

December 15, 1968

Honorable Karl E. Mundt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Karl:

I would like to acknowledge en bloc your excellent grouping of letters suggesting a number of highly competent people for various Administration posts, inviting attention to a foreign policy paper prepared originally for Vice President Humphrey, and offering an analysis of a number of people presently employed in the Executive Branch.

To insure your recognition of what I am referring to, I am citing Mr. Al Schock, John Mundt, Harvey Gunderson and John Gottschalk, and your other suggestions, now by-passed by events, of several people for Cabinet positions.

Karl, certainly all of these views and recommendations will be most thoroughly considered, notably including your hearty endorsement of Bill Macomber a long-time close friend of mine. It is good of you to keep furnishing us suggestions of this fine quality for the new Administration.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BWH:kmb

cc: Peter Flanigan ✓

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. McCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

WALTER C. CONAHAN
PRESS SECRETARY

ROBERT E. RUDDY
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 7, 1968

MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr. Bryce Harlow
Assistant to the President-Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Bryce:

This note is simply to enclose for your guidance and reference a rather interesting paper under date of November 6 which was supplied to me from an authentic source, the name of which I do not want to identify in this letter but will give you sometime when we are visiting together personally or on the telephone.

The genesis of this paper comes from the group of individuals whose names appear on pages 11 and 12 and, of whom John K. Fairbank a longtime advocate of a soft policy toward China is typical, that this paper was originally prepared for Hubert Humphrey in the expectation that he might be elected President. When that did not eventuate, the group decided to redo the first name and prepare it as a sort of guideline for President-Elect Nixon. I think the genesis of the paper, the unrealistic recommendations it contains and the nature of the academic group preparing it clearly marks it as something far out of line from what Dick Nixon is likely to advocate. I send it to you only as a "bronze warning light" that this paper is undoubtedly floating around up there among Dick Nixon's foreign policy advisors and I think it might be well to make sure that those who read it know something about its background and original purpose.

I need not remind you that the old adage "beware of Greeks bearing gifts" was born in the lap of experience!

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,


Karl E. Mundt
U. S. Senator

KEM:mt

November 6, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT-ELECT NIXON
ON UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH CHINA

As scholars in the field of East Asian studies who have completed a year of private discussions of America's relations with East Asia under the auspices of the Institute of Politics of Harvard's J.F. Kennedy School of Government, we write to give you our thoughts on the pivotal issue of United States relations with China.

United States Objectives

The past two decades of American-East Asian relations have been dominated by the central reality of Sino-American hostility and deadlock. It seems evident that, whatever the nature or timing of a Vietnam settlement, the China problem will continue to dominate our East Asian relations in the years of the new Administration and, indeed, through the decade of the 1970's.

Communist China's size, ideology, relative isolation, potential power and current internal upheaval increase the dangers of instability in a chronically unstable part of the world. The central objective of America's China policy has been and should continue to be to avoid war with China and to minimize its disruption of surrounding areas.

Since the end of the Korean War, previous Administrations have generally followed a two-fold policy to achieve these objectives: on the one hand, military containment in order to deter possible Chinese aggression; on the other hand, a limited and tentative effort at communication with the China mainland through ambassadorial talks and, from time to time, proposals for unofficial contacts. Through much of this period, of course, the first of these approaches has been given such priority as to dwarf the significance of the second.

It seems to us that the time has come for a more equal balance between these two approaches, so that, while continuing to avoid war with China and to discourage Chinese military intervention abroad, we move more positively toward the relaxation of tensions between China and the United States, and the eventual achievement of reconciliation.

The specific steps we propose below in pursuit of these objectives require some important words of caution. Although the outcome of the domestic turmoil that has disrupted mainland China for the past three years remains unclear, we do not now anticipate any Chinese desire to improve relations with the United States. It is therefore highly likely that any and all of the initiatives that we propose will be rejected out of hand by Peking's leaders in the foreseeable future.

We propose these initiatives, nonetheless, because of our conviction that our national interests in Asia will best be served by an American policy that offers the Chinese the clear option of a less hostile relationship with the outside world. At a minimum, we will complicate a Peking decision-making process that has all too easily been based on a theory of implacable American hostility; at the same time, we will be speaking--through our deeds as well as our words--to present or future Chinese leaders who harbor doubts about Mao Tse-tung's vision of the world. Unless we achieve this better balanced policy, we may at the least miss significant opportunities to moderate Peking's behavior and, at the worst, may help lay the groundwork for a war with China that neither side can hope to "win."

Proposals

A. Relations with Mainland China

1. Exploratory Meeting

You should seriously explore the possibility of arranging confidential--perhaps even deniable--conversations between Chinese Communist leaders and someone in whom you have confidence. Your emissary would convey the new Administration's interest in hearing Chinese views on a wide spectrum of subjects including Vietnam and disarmament and in probing,

unofficially and in a more informal setting than at Warsaw, the prospects for a normal relationship. It may well be that the Chinese will refuse to receive such an emissary; the effort should nonetheless be made to signal a revised American attitude.

