

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
4	8	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of conversation between Colson and Frank Stanton re: New Jersey polls. 2 pgs.
4	8	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of conversation between Colson and John Becker re: New England polling and races (particularly Rhode Island), overall assessment of presidential race. 5 pgs.
4	8	10/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of conversation between Colson and Lou Harris re: latest poll results (presidential election), bump for RN due to Vietnam negotiations. 11 pgs.
4	8	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Hallett to Colson RE: McGovern's "Populist image." Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 1 pg.

Conversation with Frank Stanton, October 23, 1972

S: Tomorrow on the air tomorrow night we're going to use these figures on New Jersey. I'll give you the September figures and then I'll give you the October 22 figures.

C: The current ones are October 22.

S: Right. The polling was done yesterday.

C: What was the date in September?

S: September 17.

S: 58-55-24-24 -- Schmitz 11, undecided 17 and 20.

C: So what you're saying is that it was 58-24 in New Jersey in mid-September and it is now 55-24.

S: That's right. And we ran Case versus Krebs and Case was 51 and he's now 53; Krebs was 24, he's now 20 and the other part is undecided -- very high undecided.

C: Telephone poll though is to be expected.

S: I just thought you'd like to have those.

C: Very much so. When will you get New York, Frank?

S: That's the third one coming up and I don't have the date in front of me but as soon as I get them I'll call you.

C: Boy, when you find... 5 weeks and you find only a 3 point change, that is remarkably stable, isn't it?

S: Solid as the Rock of Gibraltar.

C: If there were to be....

S: The other side of that coin is that McGovern was 24 - 24...

C: Gained nothing and the President's lost a little, which is probably 3 point... is not really.... what is the sampel base?

S: 590

C: That's almost not significant.

S: I agree with you

C: Two points would be not significant at all. 3 maybe in the case ..indicates just a little erosion as you ~~ex~~ go on in the campaign. Damned interesting. That confirms a private poll we had in New Jersey which showed virtually no change. I think it showed one less point for us and one point more for McGovern.

S: Well, we could be wrong that much.

C: No I would say these are very consistent. I just can't understand it. A month ago if somebody had told me this would happen, I would have said they were nuts. I would have expected, just in the normal process of the campaign, for it to....

S: You're still sticking with the 31 point spread and that's fantastic.

C: Yea, and you take even Harris nationally coming down to 25, which is virtually unchanged and among his registered voters there was no change.

S: Yea.

C: Well, I hope I can figure some way to make the next two weeks go by fast. Thank you, Frank.

Conversation with John Becker, October 23, 1972

B: The President is holding very firm down there...we've been going almost on a weekly basis for DeSimone and Chaffee and the last figures we had on the President were 57-29 and 14 and this week it is 57-33 and 10.

C: A little gain for McGovern....

B: Well, it's almost has to be the momentum of all the Democrats down there, but the fact that the President's number stays at that consistently ~~xxx~~ strong,

C: It's been right up around there rightalong hasn't it?

B: That's right and it's a very notable thing, particularly in the light of the way the other races are going and the other two races are getting much closer and I personally feel a little unsettled about them. The Chaffee figures...he only has a 4 point edge now...

C: God, what are those figures?

B: Well, we have 48-44-8 now and last week Chaffee was 47, Pell was 39 and so the undecided was 14 and so that's come off 6, from 14 down to 8. 5 of that went to Pell and one went to Chaffee. So that one is closer. Herb's race has closed up a little bit too, where Herb came off..last time Herb was 48 and Knowl was 35. Herb had a 13 point spread a week ago and that stands 45 for DeSimone and 39 for Knowl and 16 undecided and the undecided last week was 17. Now the interesting things here are that the undecided have gone down and the Senate race has gone down a little, so it has not gone down in the Governor's fight. The interviewers feel... there's a big Noldy-DeStimone debate scheduled for Wednesday night on television.

