Nixon Legacy Forum Transcript:

The Greatest Comeback
Richard Nixon and the 1968 Election

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National Archives Building in Washington D.C.

Panelists:
Ken Khachigian: Research Staff, Agriculture Policy Aide (1968)
Annelise Anderson: Research Staff, Domestic Issues Advisor (1968)
Pat Buchanan: Speechwriter, Political Aide (1968)
Dwight Chapin: Personal Aide to Richard Nixon (1968)
Geoff Shepard, *Moderator*, White House Fellow (1969-70), Associate Director, White House Domestic Council (1970-74)

David Ferriero: Good afternoon. I'm David Ferriero, the Archivist of the United States, and I'm pleased to welcome you to the William G. McGowan Theater here at the National Archives. In the many cases, welcome back to many of you. I'm particularly happy to welcome so many veterans of the Nixon administration who are here for this Nixon Legacy Forum, "The Greatest Comeback: Richard Nixon and the 1968 Election." Some of you have already been participants in earlier Nixon forums. This is kind of a gathering of the clan. The last time we were all together was in Yorba Linda in October of 2016 for the opening of the new Nixon Library exhibit. And now, I can welcome you here to the National Archives.

The first Nixon Legacy Forum was held right here in the McGowan Theater in January of 2010. Over the last eight years, there have been more than 30 of these forums covering all aspects, almost all aspects, of President Nixon's consequential administration. Most of them have been here in the McGowan Theater and most have been covered by C-SPAN. And it's good to see that C-SPAN is with us again today. All of these forums have been filmed and recorded by the Nixon Foundation and they're now an important part of the historical record available for students and scholars and any interested individual on the websites of the National Archives, in the Nixon Library, and the Nixon Foundation.

Forum topics have covered both foreign and domestic policy, as well as the managerial revolution that President Nixon ushered into the West Wing, and that marked the creation of the modern executive office of the president. This afternoon, of course, we're going back into the pre-presidential history with the campaign of 1968 that launched the Nixon presidency. The Nixon Legacy Forums bring together men and women who served in the Nixon administration to discuss some of the particular issues and programs that they worked on back in the day. Their

conversations are complemented and supplemented by materials, documents, tape recordings, videos, and photographs from the Nixon Library Archives.

For historians, and particularly future historians, this kind of resource is all but invaluable. To be able to watch and hear the people who were making history describe exactly how it was made is a unique opportunity. This is the kind of backstage, backstairs backstory that documents simply can't convey but that is no less important in order to understand and appreciate what really happened and why many years in history devotees who believe that their year is key, the key that opens the door to everything that followed. Recently, books have argued for the significance of 1913 the world on the eve of the Great War, in 1920 the year of 6 former and future presidents joined battle for the White House.

1939 was the countdown to war, 1944 was the year that FDR changed history. But I think that one year on which everyone agrees is 1968. Whether it's seen as a flashpoint, a watershed, or a tipping point, there's no question that the issues, the events, the personalities, the struggles, the trends, not to mention the stakes, made 1968 a year unmatched by few other years in history. And that was true not only here but all around the world. Of course, 1968 was a presidential year and that campaign reflected all of that year's unsettled and unsettling aspects considering the context: riots, assassinations, bombings, communication gaps, and generation gaps, and Americans dug in on different sides of most issues.

Some asked why anyone would even want to be president in a year like 1968; Richard Nixon did. On the morning of November 6th, his election as our 37th President was confirmed. 1968 was already a year of 50th anniversaries of Nixon milestones, January, 31st marked the 50th anniversary of when he announced his presidential candidacy. March 12th marked the 50th anniversary of his decisive victory in the New Hampshire primary. Last month, on August 8th, was the 50th anniversary of his memorable acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach. And, of course, November 6th will be the golden anniversary of his election to that office.

The Nixon library, which is part of the National Archives' system of presidential libraries will be celebrating many of these anniversaries. If you have the good fortune to find yourself in Yorba Linda anytime soon, I recommend a special exhibit that opened at the Nixon Library last month, "Vote Like Your Whole World Depended On It: The Story of the 1968 Election." This exhibit is a partnership between the Nixon Library and the Nixon Foundation and we're honoured by the presence of the foundation's chairman, Dr. James Kavanaugh, and its president and CEO, Bill Baribault, here with us this afternoon. Bill is over here. There you are. Welcome.

It's now my pleasure to introduce Geoff Shepard, who will moderate this forum and introduce its participants. Geoff was selected a White House Fellow in 1969 and assigned to the Treasury Department where he worked under Paul Volcker, then-undersecretary for Monetary Affairs. Following his fellowship year, Geoff joined John Ehrlichman's Domestic Council staff at the Nixon White House where he served five years, and another year as Associate Director of General Government in the Ford White House. The author of "The Secret Plot to Elect Ted Kennedy President" and "The Real Watergate Scandal." For the past three decades, Geoff has arranged and hosted annual reunions of the Nixon and Ford Policy Planning Staff, and since 2010, has produced the Nixon legacy series. Please welcome, Geoff Shepard.

Geoff Shepard: David, thank you. Thank you. What a pleasure to be here. We have done these forums in co-sponsorship with the National Archives and David and his people have just been tremendously helpful, and we're happy to be here again. Richard Nixon's public life saw highs and lows, incredible highs and incredible lows. We're here today, which is the 50th anniversary of the 1968 election, to talk about one of the highs and to celebrate one of the highs. It doesn't mean that we aren't mindful of the lows, but that's gonna be a topic for other forums. For today, we've gathered four people who worked on President Nixon's campaign, then Richard Nixon's campaign, and they're gonna share their memories.

And it's a wonderful group. We're gonna go in order of how long they knew Richard Nixon. So, Ken, Ken is the recent one. I mean, he's known him for years now, but Ken was a researcher taking off time from Columbia Law School where he was a law student. And Annelise and her husband, Martin, formed the domestic advisory group. Marty flew with the campaign and Annelise ran the home base, doing all the hard work. Pat Buchanan requires no introduction. Pat's a fantastic guy and joined Nixon way before the campaign. And finally, we get to Dwight Chapin, who is even senior to Pat in terms of knowing Nixon but, of course, not in terms of running the campaign.

So, what we're gonna do is start with each of them explaining to us how they met Richard Nixon and how they came to be a participant in the campaign. Ken, we'll start with you.

Ken Khachigian: Thank you, Geoff. Well, actually, in 1962, I was a freshman at UC Santa Barbara, on the debate team, I cornered him at a rally he did at San Marcos High School where he gave me some debate pointers. And then, in 1967, as a law student, a second-year law student at Columbia, I saw an article in "The New York Times" by Bob Semple with a photo of some fellows on this stage: Pat Buchanan, and Dwight Chapin, and Marty Anderson, and Len Garment, and Ray Price, Tom

Evans, as the new young fellows around Nixon. And I'd always been a political junkie and decided that I might like to work on that campaign if they'd let me.

So, I wrote a letter to Mr. Nixon and said I'd like to work on your campaign. And my wife, Meredith, worked on 30 Wall Street, just around the corner from 20 Broad, and she hand-delivered it to somebody at the reception desk there at 20 Broad Street. And about two or three weeks later, I got a letter back from this guy over here, Pat Buchanan, said, "Why don't you come on in for an interview?" And so, I went in to see Pat. And at first, he thought I was a Rockefeller spy, since I was from Columbia. I may have had a beard at the time, I can't recall, and he asked me a lot of tough questions, some of which I didn't know the answer to.

But in any event, he said, "Why don't you come on in?" and I started out as a volunteer answering correspondence with Anne, then Anne Volz, and then later Anne Volz Higgins, and pestered Dwight and Marty Anderson, and Pat every chance I got to do research, and Marty figured out I might as well help him out. And in May of that year, he said, "Why don't you come on in and work full-time?" And so starting in June, after schools out, I started working full-time for the headquarters at 450 Park. That's my story.

Geoff Shepard: And you talked your way into the campaign. That's fantastic.

Ken Khachigian: I talked my… Answering correspondence was really boring, I have to tell you. So, the first chance I got, I'd give them research ideas, quotes, and whatnot. So, I whittled my way into the research staff.

Geoff Shepard: Super. Annelise, how about you? How did you come to Richard Nixon's attention?

Annelise Anderson: Well, I got involved in the campaign basically because my husband got involved. And he was...I was a graduate student at Columbia and he was a professor at Columbia. And we met someone for dinner from Nixon's law firm who said, "You really ought to talk to...with your views, you ought to be working for Richard Nixon." And so, Len Garment and Martin got in touch and Len Garment basically recruited Martin. And the first thing that Martin did for Richard Nixon, one of the first things, and it was...it's dated July 4th, 1967, is to make the argument for abolishing the military draft and moving to an all-volunteer armed force.

And Martin, like thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of other young men in the country, had dealt with the issue of getting drafted and he had joined ROTC, the Reserve Officer Training Corps, at Dartmouth, and went on to be a member, a reserve member, at the Army Security Agency.

