William Safire Papers

A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress

Manuscript Division, Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.
2010
Revised 2011 October

Contact information:
http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mss.contact

Additional search options available at:
http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/eadmss.ms011045

LC Online Catalog record:
http://lccn.loc.gov/mm86061986

Prepared by Nan Thompson Ernst with the assistance of Patricia K. Craig, Angela Moore, and Todd Rosa
Collection Summary
Title: William Safire Papers
Span Dates: 1953-1980
Bulk Dates: (bulk 1960-1973)
ID No.: MSS61986
Creator: Safire, William, 1929-2009
Extent: 55,000 items; 138 containers plus 2 classified and 1 oversize; 56.4 linear feet
Language: Collection material in English
Location: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Summary: Author, journalist, speechwriter, and public relations consultant. Correspondence, diary notes, memoranda, minutes of meetings, reports, speeches, statements, writings, notes, press releases, press conference transcripts, annotated press reports, briefing books, advertising material, and photographs chiefly documenting Safire's close association with Richard M. Nixon as public relations consultant, speechwriter, and political advisor from 1960 to 1973.

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

People
Agniew, Spiro T., 1918-1996.
Buchanan, Patrick J. (Patrick Joseph), 1938-
Colson, Charles W.
Ehrlichman, John.
Huston, Thomas.
Javits, Jacob K. (Jacob Koppel), 1904-1986.
Kissinger, Henry, 1923-
Lefkowitz, Louis J.
Nathan, Richard, 1935-
Shultz, George Pratt, 1920-

Organizations
Republican Party (U.S. : 1854- )
United States. White House Office.

Subjects
Elections--New York (State)--1962.
Governors--New York (State)--Election--1966.
Lexicography.
Mayors--New York (State)--New York--Election.
Presidents--United States--Election--1960.
Presidents--United States--Election--1964.
Presidents--United States--Election--1968.
Administrative Information

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

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

Additional Guides

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

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

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

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

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

Biographical Note

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>1929, Dec. 17</td>
<td>Born, New York, N.Y.</td>
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1947-1949  
Student, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

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

1949-1951  
Reporter, New York Herald-Tribune syndicate

1951  
Correspondent, WNBC-WNBT, Europe and Middle East

1952-1954  
Served in the U.S. army

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

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

1961-1968  
Established Safire Public Relations, Inc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1973-  
Columnist, *New York Times*

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

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

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

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

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

Following his loss, Nixon wandered in a "political wilderness" according to Safire but kept in touch with his public relations consultant, searching for a way back onto the national stage. Nixon's 1962 senatorial race in California is not
represented in the collection, but in 1966 Safire worked with Nixon on a nationwide campaign in support of Republican candidates. Records for the 1966 national campaigns include drafts of Nixon's "Manila communique," a statement published by the New York Times in which Nixon accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of playing politics with the war in Vietnam in order to gain advantage for Democrats in the general elections. Safire's part in the early planning for Nixon's 1968 campaign for the presidency is reflected in advertising material, speeches, statements, reports, notes, correspondence, and memoranda concerning their organization and strategy to win the Republican nomination and general election.

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

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

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

Files on "New Federalism" include responses from Thomas Huston writing as "Cato" and Richard Nathan as "Althusias."

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

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

Safire's files contain material related to his many associates in the Nixon administration, such as Arthur F. Burns, Charles W. Colson, John Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman, Henry Kissinger, Daniel P. Moynihan, William P. Rogers, and George Pratt Shultz. He was consulted by some of these officials for advice on speeches, and occasionally acted as an intermediary in providing a line of communication when disagreements arose. He worked with Spiro T. Agnew on a series of speeches in support of Republican candidates in the 1970 national campaigns. Agnew's speeches provided an opportunity to voice concerns of the Nixon administration and thus the 1970 campaign became one of Safire's special assignments. Material pertaining to these individuals is filed alphabetically by name in the subseries for Officials, Staff, and Advisors which is part of the White House File.
Safire wrote "Nixon Diary" notes which detail aspects of the character, emotions, motivation, or even the physical appearance and dress of various individuals or the scene of events. Typewritten copies made from handwritten notes are distributed throughout the files under the subjects concerned. A group of Safire's "Nixon Diary" notes is included in the Office File subseries of the White House File. Other copies can be found in the Writings series among the files for Safire's memoir, Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House. The "Nixon Diary" notes provide a more personal view of the administration, as do the "color reports" which were compiled at Safire's suggestion to provide an indication of the human dimensions of government. Safire contended that such reports might help to acquaint the public and posterity more personally with Nixon. The "color reports" are filed under Nixon's name in the Officials, Staff, and Advisors subseries of the White House File.