C: Why in hell is DeSimone debating Knowl?

B: I don't know, I just don't know. I think that's the only thing...of course, there's been a lot of pressure on to do it and at first they were supposed to have agreed to a whole hour debate and..but they've made a hell of an issue out of it. Knowl has made quite an issue out of it during the last week and he's called Herb a liar because Herb said he was going to debate an hour and then he said just a half and hour and you know how that kind of thing can get away from you. And it sort of has, a little bit down there and people are kind of waiting to see what that debate shows. I just..my feeling is that you...these are just hand tabs that I've done in my kitchen last night after we got the interviews back so I.. won't til tomorrow monring know what the interal movement of Democ rats have... but I guess what you're seeing is the Democrats are coming back to roost. The

David Broder theory... I don't know whether you read it a week ago, he was talking about the _____ where Democrats who just simply can't vote for McGovern are really kind of devastated they have to vote for Nixon, but they vote for Nixon and then after they vote for Nixon, in order to restore peace to their fold, they vote straight Democrats all the rest of the way down and conceivably that theory could have some validity here in Rhode Island where you get so goddamn many Democrats and they have a tradition of voting Democratic in the Presidential race and if the President holds anything like... I think we would all have to feel that it was quite remarkable.

C: I'd say so. What are you getting around the rest of New England, now.

B: Well, of course, I lost my Governor in New Hampshire in the primary. Goddamn shame, but it's his own fault. Pretty decent guy, because I'm not at all afraid to tell you this, but our polls in the primary up there were almost exactly like they were two years ago... showing Peterson running well ahead. And we had the same pattern this time. We had Walters getting 50% of the vote in the primary and Thompson getting about 30 and 20 undecided. Bill Walter doesn't get his horses out, you see. He's probably one of the worst political governors that I've had anything to do with. That doesn't mean he's a bad guy because he's a thoroughly decent human being, but he just did ~~not~~ not get his troops out and that's the same thing that happened in 1970, but in 1970 he still had the remnants of the organization Bill Johnson put together for him in '68 when he was first elected and there was still enough of it there to pull him through in]2 squeakers. But he just had no apparatus at all this time and... pretty decent guy. I saw him at Johnson's house after the Princeton/Dartmouth game last week and he said he had something to talk about and I said I'm surprised you would even want to talk to me and he said why the hell should I blame you for my mistakes, which is the typical defeated candidate who got his pollster that showed him winning... would hang us on the goddamn cross, but Walter... well the thing was, we understand what the damn numbers mean and we knew he wasn't going to win that big. But anyway, I'm not operating in New Hampshire right now, but Ollie Quail did something up there a day or two ago. He did something for the Dartmouth Public Affairs school... and he has a big pull for the President there -- 62% for Nixon, and 29% for McGovern, and the rest undecided. Then the... he's got Tom McIntyre... surprisingly to me, at any rate, running only 50-40 ahead of Wes Powell.

C: That mean's Powell will win that seat.

B: Could. That's kind of hard to believe in the light of the very favorable image that McIntyre has had up there.

C: But with a Nixon sweep of that size you'll carry... that

B: That might very well happen.

C: Carry Powell in.

B: It might take Thomson in, too. Thomson ... I don't know if that interests you, that's kind of the battle of the nobodies for Governor there. But they've got Crowley with 36% and Thomson with 34. And Emeracarca is ~~running~~ as an Independent so he's the only one approaching the Peterson constituency and he's taking 9% with 21 undecided. I think I telephoned those numbers down to Joan. And I haven't done anything more recently up there.

C: That was like 70-20.

B: Yea, it was very very big. It was in the high 60s. 3 to 1.

C: What about Connecticut?

B: I don't know if ~~xxxx~~ I talked to you since my great friend Tubby Harrison walked out on me. Yes, I did. I ~~talked~~ talked to you about trying to help him get a job. The son of a bitch went to work for my competitor up here.

C: That's nice.