Geoff Shepard: Now, I'm gonna interrupt for just a second because I've neglected to move the slides. So, we're gonna start to see slides, pictures of these people from 50 years ago.

Annelise Anderson: Oh, okay.

Geoff Shepard: And here's...

Annelise Anderson: That's me.

Geoff Shepard: Here's Annelise.

Annelise Anderson: I wish I still looked like that.

Geoff Shepard: And this is...I apologize I didn't bring this up but this is Annelise hard at work on the campaign.

Annelise Anderson: Okay. It's supposedly Florida, but I don't know the convention where I did a lot of things in the campaign. We did...Ken and I did a lot of the same things. We did research, we responded to requests from the tour, we drafted statements, we looked things up and got things ready in a difficult environment of communications. And so, that's basically how I got involved. I had actually...I don't...I can't blame this entirely on Martin because I had voted for Richard Nixon in 1960 and I worked in the Goldwater campaign. So, it was a natural…

Geoff Shepard: Now, what...

Annelise Anderson: ...progression.

Geoff Shepard:…what Annelise, and Martin, and Ken did, and we're gonna jump ahead a little bit, is toward the end of the campaign, Nixon was accused of just campaigning and not taking any substantive positions. So, the research staff was asked to put together, under tremendous stress, all of Nixon's positions. And this picture shows President Nixon, really, with two volumes.

Annelise Anderson: And there's a copy of that.

Geoff Shepard: Annelise has another one there, right?

Annelise Anderson: Right.

Geoff Shepard: Okay, it'll be on the exam. You'll have to be able to remember, it's "Nixon On The Issues." And this proved, but what was fantastic was this staff was able to pull out all this information from previous speeches and previous campaign stops.

Ken Khachigian: Let us tell the story, Geoff. The story is this. Having been accused of not having positions on the issues, at one point, Mr. Nixon, out of nowhere, says, "I've taken positions on 147 a hard issue." And we said, "Where did he come up with that number?" So, that's when the staff went into full panic mode and started... Annelise, you can tell the rest.

Annelise Anderson: Well, we ended up with 227 issues, both foreign and domestic policy. And once you know how many you need, you know how to slice the sausage, right?

Ken Khachigian: We worked. In 96 hours, we produced this document.

Annelise Anderson: Yes. Bill Casey, who was working with the Nixon campaign, owned the printing press that printed it. And you understand you can't do this at the time on a computer, there aren't any computers. So, it's set in type and we had books...we got the request on Sunday, we had books on Friday.

Geoff Shepard: Fantastic.

Annelise Anderson: And he passed them out to the press and said, "Here. I have taken position on the issues."

Ken Khachigian: So there. Yeah.

Annelise Anderson: So there.

Geoff Shepard: So, then we move to Pat.

Pat Buchanan: All right.

Geoff Shepard: And...

Pat Buchanan: Trump had more than 247 issues. Trump had thousands.

Geoff Shepard: Let me start with a picture. Let me start with a picture. We're gonna get to Pat's book in a minute, but we got this wonderful picture of Pat and Dwight, and they look like teenagers. I mean, look at them. Dark hair, in charge. Go ahead, Pat.

Pat Buchanan: Well, I first met Richard Nixon in 1954, I believe. I was a caddie on the caddie bench at Burning Tree Country Club. In the afternoon, when everybody else had gone out with their bags and the deputy pro put a plaid bag out on the caddie, the bench, and it was that of the Vice President of the United States, and he looked over at me and my buddy, and we were the last two guys, and he said, "Come on." So, I'd moved around that entire 18 holes of Burning Tree Country Club with the golfer, Richard Nixon, who bore no resemblance whatsoever to Arnold Palmer in those days, and that was an experience I told my family and friends when I got home that afternoon.

Ten years later, I was an editorial writer, a young editorial writer for the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat." We'd spent three and a half years there, and I wanted to get involved in the politics of '68. I had been pro Goldwater, and that ended in disaster. And so, Richard Nixon was speaking in Belleville, Illinois, and there was a cocktail party after his speech in a place called…Don Hesse's, a cartoonist, who was a cartoonist for our paper, in his home. And I went into his kitchen at around midnight, I had gotten an invite, went up to Nixon and said, "Look, if you're gonna run in 1968, I'd like to get aboard earlier." And he said, "Well, first, we gotta win '66, etc." And so, he called around and got a lot of material and they invited me to New York.

I went up there for a three-hour interview with Nixon from 3:00 to 6:00 in the evening, in his law firm. And he said, "I'm gonna hire you for one year and we'll see how well it goes. And with the campaign, I want you to write a column for me, I want you to do all this mail and get rid of these piles of mail, and I want you to handle the press." And what we did is we spent...I'd say I spent three hours a day talking to Richard Nixon, almost every day. He sat there in that law firm, and he would call me in, and he told me once, "You know if I had to practice law, Pat, I'd be mentally dead in two years and physically dead in four."

He loved politics, policy issues, personality, he couldn't get enough of it. He wanted to know all about the conservative movement. And he, obviously, his mind was...he was very, very young in his mind then. And I traveled with him in that campaign of 1966, we had something like 35 states and 80 congressional districts. And at the end of it, the Republicans had the greatest victory since 1946 and the 80th Congress. Nixon had been the guy that had done all the work out there, and at the end of the campaign, after we kept goading Johnson with statements, and one of them we got in "The New York Times," Johnson foolishly attacked Nixon two days before the election, or four days, in a savage attack, personal attack, called him a chronic campaigner, denounced him. And right away, the cameras came to Richard Nixon. Nixon was invited on all the Sunday shows, he responded very graciously. I understand how a candidate can

be tired as the president is, you know, referring back to his own last press conference, but it vaulted Nixon up again into real prominence and a potential presidential candidate.

And by the time November, December were over, Romney was running first, Governor Romney, Mitt Romney's father, but Nixon was a close second. And when it came to the grassroots of the party, Nixon already had it.

Geoff Shepard: Fantastic. Now, we go to Dwight. Far right side, stage left. And we have pictures of Dwight alone. Dwight gave us the pictures. But here you have Dwight as a young man.

Dwight Chapin: They didn't use them all, obviously. Well, in 1962, Mr. Nixon was going to run for governor, he had lost in '60 to Jack Kennedy. And I didn't have a job that summer and my dad said I had to have a job. And I went down to the headquarters and was interviewed by a man by the name of Herb Kalmbach, who took me down the hall and introduced me to a young crew-cut guy, 33 years old, by the name of Bob Haldeman. My life changed at that moment, I didn't know it at the time. I became a field man in Southern California for Ventura, Santa Barbara counties, and the San Fernando Valley. And, you know, I'm 21 years old and I'm out setting up campaign headquarters, working with the women's network that we had.

And in those days, we did precinct sheets and everything else. We lost. I couldn't believe it, drove around LA all day sobbing, my life was destroyed. I still hadn't graduated from college but my life was over. Bob Haldeman hired me to go to J. Walter Thompson. And what was intriguing there was that he would take these monthly trips back to New York where Nixon had moved and come back and spin stories, tell me stories, about how Nixon was plotting for his comeback. This is in 1963. In 1964, having decided that he was going to weigh in with Goldwater, I went to the convention, helped out there as his aide. In 1966, I had moved to New York.

And upon arrival in New York, I contacted Rose Mary Woods, said that I would like to volunteer. And I went down to 20 Broad Street after work at nights and answered correspondence. Rose Woods was my boss, Pat was in an office sitting near her. There was a desk there, as Pat identifies in his book, that Patricia Ryan Nixon used when she came in. But when I would go down in the evenings to answer correspondence, my tutor was Mrs. Nixon. So, she really got to know me and I got to know the staff. In 1966, then I became an advance man when, and as Pat described, that incredible campaign where Nixon is out there on the stump for everyone.

It happened to be that the day that Lyndon Johnson called Nixon a chronic campaigner, the first stop after that incident was mine in Waterville, Maine. My first stop. And I had Mike Wallace coming in, he had just interviewed Nixon at the airport in LaGuardia. We tried to slow your plane, the president's plane down in order to get Wallace there. I mean, it was a big deal at the time, believe me. And then, it converted into Nixon going on national television, the RNC gave him a half-hour of time, and it was a huge thing.

Pat Buchanan: It was huge. I was on the… Nixon went in there, he was being interviewed by Wallace at LaGuardia and he said, "Pat, listen to Johnson's press conference and tell me what he says." So, Nixon came up and got in the plane, I said, "You're not gonna believe what he's been calling you for 10 minutes." And so, Nixon was…I mean, handles it very well. He said, "Sit down and just tell me what he said." And we gave him the details of what he said, Mike Wallace found out and took a jet after [inaudible 00:30:42].

Dwight Chapin: Yeah, they chartered a jet to get to Waterville ahead of the other plane. We had to slow your plane down in order to get the Wallace people there. So, anyway, needless to say, that really my juices were flowing by this time. And so, that was in November. And in December, Bob Haldeman said, "You're gonna get a call from Rose Mary Woods." And Rose called, and I went down, and Mr. Nixon interviewed me to become his personal aide. He said, "I think I'm going to run for president. Here's how it would work."

