July 1969.

Safire worked on more than speeches for the White House. He was also involved in plans for media events, such as the bicentennial celebration, approaching it as the final gala occasion of the Nixon administration. He began to explore the political philosophy of the administration by circulating essays among the staff on "New Federalism," a theme drawn from Nixon's 1968 campaign which Safire penned under the name "Publius," in the tradition of the original *Federalist Papers*. Files on "New Federalism" include responses from Thomas Huston writing as "Cato" and Richard Nathan as "Althusias."

Press conference briefing books for 1969-1973 are included in the [White House File](#). Safire explained that Nixon prepared for press conferences by studying briefing books of about eighty questions and answers composed by the writing staff, usually under the direction of Patrick J. Buchanan. As Nixon studied the briefing books, he revised the answers in handwritten marginal notes which are preserved on Safire's copy of the documents. Memoranda were included as "updates" to the briefing book when Nixon wanted further review on policies. Although only a fraction of the anticipated questions were asked during the press conferences, the briefing books document Nixon's thinking and the administration's position at a given moment on an array of subjects. Safire described the briefings books as "phantom press conferences," and he thought the process was useful because it prompted the administration to focus on the whole government, to compile critical information, and to make decisions by deadlines.

The [White House File](#) also includes press reports prepared largely under Buchanan's direction. These narrative accounts summarize and evaluate news stories and commentary carried by major newspapers, news magazines and opinion journals, television, radio, and wire services. The reports were circulated through the White House, and some contain comments added by various officials. The reports in the [Press File](#) begin with a few items from 1969-1970; more complete sets are available for the years 1971-1974.

Safire's files contain material related to his many associates in the Nixon administration, such as Arthur F. Burns, Charles W. Colson, John Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman, Henry Kissinger, Daniel P. Moynihan, William P. Rogers, and George Pratt Shultz. He was consulted by some of these officials for advice on speeches, and occasionally acted as an intermediary in providing a line of communication when disagreements arose. He worked with Spiro T. Agnew on a series of speeches in support of Republican candidates in the 1970 national campaigns. Agnew's speeches provided an opportunity to voice concerns of the Nixon administration and thus the 1970 campaign became one of Safire's special assignments. Material pertaining to these individuals is filed alphabetically by name in the subseries for [Officials, Staff, and Advisors](#) which is part of the [White House File](#).

Safire wrote "Nixon Diary" notes which detail aspects of the character, emotions, motivation, or even the physical appearance and dress of various individuals or the scene of events. Typewritten copies made from handwritten notes are distributed throughout the files under the subjects concerned. A group of Safire's "Nixon Diary" notes is included in the [Office File](#) subseries of the [White House File](#). Other copies can be found in the [Writings](#) series among the files for Safire's memoir, *Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House*. The "Nixon Diary" notes provide a more personal view of the administration, as do the "color reports" which were compiled at Safire's suggestion to provide an indication of the human dimensions of government. Safire contended that such reports might help to acquaint the public and posterity more personally with Nixon. The "color reports" are filed under Nixon's name in the [Officials, Staff, and Advisors](#) subseries of the [White House File](#).

Safire left the White House in the spring of 1973 and was not involved in the Watergate scandal. Very few items concern Watergate, and the copies of legal documents and printed matter among his papers were acquired by Safire after he left his White House job and began work as a columnist for the *New York Times*.

The [Writings](#) series documents Safire's career as a journalist and author. His writings before 1973 were primarily for clients or for White House officials and are therefore filed in the [Public Relations](#) or [White House Files](#). The series concerns work Safire published in his own name. Of primary interest is the file for his memoir, *Before the Fall*, written in 1973-1974 and published in 1975. The file includes early drafts of the text arranged alphabetically by episode or chapter title. Related material is also included such as Safire's "Nixon Diary" and other notes, pertinent White House documents, memoranda, correspondence, minutes of meetings, speeches, press releases, press conference transcripts, and photographs. Safire's memoir is a useful companion to the [White House File](#) series because his narrative provides context and continuity concerning the creation and use of the material among his papers.