B: And unbeknownst to me he had already stolen the Hartford Times account away from me before he left, so it's really war up here with the polling companies in Boston. But anyway, for whatever it's worth, they're last poll showed a very big Nixon pull over the... I'm getting those numbers. It was 3 to 1, really huge and that seems to square with what Yankelovich was showing in his New York Times stuff. I would feel... I've been amazed at the dimensions of the... members even since ~~we~~ we started collecting them earlier in the year and they stay right up there. Massachusetts we will be in the field again in a couple days.

C: Coming out when, John?

B: That's the last one and scheduled to be published the Sunday before the election.

C: And you're going into the field tomorrow on it?

B: No, no, we won't... we're going in the field today and we're going to be interviewing constantly all week long here, but we're doing the four congressional races first. 5th district first, and then the Drinan/Linsky one, and then Sudds-Weeks, and then Hicks and Mokely. The numbers of the no-name research company is putting out in Connecticut are 59 Nixon, 23 McGovern and 18 undecided. I guess that's... Monday the 5th -- 2 days before the election and that interviewing will be finished sometime next week. That will be the last one we do.

C: John, as a professional pollster, do you see any way McGovern can close the lead that we have nationally?

B: The answer, do you think close it or eliminate it completely?

C: Can he win?

B: I would feel that he cannot win. Barring something absolutely sensational and I don't know what more sensational you can get than the stuff the Washington Post has been putting out every day for the last couple weeks....

C: Which isn't having any impact...

B: And it doesn't seem to be cutting. It looks to me ...you know much more than I do...but it looks to me like old Henry's going to come back and take McGovern's pants off about a week before the election and leave him standing around there naked.

C: No, you can't do that. It would just be blatant.

B: Well, it would be but I can make a case for it. Every time I get that argument that the President could have done this a year or two ago, again, I'm not involved at all in foreign policy, but looking at it politically it would seem to me that the President has had an increasing amount of leverage on those people over there as the election draws near.

C: Oh, well, that's true and that's ...

B: That's why he couldn't have done it a year or two ago because....other parts of the country where I'm sure the President is inherently more popular...

C: You just put it very well, it's a battle between two people with a lot of negative opinions...they're more negative about McGovern than about us.

B: Well, there is, and my feeling is ...has always been, when I've been working with guys in campaigns, Chuck, is that there is nothing in the world beats having a defective opponent and that's what we've got here. We've got a guy...in Massachusetts in June and he had a 61-30 favorable ratio and now he's got a 44-46 favorable, unfavorable ratio and that's happened in Massachusetts so that while the President's got 44% don't like him, 46% in Massaxuseetss don't like McGovern and so I think that makes it a horse race here, although I don't know... right now, I think my feeling is, without seeing the next poll, my feeling is that McGovern might win a squeaker here but you've had to assess what all the Kissinger travels are going to be. But you don't feel.....

C: On the war?

B: Yes.

C: Well, it could but it's not something.....

B: I don't know what the hell we can do to help Chaffee. That's a very big seat to win and...

C: You mean if Nixon came to Rhode Island it would help Chaffee?

B: Well, they're talking about how he might like to have him. Is Mrs. Nixon going to come to Rhode Island? They're talking about that too.

C: That's a possibility.

B: Right now I just have the feeling that Chaffee's thing has just been a steady and gradual deterioration, you know, and it's a very ominous type of thing, where Gov. Chaffee just doesn't seem to be doing anything and the other guy is just gradually restoring his position and I don't know... I think they're going to try to hang bussing on Powell in the last week and a half which is kind of reaching for it a little, but....

C: They should hang him with being's McGovern's lackey. That's the way to kill him.

B: They've been trying to do that too, but it doesn't seem...

C: Is there much publicity up there over defense cuts, because McGovern, I hear, is being hurt around the country on that badly.