2. Vietnam Negotiations

The arduous process of a Vietnam settlement may well offer an opportunity for the improvement of relations with China and engagement of China in the international order. Despite China's present hostility to a negotiated solution, the new Administration should be alert to opportunities to involve Peking in some stage of the Vietnam negotiating process--perhaps through the re-convening of the Geneva Conference, perhaps through a restructured forum, perhaps through a packaged end-product that would bring China, both Vietnams, and other divided nations into the United Nations. The chief consideration: Vietnam negotiations should be looked upon as a possible step toward a wider Asian settlement, and, thereby, an instrument for the potential inclusion of China in the international community.

3. Lowering of Polemics

It is essential that all Administration spokesmen refrain from provocative statements in their comments about

China, regardless of Peking's hostile rhetoric. In the past, pious hopes for "reconciliation" have often been undermined by press releases such as those that compared the Chinese Communists to the Nazis. Especially galling to the Chinese Communists is the apparent American stand that Taiwan is the only China. The new Administration should find an early opportunity to erase this lag between rhetoric and reality. Since 1955, under two parties and three Presidents, the U.S. Government has dealt, in Geneva and Warsaw and in Taipei, with two regimes that call themselves "China." It would be most useful for you or your Secretary of State to find an occasion to take note of the fact--without fanfare--that we have in effect accorded Peking de facto recognition for a decade and a half, but that de jure recognition is obviously a far more complicated matter that remains to be discussed.

4. Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM)

The new Administration will have to decide whether to continue with the recently authorized "thin" ABM system. In our view, insufficient consideration has been given by the present Administration to the consequences for Sino-American relations that this system may entail. Aside from questions of the Soviet-American military balance, present plans for an ABM are not only militarily unnecessary as a

deterrent to Peking but may well be viewed by the Chinese Communists as evidence of American intent to attack China. We urge that the ABM decision be reconsidered.

5. Trade

The new Administration should seek an early opportunity to modify America's trade embargo against China, a residue of the Korean War which denies China nothing she needs, is supported by none of our major allies, acts as periodic irritant in our relations with third parties, denies America even the possibility of marginal economic leverage in a changing China, and prevents our businessmen from sharing in the China market. In this regard, the new Administration should build on the tentative rhetoric of its predecessors and place our trade with China on the same basis (non-strategic goods) as our trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe.

6. Travel and Other Contacts

The new Administration should likewise remove the last vestiges of controls on the travel of Americans to China and, at the same time, should make known its willingness to admit as visitors to the U.S. any Chinese the Peking government is willing to send to our shores. These steps will not only reflect the confidence and strength of a free society; they will open the door to the possibility of de-isolation when

some future Chinese leadership is ready to choose that option. In addition to official contacts, the new Administration should encourage private and unofficial meetings between Chinese and American journalists, educators, scientists, artists, and others.

B. Relations with Taiwan

The foregoing steps involve preliminary attempts to restructure the Washington-Peking relationship. Simultaneous with such steps should come, inevitably, a restructuring of the Washington-Taipei relationship. Here again the aim should be to bridge the gap between rhetoric and reality. The United States recognizes the Chinese Nationalists as the Government of the Republic of China, purporting to rule the mainland as well as Taiwan and the Pescadores; but Washington has long since begun to treat them as a government restricted to Taiwan and the Pescadores, tacitly accepting the fact that the Nationalists will not reconquer the mainland. Ever since 1951 every Administration has made it clear that Taiwan is not legally part of China, leaving the question of its status open to future developments. The new Administration should now build upon this reality. It should reaffirm America's commitment to the defense of Taiwan and the Pescadores, so long as people in Taiwan wish to retain a separate identity from mainland China. But by taking four particular steps it should anticipate and defuse Chinese Nationalist potential

for causing Washington embarrassment:

1. Your Administration should send as Ambassador to Taiwan a man who understands the Administration's broad China strategy and can communicate it. In order to demonstrate the importance that you attach to political rather than military considerations, he should not be a military man.

2. As long as relative peace prevails in the Formosa Strait, the Administration should use this opportunity to press anew for orderly Nationalist evacuation of the offshore islands, Matsu and Quemoy. (While occupied by the Nationalists, these islands provide a lever by which either "China" can draw American forces into an unwanted Asian conflict.) It should also press for an end to provocative Nationalist acts against the mainland.

3. The Administration should prepare the ground, in frank discussions with the Chinese Nationalists, for a gradual shift in America's relationship with Peking and, specifically, for the complex problems which will undoubtedly arise in the United Nations (see below).

4. Finally, the Administration should be alert to political forces that are at work beneath the surface in Taiwan and, when opportunity offers, should press Chiang Kai-shek and/or his successors to offer the eleven million Taiwanese and the two million mainlanders on the island an opportunity for fuller participation in political life.