And so, I joined his staff as a personal…his personal aide, in 1967, March of 1967, the same day that our good friend, Ray Price, joined the staff. And I never missed, never missed one domestic trip with Mr. Nixon from that time through till when he was elected president.

Pat Buchanan: When, let me say, when you came aboard, at the same time, Shelley Scarney came aboard, who is Mrs. Buchanan, and Shelley was with Richard Nixon in his vice presidential office in 1959 and '60, traveled that campaign, worked in the '62 campaign, traveled in the campaign for Goldwater in '64 all around the country, came back in 1967, which is when I met her when she arrived. And we were in that little office with Pat Ryan, who was Mrs. Nixon. Folks would call and say, "I know Mrs. Nixon, please put me through to the vice president," and Mrs. Nixon would say, "I'm sorry. I'm sorry, I can't put you through." They were talking to the future First Lady.

Dwight Chapin: And the other thing is, we had Rose, Pat, and myself, in this one little office, and right outside with Shelley. And then, in the office adjacent to Mr. Nixon's office was a very important person who had

arrived with his pipe and so forth, and that was John Mitchell. We were all in a corner there.

Pat Buchanan: We were on the senior partner's floor, both Dwight and I.

Dwight Chapin: We knew so much about law, it was great that we're on the senior partner's floor.

Geoff Shepard: That's good. That's good. Now, we found a slide, and if you were here for the roll of pictures before, there's a much better version of this that came up in color that would enable us to see this. But talk about the speechwriters that are in the slide.

Dwight Chapin: This is in Long Beach.

Pat Buchanan: This is...well, I can tell you the speechwriters basically. I came aboard and was doing excerpts in 1966, 1-page excerpts which Nixon would put into his speeches. But in '67, after our great year in '66 with a huge victory, the president, I mean the future president, told me he wanted to hire someone to balance me because he thought I might be a little far to the right. And so, so I went out and got a list of the best, brightest young writers who were moderate sort of Republicans, and I came back to Nixon and I said, "The very best one is Ray Price," former editorial editor of the Herald Tribune, which I believe had gone down by going under by then.

But I said, "One problem is he's not a great admirer of yours and he wrote the endorsement of Lyndon Johnson in 1964." So, Nixon told me, and again, it's an attribute of Nixon's, he said, "Listen, Pat. I don't care whether he likes me or not or likes us or agrees with us, bring him in here. After the first battle, he will be a loyalist." Nixon believed in that that in the fires of battle and things, loyalties are created that don't exist before then. People who come to work for you may look at it as a job, but with all the battles you're in together, suddenly there's a real bond that is created.

Geoff Shepard: So, we have Price on the end, and then Pat. Marty Anderson, Bill Gavin...

Annelise Anderson: And I think Jim Keogh.

Geoff Shepard: And Jim Keogh.

Pat Buchanan: Jim Keogh.

Geoff Shepard: That's how we've reconstructed it. And this was the traveling...

Pat Buchanan: The traveling squad. Traveling speechwriters, yeah.

Geoff Shepard: So, these were on the campaign…

Pat Buchanan: We were on the campaign…

Geoff Shepard: …with you?

Pat Buchanan:...plane, yeah.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. Okay.

Ken Khachigian: And everybody ended up in the White House.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah. Well, they should have. Okay. We have two slides and our panelists have already covered them, the importance, before we get to 1968, the importance of the Goldwater campaign where Nixon campaigned for Goldwater. Did you guys have anything else to add about that?

Dwight Chapin: I can add something. At the convention in 1964 in San Francisco, on Sunday night, the convention would be launched on Monday, on Sunday night, Dick and Pat Nixon had a "We want to thank you" reception for all of the delegates. This was a very calculated thing. And the line went...St. Francis Hotel, the line went down the stairs and out the front door. I mean, every delegate came. And the phenomenal thing, and I was...I had the privilege of standing right there with him through this whole thing, they knew everybody. I mean, this was one of RN's, really, hallmarks. He knew everybody in that party and all of these delegates.

And, of course, what he wanted to do was to re-establish contact with them. They wanted to thank them, but it kind of set up a premise that we followed through on, not only in '64 when he went all over the country for Goldwater but in '66 and into the election.

Geoff Shepard: And then, we go to the '66, and we talked about the midterms when you recovered nicely. Anything else to add on this?

Pat Buchanan: Well, let's see. Nixon made a number of strategic moves, one of them has been mentioned, endorsing Goldwater in '64. This came after the disaster of '62 when he lost for a second time to Pat Brown, he had his last press conference, everybody wrote him off, he moved to New York. The key things, the key moments there were the endorsement of Goldwater, not only was that, Nixon, Shelley, my wife, was with him in '64 and campaigned harder for Goldwater than Goldwater did himself. And

the key part of that is the conservative movement had taken over the party, it couldn't win a national election but it had taken over the party.

And the fact that Nixon went out for these folks when Governor Romney, and Governor Rockefeller, and Governor Scranton basically abandoned Goldwater, in '65, the very first January of '65, Barry Goldwater said, "If, Dick Nixon, if you run for president, you've got my support." That meant the Goldwater Movement was moving to Nixon at the same time Nixon had a base in the party. And it was the beginning of the transfer of power inside the Republican Party from the party of Eisenhower and Nixon, in the ‘50s, to the party of Nixon and Reagan, which would dominate the ‘70s and ‘80s.

Dwight Chapin: And we got all of the Goldwater people, the Clif Whites, Dick Kleindienst, Bob Marty, and all those people came over, but this thing really started immediately, I mean, within three weeks after the assassination of Jack Kennedy because the decision, at that point, the strategic meeting in New York was, "I am not gonna... Goldwater's too close to getting it, I can't intercede there. What I'll do is I'll throw everything I can against it and do everything I can help," and that was his basic start of the strategy.

Geoff Shepard: So, he wasn't on the ballot but he certainly didn't sit it out.

Pat Buchanan: Oh, '64, he campaigned harder for Goldwater than Goldwater did himself, you know.

Dwight Chapin: That’s what Pat said.

Geoff Shepard: All right. We go to the campaign of '68. We're through with the introduction, we're actually about ready to start. But first, we wanna show you the New York...this is a map we put together, I didn't do it, of course, of the New York operations. Dwight, you and Annelise can talk about this?

Dwight Chapin: Yeah. I think one of the main points we wanna make here is that this was a New York campaign. I mean, you don't think of Richard Nixon and New York really, but I mean, his apartment was there at 810 Fifth Avenue, the finance operation with Maurice Stans. In the Bible building, we had the...

Annelise Anderson: The research and the...

Dwight Chapin: Research, writers.

Annelise Anderson: [crosstalk 00:39:27]

Dwight Chapin: But that included, by the way, Alan Greenspan.

Annelise Anderson: Yeah.

Dwight Chapin: In charge of all of the...

Pat Buchanan: Domestic policy research.

Annelise Anderson: Alan and [crosstalk 00:39:36]

Dwight Chapin: Dick Allen was there. So, some really…people that would become national icons, later on, were at the hub of that. And then, at 455 Park, is where we had John Mitchell, we had Peter Flanigan, Haldeman had his office when he was off of the road there as did some of the rest of us. And then, very important, that is where John Whitaker, who would later become cabinet secretary, and Ken Cole, one of our great buddies, they ran the scheduling operation and all of the advance men. We had 90 advance men out at all times, 90. So, that was all run out of that 455 Park.

Geoff Shepard: Super. Now, we come to the reason Pat's on the stage, aside from being a super guy. Pat wrote the definitive book on the '68 campaign and the comeback. And what we've asked him to do is to go through what he remembers as the highlights of the campaign, basically to remind the audience that it wasn't just a continuous forum, it was interspersed with unexpected developments. And so, I'm gonna...I will try to keep up with Pat on the slides.

Pat Buchanan: Well, it was the most divisive year in American history since the Civil War. What you're seeing there is a picture from the Tet Offensive. Nixon, Dwight, and I flew to Boston, the night the Tet Offensive began in January 31. Within a month, there were 1,000 dead Americans, 50,000 Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops had invaded all the provincial capitals. It had broken the spirit of a lot of people in the United States, American elites were starting to turn against the war. And the Tet Offensive, even though it was a military disaster for the Communists, was a political victory for them, which would reverberate through the years.

That started the night we took off to Boston and we took Richard Nixon when we got to Boston, Geoff, and we put him into a motel and registered him as Mr. Benjamin Chapman so we could sneak him over to New Hampshire the next morning and file him in the primary. In "The New York Times," the next morning when Nixon's announcement was a single column, they had a picture of that Viet Cong or the South Vietnamese head of security executing the Viet Cong by putting a bullet to his head.

Geoff Shepard: Oh, yeah. It's a very famous [inaudible 00:42:05].