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

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

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

Arrangement of the Papers

The collection is arranged in six series:

- Public Relations File, 1953-1969
- White House File, 1963-1977
- Writings, 1962-1980
- Oversize, 1960-1975
- Classified, 1965-1973
- Top Secret, 1965-1973
Description of Series

**Container**

**Series**

**BOX 1-19**

**Public Relations File, 1953-1969**

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

**BOX 20-118**

**White House File, 1963-1977**

**BOX 20-24**

**Office File, 1968-1973**

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

**BOX 25-38**

**Officials, Staff, and Advisors, 1963-1975**

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

**BOX 38-65**

**Press File, 1969-1974**


**BOX 65-118**

**Subject File, 1964-1977**

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

**BOX 118-138**

**Writings, 1962-1980**

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

**BOX OV 1**

**Oversize, 1960-1975**

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

**BOX CL 1**

**Classified, 1965-1973**

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

**BOX TS 1**

**Top Secret, 1965-1973**

Material containing top secret information.

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

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

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| **BOX 5** | Correspondence, 1959-1960  
(4 folders)  
Events  
Kennedy, John F.  
Catholic issue *See also Oversize*  
Health issue  
"Lincoln Hands” memento, 1960-1961  
Organization and strategy  
(4 folders)  
Photographs, 1955-1960  
Postmortem and voting irregularities, 1960-1961  
(2 folders) |
| **BOX 6** | Primary and polling results  
Speeches and statements  
(3 folders)  
1960-1965  
Clippings, 1961-1965  
(3 folders)  
Correspondence, 1961-1965  
Political organization and strategy, 1960-1965  
(3 folders)  
Speeches and statements, 1964-1965 |
| **BOX 7** | 1966 national elections  
Clippings  
(5 folders)  
Correspondence  
(4 folders)  
"Manila Communique" on Vietnam  
(2 folders)  
Organization and strategy  
(2 folders) |
| **BOX 8** | Rinfret, Pierre  
Rockefeller, Nelson A., negotiations with Nixon  
Speeches and statements  
(3 folders)  
Supreme Court appearance  
Syndicated newspaper columns  
(3 folders)  
1968 presidential election campaign  
*See also Container 82-84, Election campaign 1972*  
Agnew, Spiro T.  
Advertising and promotional material, 1967-1968  
(3 folders) |
| **BOX 9** | Advertising and promotional material, 1967-1968  
(4 folders)  
Clippings, 1967-1968  
(4 folders) |
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| BOX 10    | Correspondence, 1967-1968  
(10 folders) |
| BOX 11    | Daily media reports  
(6 folders) |
| BOX 12    | Daily schedules for September and October, 1968  
(2 folders)  
"Nixon Diary" notes  
(3 folders)  
Organization and strategy, 1967-1968  
(3 folders) |
| BOX 13    | Organization and strategy, 1967-1968  
(3 folders)  
Photographs  
Speeches  
"American Spirit"  
Cities and crime  
Economy  
(2 folders)  
Education and intellectuals |
| BOX 14    | Foreign relations and defense policy  
(4 folders)  
Labor  
(2 folders)  
Miscellaneous  
(4 folders) |
| BOX 15    | "New Alignment"  
Youth  
Television and radio broadcasts  
(3 folders)  
Transition period, 1968-1969  
Cabinet appointments  
Clippings  
Correspondence  
Inaugural preparation |
| BOX 16    | Postmortem  
Rockefeller, Nelson A.  
1962 New York gubernatorial election campaign  
1964 campaign for Republican party presidential nomination  
Advertising and promotional material  
(5 folders) |
| BOX 17    | Clippings  
(2 folders)  
Correspondence  
(2 folders)  
Organization and strategy  
(3 folders)  
Press conferences |
Speeches and statements
   (2 folders)
   1966 New York gubernatorial election campaign