C. Broader Problems

1. The United Nations

The problem of Chinese representation in the United Nations will probably not confront the new Administration until the autumn of 1969. By that time the search for a Vietnam settlement as well as earlier China-related initiatives may have tested the prospects for normalization of relations. In the unlikely event that these previous steps have borne fruit in our relations with China, the UN situation would present a smaller problem. If not, however, it is nonetheless our conviction that the Administration should not seek to block the PRC's representation in the United Nations. For several obvious reasons, UN representation for Peking will undoubtedly come before--and is probably a prerequisite to--improved relations between China and America. In our view, the de-isolation of China requires Chinese participation, whenever possible, in international forums and the long-term "socialization" that such contacts may produce. U.S. policy-makers should therefore accept Peking's membership in the General Assembly and the Security Council while seeking simultaneously to preserve a General Assembly seat for Taiwan, whether as the Republic of China, an independent nation, or an autonomous region of China. Such objectives may best be achieved through acquiescence rather than active leadership

by Washington; but they will require careful advance planning.

2. China's Neighbors

A gradual shift in our China policy, while welcome to our major allies, will cause anxiety among some of China's neighbors who have tailored their actions to the containment aspect of our policy. It is imperative that we ease the transition for these states by keeping them informed of our progress and plans and by assuring them of our continuing interest in their welfare.

3. Japan

It is especially important that we take Japan into our confidence in every step of our strategy. Although Japan will favor the substance of our strategy, if we abruptly shift gears without prior notice, we will create acute embarrassment for the Japanese Government.

4. Third Country Contacts

We should welcome the efforts of countries such as Japan to develop increasing contacts with mainland China, in the hope of involving the Chinese Communist regime more substantially in the world community.

5. Washington-Moscow-Peking

Implicit in the foregoing suggestions is the hope that the new Administration will attempt to view Sino-American

relations as a separate problem from Soviet-American relations, though inevitably a related problem. The Sino-Soviet split provides us with an opportunity to treat each party separately and to scrutinize our national interests in each relationship with care. We urge that the new Administration, in its proper concern with the bilateral super-power balance, avoid judgments about China and its development that derive from Moscow's views of Peking. A Soviet-American alliance against Peking may serve Russia's interests; but it may not automatically serve U.S. national interests.

* * * * *

We believe that the recommendations outlined above will establish an American posture of firmness in our declared purposes and yet of reasonableness, prudence and willingness to resolve political problems by going half-way to meet the other side. This is a posture that will command the support of the broad center of the American electorate and of most of the nations of the world.

A. Doak Barnett

A. Doak Barnett
Professor of Government, Columbia University

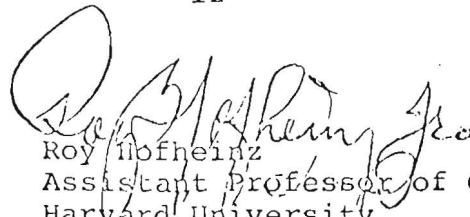
Jerome Alan Cohen

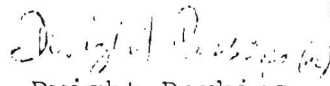
Jerome Alan Cohen (Chairman)
Professor of Law, Harvard University

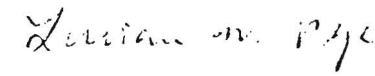
John K. Fairbank

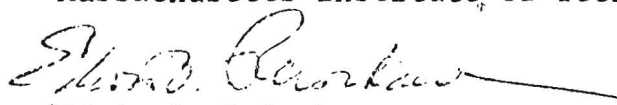
John K. Fairbank
Director, East Asian Research Center,
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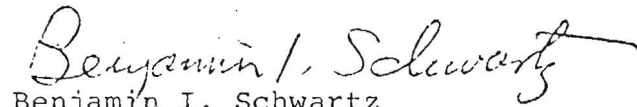
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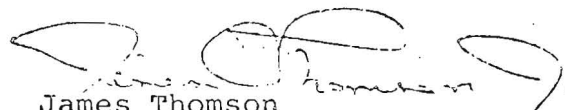

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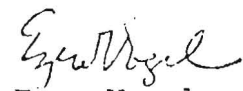

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KARL E. MUNDT
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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 30, 1968

MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr. Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the President-Elect
Office of the President Elect
Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bryce:

It was good receiving your letter of November 27, and I shall certainly keep in mind the request you relayed from President Elect Nixon and try to have in your hands some suggestions prior to the deadline mentioned in your letter.

When your letter arrived, I was in the process of writing a letter to Dick as a follow-up to the one which I sent him just prior to leaving for the NATO Conference in Brussels. Since it contains a number of ideas which I am sure will fall within the general purview and areas of your responsibilities, I will enclose a copy of that letter with this communication.