Pat Buchanan: It's a famous photo, but it was the same day, take a look at the picture in "The New York Times," four columns, there's a single column story of Nixon's announcement. We can move on from there. This is the February 2nd, that's the Nixon announcement in New Hampshire. It was a great event. Nixon did very well there. And one of the things I think, Dwight, the important things to look at is the change in Nixon's handling of himself in New Hampshire. Unlike 1960 when he and Kennedy wore themselves thin and almost killed themselves campaigning. Nixon, we'd worked out something whereby Nixon would make two major events a day to get the headlines.

And we'd rest him, gave him time, and well, his opponent, you can move it right now, Mr. Romney, Romney was going to coffee klatches in New Hampshire of November, December, January. But how he was just spinning his wheels getting nowhere, our polls had us 4 to 1 or 5 to 1 ahead. We were heading for a New Hampshire wipe-out of Romney when he quit the race, dropped out on February 29th, I believe it was, was out of the race and denied us our victory. And that was a tremendous blow to us because we thought that huge victory would wipe out Nixon "the loser image." Nixon had some unkind comments about the governor when he dropped out.

We can move on here. All right. This here is…there's Gene McCarthy, "Be Clean with Gene" was the motto. And in New Hampshire, I used to see those kids, they'd come by our motel where we were staying with their signs for Gene McCarthy. You know, they were young leftist kids but I will say they were extremely well behaved, in New Hampshire. What McCarthy did, he won, he got 42% of the vote in New Hampshire to Lyndon Johnson's 49%. A tremendous moral victory for McCarthy. The folly of it was Lyndon Johnson wasn't even on the ballot. This was political malpractice of an extraordinary order.

Johnson won as a write-in candidate in New Hampshire, the President of the United States. And so, it was inexplicable but the excitement and enthusiasm almost blocked out the fact that Nixon himself is, maybe it's the next one, Nixon himself, people looked at it, if you looked at it closely, you added Nixon's votes, Nixon got a lot of write-ins in the Democratic primary thanks to a little subterfuge we had going. He beat Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy, 4 to 1 in the Democratic primary. But Nixon's total vote, people didn't look at it in the enthusiasm of McCarthy, total vote exceeded all the other candidates in both parties, "write-in" or on the ballot, Reagan, Romney, everyone, Rockefeller, the whole bunch of them.

So, Nixon was really off to a tremendous start. In these 4 days after New Hampshire, let's move it here, 4 days, this is the 16th, 4 days after New Hampshire, Bobby Kennedy, seeing an opportunity, seeing what Gene McCarthy had done, leapt into the race and frankly he's Bobby Kennedy's…we saw the 50th anniversary of his death and everything, but he was excoriated as a complete opportunist. I remember Murray Kempton, he was a great friend of mine, one of the great writers I admired, who loved Kennedy but he said, "Here, Gene McCarthy is going out, blood, fought and died and Robert Kennedy is coming down from the hills to shoot the wounded. He's an opportunist."

And it was a savage column but people were talking about Kennedy that way and Kennedy was attacking Johnson for unleashing the dark forces of the American spirit. Four days later, we expected Rockefeller, Dwight and I had been asked by Nixon to watch, on television, while Rockefeller made his announcement to jump in against us and replace Romney as the leader of the establishment. Rockefeller announced he was not going to run at the press conference. We went into the room with Nixon and said, "We can't believe it. He's announced he's not gonna run."

Dwight Chapin: What did Nixon say?

Pat Buchanan: Nixon said, "It's the girl." Drew Pearson had written columns in December, we had followed, said that Rockefeller had a new girlfriend. And we, Dwight and I, somehow had run down her name.

Dwight Chapin: We knew her name.

Pat Buchanan: We knew her name. But when Rockefeller didn't announce, that's what Nixon said. I remember Nick Thimmesch, the reporter, came to me repeatedly and said, "Pat, what did Nixon say when you told him?"

Dwight Chapin: You couldn't say what he said.

Pat Buchanan: No, I didn't tell him.

Annelise Anderson: "It's the girl."

Pat Buchanan: I just didn't say anything. So, let's move on from... Now, here, because of Vietnam became such an issue with Gene McCarthy and the Tet Offensive, Nixon decided he may have to change his policy. So, we were at his apartment, Ray Price, and I, and Richard Weiland, who was a tremendously gifted writer but he was a tough [crosstalk 00:47:08]

Dwight Chapin: We were in the car, we're landing at LaGuardia.

Pat Buchanan: Let's see. You know, this is the… Yeah. But this is what we… We were working on a speech and we got a call from Frank Shakespeare, we were in Nixon's apartment, on Vietnam and Frank said, "Lyndon Johnson wants live time on CBS." So, Nixon told me he was going to Wisconsin, we cancelled our speech. And he said, "Listen to Johnson's speech in the limo. They're gonna pick me up when I come back from a one-day stop in Wisconsin, and tell me what he says on Vietnam and report it to me."

So, I'm in the car with his driver, his chauffeur, this wonderful black fellow, and he and I are talking and listening to Johnson and here comes Johnson, at the end of the speech, and says, "I will not accept, I will not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party." And I'm on the runway. And the reporters are starting out and Nixon's plane is coming in. I said, "Get this car down to that plane." And so, I finally got out of the limo and ran to the plane, got on, and told Nixon what had happened. And you know, Romney had dropped out, Rockefeller dropped out, now Johnson had dropped out.

So, Nixon comes out and says, "Well, I guess it's the year of the dropout, you know." It was not his greatest moment, but it was extraordinary that this had happened. And the whole... It was a brand new ballgame because now Rockefeller was out but Humphrey was in the Democratic race against McCarthy and against Bobby Kennedy. So, they had a three-way race going. And then, four days later, Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis. An enormous jolt. And I will say this, Dr. King, of course, this has become an enormous event in American history, but when King, and by 1968, King was a far more controversial figure than he was when I saw him on that march on Washington in '63.

But then, when he was shot in 1968, what happened following that was that 100 American cities exploded in riots and violence, including my hometown of DC, 7th Street Carter, we're right on 7th Street over there. 14th Street Carter all burned, gutted. You had troops in all the streets, you had airborne troops called out, you had marine scouts had mounted a machine gun on the capital steps. And this happened in 100 cities. It went on for a week and it was a horrendous blow to the country, obviously, and a real dividing point in American history, undeniably.

Dwight Chapin: I wanna add something real quick there. The foundation has, on its website, and then also that you can find it on YouTube, Mr. Nixon going to the Martin Luther King funeral and the stories around that. And it's quite interesting, and anybody doing research ought to…that's interested in that ought to go see that.

Pat Buchanan: Yeah. Let me just say, Dwight went with Mr. Nixon. And Mr. Nixon, before the funeral, flew to Atlanta and took a limo, got a limo

and take him to Mrs. King's house and met personally with her before he flew on to Miami and Miami, excuse me, to Key Biscayne, then he came back up and he marched in the funeral. And there are pictures of Nixon marching in that funeral.

Dwight Chapin: Yes.

Pat Buchanan: I think...

Dwight Chapin: I was there. And one of the things that, after he left seeing Coretta Scott King, we went over to Dr. King's father's home in this beautiful part of Atlanta and they were having kind of…all their friends were there and so forth. And the thing that I will never forget was when Mr. Nixon walked in there and walked up to Dr. King, Senior and they greeted each other, and hugged each other, and are patting each other on the back. It was like a moment that was just unbelievable.

Pat Buchanan: People forget, too, in 1957, Nixon supported the, in the back scene, supported the Civil Rights Act of 1957, had a personal letter from Dr. King thanking him for all he had done. I guess, this is the troops, it's the troops, it must be in Washington, DC, but it was amazing, I mean, to see your own hometown like that, burning in all these areas, some of them over in Northeast also, but up 7th and 14th Street corridor. Okay, go ahead after. Let's see. This in the same month there, in April 12th, about 8 days, just as these riots were dying down, the worst campus violence in American history, I believe, occurred up at Columbia University.

Annelise Anderson: That's right.

Pat Buchanan: Where Annelise...Annelise... I was a graduate of Columbia and, Annelise, you were still there at the time.

Annelise Anderson: Yeah, I was a graduate. So was...

Pat Buchanan: KK was there. And so, they took...

Ken Khachigian: I was there.

Annelise Anderson: So was I.

Ken Khachigian: I wasn't at the riot but I was…

Annelise Anderson: I was at the riot.

Pat Buchanan: I think I see you in there, Ken.

Annelise Anderson: I was at the riot.

Annelise Anderson: Marty was in the faculty meeting.

Pat Buchanan: He was?

Annelise Anderson: He thinking about what to do.

Pat Buchanan: Well, they occupied…

Annelise Anderson: Because the president's office had been taken over.

Pat Buchanan: They occupied the president's office. Do you wanna say anything to that?

Ken Khachigian: Yeah, we were smoking Grace's and Kirk's cigars. And Mark Rudd was there. And then, when the cops came up there, big stallions, Mark Rudd, the weaselly little coward scooted out the back door so he wouldn't get caught. But anyway, that was...