B: They've been trying to talk about that. I don't know what it is about Chaffee, I just.. I don't feel he's articulating anything, I think he's just been... like the ... going into the 3rd period with a 7 to 1 lead against Canadians and end up winning 7 to 6. It's that kind of thing and it makes me a little nervous. I think Herb has got a better shot. He's going to take his guy on real hard these last two weeks, because he's been making some mileage with a lot of phoney stuff about having brought all the shopping malls into Worick and all that kind of stuff and he's been making some headway with it, so Herb is going to try to deal with him pretty much head on that way. I don't have any feel for Maine at all.

C: I've gotten some figures from there that are just like Vermont.

B: Is Margaret doing all right up there?

C: Yep, she's well ahead.

Conversation with Lou Harris, October 27, 1972

H: It's absolutely a Vietnam reaction.

C: That was the other question. Are your 3 days tabulated separately so...

H: No we couldn't, we would have been delayed by about 3 hours today.

C: So there's no way of knowing if the third day had any impact.

H: Well, it had to because it was obviously building, but remember I said to you Monday I was sure that Vietnam was front and center now? All Henry's visit and obviously people are just hanging on every one. And it's devastating on McGovern. Let me read you the two columns:

"Tuesday a.m....

For the first time since early September, President Nixon has increased his lead over Senator McGovern to 60-32, a spread of 28 points. This latest Harris survey is conducted among 1648 likely voters, nationwide between October 24 and 26. Thus the interviewing took place just after Henry Kissinger returned from well publicized negotiations on Vietnam ... and was 3/4 completed before his White House announcement that 'peace is at hand'. Harris surveys returning to the field follow voting trends through the final week into the election. Between mid-September and mid-October Senator McGovern cut the Nixon lead from 34 to 25 points. The reversal of this trend in late October was considered a significant political development at this stage of the Presidential campaign. The reversal can be traced directly to a highly positive response from the voters to the imminence of the negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. This latest Harris survey by 53-42 margin, the ~~majority~~ majority of voters give Mr. Nixon high marks in 'negotiating final settlement of the Vietnam war. Only a week earlier voter reaction on identical question was 53-39 negative. The impact of the Vietnam events reinforced by two other results that indicate Mr. Nixon still faced political problems in other areas by 50 -45 percent and continued to receive negative remarks in his 'keeping the economy healthy'. " That's actually an increase, but it's still negative. You see why I did this, and by 52-36 percent voters gave negative marks on 'his handling of corruption in the government". He nevertheless maintains a lead of landslide proportions against his Democratic opponent"...what I was seeking here was two illustrations to say it's Vietnam that moved here.

"Obviously the moving element in the election has become the dramatic events in bringing the war in Vietnam to a close. Even at that, however, no more than 1/4 of this survey was conducted in the terms of the peace settlement was surfacing. It remains to be seen of course that the initially positive public reaction and the impending Vietnam agreement will continue to favor Mr. Nixon up until election day." That's just a hedge.

Tuesday-

"Last Thursday 1648 likely voters were asked in person in their homes this question. Comparable samples of voters have been asked this since June. 'How would you rate the job President Nixon has been doing negotiating the final settlement of the Vietnam war'. Nixon rating on negotiating settlement on Vietnam. In June 31-63 negative. August, 38-55 negative. September 42-50 negative. Early October 37-58 negative. Mid-October 39-53 negative. October 24-26 53-42 positive." Boy that's a turn around.

"Up until the end of October the turnabout in public confidence in the record of the Nixon Administration negotiating a settlement in Vietnam has been dramatic and sharp rising from a pessimistic low of 63-31 negative in June to the current 53-42 positive. Here is the trend in the Presidential pairings between President Nixon and Senator McGovern in response to this question: (you've got those)

"The current 28 point spread for Richard Nixon is almost identical of the result back in March when the Nixon lead was 27 points." I couldn't resist putting that in, when McGovern was saying the polls are all hung.