After leaving the White House in 1973, Safire became a prolific writer on politics and language, but only a small file in the collection concerns his work as a columnist for the *New York Times*, and there are no files for books published after 1977. Books represented in the [Writings](#) include *New Language of Politics*, a dictionary of political terms first published in 1968, which earned Safire a reputation as a distinguished lexicographer. Drafts of a novel, *Full Disclosure*, drafts of articles with related material, and drafts of plays and speeches written in the early 1970s complete the [Writings](#) series.

Arrangement of the Papers

The collection is arranged in six series:

- [Public Relations File, 1953-1969](#)
- [White House File, 1963-1977](#)
- [Writings, 1962-1980](#)
- [Oversize, 1960-1975](#)
- [Classified, 1965-1973](#)
- [Top Secret, 1965-1973](#)

Description of Series

Container

Series

BOX 1-19

Public Relations File, 1953-1969

Appointment books, correspondence, memoranda, printed matter, political advertisements and promotional material, speeches, radio and television scripts and transcripts, newspaper and magazine clippings, photographs, reports, and diary notes from Safire's work with Richard M. Nixon and on other local, state, and national election campaigns, mostly in New York. Arranged alphabetically by document type, client name, or subject. Client files are organized by the date of political campaigns.

BOX 20-118

White House File, 1963-1977

BOX 20-24

Office File, 1968-1973

Appointment books, correspondence, memoranda, diary notes, personnel and staffing records, photographs, family papers, speech notes, and telephone logs from Safire's office as special assistant. Arranged alphabetically by type of document or subject.

BOX 25-38

Officials, Staff, and Advisors, 1963-1975

Correspondence, memoranda, speeches, essays, reports, research and diary notes, printed matter, newspaper and magazine clippings, radio and television interview transcripts, press conference transcripts, photographs, and work and trip schedules. Arranged alphabetically by name of individual and thereunder by document type or subject.

BOX 38-65

Press File, 1969-1974

Press conference briefing books and press reports. Arranged by document type and chronologically thereunder.

BOX 65-118

Subject File, 1964-1977

Correspondence, memoranda, meeting reports, research notes, speeches, essays, reports on policy subjects, press and mail reports, printed matter, newspaper and magazine clippings, press conference transcripts, television interview transcripts, photographs, diary notes, work schedules, and trip itineraries. Arranged alphabetically by subject and thereunder by document type or date.

BOX 118-138

Writings, 1962-1980

Drafts of articles, newspaper columns, books, plays, and speeches by Safire with related correspondence, memoranda, reports, and research material consisting mostly of newspaper and magazine clippings. Arranged alphabetically by publication format or genre and thereunder by title of the work.

BOX OV 1

Oversize, 1960-1975

Posters, broadside, and a drawing. Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

BOX CL 1

Classified, 1965-1973

Material containing security classified information.

Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

BOX TS 1

Top Secret, 1965-1973

Material containing top secret information.

Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

Container List

| <i>Container</i> | <i>Contents</i> |
|------------------|--|
| BOX 1-19 | Public Relations File, 1953-1969 Appointment books, correspondence, memoranda, printed matter, political advertisements and promotional material, speeches, radio and television scripts and transcripts, newspaper and magazine clippings, photographs, reports, and diary notes from Safire's work with Richard M. Nixon and on other local, state, and national election campaigns, mostly in New York. Arranged alphabetically by document type, client name, or subject. Client files are organized by the date of political campaigns. |
| BOX 1 | Appointment books 1960-1966 (7 folders) |
| BOX 2 | 1967-1968 (3 folders) Clients Javits, Jacob K., 1962 New York senatorial election campaign Advertising and promotional material Events (2 folders) Issues Organization and strategy (6 folders) |
| BOX 3 | Television and radio broadcasts (2 folders) Lefkowitz, Louis, 1961 mayoral election campaign, New York, N.Y. Advertising and promotional material Debates (3 folders) Events Organization and strategy Speeches and statements (2 folders) Television and radio broadcasts (2 folders) |
| BOX 4 | Lindsay, John, 1962-1965 (2 folders) Miscellaneous political campaigns, 1958-1964 Nixon, Richard M. 1960 presidential election campaign Advertising and promotional material <i>See also Oversize</i> (4 folders) Civil rights Clippings, 1953-1960 (4 folders) |