Geoff Shepard: But Columbia was the first school to get shut down.

Pat Buchanan: Well, it was shut down but the early...it had started in some of the schools. Berkeley, '64.

Annelise Anderson: Berkeley in '64 and '65. [crosstalk 00:52:45]

Pat Buchanan: It was number one…it was the first one. I was writing editorials all the time. Interesting about this. Hubert Humphrey and Bobby Kennedy had been conciliatory toward some of the riots and demonstrators in the early days and we had quotes on them. I remember, Hubert Humphrey said, you know, "If I were under these conditions, I could lead a pretty good riot myself." Now, this sounded good in the early days, but by the time these things were really exploding and the whole issue of "law and order", which we'll talk about, was accelerating and it was no longer just Goldwater like four years before, the whole country was up in arms over what was going on.

I wrote a statement for Nixon, it was a dispute in the staff…and he issued it, that statement's very tough, I talked about revolutionary takeover of the campuses. And after that statement, which was...the polls we took in Oregon and things showed the entire country virtually supported a hard line that these were over privileged people and they're unrepresentative, they had all these privileges and things. And so, the whole shift had taken place from the, I mean, Goldwater years. And that's one of the reason, at this point, George Wallace was soaring in the polls at 15% nationally as a third-party candidate.

That caused Rockefeller...Rockefeller denounced Nixon's statements, which I had drafted, and then he re-entered the race and frankly won the Massachusetts primary, immediately, which was us...I must say, we were asleep at the switch on that one. But he goes back in the race so we had...

Geoff Shepard: Asleep because you didn't expect Rockefeller to come back in or…

Pat Buchanan: We didn't know Rockefeller would come back in and we weren't looking at the Massachusetts primary.

Dwight Chapin: We were more worried about Reagan.

Pat Buchanan: Yeah, we were worried about Reagan. I was. I mean, I felt...my view was that, after the Goldwater thing, Goldwater-Nixon, the only one who could beat Nixon was Reagan pulling off enough conservatives, deny us the nomination, and then a Republican convention could stampede to "the gipper." He had charisma, he was fresh, he was new, and he was a tremendous speaker, and he was in his prime, very sharp, much sharper edge...

Annelise Anderson: [crosstalk 00:54:56]

Dwight Chapin: Pat wanted to save that for eight years later.

Pat Buchanan: We wanted him for VP.

Geoff Shepard: All right.

Pat Buchanan: Now, this is May 28th. And the huge event was the first defeat by a Kennedy in a political primary of general election since the end of World War II. Jack Kennedy never lost. I was there at the Benson Hotel, so was Dwight, when Bobby Kennedy lost to Eugene McCarthy. Bobby was in trouble because they had leaked word, word was in the press that he had wiretapped Dr. King, which was a real offense after Dr. King's assassination, and Kennedy had been Attorney General then. But anyhow, Gene McCarthy won, Shelley and I were at the Benson Hotel, Dwight was there, everybody was there, so I went down to the front door, we went down, I should say.

Bobby Kennedy got out with his dog and Teddy White and then he came in and gave a concession speech. And while I was not a fan of Bobby Kennedy, it was the most gracious concession speech I think I've heard. I was enormously impressed with it. I had not met him, but I was a few feet away from him and how gracious he was and then, "Let's go on

down. Congratulations, Gene McCarthy. Let's go on to California," which he did a week later. And that, of course, was one week later, exactly went to that night, Bobby Kennedy was shot to death in the kitchen, or shot and died about 24 hours later in the kitchen in the Los Angeles Hotel where he was celebrating his phenomenal victory.

I was in New York. I got a call from Jeff Bell who was his staffer. And when he called me, I called Mr. Nixon, he was already up. Julie and David had been watching the events in California, but it was a horrendous, horrendous tragedy. I think Mr. Nixon went to the funeral, but the train took Bobby Kennedy, of course, at 8 or 10 hours down to bury him next to his brother in Arlington. It was just… You know, the politics were poisoned. It was just poisoned by what was going on.

Dwight Chapin: On that morning after Senator Kennedy was killed, I got to the apartment around 9:00, 9:30, and by the time I got there, James Raleigh, the head of the Secret Service, was upstairs with Mr. Nixon and with Chuck Zboril and Bill Duncan, the two agents that became our agents through the rest of the campaign. I mean, the coverage of these other candidates happened, I mean, just instantaneous.

Pat Buchanan: It went right on. Yep. Yeah. Why don't you move from there? Now, this is a...what you're gonna see next is a picture of Justice Abe Fortas. Why is he there? Because one week after Bobby Kennedy was assassinated, Earl Warren concluded that Richard Nixon had a real chance to replace him. Because he was about to retire, Nixon had a chance to be president. Earl Warren wanted to stop that and prevent that. We're all arguing about the Supreme Court now, this was one of the great battles that began the battles of the Supreme Court.

Earl Warren resigned, but he made his resignation contingent upon the Senate acceptance of his replacement, who was justice Abe Fortas, who was LBJ's crony, and LBJ then nominated Homer Thornburg to take Abe Fortas' associate justice's seat. So, the fix was clearly in. And Mr. Nixon didn't want to get too involved in the battle against, you know, Fortas, and the battle against…the Warren-Fortas combination, but a lot of us on the staff were anxious to and were working with some senators up on the Hill, John Tower, Howard Baker, Bill Brock. Bill Brock was one of the main ones.

And so, after a number of months, Fortas was denied confirmation and Warren stayed on the court until Nixon was elected and Nixon replaced him with just...with Warren Burger, a judge from Minnesota. Let's go on to the next one. This is the end of June. Now, between these events, before… This was a Republican convention, but yeah, this Nixon down at Miami Beach. There was a little bit of tear gas around there and...

Ken Khachigian: Oh, yeah.

Pat Buchanan: And you would say, Nixon is great. I mean, his most controversial decision there was the man beside him, Spiro T. Agnew. After Nixon picked Agnew, it was very controversial, and the press went wild, especially our friendly press, "Why did you do this?" Agnew had been tremendously tough on the riots of April, denouncing Stokely Carmichael, who had come to Baltimore and everything. And so, Nixon invited me up to watch Agnew's speech where he accepted, and it was just Nixon and I. And Nixon sat there, watching the TV, and Agnew was his usual, you know, tough customer self. And Nixon turned to me and said, "Buchanan, I think we've got ourselves a hanging judge," and he turned out to be such.

Ken Khachigian: Can I interject here? We don't have a slide but you alluded to it about Reagan. We should have had a slide in there because he later on when we were writing memoirs about the '68 campaign, he talked about his big concern about Reagan making a big run at the very end there and that he was very concerned about it, and that's where Strom Thurmond came into play.

Pat Buchanan: That's exactly right.

Ken Khachigian: The long gray line that didn't break, it...

Pat Buchanan: Exactly. There were three guys, there were three solid conservatives. There was Goldwater, there was John Tower, and there was Strom Thurmond, and Thurmond was the key to the South, Nixon's key to the South. And, of course, he loved Reagan, Thurmond did, but he'd given his loyalty to us. And I remember, at the convention, guys would say, "What are we gonna do with Thurmond?" So, we said, "Take him out on a boat and keep him offshore so that Reagan can't get to him." But I will say this, this was a near run thing, and we had a picture of all of us in the room with Nixon when he went over the top, but the idea of breaking Nixon at the convention.

Nixon had won all the primaries and he had the party core with him, but a lot of conservatives stayed with Reagan. And it was a Reagan-Rockefeller effort to break Nixon on the first ballot and hope the whole thing broke open. But I always felt that if the convention started to move to Reagan, the Rockefeller people would come to us. If it moved to Rockefeller, the Reagan people would come to us so that even if we didn't win on the first ballot, we had an excellent chance of winning downline because Nixon was the one centrist candidate who could unite the party.

He had been a uniter for… whatever you had…whatever people say about him, the Republican Party never had a more loyal guy who was out there

constantly than Richard Nixon, and that's one reason why he's president. Now, this is the Democrats at Chicago. I asked Nixon because I thought this would be interesting to a young journalist, if he would send me to Chicago for the convention because I thought it might be pretty exciting. So, I got out to...he set me up and we went into the, what I called the Comrade Hilton Hotel. It was right there on Michigan Avenue and we had a suite on the 19th floor, and my room was on the 19th floor, and we have invited up journalists and talked to him.

We were very polite, we didn't wanna, you know, make ourselves obnoxious at all, just quote…we'd give them various quotes to put into their stories. And on Wednesday night, into the...I was in there by myself and in walks Norman Mailer, the novelist. He walks in with Jose Torres, the light heavyweight champion. And it's me and Mailer, and he and I are arguing and talking and arguing, and we hear a ruckus outside so we went to the window, all of us, all three of us, and we looked out, and there on Balbo was a phalanx of cops that had come down. They had held up Michigan Avenue at Balbo and the front of the Comrade Hilton had a line of cops here.