All of us in this office were delighted by the appointment which you were given by Dick and are convinced that if he uses the same good judgment in connection with his future staffing problems, he will come up with an Administration deluxe!

Congratulations to you - and to him!

With best wishes and kindest personal regards,

I am,

Cordially yours,

Karl E. Mundt, U.S.S.

Shortly after I mailed my letter to him - he phoned me and we had a 15 minute conversation. He asked me to send you some special info which I will phone to you this week.

KEM:dt

Enclosure

KEM

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. McCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

November 30, 1968

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
Mudge, Stern, Baldwin, Todd
20 Broad Street
New York, New York

Dear Dick:

This is a follow-up to the letter which I wrote you on November 9, the day I left to attend the NATO Parliamentarians Conference in Brussels, from which Mary and I returned early this week. When I got back to my office, my secretary told me you had tried to reach me from New York by telephone on Friday, November 22, so I shall try to get you on the phone some time next week or you can reach me in my office here virtually any day, since I expect to remain in Washington at least until one week from today or possible a little longer.

There has not been much change in the recommendations and proposals which have come in since I wrote you last in connection with the difficult but highly important task of selecting an acceptable and effective Secretary of Agriculture. You will recall that I listed the names of three individuals: John Anderson, Congressman Mark Andrews, and Senator Frank Carlson. Since my letter to you, I have done a little further checking on former Governor Anderson of Kansas and find that, while he seems to be fairly well liked by most of the agricultural organizations, some of those who know him most intimately appear to feel he lacks something in dynamism, determination, and drive, and so I at least should flash that bronze warning light for you in the event you are seriously considering his appointment. You might want to check him out pretty thoroughly as to his administrative capacities, and I also have learned that he does not meet the criterion which you enunciated during the campaign for your Secretary of Agriculture - a man with an intimate background of experience in the production aspects of agriculture.

I can suggest two additional names in this letter, however, which I believe merit careful consideration and checking at your end of the line. The first is Congressman Al Quie of Minnesota, whom you know well and who, happily, happens to enjoy support from most, if not all, of the farm organizations. More important than that, I do not believe any of them are

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actively opposed to Al Quie. It might take a little "arm-twisting" on your part to convince Al to take this assignment, but I am inclined to believe that he would make you an excellent choice should you be successful in enrolling his services for that position.

I can also recommend a man from my own State of South Dakota whom you have met but whom you do not know well. I refer to Mr. Al Schock of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Al was born and reared on a farm and graduated from our great State agricultural university in Brookings, South Dakota. Since then, he and his brother, Ozzie, organized and operated with great success a business institution known as "The Terrace Park Dairy," which specializes in making Nordica cottage cheese, which is sold generally around the country, and other dairy products, including ice cream. Al was at one time an International Vice President of Lions International, knows how to talk with farmers, but, of course, once again lacks the "background of experience" in the production aspects of agriculture which you listed as one of your criterion for selecting a Secretary of Agriculture. Al Quie, of course, would meet that standard fully. Al Schock is a very highly regarded business and reclamation leader in our State, however, and should you want additional background on him, I shall be glad to supply all details or answer any questions. He is a man in his early 50's, with a persuasive personality, which would help him in his work with Committees of Congress and with farm organizations.

Before closing this discussion of possible choices for Secretary of Agriculture, Dick, let me report the reaction which I have picked up from our Representatives and Senators from farming areas and from the Farm Belt, generally, concerning two names which have been mentioned in the press as your possible choices. Congressman Paul Findley has been mentioned a time or two, and he immediately raises the hackles on the back of every neck of everyone from the farming area to whom I have spoken. It appears he has been an articulate and ardent opponent of many of our farm programs and is considered across the country to be "in the pocket of the Farm Bureau Federation". I am sure if he were chosen, he would begin his administration with all, and perhaps more, of the handicaps that confronted Ezra Benson when he started his ill-fated career. What is true of Congressman Paul Findley is also true of the President of the American Farm Bureau, Charles Schuman. I am confident that you are not giving any serious consideration to the appointment of Schuman, since this obviously would throw down the gauntlet of challenge to every other national farm organization and involve this Department in bitter farm organization politics at the very start, but I want to mention it for the record since two or three newsmen recently have queried me about whether I thought Schuman might be being seriously considered for Secretary of Agriculture.

November 30, 1968

Incidentally, our mutual friend, Senator Milt Young, called me from Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the other day, saying he had also received a call from you which he could not answer and asking me to tell you he was available to fly back and come up and consult with you at any time should you desire to talk to him, or us, about this particular appointment. He discussed with me the contents of what I have written in the foregoing paragraphs, and asked me to tell you that he underscores and endorses emphatically what I have written.