Public Relations File, 1953-1969

Container

Contents

| | |
|--------|---|
| BOX 5 | Correspondence, 1959-1960 (4 folders) Events Kennedy, John F. Catholic issue <i>See also Oversize</i> Health issue "Lincoln Hands" memento, 1960-1961 Organization and strategy (4 folders) Photographs, 1955-1960 Postmortem and voting irregularities, 1960-1961 (2 folders) |
| BOX 6 | Primary and polling results Speeches and statements (3 folders) 1960-1965 Clippings, 1961-1965 (3 folders) Correspondence, 1961-1965 Political organization and strategy, 1960-1965 (3 folders) Speeches and statements, 1964-1965 |
| BOX 7 | 1966 national elections Clippings (5 folders) Correspondence (4 folders) "Manila Communique" on Vietnam (2 folders) Organization and strategy (2 folders) |
| BOX 8 | Rinfret, Pierre Rockefeller, Nelson A., negotiations with Nixon Speeches and statements (3 folders) Supreme Court appearance Syndicated newspaper columns (3 folders) 1968 presidential election campaign <i>See also Container 82-84, Election campaign 1972</i> Agnew, Spiro T. Advertising and promotional material, 1967-1968 (3 folders) |
| BOX 9 | (4 folders) Clippings, 1967-1968 (4 folders) |
| BOX 10 | Correspondence, 1967-1968 (10 folders) |

Public Relations File, 1953-1969

Container

Contents

| | |
|--------|---|
| BOX 11 | Daily media reports (6 folders) |
| BOX 12 | Daily schedules for September and October, 1968 (2 folders) "Nixon Diary" notes (3 folders) Organization and strategy, 1967-1968 (3 folders) |
| BOX 13 | (3 folders) Photographs Speeches "American Spirit" Cities and crime Economy (2 folders) Education and intellectuals |
| BOX 14 | Foreign relations and defense policy (4 folders) Labor (2 folders) Miscellaneous (4 folders) |
| BOX 15 | "New Alignment" Youth Television and radio broadcasts (3 folders) Transition period, 1968-1969 Cabinet appointments Clippings Correspondence Inaugural preparation |
| BOX 16 | Postmortem Rockefeller, Nelson A. 1962 New York gubernatorial election campaign 1964 campaign for Republican party presidential nomination Advertising and promotional material (5 folders) |
| BOX 17 | Clippings (2 folders) Correspondence (2 folders) Organization and strategy (3 folders) Press conferences Speeches and statements (2 folders) 1966 New York gubernatorial election campaign |

Public Relations File, 1953-1969

Container

Contents

- BOX 18** Shafer, Raymond, 1966 Pennsylvania gubernatorial election campaign
Subject file
Democratic convention, 1968
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 1956
Finch, Robert, 1961-1966
Flanigan, Peter, 1962-1965
Hauser, Rita, 1967-1968
Humphrey, Hubert H., 1968
Johnson, Lyndon B., 1966-1968
Kennedy, John F., 1961-1963
Kennedy, Joseph, 1960-1961
Kennedy, Robert F., 1966-1968
McCarthy, Eugene, 1968
Parkinson, Gaylord, 1967
Reagan, Ronald, 1967
- BOX 19** Republican party, 1961-1967
(5 folders)
Rockefeller, Nelson A., 1967-1968
(2 folders)
Romney, George, 1964-1967
Wallace, George, 1968
- BOX 20-118** **White House File, 1963-1977**
- BOX 20-24** **Office File, 1968-1973**
Appointment books, correspondence, memoranda, diary notes, personnel and staffing records, photographs, family papers, speech notes, and telephone logs from Safire's office as special assistant.
Arranged alphabetically by type of document or subject.
- BOX 20** Appointment books, 1969-1972
(3 folders)
Bets, 1970-1972
Correspondence and memoranda
Congratulatory letters, 1968
(2 folders)
General, 1969-1971
(3 folders)
Gulf and Western controversy, 1973
Nixon, Richard M., farewell letter to Safire, 1973
"Nixon Diary" notes and related material
Chronological file
1969
(2 folders)
1970-1974
(7 folders)
- BOX 21** Subject file
Agnew, Spiro T., 1969-1970