And this phalanx took off into Grant Park, where I'd been the night before. They were just obnoxious. They were calling everyone names, calling the police names, insulting them. And these cops had had enough and they went in and just wailed on these demonstrators and rioters and protesters for 15 minutes with their clubs and dragging them to the paddy wagons and throwing them in. And we were sitting up there watching it. Mailer didn't say a word, Jose Torres was cussing the cops, and I was silently approving of what the cops had done since I had been down there in that crowd. But my friend, future friend, Hunter Thompson, was down there as well.

And Hunter said, "Richard Nixon is President of the United States because of what happened those 15 minutes in front of the Hilton Hotel in Chicago," and I think that's right. The picture that went out to the country was the cops fighting the demonstrators and rioters and protesters in the streets, beating them up. And on the floor of the convention, Abe Ribicoff saying we wouldn't have…if we had George McGovern as president, we wouldn't have Gestapo tactics in the streets of Chicago. This is Abe Ribicoff from the convention floor. And of course, you see that famous shot of Daley yelling.

Dwight Chapin: Booing.

Pat Buchanan: He's booing. I mean, he was cutting loose with an awful lot of language, the mayor of Chicago was. But that was the inside of the convention. And the outside, they got this brawl going on. I did have one incident I… You know, Tom Wicker was the most famous liberal columnist

in the country then, a gifted writer for “The New York Times.” And I got caught outside the day before that Wednesday and, you know, I got caught in all the tear gas and so I was running down Michigan and trying to get in the hotels and the guys in the hotels would push you back into the street, they wouldn't let you in.

So, I got to my own hotel, The Hilton, as I put the card in and I went down to the men's room in the basement and I got the water, I was washing all this tear gas out of my eyes. And right beside me was Tom Wicker washing the tear gas out of his eyes. So, I said, it wasn't a total loss. But that, you know, that...I went back to Nixon. And as I write in my book, I went back to Nixon, I wrote, because it hit Nixon brilliantly, the folks in New York decided to schedule then a first trip to Chicago and motorcade right through the city which, a week before, had been torn to pieces. And Nixon would motorcade through it.

And I sent him a note, I said, "What you ought to do when you come out here, sir, criticize what the cops did as excessive but to basically put us on the side of “law and order” and appeal to the silent majority." It's right there in one of my memos, there it was. And eventually, it would recur over a year later. But the scheduling, the first scheduling we had for that September was terrific. Huge motorcades through towns, Philadelphia, Philadelphia was one, Chicago, I remember that, and the others. And so, Nixon, by the time we got to October 1, here's how they lined up. Nixon was at 43%, Humphrey was at 28%, George Corley Wallace was at 21% of the vote nationally.

Geoff Shepard: Wow.

Pat Buchanan: It was astonishing. And that's when Hubert Humphrey threw his desperation pass. Right there, you see Hubert Humphrey, September 30th. Humphrey's...he'd had a hellish September. Even when he campaigned with Teddy Kennedy, the crowds would yell, "Dump the hump. Dump the hump." He couldn't get...he couldn't even talk to the crowds. At times, he was weeping, he was calling him fascist, you know. You felt sorry for the guy because he wasn't even having a campaign. He couldn't get his message through. And so, Humphrey went out, and the reason was the war issue, it was the left wing of the Democratic Party was tormenting him.

And so, Humphrey, on the 30th of September, made a speech in Salt Lake City saying, "I would halt the bombing as a gesture to try to bring peace in Vietnam." And immediately, a lot of the left stopped harassing him and said, "If you mean it, we're with you." So, Humphrey started, at that point, started at 28%, Nixon at 43%. We ended dead even.

Dwight Chapin: Let me interject something here.

Pat Buchanan: All right.

Dwight Chapin: So, on this day, we are checking in to the Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, Michigan, and Pat comes into the suite, we've just gotten into the suite, and he says to Mr. Nixon, he said, "Hubert just broke from Johnson in Salt Lake City." And Nixon says to me, "Get Johnson on the phone." I've never... I didn't know what to do. I went and found Rose Woods, and she says, "You dial 202-456-1414, and talk to the operator. So, I got the operator. I called, I got the operator on the phone. I said, "I have the former vice president sitting here who would like to talk to President Johnson."

And so, there's silence for about 20 or 30 seconds, and she comes back on and she says, "Can you put the former vice president on the phone so we can identify him?" And I said, "Surely," and so, I hand him the phone, he's sitting right there by me. And the next thing I hear is, "Hi, Millie. Yes. How's Susan?" You know, and he knew all the operators. So, he's identified himself by this friendliness with the operator. And then, there is a silence, and then you hear, "Hi, Mr. President. This is Dick Nixon. I just heard what Hubert did and I wanted to call and let you know I'm still with you."

Huge.

Pat Buchanan: It was huge. Well, let me…

Dwight Chapin: Yeah.

Pat Buchanan: Go ahead.

Dwight Chapin: You go ahead.

Pat Buchanan: Well, what I urged Nixon to do, I said, "This is going to unite...Humphrey's gonna unite this party. If he brings that left with him, he's got the Democratic establishment with him, he's gonna unite this party." And let's remember this party beat us by 2 to 1 in 1964. I always compared to that. I said, "It's like the Union Army. Look, if the Union Army gets united and the Confederates don't keep them divided, once it's united, it's a mammoth machine, it'll run right over the Confederate Army." I said, "The Democratic Party is far bigger than we are and if Humphrey unites them..."

I said, "Go after Humphrey and attack him for putting at risk the Americans on the DMZ and the others who, when you stop the bombing, are gonna be under fire and they're gonna be facing the guns that are coming down the Ho Chi Minh Trail when we give up bombing of North

Vietnam," and Nixon did not do it. I always felt he should. But Humphrey started from that day, you could feel the momentum coming, moving day after day. Let's move on, there's another event here.

Ken Khachigian: You should know there's a tape of that conversation between LBJ and Nixon that's available at the archives.

Geoff Shepard: Did we make it?

Ken Khachigian: No.

Annelise Anderson: It's a White House fan.

Ken Khachigian: The Miller Center for the Study of Presidency also has it. And in that tape, Johnson goes on and on about the damage it would do to the troops if they stopped the bombing. And he was criticizing Humphrey and Nixon.

Pat Buchanan: Okay. Yeah, this is General Curtis LeMay, the guy that firebombed Tokyo in World War II, the American commander whom George Wallace decided to put on as vice president. He had a press conference on October 3rd, right after the Humphrey thing, and General LeMay came out, Wallace was on the side, behind the curtain there, and he was asked immediately if he would use nuclear weapons in Vietnam. And General LeMay indicated he didn't understand all this concern with nuclear weapons, that he had blown one off a hydrogen bomb off Bikini Atoll and the vegetation was all back and everything, except the sand crabs were a little hot.

At that point, Governor Wallace came out, circled around the General, and took him away. And Wallace started declining. Wallace, as I say, was at 21%, more than a fifth of the nation was going to vote for Wallace. But he started down in the polls, and the problem with this was he started down in the polls, he was losing his northern Catholics. And the northern Catholics weren't coming to Nixon, they were going home to the party of their fathers. They were going home, all those Wallace voters they said Nixon was getting - we didn't get any. In the north, they all went to Humphrey. Eventually Humphrey, as I say, got a 15 point bounce in October, for his stance and because Wallace was declining.

Geoff Shepard: Mainly from Wallace, not from Nixon.

Pat Buchanan: No, he didn't get. Nixon held at 43 unless there was some change in the kind of vote itself. But Nixon, this is one thing that always bothered me. We didn't move an inch. We spent all this money, 25 million on ads and we didn't go, we went from 43 to 43.

Ok, here is Johnson October 31. Ken can talk about this in great detail. President Johnson announced the bombing halt on the last day of October and it was an "October surprise," it had been all worked up, the whole idea was "peace is at hand" to push Humphrey over the line, Johnson was basically agreeing with Humphrey now. And so, this thing was explosive. But that was on a Thursday.

And on the Saturday, I went with Nixon, we were in LA by then, I went in with Nixon and I told him John Sears called and said we've lost Michigan and we're down 43:40 in the Harris Poll, which meant we lost the nation, everything we've done for three years. I thought we were finished, frankly. I thought we were gonna lose the election. But I went in, Nixon was watching the Oregon, with "Bebe," watching the Oregon Ducks play USC. And I gave him this information and he was, "Okay, thanks. Thanks." You know, I obviously had…I hid my hands, were breaking out in hives and everything, but I will say, he just took it extraordinarily well, you know.

Geoff Shepard: And? Election eve.

Pat Buchanan: Okay, election eve. Nixon, this was...we did a telethon. And I'll tell you who put it together, a fella named Roger Ailes, 28 years old, put together this telethon and it was a 2-hour telethon. It began in Los Angeles. I was in the back room with Rose Woods. The gals would take the messages and get the questions, they'd bring them back to me. I would put them in Nixonian language. The questions were… I mean they just throw, say, social security and stuff, Nixon asked me to get social security in twice every hour as a question. And so, when they take a pack of the questions out and they would ask Nixon the questions, and Nixon would respond.