BOX 18  Shafer, Raymond, 1966 Pennsylvania gubernatorial election campaign
Subject file
   Democratic convention, 1968
   Eisenhower, Dwight D., 1956
   Finch, Robert, 1961-1966
   Flanagan, Peter, 1962-1965
   Hauser, Rita, 1967-1968
   Humphrey, Hubert H., 1968
   Johnson, Lyndon B., 1966-1968
   Kennedy, John F., 1961-1963
   Kennedy, Joseph, 1960-1961
   Kennedy, Robert F., 1966-1968
   McCarthy, Eugene, 1968
   Parkinson, Gaylord, 1967
   Reagan, Ronald, 1967

BOX 19  Republican party, 1961-1967
   (5 folders)
   (2 folders)
   Romney, George, 1964-1967
   Wallace, George, 1968

BOX 20-118  White House File, 1963-1977

BOX 20-24  Office File, 1968-1973
   Appointment books, correspondence, memoranda, diary notes, personnel and staffing
   records, photographs, family papers, speech notes, and telephone logs from Safire's
   office as special assistant.
   Arranged alphabetically by type of document or subject.

BOX 20  Appointment books, 1969-1972
   (3 folders)
   Bets, 1970-1972
   Correspondence and memoranda
      Congratulatory letters, 1968
      (2 folders)
      General, 1969-1971
      (3 folders)
      Gulf and Western controversy, 1973
      Nixon, Richard M., farewell letter to Safire, 1973
   "Nixon Diary" notes and related material
   Chronological file
      1969
      (2 folders)
### Container Contents

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<th>Box</th>
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<th>Description</th>
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| BOX 21 | 1970-1974 | (7 folders) Subject file  
Agnew, Spiro T., 1969-1970  
Buchanan, Patrick J., 1969  
Burns, Arthur F., 1969  
Cabinet meetings  
Laos, 1971  
Miscellaneous, 1970-1971 |
| BOX 22 | | "Campaign 1970," national elections  
Economy, speeches and policy  
Camp David, Md., meeting  
(2 folders)  
Miscellaneous, 1970-1971  
Foreign policy, 1969-1970  
Kissinger, Henry, 1969-1973 See also Classified  
(4 folders)  
Leadership meetings  
Bipartisan, on economic policy, 1971  
Republican  
Breakfast, 1973 |
| BOX 23 | | Cambodia, 1970  
Miscellaneous, 1969-1971  
Miscellany, undated  
Planning group, 1969  
Staff organization, 1969-1970  
"State of the Union" speech, 1969  
Tax reform act, 1969  
Vietnam war, 1969  
Welfare, 1969  
Parties, 1969-1973  
Personnel manual, undated  
Photographs  
Inaugural events, 1972  
Meetings and social gatherings, 1969-1973  
Portraits, 1968-1971  
Presidential election campaign, 1968  
Writing and research staff, 1970-1971  
Publicity  
Print, 1969-1973  
(2 folders) |
| BOX 24 | Other, 1970-1972 | Safire, Helene  
Clippings, 1971  
Miscellany, 1970-1971  
Photographs, citizenship swearing-in ceremony, 1970  
Spirit of '76, flight certificate, 1971 |
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<td>Procedures, 1969-1970 See also Classified</td>
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<td>Suggested remarks, statements, messages, and letters, 1969 See also Classified (2 folders)</td>
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<td>Telephone memoranda, 1972-1973 (2 folders)</td>
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**BOX 25-38**

**Officials, Staff, and Advisors, 1963-1975**

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

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

**BOX 25**

Agnew, Spiro T.