As you will recall, Dick, you appointed me six weeks or two months prior to the Miami convention as chairman of a group of "hard-core Nixon Senators" with whom you could confer and from whom I could relay advice to you just as you did the same on the House side in your appointment of Congressman Leslie Arends. I do not know whether it is your desire that our group continue to consult together from time to time on programs, problems, and alternative personalities, since I am not sure whether our responsibilities were to end "when you were elected President" or "when you took the oath of office".

Either alternative is perfectly acceptable to me, but since a number of our mutual friends among the group which you appointed have asked me about this, it would be helpful if I could have a word of guidance from you in this connection. In the meantime, I find that a number of them, and a few of the House members on Arends' committee, continue to call me with recommendations, suggestions, and inquiries. Among those suggestions which I should perhaps pass on to you are the following:

(1) In your appointment of a new Secretary of Interior, I think you should be very sure to select one from among the so-called "17 Western States" generally considered to be the "Reclamation States". Quite a rhabarb developed among some of our colleagues from the Western States when news stories appeared in the press that you were considering either Congressman Rogers Morton or Congressman Saylor of Pennsylvania as a possible new Secretary of the Interior. I know and like both of these Congressmen, Dick, but I share completely the feeling expressed to me by your hard-core friends down here who insist that it would be a serious error to select anybody east of Chicago, at least, as Secretary of the Interior. That is the One Cabinet post where Westerners are agreed that the Secretary should be chosen from the States primarily connected with the operations of the various functions of the Department of the Interior. Traditionally, this has been considered "a Western position" in every President's Cabinet, and I think it would be a serious error to violate that tradition, especially in view of the fact that on November 5 you carried every Reclamation State but one and missed that one only by a tiny margin.

Honorable Richard M. Nixon

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November 30, 1968

(2) Many of those who have talked to me believe - and I concur - that you could make some real character for yourself and get your Administration off to a strong start by retaining in certain important posts down here some of the Bureau chiefs and important public officials who have done an unusually efficient job and who have dealt with complete equity with Republicans in the Congress down through the years. If desired, I presume our group could give you quite a list of people in this category. The ones most frequently mentioned, however, include J. Edgar Hoover, whom I am sure, of course, you will retain, and, primarily, Floyd Dominy, Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, and Dr. William Pecora, head of the Geological Survey. Should you desire us to check more deeply into this category of public service, we shall be happy to do so.

Finally, let me say that an old friend of yours and mine, Joe Foss, who rendered valiant service during the campaign, has expressed an interest in becoming Secretary of the Air Force in the event that fits your pattern of appointments. You will probably be hearing this from other sources, but I did think I should get the information to you now since I know that you are as fully acquainted with Joe's capabilities and total loyalties as I am.

Looking forward to speaking with you on the telephone some time next week, and with warmest personal regards to Pat and you from Mary and me, I am

Cordially yours,

Karl E. Mundt, U.S.S.

KEM:rf

P. S. One of the important slots you are going to have to fill is a new Director of the U. S. Information Service, which you helped originate and legislate. You might want to make a note to the effect that Mark Evans, of this city, whom you know well, might be both a popular and an effective appointment for this important Service.

KEM

December 13, 1968

J. Harlow

Honorable Karl E. Mundt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Karl:

Thanks very much for your December 6 salute to Bob McCaughey and Rod Kreger of your staff. They are two highly qualified men who, I am sure, will be given careful attention by those working most closely with Mr. Nixon on the new line-up.

I have placed your considered endorsements of both Bob and Rod before these individuals in the transition complex, and with their impressive credentials, I'm sure there will be active deliberation over their interest in joining the new Administration.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. MCCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
ABERDEEN, SOUTH DAKOTA

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
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WALTER C. CONAHAN
PRESS SECRETARY
LEOLA, SOUTH DAKOTA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 4, 1968



MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

file

Mr. John Mitchell
Office of President-Elect
Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear John:

Enclosed is a copy of a self-explanatory letter from my constituent, Mr. Marion R. Smyser, who indicates his availability to serve in the Administration in some advisory post without compensation if and when the need arises for someone of his background. I would appreciate it if you would give him your consideration.

I am sending this information also to Bryce Harlow.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Karl E. Mundt
Karl E. Mundt
U. S. Senator

KEM:kmt
Enclosure

cc: ~~Mr.~~ Bryce Harlow
Mr. Marion Smyser

Vermillion, South Dakota
November 15, 1968

Senator Karl E. Mundt
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Mundt:

During the campaign and prior to the Miami convention, we who worked for Mr. Nixon's nomination and election represented to the voters that Mr. Nixon possessed the experience, integrity, and capabilities necessary to provide the leadership needed so urgently by our country. Many of the voters relied on what we told them. As a consequence, Mr. Nixon is President-elect. We now have the duty to follow through. Accordingly, I believe that we should make our respective talents and capabilities available to Mr. Nixon so that he can accomplish the job that we told the voters would be accomplished.