| | |
|--------|--|
| | Buchanan, Patrick J., 1969 |
| | Burns, Arthur F., 1969 |
| | Cabinet meetings |
| | Laos, 1971 |
| | Miscellaneous, 1970-1971 |
| BOX 22 | "Campaign 1970," national elections |
| | Economy, speeches and policy |
| | Camp David, Md., meeting |
| | (2 folders) |
| | Miscellaneous, 1970-1971 |
| | Foreign policy, 1969-1970 |
| | Kissinger, Henry, 1969-1973 <i>See also Classified</i> |
| | (4 folders) |
| | Leadership meetings |
| | Bipartisan, on economic policy, 1971 |
| | Republican |
| | Breakfast, 1973 |
| BOX 23 | Cambodia, 1970 |
| | Miscellaneous, 1969-1971 |
| | Miscellany, undated |
| | Planning group, 1969 |
| | Staff organization, 1969-1970 |
| | "State of the Union" speech, 1969 |
| | Tax reform act, 1969 |
| | Vietnam war, 1969 |
| | Welfare, 1969 |
| | Parties, 1969-1973 |
| | Personnel manual, undated |
| | Photographs |
| | Inaugural events, 1972 |
| | Meetings and social gatherings, 1969-1973 |
| | Portraits, 1968-1971 |
| | Presidential election campaign, 1968 |
| | Writing and research staff, 1970-1971 |
| | Publicity |
| | Print, 1969-1973 |
| | (2 folders) |
| BOX 24 | Other, 1970-1972 |
| | Safire, Helene |
| | Clippings, 1971 |
| | Miscellany, 1970-1971 |
| | Photographs, citizenship swearing-in ceremony, 1970 |
| | <i>Spirit of '76</i> , flight certificate, 1971 |
| | Staff |
| | Clippings, 1971-1972 |
| | Interregnum, 1968-1969 |
| | Lists, 1969-1972 |

Privileges, 1969-1971

Procedures, 1969-1970 *See also Classified*

Suggested remarks, statements, messages, and letters, 1969 *See also Classified*
(2 folders)

Telephone memoranda, 1972-1973
(2 folders)

BOX 25-38

Officials, Staff, and Advisors, 1963-1975

Correspondence, memoranda, speeches, essays, reports, research and diary notes, printed matter, newspaper and magazine clippings, radio and television interview transcripts, press conference transcripts, photographs, and work and trip schedules.

Arranged alphabetically by name of individual and thereunder by document type or subject.

BOX 25

Agnew, Spiro T.

"Campaign 1970," national elections *See also Container 73, same heading*

Assignment sheets

"David Frost Show"

Memoranda

Press reports and clippings

Research

Schedules

Speeches

Chronological file

(2 folders)