"In this latest survey, Nixon gains have been registered in precisely those groups in the electorate that have been most sensitive to Vietnam in the past. In the East the Nixon lead has gone up to 61-30, from 58-35 mid October. In the West, the Nixon margin has risen to 56-38 up from 52-41 in mid-October. In the South, however, which has always been more hawkish about the war, Mr. Nixon is ahead by a substantial 62-30, this is down from 67-26 in mid-October." Interesting.

WJ
 "Women now prefer President Nixon by 59-32, up considerably from the 56-36 percent margin recorded in mid-October. Women have consistently been more sensitive to the war in Vietnam and hopes of peace clearly are making an impact on the women's vote. Among young people under 30, the Nixon lead has gone up only marginally during the same period from 52-44 to 52-43. This group has been a prime target of Senator McGovern's campaign efforts. The young may respond to Vietnam more sharply, when and if the final peace settlement has been actually signed, since their skepticism on the war has been deepest among any group in the electorate. Up to this latest Harris survey McGovern had

continued to gain ground for a period of six weeks and appeared that he is making progress chiefly on his charge of corruption and political spying. However, with the dramatic turn of events concerning Vietnam, Mr. Nixon has now reversed the trend temporarily at least ~~that~~ the campaign ~~is in~~ ^{is in} ~~its~~ ^{is in} ~~final~~ ^{is in} week. "

That's just a hedge. That's got to be big news, right?

C: Oh, yea.

H: Now, this one I hope you'll like.

C: You know, the big news really is the turn around. It doesn't make the point that the polling really only got one day of the....

H: Well, we got it in there twice, you know. It's pretty strong, not the full impact.

C: That's clear.

H: Now, the next one is for Thursday and it's all on Vietnam:

"During the period that President Nixon pursued a policy of escalating the bombing and mining of North Vietnam while intensifying negotiations with the Hanoi government, the American people for the most part have stood more in support than in opposition to Mr. Nixon's policies. However, so skeptical are the American voters about obtaining a peaceful settlement of Vietnam that throughout the 1972 campaign, the President _____ no better than the slim 52-47 positive rating in his handling of the war. It was not until the final stages of Henry Kissinger's negotiations in Paris and Saigon that the public finally gave the President positive marks of 53-42 in late October' negotiating final settlement. As far back as last May, the Harris survey recorded public support for two basic parts of the Kissinger/Hanoi terms.

By 51-31 percent a majority favored a standstill ceasefire which would allow each side to remain in place where it ~~x~~ was when the fighting ended.

By 44-38 percent the public also supported 'an agreement to end the war but allow the North Vietnamese to continue to occupy the territories now occupied'. At no time during 1972 did the Harris survey ever record more than 16% of the American public who felt the President Theiu of South Vietnam was not expendable. In Mid-October voters were asked

this question which had been repeated earlier in the year: 'suppose the only way to get peace in Vietnam were to have President Thieu resign from office, would you favor or oppose such a move.' In mid-October it was 65-12 favor, early October 63-13. May was 60-14, March 50-16. "I think when Thieu reads that you won't have much trouble with him.

"Of course as part of the proposed settlement...."

C: Actually we're not really having much trouble with Thieu.

"... General Thieu would still remain in office and would control the territories of Saigon government occupies until election in South Vietnam to determine the makeup new government of that country. By the same token, the American people have also been steadfastly against establishing a coalition government with the Communist takeover in Saigon. Periodically the public has been asked this question by the Harris survey most recently October 24-26, among 1648 likely voters in the nation interviewed in their home in person. 'Suppose the only way to get peace in Vietnam were to agree to a coalition government which included the Communists. Would you favor or ~~ag~~ oppose such a coalition in Saigon?' Late October favors 33, oppose 48. Mid October 38-46 oppose, early October 34-49 oppose, Sept. 37-47, June 39-43, May 38-45, March 31-46 and then July '71 was 38-38, April was 42-39 and January of '71 was 40-41 oppose.