After he did a two-hour telethon, he took an hour break and said, "Let's do another two-hour telethon." It was the night before the election. And so, he went through those and later on, he said, he thinks, this was nationwide television, he thinks this was the thing that put him back over the top, this and the South Vietnamese saying, "We're not going to Paris. This is a setup." And as Ken can tell you, President Thieu had decided long before that they weren't going to Paris because this was not the...that he wanted Nixon, quite frankly, elected.

Geoff Shepard: And then, Nixon won.

Pat Buchanan: Yep.

Geoff Shepard: So, you could say, if you were just going across the big picture, that there's 2 major themes for the '68 campaign, end the war and restore law and order. But what we've asked our panelists to do, and

Pat included, Pat gave you the chronology, is go back through and share some other campaign memories that may not be as well-known. And you know, Ken or Annelise, just chime in, what do you remember as the most significant part of the campaign?

Ken Khachigian: Well, there was the mundane aspects of the campaign that, you know, we don't wanna talk about, which is policy. We had an extraordinary policy operation within, not only at the headquarters there where Alan Greenspan was a domestic policy adviser, my boss, but we had a policy operation in Washington headed by John Tower, it's called "The Key Issues Committee." And John Tower had several of the staff people that worked for him and for others in the Senate and the House helping with various policy issues, domestic, mainly domestic policy issues.

I, my specialty was agriculture, I was the only one that knew how to spell "farm" in New York. Len Garment came to my office once and said, "What does the dirt farmer really wanna know?" I mean, it's really, sort of, a stupid question because that's not how farmers thought, but… They weren't dirt farmers, they were very sophisticated people. But we had a Nixon-Agnew Agricultural Advisory Committee. But we had a whole wide spectrum of policy people run by John Tower out of that key issues committee, and I thought that was very significant.

Geoff Shepard: Annelise, you told me earlier when we were rehearsing this, about the logistical challenges in that era of you're at home base and the campaign plane is out there in the hinterlands, and there's no computers.

Annelise Anderson: The Goldwater…people who worked for Goldwater had told Martin that once the plane left the ground, it was as if they were in a sealed tomb and they lost touch with headquarters. So, whatever headquarters was doing, whatever research was being done, experts who might be available, it was hard to reach them. We had no cell phones, we had no computers, the materials that people used on the airplane were physical pieces of paper and books. And so, Martin worked on setting it up that Ken and I and the other people in the research department, Greenspan and Dick Allen, would be available by telephone.

And in addition to the people, the red phone would ring and we would answer and respond to the demands from the campaign. We had a guy, Ana [SP], we had a guy that'd motorcycle, it was a volunteer. And every night, he would go to "The New York Times" headquarters, and as they printed the paper and threw it off the truck for the first delivery, he would get two copies, bring it back to the headquarters, and we'd cut it up and fax it to the campaign, which took six minutes a page. You can imagine that.

Pat Buchanan: Was that a quick machine?

Annelise Anderson: That was the Digiphone.

Pat Buchanan: Let me tell you...

Annelise Anderson: And we had the [inaudible 01:17:28].

Pat Buchanan: You know, in Nixon, in '68, in the primaries, Agnes Waldron would go down and get the "Washington Post" and "The New York Times" and send these, and you said it took six minutes a page. They would give them to me and then I would mark the paragraphs, the various paragraphs that should be typed up, and they would be typed up and put on a pile of thick bond paper, and they would be put into Nixon's room so that he would get his newspaper, what's on the East Coast press, at the same time folks got it back East, and he could walk out and tell these New York Times reporters what they had written, you know. And they're, "Where did you get The Times?" You know.

Annelise Anderson: Right.

Pat Buchanan: And so, it was a tremendous...it was an original news summary thing that eventually Nixon took into a…made a major instrumental policy in the Nixon White House under Mort Allin.

Geoff Shepard: I remember well. Dwight?

Dwight Chapin: I wanted to raise a subject. On Nixon's birthday in 1968, he went down to go on "The Mike Douglas Show." And there was a young man there, same age as Pat and myself, and he came up to him and started talking to him, and his name was Roger Ailes. And whereas Joe McGinniss, in his book, references the fact that Nixon, in 1960, was somewhat afraid of this thing called television, Roger Ailes looked Nixon in the eye and said, "Sir, you need to make television your friend." And when we left there, Mr. Nixon said, "I want you to arrange for that man to go meet Ray Price," was the first stop in the line of things.

And Roger came up the next week and met with Ray Price, and then he met with Garment, and Shakespeare, and the others, Harry Treleaven, the people that were part of the television team. And one of the most significant things about 1968 was Nixon's use of television. For a person who everyone thought was not good on television, and the whole myth of that spun out of the Jack Kennedy debate, Nixon mastered television. I mean, Pat talks about the telethon on election night, but we had these television programs called "The Man in the Arena" where Nixon would stand in the center and there were either citizens or press people all

around him and he had just a stand-up mic, and they could go right at him and he could answer. And this was incredibly effective in this campaign.

Pat Buchanan: Right. Let me mention, Roger Ailes also did the telethon the night of the Oregon primary. And again, Nixon was there and Bud Wilkinson, the coach of Oklahoma, he was a big supporter of his, he would ask the questions and Nixon would answer. Well, what this… The way we used television, Dwight and the others, everyone used television then, was to look at the man, Nixon, and look at his strengths, you know. He's not Ronald Reagan up there with a charismatic speech or something though Nixon gave a great speech at his convention, but what he was extremely good was his knowledge, his ability to articulate, to speak briefly, to speak at certain length, to get information in. His press conferences as president were, every one of them would show him rising. These were, really… The man had knowledge, experience, ability, an excellent mind, and the things were built around his strengths.

Ken Khachigian: He demonstrated it. Demonstrated it.

Pat Buchanan: The whole media was built around this is what we have, this is what his strong suit is, let's show the strong suit constantly.

Dwight Chapin: We took, one other quick thing, we made all of these trips to Florida over and over and over again.

Pat Buchanan: Great [inaudible 01:21:36]

Dwight Chapin: Tanned, rested, and ready. I mean, he went down there for the sun. I carried a suitcase, Pat harasses me about I was an expert at pouring coffee, but I also carried a suitcase, and in that suitcase was a sun lamp. And every single day, we would spend, like, 45 seconds in front of that…he would, in front of that sun lamp that kept...because his skin had that transparent quality that you may have read about.

Pat Buchanan: Yeah, Teddy White [crosstalk 01:22:08] big thing. [crosstalk 01:22:08]

Dwight Chapin: But the way that you countered it, the way he looked fantastic, all the way through that campaign, was that sun lamp.

Pat Buchanan: It was not only the sun lamp. We, as we said, in 1960, I've read Teddy White's book, we all did. And Teddy White was talking about how Kennedy was babbling at the end, he had done so many events, and Nixon had done so many events, his ear got irritable and everything. And we had a famous memo from Haldeman in '67, he said, "Look, you can take… Every event you do during the campaign and all

these speeches and things like that, you'll probably see 4 million or 5 million people in person. One night, on TV, you can see 20 million or 30 million. So, look good on the TV for the 20 million or 30 million. There's two deadlines, a morning newspaper, evening newspaper, evening TV."

So, what we did, remember, in New Hampshire, we'd take Nixon up and work him for two and a half days, then we'd head for that Manchester Airport, get on the Learjet, Dwight and I...

Dwight Chapin: Florida. Florida.

Pat Buchanan: …and Ray Price, head for Florida and Key Biscayne, into the [crosstalk 01:23:09]

Dwight Chapin: It was fantastic.

Pat Buchanan: Fantastic. Romney's up there committing suicide in the snows of New Hampshire, but Nixon makes all these various stops, and all of them look good. And what fills the empty space in New Hampshire are the ads of Nixon answering questions. So, the whole thing… I mean, Nixon learned tremendously from the mistakes of 1960. In 1960, and by 1968, was just a dramatic change. It's why he's the President of the United States.

Dwight Chapin: Yes. There's no question about it.

Geoff Shepard: He was also able to delegate the details.

Dwight Chapin: Well. The organization of the campaign in 1968 is critically important. He delegated, he gave Mitchell the campaign, and he gave Haldeman responsibility for running him, and he gave Ehrlichman responsibility for running the tour. And in the operations, we had people who were not there because they were making money, they were there because they were professionals who believed in Richard Nixon. And it gave a whole different cast to the campaign than what you get now when you put together a presidential campaign, and you buy all of this various talent, and try to put it together, and assume that they are committed to the candidate.

The Nixon alumni, when you go through them, and many of them have departed the scene, so to speak, to the hereafter, but our group of people, I would put them up against anyone, enter any campaign, in terms of the competence, in terms of their loyalty, the capability and so forth. And it was a marvelous organization.

Geoff Shepard: Super. I'm gonna move on because we're running out of time. Go ahead, Ken.