I, for one, am willing to serve, without compensation, on any committee where you may feel I can be of some use, either to you or to Mr. Nixon. Briefly, to give you some idea of my background and qualifications, I hereby submit the following information:

I have been teaching law at the University of South Dakota since 1963. Presently, I am full professor with tenure. My degrees are: B.A. and J.D., University of Wyoming; and L.L.M., George Washington University. I practiced my profession for seventeen years in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, before becoming a law professor. Most of my practice involved the defense of railroads and motor carriers in personal injury and other negligence actions in both the federal and state courts. Additionally, I handled numerous labor and commerce matters for railroads and motor carriers before various administrative agencies. I suspect I have tried as many cases as any lawyer in South Dakota and far more than most. For two and one half years, I served as Deputy Attorney General for the state of Wyoming. During this time, I argued, on behalf of the state, every criminal case that was heard in the Wyoming Supreme Court.

At the law school my specialties are: Administrative Law and Procedure, Labor Law, Federal Court Jurisdiction and Procedure, Trials and Appeals, also, I teach and sit as judge of the Trial Court at the Law School. In this course each senior law

student is required to try an actual case from start to finish before a jury in the trial court. On the average, ten or twelve jury cases are tried during the school year in my court. All graduates of the law school since 1963 practicing in South Dakota have learned to try law suits under me.

As for my personal philosophy, I believe that statutes should be changed or modified only by the legislative branch, and that the courts should not attempt to write law. Changes in the Constitution should be made only by the people. It is my belief that the court steps out of bounds when it attempts to bring the Constitution in line with the times, because legally only the people have the right to do this. Further, I am of the firm conviction that the courts should adhere to stare decisis. An example will suffice to disclose my thinking. At an early date the United States Supreme Court, in interpreting the Constitution of the United States, adopted the "separate but equal facilities" doctrine. Whereupon this doctrine was the interpreted meaning of the Constitution and became the law of the land binding on the people and courts alike, until and unless changed by the people. The Supreme Court with its subsequent change in membership was wrong, and it usurped the prerogative of the people when it later held the doctrine to be unconstitutional. Again, I mention these things merely to give you some idea of my views.

Prior to entering college, in the late 30's, I worked on various forestry programs and also worked in several logging camps. Upon entering college, I studied forestry for three years before I switched to law school.

Because of my background and experience, I would say that my talents lie mostly in the following fields:

- (1) transportation
- (2) labor
- (3) commerce
- (4) forestry
- (5) law-judiciary

I teach full time in the law school; however, we professors do have time to serve on committees and to engage in other off-campus activities.

Sincerely yours,

Marion A. Dryser
Marion A. Dryser
Professor of Law

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. McCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

WALTER C. CONAHAN
PRESS SECRETARY

ROBERT E. RUDDY
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 2, 1968

MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

file

Mr. Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the President-Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Bryce:

I deeply appreciate your gracious note of November 29 and I shall govern myself accordingly.

*accomplished
12/3*

In conformity with the suggestion Dick made to me on the telephone when he called in Saturday afternoon, I shall be calling you on the phone early this week.

answered

In the meantime, enclosed is a letter which came to me from a South Dakotan who tells me he has met you and knows you and wanted to have his letter reach you personally. I have no idea what he is writing you about but I am faithfully following the suggestion of a valued constituent.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Karl E. Mundt
Karl E. Mundt
U. S. Senator

KEM:mt
Enclosure

NOVEMBER 30, 1968

RN TALKED TO SENATOR KARL MUNDT TODAY.

November 30, 1968

Dear Judge Manson:

Through the good offices of my distinguished friend, Senator Karl Mundt, I have received your excellent letter urging Mr. Nixon to continue to communicate directly with the American people.

Your remarks are eminently sensible. It is clearly the right of every citizen to have an accurate appreciation of the policies and programs of his federal government. Mr. Nixon hopes to improve upon past practices of communicating these policies and programs, both by following through on suggestions such as you have presented and by enunciating clearly and without equivocation.

Thank you very much for your interest and concern.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb

Judge R. F. Manson
Third Judicial Circuit Court
Watertown, South Dakota

November 29, 1968

Honorable Karl E. Mundt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Karl:

I appreciate your contacting me as the proper individual to channel your constituent's letter to the President-Elect. I have done so, and I am glad to have been of assistance.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

Judge R F Manson

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. McCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

WALTER C. CONAHAN
PRESS SECRETARY

ROBERT E. RUDDY
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 25, 1968

MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr. Bryce Harlow
c/o President-Elect Nixon
The White House
Washington, D. C.

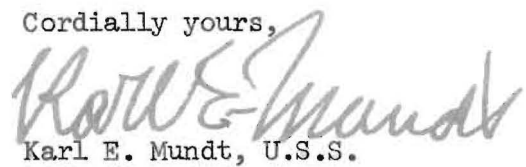
Dear Bryce:

Enclosed is a sealed envelope which Judge R. F. Manson of the Third Judicial Circuit Court, Watertown, South Dakota, has send to me with a request that it be forwarded to the staff of Dick Nixon.