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

Assignment sheets

"David Frost Show"

Memoranda

Press reports and clippings

Research

Schedules

Speeches

Chronological file (2 folders)

Miscellaneous drafts and notes

State appearances

California

**BOX 26**

Connecticut

Florida

Illinois

Belleville and Chicago

Springfield

Indiana

Hartke, Vance

Roudebush, Richard

Kentucky

Michigan

Nevada

New Mexico

**BOX 27**

North Dakota

Pennsylvania

South Dakota

Tennessee
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<td>Wyoming</td>
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<tr>
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"Fair Share" drafts, 1969
"Family Security" drafts, 1969
(2 folders)
Other speech drafts, 1969
BOX 117
Related memoranda, 1969-1970
Follow-up statements and reports, 1970-1971
"What's Right With America" ideas, 1971-1972
White, Theodore, 1969-1970
White House
Entertainment and dinners, 1969-1971
Guest suggestions, 1969-1972
West Wing, undated
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<td>Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., dedication speech, 1971</td>
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<td>BOX 118</td>
<td>Work ethic, 1971-1972</td>
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<td>BOX 118</td>
<td>Workfare, 1971-1972</td>
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<td>BOX 118-138</td>
<td>Writings, 1962-1980</td>
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</table>

Drafts of articles, newspaper columns, books, plays, and speeches by Safire with related correspondence, memoranda, reports, and research material consisting mostly of newspaper and magazine clippings.

Arranged alphabetically by publication format or genre and thereunder by title of the work.

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<tr>
<th>BOX 118</th>
<th>Articles</th>
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<td>&quot;The Moscow Summit,&quot; <em>New York Times Magazine</em>, 1972 See also Containers 109-111.</td>
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<td>Correspondence and background material</td>
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<td>Victor Riesel guest column, &quot;The President's Favorite President,&quot; 1971</td>
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Books

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

Chapter lists, 1970-1973
Front and back matter and captions, undated
Ideas and notes, undated

BOX 120
Photographs and illustrations, 1969-1972, undated
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Richardson, Elliot, doodles, 1963-1973
Source material, Watergate scandal and impeachment hearings, 1973-1974

Text

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

"Ad Lib"
"Another Crack at the Real Nixon"
"Bebe"
"Best Year Ever"
"Bizarre Incident"
"Cambodian Decision"
"Campaign Begins"
"Campaign That Never Was"
"Caught in the Draft -- The Mansfield Affair"

BOX 121
"China Report"
"Christmas Bombs"
"Clank of Truth"
"Comeback"
Conclusion and Epilogue
"Damngovernment"
"Economic Weekend at Camp David"
"Ehrlichman"
"Good Honest Appraisal"
"Guns of April"
"Haldeman I: Welcome to the White House"
"Hello Europe"
"Hideaway"
"Interregnum"
"Introduction"

BOX 122
"Julie"
"Kennedy Criterion"
"Kissinger, Phase I (Pre-Celebrity)"
"Labor Rewards Its Friends"
"Loners Stick Together"
"Loomings -- Huston and Watergate"
"Man at the Wilson Desk"
"Minuteman: A Speech Timetable"
"Moscow Summit"
"Mystery of Power"
"New Federalism"
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BOX 123
"Night at the Lincoln Memorial"
"Nixon and the Catholics"
"Nixon and the Jews"
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"Nixon's Haldeman"
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"Peace With Honor"
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"Phantom Press Conference"
"Power Games -- Burns and Colson"
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BOX 124
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"Sense of Direction"
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BOX 125
"State of the World" See also Classified
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"Tale of Two Bridges -- Moon Shot"
"Tax Reform"
"Tennis Anyone?"
"To Peking in Secret"
"Turning Point"
"Twenty Broad Street"
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"Us Against Them"
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BOX 126
"Wayward Bus I"
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"Work Ethic"
Fragments, undated
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BOX 127
Full draft, "A Hurry To Be Great: Inside the Nixon White House," undated
(5 folders)

BOX 128
Full draft, "A Hurry To Be Great: Inside the Nixon White House," undated
(2 folders)

Full Disclosure
Outline and sample chapter, undated
## Text
- Draft, undated
  - (3 folders)

