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-
Price, Raymond K. (Raymond Kissam), 1930-
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The status of copyright in the unpublished writings of William Safire is governed by the Copyright Law of the United States (Title 17, U.S.C.).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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929, Dec. 17</td>
<td>Born, New York, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-49</td>
<td>Student, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Assistant to Tex McCrory, &quot;Tex and Jinx&quot; radio show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-51</td>
<td>Reporter, New York Herald-Tribune syndicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Correspondent, WNBC-WNBT, Europe and Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-54</td>
<td>Served in the U.S. army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>Radio-television producer, WNBC, New York, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-60</td>
<td>Vice president, Tex McCrory, Inc., a public relations firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-68</td>
<td>Established Safire Public Relations, Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Communications manager, Louis Lefkowitz mayoral election campaign, New York, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Deputy campaign manager, Jacob Javits senatorial election campaign, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Published <em>The Relations Explosion, A Diagram of the Coming Boom and Shakeout in Corporate Relations</em> (New York: Macmillan. 249 pp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Staff member, Nelson Rockefeller for president campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Volunteer, John Lindsay mayoral election campaign, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Director of public relations, Nelson Rockefeller gubernatorial election campaign, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>Advisor and speechwriter, Richard M. Nixon presidential election campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-73</td>
<td>Appointed special assistant by President Richard M. Nixon working primarily as speechwriter and media consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Published <em>Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House</em> (New York: Doubleday &amp; Co. 704 pp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Published <em>Full Disclosure: A Novel</em> (Franklin Center, Penn., privately printed limited edition by Franklin Library. 535 pp.; and Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 525 pp.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Published *What's the Good Word?* (New York: Times Books. 400 pp.)

Published *Good Advice: More than 2,000 Apt Quotations to Help You Live Your Life*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Times Books. 400 pp.)

1986

Published *Take My Word For It: More On Language* (New York: Times Books. 357 pp.)

1987

Published *Freedom*, a novel (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1125 pp.)

1988

Published *You Could Look It Up: More On Language* (New York: Times Books. 357 pp.)

1989

Published *Words of Wisdom: More Good Advice*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Simon & Schuster. 432 pp.)

1990

Published *Language Maven Strikes Again* (New York: Doubleday. 447 pp.)

Published *Fumblerules: A Lighthearted Guide to Grammar and Good Usage* (New York: Doubleday. 153 pp.)

1991

Published *Coming to Terms* (New York: Doubleday. 402 pp.)

1992

Published *The First Dissident: The Book of Job in Today's Politics* (New York: Times Books. 304 pp.)

Published *Good Advice on Writing*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Simon & Schuster. 288 pp.)

Published *Leadership*, compiled and edited with Leonard Safir (New York: Simon & Schuster. 258 pp.)

Published *Lend Me Your Ears: Great Speeches in History*, selected and introduced by Safire (New York: W. W. Norton. 957 pp.; revised and enlarged, 1997)

1993

Published *Quoth the Maven* (New York: Random House. 350 pp.)

1994

Published *In Love with Norma Loquendi* (New York: Random House. 349 pp.)

1995

Published *Sleeper Spy*, a novel (New York: Random House. 451 pp.)

2009, Sept. 27

Died, Rockville, Md.