Back in early '71 a plurality of the public actually favored a coalition of the communists in Saigon as a way out of the war. However, during 1972 consistent pluralities oppose such a move as the solution to negotiations deadlocked. In the final settlement, although there is a proposed counsel for reconciliation, the actual rule in South Vietnam until election are held will not be by coalition."

That point should be made over and over and over.

C: I agree with you completely. One of my own guys was telling me...

H: ... saying that it is coalition.

C: One of my guys at lunch was telling me, well, it's really a coalition and I said, hey, whoa...

H: Absolutely not.

C: Yea.

H: "The two bold steps President Nixon took to answer... North Vietnam's offensive first to mine the harbors of the North and then to order heavy bombing raids on all that country including Hanoi itself. Initially the response to the minings was highly positive, favored by the public by 59-24. This support never waivered, with mid-October backing coming to 59-29.

On the initiation of heavy bombing raids in North Vietnam, again initial public support for the President's policies was a substantial 55-37. However, by mid-October public doubts about the wisdom of this policy began to mount and backing for the heavy bombings to no better than 46-44. During the same...."

H: Incidentally, the last poll here was 45-43, so its held.

"During the same period, Mr. Nixon's rating on 'handling the war in Vietnam' had gone from it's highest point, 52-47 positive to 47-51 negative, not a big drop, but it's...public patience was again wavering thin on Vietnam. This ~~xxxx~~ same trend of initial support eroding and backing and finally a substantial rise was evident in a key question asked of voters during September and October. 'If you were President, who do you think would be more likely ~~w~~ to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam sooner, Nixon or McGovern?" Late October Nixon 49, McGovern 33. 16 points. Mid-October, Nixon 45- McGovern 39. 6 points. Early October Nixon 48, McGovern 35 - 13 points. September, 48-34-14.

In mid-October Mr. Nixon had only a 6 point edge over Senator McGovern on which one possessed the capability to end the war sooner, but one week later the Nixon edge had jumped to 16 points and undoubtedly a public response to the stepped up hope for a negotiated settlement. One key reason why Vietnam did not work better for McGovern could be found in the lack of confidence the public had in his own pronouncements of the war. For example, by 74-15 voters doubt if he could keep his pledge to end all U.S. involvement in the war ~~when~~ within 90 days of taking office as President' Most decisive was this question asked in mid-October. 'Do you think the kind of term Denator McGovern would agree to in settling the Vietnam war would be honorable and right that the U.S. would accept or do you think he would agree to terms the U.S. would be wrong to accept. Terms McGovern would accept to settle Vietnam: honorable and right, 32%; wrong to accept 47%; not sure 21%. Basically, this election is ending on the key question of which Presidential candidate can best 'move the world closer to peace' on this issue, the campaign came down to the wire, Richard Nixon is beating George McGovern by 61-22%."

McG
on VN

H, Is that column all right?

C: It's marvelous.

H: It really puts it the way it is.

C: Well, it not only puts it the way it is...it puts in in focus just before the

election weekend, but it also probably serves just the right pressure purposes all around.

H: Oh, I think so. Neither Hanoi nor Saigon better get out of line.

C: I think I'll get that one over to Henry this afternoon. That's spectacular. Just some quickies I need -- Catholics, Union, East, West, North and South....

H: Mid-West 57-35, in mid-October to... 60-32 which is good. South you've gotten. Big Northern States, was 56-37 now is 61-31 and that's Vietnam I'm sure.

C: And see those are the big 8 electoral states, right?

H: Yep.

C: Catholics and labor unions.

H: Union, same spread but with more undecided. It was 53-40, it's still that, but it's 51-38 and 11 undecided very high. They're under some pressure. The Catholic is just out of this world. It's now 63-28, and it was 62-30. It's just moving. Independents are moving. They were 63-26 and now 66-24. Democrats were 37-54, now 39-51-10... pick up. Jewish, 48-43, was 48-47 and before that 33-58, so this is helping there to.