### BOX 129
- Draft, undated
  - (2 folders)
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### The New Language of Politics
- First edition (1968)
  - Bibliography, 1967
  - Contract, 1967
  - Corrections, 1968
- Correspondence
  - Editorial, 1966-1971
  - Reader comments, 1968-1972, undated
  - Research queries, 1966-1968
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- Promotion and publicity, 1967-1970, undated
- Research, 1966-1972, undated
- Reviews and citations, 1968-1971
  - (3 folders)
- Text
  - Dictionary entries
    - A
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      - (1 folder)
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      - (4 folders)
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  - D-G
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  - Foreword, 1968, undated
  - Introduction, 1967, undated
  - Word lists, undated
- Second edition (1972)
  - Additions to text, undated
    - (2 folders)
  - Corrections to text, undated
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- Publicity, 1971-1972, undated
- Research, 1968-1972, undated
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  Introduction, 1967, undated
    The Relations Explosion, promotional material, undated

Columns, New York Times
  Column on North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 1973
  Correspondence and miscellany, 1973-1979
  Kissinger, Henry, 1976-1980

Plays
  "One Act Play," 1971, undated
  "West Wing: A Treatment in Three Acts," proposal for television series, undated

Speeches
  Gridiron Club, Washington, D.C., 1972
  National Public Relations Association, 1973
  Pennsylvania Bankers' Association, Trust Investment Seminar, Lancaster, Pa., 1971

BOX OV 1
Oversize, 1960-1975
  Posters, broadside, and a drawing.
  Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

BOX OV 1
Public relations file
  Clients
    Nixon, Richard M.
      1960 presidential election campaign
      Advertising and promotional material
        Posters (Container 4)
          "Can Milwaukee Talk Back to Moscow?" mock-up and proof
          "Crusades for Peace," mock-up
          "Nobody Wants War," print
    Kennedy, John F.
      Catholic issue (Container 5)
        Broadside, "Houston Catholics Speak Out!"
        Poster, mock-up, "The Cross of Bigotry"

White House file
  Officials, staff, and advisors
  Other associates
    Ehrlichman, John D. (Container 33)
      Drawings, ink, New Mexico scenes, 1975

BOX CL 1
Classified, 1965-1973
  Material containing security classified information.
Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.

**BOX CL 1**

**White House file**

Office file

"Nixon Diary"

Subject file

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

Staff procedures, 1969 (Container 24)

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

**Officials, staff, and advisors**

Agnew, Spiro T.

Chronological file

1970

Tours of Asia (Container 28)

**Other associates**

Allen, Richard, 1969 (Container 32)

**Subject File**

China

Memoranda, 1969-1970 (Container 75)

Defense cutbacks, 1969-1970 (Container 76)

Foreign aid, 1969 (Container 85)

Foreign policy messages and speeches

Report to Congress

1970 (Container 86) *See also Top Secret*

**Trips with the president**

Romania, 1969 (Container 109)

**Vietnam war**

Cease fire

1970 speech

Drafts (Container 113) *See Top Secret*

Haiphong harbor, mining decision, 1972 (Container 113)

North Vietnamese offensive, 1972 (Container 113)

**Speeches**

1969

14 May (Container 114)

3 Nov. (Container 114)

1971, April 7 (Container 115)

1972, Jan. (Container 115) *See Top Secret*

(2 folders)

**Writings**

**Books**

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

Text

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

"Put" (Container 123)

"Road to Moscow" (Container 124) *See Top Secret*
"Secret Negotiations -- Inside and Out" (Container 124) See Top Secret
"State of the World" (Container 125) See also Top Secret

**BOX TS 1**

**Top Secret, 1965-1973**

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

**BOX TS 1**

White House file
Office file
"Nixon Diary"
Subject file
   Kissinger, Henry, 1969 (Container 22)
   Suggested remarks, statements, messages, and letters (Container 24)
Subject file
   Foreign policy messages and speeches
   Reports to Congress
      1970 (Container 86)
         (3 folders)
Vietnam war
   Cease fire
      1970 speech
         Drafts (Container 113)
Speeches
   1972, Jan. (Container 115)
      (2 folders)
Writings
Books
   Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House
Text
   Chapters, episodes, and characterizations, 1965-73, undated
   "Road to Moscow" (Container 124)
   "Secret Negotiations -- Inside and Out" (Container 124)
   "State of the World" (Container 125)