**Scope and Content Note**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arrangement of the Papers

The collection is arranged in six series:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Container</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOX 1-19</td>
<td><strong>Public Relations File, 1953-1969</strong></td>
<td>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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX 20-118</td>
<td><strong>White House File, 1963-1977</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BOX 20-24</td>
<td><strong>Office File, 1968-1973</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX 25-38</td>
<td><strong>Officials, Staff, and Advisors, 1963-1975</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX 65-118</td>
<td><strong>Subject File, 1964-1977</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>BOX 118-138</td>
<td><strong>Writings, 1962-1980</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>BOX OV 1</td>
<td><strong>Oversize, 1960-1975</strong></td>
<td>Posters, broadside, and a drawing. Organized and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX CL 1</td>
<td><strong>Classified, 1965-1973</strong></td>
<td>Material containing security classified information.</td>
</tr>
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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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX 1</td>
<td>Appointment books&lt;br&gt;1960-1966&lt;br&gt;(7 folders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX 2</td>
<td>1967-1968&lt;br&gt;(3 folders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Clients</strong></td>
</tr>
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<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>
</tr>
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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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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous political campaigns, 1958-1964</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Nixon, Richard M.&lt;br&gt;1960 presidential election campaign&lt;br&gt;Advertising and promotional material <em>See also Oversize</em>&lt;br&gt;(4 folders)&lt;br&gt;Civil rights&lt;br&gt;Clippings, 1953-1960&lt;br&gt;(4 folders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>Contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</table>
| 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 Communiqué" 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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<tr>
<th>Container</th>
<th>Contents</th>
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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
Flanigan, Peter, 1962-1965
Hauser, Rita, 1967-1968
Humphrey, Hubert H., 1968
Johnson, Lyndon B., 1966-1968
Kennedy, John F., 1961-1963
Kennedy, Joseph, 1960-1961
Kennedy, Robert F., 1966-1968
McCarthy, Eugene, 1968
Parkinson, Gaylord, 1967
Reagan, Ronald, 1967

**BOX 19**
Republican party, 1961-1967
   (5 folders)
   (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)
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<tr>
<th>Container</th>
<th>Contents</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  
Cambodia, 1970  
Miscellaneous, 1969-1971 |
| BOX 23    | Miscellaneous, 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 |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Container</th>
<th>Contents</th>
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</table>
| **Staff** | Clippings, 1971-1972  
Interregnum, 1968-1969  
Lists, 1969-1972  
Privileges, 1969-1971  
Procedures, 1969-1970 **See also Classified**  
Suggested remarks, statements, messages, and letters, 1969 **See also Classified**  
(2 folders)  
Telephone memoranda, 1972-1973  
(2 folders) |
| **BOX 25-38** | **Officials, Staff, and Advisors, 1963-1975**  
Correspondence, memoranda, speeches, essays, reports, research and diary notes, printed matter, newspaper and magazine clippings, radio and television interview transcripts, press conference transcripts, photographs, and work and trip schedules.  
Arranged alphabetically by name of individual and thereunder by document type or subject. |
| **BOX 25** | Agnew, Spiro T.  
"Campaign 1970," national elections **See also Container 73, same heading**  
Assignment sheets  
"David Frost Show"  
Memoranda  
Press reports and clippings  
Research  
Schedules  
Speeches  
Chronological file  
(2 folders)  
Miscellaneous drafts and notes  
State appearances  
California |
| **BOX 26** | Connecticut  
Florida  
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**1973**

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<td>BOX 94</td>
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<td>National Alliance of Businessmen, suggested remarks, 1970</td>
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<td>National Association of Manufacturers, speech, 1970</td>
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<td>National Conference on the Judiciary, 1971</td>
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<td>Media and other reaction, 1969-1973</td>
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Memoranda, 1969-1973
(2 folders)
Papers
"Althusias" (Richard P. Nathan), "New Federalist Paper No. 3," 1970
"Cato" (Thomas Huston), "Federalism: Old and New,
Or, the Pretensions of New Publius Exposed," undated
Nathan, Richard P., "Discourse By a New Federalist," undated
"Publius" (Safire)
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New Jersey gubernatorial election, 1969
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North Atlantic Treaty, 1969
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Office of Economic Opportunity, statement, 1969
Olympics, 1972
Omnibus bill, 1971
One-bank holding companies, 1969
Organization of American States, Pan-American Day remarks, 1969
Pay Board statement, 1972
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"Philadelphia Plan" and quotas, 1969-1972
Phillips, Kevin, The Emerging Republican Majority, 1969
Poor people, 1970
Pornography statement, 1970
Post Office
  Reform, 1970
  Settlement, 1970
  Strike, 1970
Presidential directives, 1969
Presidential schedule suggestions, 1970
Presidential telephone calls, 1971-1972
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| BOX 103   | Background material  
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Schedules and itinerary, 1972
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BOX 112
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United States Jaycees, remarks, 1972