Miscellaneous drafts and notes

State appearances

California

BOX 26

Connecticut

Florida

Illinois

Belleville and Chicago

Springfield

Indiana

Hartke, Vance

Roudebush, Richard

Kentucky

Michigan

Nevada

New Mexico

BOX 27

North Dakota

Pennsylvania

South Dakota

Tennessee

Texas

Utah

Wisconsin

Wyoming

| | |
|--------|--|
| | Television spots |
| | Chronological file |
| | 1968 |
| | Campaign booklet |
| | Speeches |
| | 1969 |
| | Correspondence, reports, and clippings |
| | Speeches |
| | Governor's Conference, Washington, D.C. |
| BOX 28 | Miscellaneous |
| | 1970 |
| | Correspondence, notes, and clippings |
| | Speeches |
| | Ahepa |
| | California Newspaper Publishers Association |
| | Miscellaneous |
| | Tours of Asia <i>See also Classified</i> |
| | 1971 |
| | Correspondence and clippings |
| | Speeches |
| | American Society of Association Executives |
| | Governors' Conference, San Juan, P.R. |
| | Miscellaneous |
| | 1972-1973 |
| | Nixon, Richard M. |
| | Anecdotes and "color reports" |
| | Anthology, 1971 |
| BOX 29 | Miscellaneous, 1970-1972 |
| | (2 folders) |
| | "Campaign 1970," national elections <i>See also Container 73, same heading</i> |
| | Clippings and news reports |
| | Election analysis |
| | Miscellaneous |
| | Presidential remarks |
| | Miscellaneous |
| | Memoranda |
| | Press conferences |
| | Political briefings and endorsements |
| | San Jose, Calif., violent protest |
| BOX 30 | Schedules |
| | Speeches |
| | Press releases |
| | (2 folders) |
| | Stump speech, basic text |
| | Television spots and election night show |
| | <i>Eye on Nixon</i> book, 1971-1972 |

- BOX 31** Family
Cox, Tricia Nixon, and Julie Nixon Eisenhower, 1970-1973 (daughters)
Nixon, Pat (wife)
Clippings and interviews, 1969-1972
Memoranda and notes, 1971-1972
Transcript, interview of Nixon about his wife, 1971
Other relatives, 1969
Heroes, Woodrow Wilson, 1972
Humor, 1972
Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., visit with war protestors, 1970-1971
Miscellaneous clippings, 1971-1973
The Nixon Record, pamphlet, 1970
Personal letters, 1970-1973
Quotations, 1970
San Clemente, Calif., trip, 1969
Six Crises, new introduction, 1969
- BOX 32** Other associates
Allen, Richard V., 1968-1969 *See also Classified*
(2 folders)
Boorstin, Daniel J., 1969-1971
Buchanan, Patrick J.
Ideology, 1971
Miscellany, 1969-1971
Burns, Arthur F.
Disagreement with Charles W. Colson, 1971
Miscellany, 1969-1971, undated
Statements and speeches, 1970-1973
Swearing-in ceremony, chairman, Federal Reserve Board, 1970
Casey, William J.
Miscellaneous initiatives, 1969
Securities and Exchange Commission
Chairmanship, 1971
- BOX 33** Nomination, 1971
(2 folders)
Chapin, Dwight, 1970
Colson, Charles W.
Labor issues, 1970-1971
Miscellany, 1971-1973
Connally, John, 1971-1972
David, Edward E., 1970
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| | Haldeman, H. R. (Harry R.) |
| | Legal briefs, <i>U.S. v. Haldeman</i> , 1975 |
| | Miscellany, 1969-1973 |
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| | Staff organizations, 1969 |
| | Haldeman, H. R. (Harry R.) |
| | Transcript, "CBS News," conversation with Mike Wallace, 1975 |
| | Harlow, Bryce, 1969-1971 |
| | Kennedy, David M., 1970 |
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| | Klein, Herbert, 1968-1971 |
| | Malek, Frederic V., 1972 |
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| | Miscellaneous, "A-Z," 1969-1972 |
| | Mitchell, John N. |
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| | Peterson, Peter |
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| | Richardson, Elliot |
| | <i>Newsweek</i> essay on Nixon, 1971 |
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| | Rogers, William P., 1971-1973 |
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| | Shultz, George Pratt |
| | Memoir, draft, 1976 |
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Press conference briefing books
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(6 folders)

BOX 40

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(10 folders)

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(2 folders)

1971
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(4 folders)
14 Mar.-21 June
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BOX 43

BOX 44

22 June-31 Aug.
(6 folders)

BOX 45

3 Sept.-11 Dec.
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BOX 46

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1972
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(3 folders)
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BOX 48

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| BOX 64 | 6 May-8 June (6 folders) |
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BOX 65-118

Subject File, 1964-1977

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Arranged alphabetically by subject and thereunder by document type or date.