I am today writing Judge Manson that I have placed the communication in your hands.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,


Karl E. Mundt, U.S.S.

KEM:vb

November 29, 1968

Honorable Karl E. Mundt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Karl:

Just a quick note to tell you how much I appreciate your excellent note to me and also your highly constructive and thoughtful letter to our President-Elect, in which you offer a number of suggestions for Secretary of Agriculture. This is the kind of constructive effort we need from a tremendous number of people, if we are going to equip this new Administration with the kind of people who will make it a success.

You indicated that when you return from Europe, you will be in touch with me. I look forward to hearing from you and I hope we can stay in close touch as long as I remain back in government.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb

Harlow

November 27, 1968

Honorable Karl E. Mundt, USS
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Karl:

For the next several weeks President-Elect Nixon will be firming up programs to be proposed to Congress by the new Republican Administration.

Mr. Nixon is much aware of your long Congressional experience and your leadership as our party's senior member on the Committee on Government Operations. He is very hopeful that you will offer suggestions for inclusion in the program of the new Administration and that your recommendations can be made available by mid-December. If you would supply these suggestions to me, I will see that they receive the priority attention that the President-Elect has directed.

With cordial regard.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the President-Elect

BNH:mv

November 22, 1968

Dear Karl:

I warmly appreciate your congratulations and good wishes, and I certainly reciprocate those sentiments to you.

Now our nation has a new Administration. We are going to work cooperatively and, I anticipate, very constructively with the 91st Congress. From its start I am hopeful that all of us will be able to come together in the interest of good government and a better America.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

The Honorable Karl E. Mundt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. McCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

WALTER C. CONAHAN
PRESS SECRETARY

ROBERT E. RUDDY
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

November 6, 1968

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
President Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Dick:

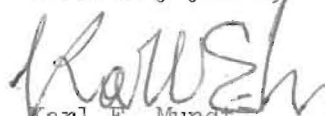
Since I was unable to reach you on the telephone this note is simply to extend my congratulations on a great victory and a great campaign.

It was tough going all the way and that last minute "bombing pause" presented our side with some serious problems and certainly cost millions of votes. We dubbed it clearly as having political implications out here and that helped us mightily in rolling up the nice vote we got for you but it was a difficult hurdle to overcome nationally.

In all events, there is a bit of "ironic justice" in winning this one by about the margin which you lost in 1960 and I shall look forward to working with you in Washington and to hearing from you earlier if there is any additional service that I can render.

Mary joins me in extending you and Pat the heartiest congratulations we have ever extended any successful candidate for President during our lifetime. With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,


Karl E. Mundt
U. S. Senator

KEM:mt

→ Karl

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 24, 1968

Honorable George Murphy
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear George:

I have now set up shop in the Transition headquarters, Federal Building No. 7, corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C. While it will be necessary for me to divide my time between the Capital and New York until January 20, my associates -- Ken Belieu and Bill Timmons, both "Deputy Assistants for Congressional Relations" -- will operate from the temporary Washington office. Ken will be concentrating on Senate matters, and Bill on House matters. Please call on them if they can be helpful in any way during this governmental hiatus.

The D. C. office switchboard is 395-2000 and the New York number is (212) 421-3100.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

NOVEMBER 13, 1968

RN COMPLETED TELEPHONE CALL TO SEN. GEORGE MURPHY.

December 9, 1968

Honorable George Murphy
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear George:

I prize very highly your note of congratulations. You are very generous, and it is my honor to have the opportunity of working with you in the coming months.

I have every expectation that your able assistance will be needed as we forge through the wilderness. Thanks massively for the offer, and for your comments of encouragement. Hope to see you ere long.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

GEORGE MURPHY
CALIFORNIA



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 14, 1968

Dear Bryce:

I just wanted to extend my own personal congratulations to the many you are receiving on your appointment.

I am delighted to know that I will be working with you in the days and months ahead, and if I or my staff can be of any assistance, please feel free to call upon us.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,


George Murphy

The Honorable Bryce Harlow
3744 North 30th Road
Arlington, Virginia 22207

December 9, 1968

Honorable George Murphy
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear George:

This will confirm our previous telephone notification of a meeting of President-Elect Nixon with the Republican Legislative Leaders on Monday, December 16, at 11:00 a.m. The meeting will be held in the conference room, 7th floor, Federal Building (corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W. -- entrance, 17th Street).

You will be met at the elevator on the 7th floor and shown to the conference room to avoid delays.

Your suggestions regarding agenda items for this first Leadership Meeting will be welcomed.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb

From John Tower's office

Senator Murphy sent the following telegram to GOP Senators.