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|           | Cease fire  
|           | 1970 speech  
|           | Drafts *See also Classified*  
|           | Media reaction  
|           | Miscellany  
|           | 1973 agreement  
|           | Haiphong harbor, mining decision, 1972 *See also Classified*  
| BOX 114   | Morality issue, 1971  
|           | North Vietnamese offensive, 1972 *See also Classified*  
| BOX 115   | Peace aborted, 1972  
|           | Prisoners of war, 1970-1973  
|           | Speeches  
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|           | 1970  
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|           | (2 folders)  
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|           | (3 folders)  
|           | Watergate  
|           | Clippings and background material, 1972-1973  
|           | Memoranda and notes, 1973  
|           | Welfare reform  
|           | Initial speeches, statements, messages  
|           | Analysis within the administration, 1969  
|           | Comment, 1969  
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|           | Origins, 1969  
|           | Proposals, 1969  
| BOX 117   | Question and answer format, 1969  
|           | Speech texts  
|           | "Fair Share" drafts, 1969  
|           | "Family Security" drafts, 1969  
|           | (2 folders)  
|           | Other speech drafts, 1969  
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|           | Follow-up statements and reports, 1970-1971  
|           | "What's Right With America" ideas, 1971-1972  
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|           | White House  
|           | Entertainment and dinners, 1969-1971  
|           | Guest suggestions, 1969-1972  
|           | West Wing, undated  

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White House correspondents dinner, suggested remarks, 1969-1970
Wilson, Woodrow, 1969-1971
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Wouk, Herman, 1971-1972

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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 118
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Debates with Frank Mankiewicz, 1972
"NBC Reports," televised
*Washington Post* series
   Correspondence, memoranda, notes
   Drafts and clippings
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   Correspondence and background material
   Text
   Background material, 1969-1971
   (1 folder)

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   Drafts
   (2 folders)
Victor Riesel guest column, "The President's Favorite President," 1971
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
  (2 folders)
- Richardson, Elliot, doodles, 1963-1973
- Source material, Watergate scandal and impeachment hearings, 1973-1974

Text
- Chapters, episodes, and characterizations, 1965-1973, undated
  "Ad Lib"
  "Another Crack at the Real Nixon"
  "Bebe"
  "Best Year Ever"
  "Bizarre Incident"
  "Cambodian Decision"
  "Campaign Begins"
  "Campaign That Never Was"
  "Caught in the Draft -- The Mansfield Affair"

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

BOX 122
- "Julie"
- "Kennedy Criterion"
- "Kissinger, Phase I (Pre-Celebrity)"
- "Labor Rewards Its Friends"
- "Loners Stick Together"
- "Loomings -- Huston and Watergate"
- "Man at the Wilson Desk"
- "Minuteman: A Speech Timetable"
- "Moscow Summit"
- "Mystery of Power"
"New Federalism"
"New Isolationists"

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"Night at the Lincoln Memorial"
"Nixon and the Catholics"
"Nixon and the Jews"
"Nixon Style -- The Big Play"
"Nixon's Haldeman"
"Pat"  See also Classified
"Peace With Honor"
"President Falls in Love -- Connally"
"Phantom Press Conference"
"Power Games -- Burns and Colson"
"Press Is the Enemy"
"Prologue"

BOX 124

"Road To Moscow"  See also Classified
"Rockefeller"
"Rise of John Mitchell" and "Fall of John Mitchell"
"Secret Negotiations -- Inside and Out"  See also Classified
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"Seichel"
"Sense of Direction"
"Seventy Campaign"
"Silent Majority"
"Sixty-Eight Campaign -- Nixon's the One"
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BOX 125

"State of the World"  See also Classified
"Swearing-In"
"Tale of Two Bridges -- Moon Shot"
"Tax Reform"
"Tennis Anyone?"
"To Peking in Secret"
"Turning Point"
"Twenty Broad Street"
"Two-Ideology System"
"Us Against Them"
"Way to San Jose"

BOX 126

"Wayward Bus I"
"Wayward Bus II"
"Work Ethic"
Fragments, undated
(3 folders)

BOX 127
Full draft, "A Hurry To Be Great: Inside the Nixon White House," undated
(5 folders)

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

*Full Disclosure*
Outline and sample chapter, undated
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| BOX 129   | Draft, undated  
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| BOX 130   | Promotion and publicity, 1967-1970, undated  
            Research, 1966-1972, undated  
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            Introduction, 1967, undated  
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| BOX 137   | 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)