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| BOX 65 | Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colo., commencement speech, 1969 (5 folders) |
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| | <i>Apollo 13</i> and <i>Apollo 17</i> (Spacecrafts), 1970-1973 |
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| | Four year wrap-up, 1972 |
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| | Quarterly reports, 1969-1970 (4 folders) |
| | Six-month appraisals, 1969 |
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| | Baseball and the Japanese ambassador, 1971 |
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| BOX 72 | Cabinet Age of members, 1972 Departmental reports, major accomplishments, 1969 Swearing-in ceremony, 1969 Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy Agenda, 1969 Agriculture, 1969 Construction industry, 1969, undated Interest rate ceilings, 1969 Meetings Notes, 1969, undated Reports, minutes, and related material, 1969-1971 Miscellany, 1969 Post-Vietnam budget outlook, 1969 Steel industry, 1970-1975 Wage and price prospects, 1969 Cambodia Clippings, 1970 Correspondence, 1970 Memoranda Bellinger, C. D., 1970 Miscellaneous, 1970-1971 |
| BOX 73 | "Nixon Diary" notes, 1970 "Presidential Report on the Cambodian Operation," 1970 Press briefings by Henry Kissinger, 1970 Press conferences, 1970 Press reports, 1970 |

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| | Press reports, 1970 |
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| | Press reports, summary of international coverage |
| | Speech drafts, with notes and staff commentary |
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| | Census, 1970 |
| | "Challenge of Peace," speech on global economics, 1971 |
| | Chamber of Commerce speeches |
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- "Freedom: A Condition and a Process," speech, Mundt Library, Beadle State College, Madison, S.Dak., 1969
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| | "Althusias" (Richard P. Nathan), "New Federalist Paper No. 3," 1970 |
| | "Cato" (Thomas Huston), "Federalism: Old and New, |
| | Or, the Pretensions of New Publius Exposed," undated |
| | Nathan, Richard P., "Discourse By a New Federalist," undated |
| | "Publius" (Safire) |
| | No. 1, "On National Localism," 1969-1970 |
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| | No. 2, "The New Coalition," 1969 |
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Arranged alphabetically by publication format or genre and thereunder by title of the work.

BOX 118

Articles

"The All-Purpose Political Speech, 1968," *New York Times Magazine*, 1968

Debates with Frank Mankiewicz, 1972

"NBC Reports," televised

Washington Post series

Correspondence, memoranda, notes

Drafts and clippings

"Financial Adventure of James Debenture," *Harvard Business Review*, 1965

"Government Ain't Machinery," *New York Times*, 1970

"It's Time for a Change of Political Slogans," *New York Times Magazine*, 1971-1972

Letters to the editor, *New York Times*, 1970-1971

"The Moscow Summit," *New York Times Magazine*, 1972 [*See also Containers 109-111, USSR, Moscow Summit*](#)

Correspondence and background material

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"Nixon's Way: A View From Within," *Washington Post* (1971)

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"The 'Public Right To Know' Goes Wrong: the Meaning of the Irving-Hughes Case," 1972

"The Secret of Mr. Nixon's 'Secret Plan,'" *New York Times*, 1972

"Ten Thoughts for '72," *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*, 1972

Victor Riesel guest column, "The President's Favorite President," 1971

"Who's What Around the White House," *New York Times Magazine*, 1973

Books

Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House

Chapter lists, 1970-1973

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Ideas and notes, undated

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Publication records, William Morrow & Co., 1973-1974