C: Were going to end up with about 40 % of the Jewish vote.

H: Right. With registered voters, it's 60-32 exactly what we have on the total. On certain to vote though, it's 62-32. And with...

C: Do you know that ~~these~~ are almost identical to the Johnson-Goldwater figures in the last week of the '64 campaign. Gallup had a 61-32 the last figure.

H: I'll bet you that we got up to 30 points in the end.

C: That's 65-35... wouldn't that be something. Wow!

H: That would be the biggest victory ~~for~~ for any President in modern history.

C: That's right.

H: Harding got a 64-36.

C: Well, it's just moving.

Same as
I not
Gallup

P.
Big
States

H: ...lead on who can better move the world closer to the peace. 39 points. About the confidence one, do you want that one?

C: ^yea.

H: That's out of sight...where did I put it?

(second tape)

C: Which ~~President~~ man would you trust most to be President in the White House? was 63-25.

H: Now, that's up to 58-30

C: That's a significant jump.

H: A 10 point jump and that reinforced it.

C: That's all in a week, and that's in a week when he is kicking the bejesus out of us on the Watergate and all that.

H: I ran into more people that thought his speech on corruption was terrible.

C: It was a bomb I thought.

H: The others, I haven't posted McGovern.... McGovern Profile here.

C: What's the matter with the market, Lou, I would have thought it would...

H: I was just talking to Bill Donaldson...

c: I would have thought it would have gone up 50 points.

H: Well, he told me...Ksold some stock ~~x~~ to American Express and he told me not to put it back in the market.

C: Really?

H: Yea, only because he thinks the market...crazy.

C: Yea, but within a maximum of 3 weeks, this thing will be wrapped up. People will start seeing prisoners come home. The mood in this country is going to just go...

H: ...deals...I saw this this morning. They have a backlog of orders now...

C: They have a shortage. A friend of mine was out looking for a Ford here and couldn't get one.

H: Here it is, . McGovern has courage to say what he thinks even if unpopular... 71-19. Down from 73-19.

Is too extreme liberal views.	59-26	was 58-30
Deserves a lot of credit for being		
against Vietnam before others	42- 43	was 48-40 mid October
		was 46-43 early October
		39-41 September
		42-41 early September.
		54-21 positive May

Doesn't inspire Rx confidence		
as a President should.	61-28	
Good judgment and taste	35-49	was 35-51 but no reason to change.
Makes too many mistakes	65-24	was 61-28
raises doubt about judgment		
High sense of integrity	52-26	was 49-27 early October.
Right to expose profits made		
by grain deal	62-14	was 66-15
Wrong to say abolish all		
wage and price controls	57-24	was 60-22

C: We haven't been hitting him on that.

H: You never have.

C: No, we've been trying to. People just don't pick it up.

Right to emphasize in Nixon		
aide listening devices at the		
Democratic headquarters	55-25	was 59-25

Seem to be a different politician and lately
just another politician promising what
voters wants 66-22 was 61-28

Right to point out close ties between big
business contributors and favors by
Nixon Administration. 61-20 was 61-21

(which means that is a point of vulnerability)

PRESIDENTIAL PROFILE

Kept most of the promises he made in
1968 52-38 was 48-40

Doesn't inspire enough confidence a
President should. 33-59 was 38-55

H: See, these are all predictors and they're not afraid to take decisive
action...

C: I think you've right, absolutely, in ..by another week...
with him taking his case more direct now as he will be...

H: Didn't he get a good feel on saying we're going to make that peace in
Vietnam? I'll bet he brought the house down.