Ken Khachigian: You were asking about memories, and one memory is that we developed great mentors in these campaigns, and one of them that we should not ignore is a great man named Bryce Harlow.

Dwight Chapin: Yes.

Ken Khachigian: And Bryce Harlow was this…a young man that came out of Oklahoma. And he knew shorthand so he became a clerk to General George Marshall. And then, he worked his way up and he came into Eisenhower as a speechwriter for President Eisenhower, and then, became a lobbyist to Procter & Gamble. But he was also one of the wisest and greatest men in Washington, and he became an assistant in this campaign, and he became my mentor because I was his contact at the headquarters that take his phone calls and whatnot. And he protected me against Senators Karl Mundt and Milton Young when they harassed me.

Geoff Shepard: On agriculture.

Ken Khachigian: On agriculture. But the thing about...the other thing about Bryce Harlow is that he had a double agent in the White House and he knew every move President Johnson was making in advance on that bombing halt so that there was no secrets at all. Because Bryce was so well known in Washington, he still had people in the White House he knew. But quite beyond that, Bryce Harlow was one of the greatest Americans I know. And these fellows traveled with him too, as well, and he's just one of the wisest...

Pat Buchanan: Yeah, I can remember Bryce...

Ken Khachigian: ...and finest men.

Pat Buchanan: …very briefly, during the transition, Johnson called him, and Eisenhower called him, and Nixon called him, and Bryce said, "You know, within an hour, I've talked to two presidents and one future…one president to be." He was enormously well-liked by everyone in the city. He respected...

Geoff Shepard: He became the Head of Government Affairs when Nixon took off.

Pat Buchanan: He became a legislative guy.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah. He told me, on his first day, when he got into the office, there were 435 phone calls, you know. Everybody, you know, from the Hill, I mean, they all wanted to talk to Bryce.

Dwight Chapin: And Teddy White's book on 1968, which is an excellent book to read in terms of the campaign, he makes the point about the Nixon people having...Nixon having strategy and preparation. And I would like to tell a quick story about 1967. We are in Rhinelander, Wisconsin, up in the middle of nowhere, and it's around 6:00 in the morning, and the two of us are going down, we had a volunteer that was driving the car, and we are off to a radio station. Mr. Nixon is in the back of the car, you can hear the pen scratching, he had the light on back there. He's got his yellow pad out on his briefcase on his lap and he's making his notes, getting ready for this radio interview.

We arrive at the radio station and it's one room, and the guy that's going to interview him is also the engineer. He probably also sold the time for the radio station, I don't know. But it was so...it made such an indelible impression upon me about who this man was and his desire to prepare himself and to be ready for everything. And that is what really was one of the side benefits of the Haldeman memorandum. Because in the Haldeman memorandum, when Bob wrote that, he has a section called "Strategy and Thinking Time" and that whole thinking time element was something that we carried right in on to the schedule, all of the scheduling in the White House that I was involved with for five years.

Geoff Shepard: Okay.

Dwight Chapin: We had thinking time.

Geoff Shepard: We're gonna stop because I watch the clock, and we're gonna go through Nixon wins, you know. This is November 6th, the day after. The happy group, Nixon has prevailed. And now, what we're gonna do is go back, and we have about a minute and a half each. We're doing these forums to help guide future researchers and scholars through complex topics. Think through, for a second, because I've warned you beforehand, what topics are ripe for research that you don't think are fully appreciated in today's literature? Ken, we'll start with you.

Ken Khachigian: There's several topics that I've worked with on the bombing halt. And one is that President Johnson was truly agonized about whether to do the bombing halt, to begin with, because I've gone through the LBJ tapes, he taped himself, we didn't tape him, he taped himself, and he was agonizing about it. He was pushed by his own staff, some of it against his own wishes. And a lot of it was for the political strategy of the Democrats to have the bombing halt help Humphrey. Harriman, who was the negotiator in Paris, was a partisan Democrat who hated Nixon, who was working with Clark Clifford to push the bombing halt to get Humphrey over the line. That's one aspect.

Another thing that we ought to look at, which is in Teddy White's book in 1968, which has been much overlooked and mentioned in Tom Wicker's book as well, and also mentioned in Clark Clifford's book about…by Harriman, is that the Russians were very much involved in trying to get Humphrey elected. So, there's a Russian collusion story…

Geoff Shepard: Oh, wow.

Ken Khachigian: …that scholars ought to start looking about the Russians, very much wanted to get Humphrey elected.

Geoff Shepard: Dwight, you were talking last night, forgive me, just because I found this interesting, about the advance manual and the development of the advance manual. Could you recall that for us? Do you remember saying that?

Dwight Chapin: Does that take from my two minutes?

Geoff Shepard: Yeah, it does.

Dwight Chapin: No, I made the point that Billy Graham had said to Richard Nixon, vice president of the United States, in 1960, "Have one of your men come down to Montreat, I can show them what we do." And Bob Haldeman went to Montreat, North Carolina, and he met with the Billy Graham people and they showed him the manual that they used when they went in to establish crusades in various cities in America. And as with those of us that are older know that these crusades were mammoth things and highly organized. And Bob took the Billy Graham manual and went back and adapted it for advance men for the 1960 campaign. And then, in 1962, John Ehrlichman took that advance men's manual and adapted it for the California campaign.

And then, John was also in charge of the advance men for 1968, and they used that Billy Graham originated advance men's manual to take care of the 1968 campaign. And the important thing about it is the degree of organization that is in it is phenomenal and everything is highly controlled. And one thing about President Nixon, he could handle, or candidate Nixon, I should say, he could handle spontaneous things, but he didn't want to. He wanted to have everything thought through, he wanted to know exactly how it was going to work, what was expected, no surprises of any kind.

Geoff Shepard: Just like this forum.

Dwight Chapin: Yeah.

Geoff Shepard: Everything, we know what's going to be said. Now, you get your two minutes, but be quick.

Dwight Chapin: Okay. I think it would be interesting for a researcher to go in and investigate this whole thing about Presidential Debate Commissions because our strategy in '68 was not to debate. And the way that the Commission is set up now, it's like they ordained that there are going to be these debates, and that is one of the most significant campaign strategy decisions that can be made, and maybe candidates should decide that they're not going to debate. I'm not against public exposure of issues, but I think it's a campaign subject that needs to be looked into. The other thing I wanted to mention is that the young lady that was holding a sign in Deshler, Ohio that said, "Mr. Nixon, bring us together again," that was...that's huge.

And in this country, at this time, it would be interesting to go back and go and look at the division from the war and everything else, how Mr. Nixon handled that at the convention. His convention speech in Miami was one of the...it was a work of art. It is one of the best speech…political speeches, that anyone can ever read or understand.

Geoff Shepard: Thank you. Pat?

Pat Buchanan: I would say, Richard Nixon as a political figure, he along with FDR are the only two Americans on five national tickets that you should go back and study Richard Nixon, young naval officer like Jack Kennedy, coming out in 1946, going after Alger Hiss and the great anti-communist era of the late 1940s and 1950s. Then, you see him moving and winning the hugest Senate landslide in California history, becoming a vice president. The idea of running against Kennedy, this new era is opening up, the '60s, and how it was that he came through, after these defeats, through the 1960s, the cultural, social, moral revolutions that were going on then, racial revolutions, civil rights, and all the rest of it, and the extraordinary ability he had to, if you will, move through all of these war, that it looks like a member of "War and Peace."

They had the doctor going across the battlefield, both armies are going at each other, and he's going right through and surviving it all. And how Nixon rose to make himself, not only president of the United States, but the greatest landslide in American presidential history, given what he had gone through and the opposition he had. I think as just a political figure, I think it's been said incorrectly, he's the dominant figure of the 3rd quarter of the 20th century, far and away. And many people say, I've seen others say he's the most important figure because I think he gave birth to the new majority that Ronald Reagan built upon.

And in 1980 and '84, Nixon birthed that new majority out of the Wallace, Humphrey, all of these [inaudible 01:36:25] force, Goldwater forces, old Republicans, and put together the greatest majority since the New Deal majority.

Geoff Shepard: Thank you. We're gonna end with Annelise.

Annelise Anderson: Yeah. So, I think the National Archives are a great resource and the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda is a terrific resource. And what I would do, if I were going to do more research on Richard Nixon, is I would go back to the things he wrote by hand. And Pat Buchanan's book is a great example of the memos. Nixon responds to people who send him memos. And a lot of those are in Pat's book, but there are other handwritten things. My late husband's papers, Martin Anderson, are going to be released at the Hoover Institution, and Nixon wrote things to Martin. And he said, "I agree with this. Let's proceed with this," or…and what he himself says that results in all the rest of this, I think is very important.

Geoff Shepard: And we end there. We've ended on time. We began with compliments of the National Archives. This was not rehearsed. We end with compliments to the National Archives. Thank you all for coming. Programs over. We're gonna ask the Nixon alumni to stay for a few minutes because we wanna chat with them for just a couple of minutes, but give the public the opportunity to depart. Thank you very, very much for coming. Now, we get a picture……