Richardson, Elliot, doodles, 1963-1973

Source material, Watergate scandal and impeachment hearings, 1973-1974

Text

Chapters, episodes, and characterizations, 1965-1973, undated

- "Ad Lib"
- "Another Crack at the Real Nixon"
- "Bebe"
- "Best Year Ever"
- "Bizarre Incident"
- "Cambodian Decision"
- "Campaign Begins"
- "Campaign That Never Was"
- "Caught in the Draft -- The Mansfield Affair"
- BOX 121** "China Report"
- "Christmas Bombs"
- "Clank of Truth"
- "Comeback"
- Conclusion and Epilogue
- "Damngovernment"
- "Economic Weekend at Camp David"
- "Ehrlichman"
- "Good Honest Appraisal"
- "Guns of April"
- "Haldeman I: Welcome to the White House"
- "Hello Europe"
- "Hideaway"
- "Interregnum"
- "Introduction"
- BOX 122** "Julie"
- "Kennedy Criterion"
- "Kissinger, Phase I (Pre-Celebrity)"
- "Labor Rewards Its Friends"
- "Loners Stick Together"
- "Loomings -- Huston and Watergate"
- "Man at the Wilson Desk"
- "Minuteman: A Speech Timetable"
- "Moscow Summit"
- "Mystery of Power"
- "New Federalism"
- "New Isolationists"
- BOX 123** "Night at the Lincoln Memorial"
- "Nixon and the Catholics"
- "Nixon and the Jews"
- "Nixon Style -- The Big Play"
- "Nixon's Haldeman"
- "Pat" *See also Classified*
- "Peace With Honor"
- "President Falls in Love -- Connally"

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|---------|---|
| | "Phantom Press Conference" |
| | "Power Games -- Burns and Colson" |
| | "Press Is the Enemy" |
| | "Prologue" |
| BOX 124 | "Road To Moscow" <i>See also Classified</i> |
| | "Rockefeller" |
| | "Rise of John Mitchell" and "Fall of John Mitchell" |
| | "Secret Negotiations -- Inside and Out" <i>See also Classified</i> |
| | "Secret of the `Secret Plan'" |
| | "Seichel" |
| | "Sense of Direction" |
| | "Seventy Campaign" |
| | "Silent Majority" |
| | "Sixty-Eight Campaign -- Nixon's the One" (2 folders) |
| BOX 125 | "State of the World" <i>See also Classified</i> |
| | "Swearing-In" |
| | "Tale of Two Bridges -- Moon Shot" |
| | "Tax Reform" |
| | "Tennis Anyone?" |
| | "To Peking in Secret" |
| | "Turning Point" |
| | "Twenty Broad Street" |
| | "Two-Ideology System" |
| | "Us Against Them" |
| | "Way to San Jose" |
| BOX 126 | "Wayward Bus I" |
| | "Wayward Bus II" |
| | "Work Ethic" |
| | Fragments, undated (3 folders) |
| BOX 127 | Full draft, "A Hurry To Be Great: Inside the Nixon White House," undated (5 folders) |
| BOX 128 | (2 folders) |
| | <i>Full Disclosure</i> |
| | Outline and sample chapter, undated |
| | Text |
| | Draft, undated (3 folders) |
| BOX 129 | (2 folders) |
| | Fragment, undated |
| | <i>The New Language of Politics</i> |
| | First edition (1968) |
| | Bibliography, 1967 |
| | Contract, 1967 |
| | Corrections, 1968 |
| | Correspondence |

Writings, 1962-1980

Container

Contents

| | |
|---------|--|
| | Editorial, 1966-1971 |
| | Reader comments, 1968-1972, undated |
| | Research queries, 1966-1968 |
| | Cross references, undated |
| BOX 130 | Promotion and publicity, 1967-1970, undated |
| | Research, 1966-1972, undated |
| | Reviews and citations, 1968-1971 (3 folders) |
| | Text |
| | Dictionary entries |
| | A |
| | B |
| | (1 folder) |
| BOX 131 | (4 folders) |
| | C |
| BOX 132 | D-G |
| BOX 133 | H-M |
| BOX 134 | N-P |
| BOX 135 | Q-V |
| BOX 136 | W-Y |
| | Foreword, 1968, undated |
| | Introduction, 1967, undated |
| | Word lists, undated |
| | Second edition (1972) |
| | Additions to text, undated (2 folders) |
| | Corrections to text, undated |
| | Correspondence |
| | Editorial, 1968-1972 |
| | Reader comments, 1969-1972 |
| | Cross references, undated |
| | Miscellany, 1968-1972, undated |
| BOX 137 | Publicity, 1971-1972, undated |
| | Research, 1968-1972, undated |
| | Text |
| | Dictionary entries, 1962-1971, undated |
| | A-Q |
| BOX 138 | R-Y |
| | Introduction, 1967, undated |
| | <i>The Relations Explosion</i> , promotional material, undated |
| | Columns, <i>New York Times</i> |
| | Column on North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 1973 |
| | Correspondence and miscellany, 1973-1979 |
| | Kissinger, Henry, 1976-1980 |
| | New York Times Co., business profile, 1971-1972 |
| | Plays |
| | "One Act Play," 1971, undated |