C: Last night? I'll tell you, it was very interesting, I wasn't there, but
Haldeman described it to me and the President did a little bit. The place
kind of had an electric feeling in it and there was kind of an air of excitement,
cheering when he came in, speakers and John Sherman Cooper was
... Then Louie Nunn said 'we have a great privilege tonight in view of
the announcements of today that there is an unprecedented...' no, 'in
view of the announcements today we have for the first time a feeling of
peace' but he couldn't get it out. The place just went berserk and then they
started chanting, four more years and it apparently just struck the
cord. Holy smokes. That's Eastern Kentucky. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

H: Remember I said that this puts the cap on.

Not done a good job on keeping corruption
out of the Administration 40-39 was 46-37

Too much wiretapping, violates peoples privacy	40-38	was 46-31
Probably done more to help us reach peace than any other President	66-23	was 61-27 62-27 early Oct. 62-25 Sept. 69-26 July
...this reads through loud and clear.		
Not kept his pledge to end the war in Vietnam.	47-44 agree	was 52-38 mid-Oct was 50-41 early Oct. 44-46 Sept.
Man of high integrity	75-16	
Republicans too close to big business	52-30	was 60-26 mid -oct.
Doing a good job and deserves relection	57-32	was 54-34 59-30 Sept.

* Doe sn't deserve to win by landslide 43-44

C: That's half the people in effect saying he deserves to win in a landslide.

H: That's an improvement. The one that's really turned around is
inspires confidence personally 51-41 was 48-45 mid-oct

H: In other words, what's happened, it's just added to the President's
credibility.

C: Unless ... I think he played it right in hind sight... thank God for the
North Vietnam. One irony after another in this campaign.

H: That's about it.

C: You're great, I really appreciate this. I may go get drunk tonight.

H: I'm going to California to work on ...

C: He's actually quit?

H: I gather he's quit the campaign. He won't talk to anybody. Of course
he may be in his worst period. He may just...

C: He's thus far played this thing smart. I thought he might come attacking us on this.

H: ...

C: If he does we'll just cream him and it will finish him. Well, next week will be fascinating.

H: ...North Vietnamese are not going to get together. That's what they're hearing in Paris.

C: That's what the McGovern people are?

H: Yea.

C: I hope they're not getting in there screwing them up...

H: I assume something is being set up.

C: Well, it is. The mechanics are such that the timing is a big if, but Henry is rather optimistic at the moment.

H: I think once they decided they want to meet it's all over. That's great. 30 points and stay there. That's probably the maximum the President can get. Then you're next move would be 70-30 and I can't believe an election could occur like that.

C: ^But this is about where she should speak out. It seems to me we're still going to get...I talked to Frank Stanton today who called me to tell me that they were putting a special on Sunday and if we wanted to provide people to talk and I said we'd try to help and said, God, I don't know what you...you fellows were born under the right stars, but you just ...this thing is going to do a slow build and by the end of next week you're really going to have it across to the American people what's happened and it's tremendous.

H: It's going to do a fast build.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

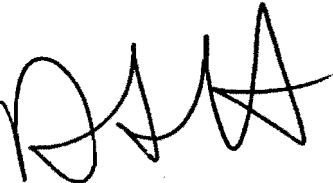
WASHINGTON

12 April 1972

*cc to Buchanan
Clawson
Dean*

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM DOUG HALLETT



I note in the Newsweek article on McGovern references to his increasing distance from the plains of the Dakotas; i. e. trips to the Virgin Islands and Galbraith's Vermont farm, his mod clothing, and, most particularly, his \$110,000 Japanese-style home complete with appropriate furnishings. One thing we might do -- probably not yet, but if McGovern continues to show strength in the primaries -- is use this kind of material to blast away at his Populist image. Another thing which might be worthwhile is figuring out how in the hell a preacher's kid, former college prof, a man who's been on the government payroll at no more than \$42,500 can afford this kind of life-style. I suppose his lecture fees, etc. enable him to live this way -- even with the expense of private education for his kids -- but there just may be the slightest possibility that somebody is bankrolling him and if we could find out who and how we could bust his integrity image right open.

*Doug - Excellent Point -
many thanks for -
or*