"Have just heard report President may call Senate back and submit judicial nominations. You will recall we joined on June 25 in a statement that we would oppose any Supreme Court nominations the President might submit in waning months of his Administration. I believe this, in view of the election returns, should now apply to all judicial nominations. I hope you will agree with me. New judges should be selected by new Administration and would appreciate your return wire indicating if you will support me in a public statement of this viewpoint.

Sen. Tower replied he had released a statement in reference to the NPT and a special session and said that this would apply to judicial appointments as well. (Sen Tower's statement is enclosed.)

11/27 jch

11/28
Bill T.
① put
② 7/11
TH

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NN466 (47)(20)CTA445

WG202 WW SNA106 PDB SN WASHINGTON DC 6 402P EST 68 NOV 6 PM 7 20
PRESIDENT ELECT RICHARD M NIXON, DLY 75

810 FIFTH AVE NYK

WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE GREAT VICTORY WHICH YOU AND
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BOTH SO FULLY DESERVE. SINCERELY

GEORGE MURPHY U S SENATOR

(434).

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 24, 1968

Honorable John M. Murphy
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear John:

I have now set up shop in the Transition headquarters, Federal Building #7, corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington, D.C. While it will be necessary for me to divide my time between the Capital and New York until January 20, my associates -- Ken Belieu and Bill Timmons, both "Deputy Assistants for Congressional Relations" -- will operate from the temporary Washington office. Ken will be concentrating on Senate matters, and Bill on House matters. Please call on them if they can be helpful in any way during this governmental hiatus.

The D. C. office switchboard is 395-2000 and the New York number is (212) 421-3100.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kb

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

RICHARD M. NIXON

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1968

Honorable William T. Murphy
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I have now set up shop in the Transition headquarters, Federal Building #7, corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington, D.C. While it will be necessary for me to divide my time between the Capital and New York until January 20, my associates -- Ken Belieu and Bill Timmons, both "Deputy Assistants for Congressional Relations" -- will operate from the temporary Washington office. Ken will be concentrating on Senate matters, and Bill on House matters. Please call on them if they can be helpful in any way during this governmental hiatus.

The D. C. office switchboard is 395-2000 and the New York number is (212) 421-3100.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kb

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 24, 1968

Honorable Edmund S. Muskie
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Muskie:

I have now set up shop in the Transition headquarters, Federal Building No. 7, corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C. While it will be necessary for me to divide my time between the Capital and New York until January 20, my associates -- Ken Belieu and Bill Timmons, both "Deputy Assistants for Congressional Relations" -- will operate from the temporary Washington office. Ken will be concentrating on Senate matters, and Bill on House matters. Please call on them if they can be helpful in any way during this governmental hiatus.

The D. C. office switchboard is 395-2000 and the New York number is (212) 421-3100.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

RICHARD M. NIXON

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1968

Honorable John T. Myers
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Myers:

I have now set up shop in the Transition headquarters, Federal Building #7, corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington, D.C. While it will be necessary for me to divide my time between the Capital and New York until January 20, my associates -- Ken Belieu and Bill Timmons, both "Deputy Assistants for Congressional Relations" -- will operate from the temporary Washington office. Ken will be concentrating on Senate matters, and Bill on House matters. Please call on them if they can be helpful in any way during this governmental hiatus.

The D. C. office switchboard is 395-2000 and the New York number is (212) 421-3100.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kb

December 14, 1968

Honorable John Myers
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Myers:

It is a pleasure to acknowledge your letter urging an appointment for Mr. Alpheus William Jessup. His impressive credentials have been put in the proper place here so that the consideration he merits may be given to him. I'm quite sure Mr. Jessup's experience and talent will receive careful attention. Thanks very much for expressing your interest.

With cordial regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb
cc: Peter Flanigan

Nov 21, 1968

Dwight:

Congressman John Myers office called here today on Mr. Harlow's extension. It seems Mr. Myers has a group in Terre Haute, Indiana who wish to cut a Christmas Tree for RN and have the Congressman present it to him. The tree can be any kind and size the Boss would like and it can be presented at almost anytime that would be convenient for him.

They wondered if he will be in Wash. around that time and/or if it could be presented there -- but they would be willing to present it in New York.

They are checking as to which group it is that wants to do this, and will be calling me back. If it can be arranged -- or for that matter if it can't -- please call John Myers Secretary at 202--225-5805.

Thanks,

Jessie

11/27
TD
sch

Jessie
TD
Thompson

Bryce N. Harlow
Office of the President-Elect
Pierre Hotel
61 Street and Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

November 19, 1968

The Honorable John Myers, M.C.
1238 House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear John:

I am delighted to have your suggestion of Mr. Jessup for a place in the administration. It will not surprise you to hear me say that we have not as yet completed enough of our staffing of the Executive Branch to know with assurance where Mr. Jessup might be usefully employed, but I have made sure that his availability and his background will be known to those who are concerned with this staffing task.

I look forward to working with you in the new Congress.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH/jch

*Sent to Danigan
11/21/68*