"West Wing: A Treatment in Three Acts," proposal for television series, undated
Speeches
Gridiron Club, Washington, D.C., 1972
National Public Relations Association, 1973
New York Law Journal Forum, 1971
Pennsylvania Bankers' Association, Trust Investment Seminar, Lancaster, Pa., 1971

BOX OV 1

Oversize, 1960-1975

Posters, broadside, and a drawing.
Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

BOX OV 1

Public relations file

Clients

Nixon, Richard M.

1960 presidential election campaign

Advertising and promotional material

Posters (Container 4)

"Can Milwaukee Talk Back to Moscow?" mock-up and proof

"Crusades for Peace," mock-up

"Nobody Wants War," print

Kennedy, John F.

Catholic issue (Container 5)

Broadside, "Houston Catholics Speak Out!"

Poster, mock-up, "The Cross of Bigotry"

White House file

Officials, staff, and advisors

Other associates

Ehrlichman, John D. (Container 33)

Drawings, ink, New Mexico scenes, 1975

BOX CL 1

Classified, 1965-1973

Material containing security classified information.
Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

BOX CL 1

White House file

Office file

"Nixon Diary"

Subject file

Kissinger, Henry, 1969 (Container 22) *See also Top Secret*

Staff procedures, 1969 (Container 24)

Suggested remarks, statements, messages, and letters (Container 24) *See Top Secret*

Officials, staff, and advisors

Agnew, Spiro T.

Chronological file

1970

- Tours of Asia (Container 28)
 - Other associates
 - Allen, Richard, 1969 (Container 32)
 - Subject File
 - China
 - Memoranda, 1969-1970 (Container 75)
 - Defense cutbacks, 1969-1970 (Container 76)
 - Foreign aid, 1969 (Container 85)
 - Foreign policy messages and speeches
 - Report to Congress
 - 1970 (Container 86) *See also Top Secret*
 - Trips with the president
 - Romania, 1969 (Container 109)
 - Vietnam war
 - Cease fire
 - 1970 speech
 - Drafts (Container 113) *See Top Secret*
 - Haiphong harbor, mining decision, 1972 (Container 113)
 - North Vietnamese offensive, 1972 (Container 113)
 - Speeches
 - 1969
 - 14 May (Container 114)
 - 3 Nov. (Container 114)
 - 1971, April 7 (Container 115)
 - 1972, Jan. (Container 115) *See Top Secret*
(2 folders)
- Writings
 - Books
 - Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House*
 - Text
 - Chapters, episodes, and characterizations, 1965-73, undated
 - "Pat" (Container 123)
 - "Road to Moscow" (Container 124) *See Top Secret*
 - "Secret Negotiations -- Inside and Out" (Container 124) *See Top Secret*
 - "State of the World" (Container 125) *See also Top Secret*

BOX TS 1

Top Secret, 1965-1973

Material containing top secret information.
Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

BOX TS 1

White House file

- Office file
 - "Nixon Diary"
- Subject file
 - Kissinger, Henry, 1969 (Container 22)
 - Suggested remarks, statements, messages, and letters (Container 24)

Subject file

Foreign policy messages and speeches

Reports to Congress

1970 (Container 86)

(3 folders)

Vietnam war

Cease fire

1970 speech

Drafts (Container 113)

Speeches

1972, Jan. (Container 115)

(2 folders)

Writings

Books

Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House

Text

Chapters, episodes, and characterizations, 1965-73, undated

"Road to Moscow" (Container 124)

"Secret Negotiations -- Inside and Out" (Container 124)

"State of the World" (Container 125)