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3	44	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Record of a conversation between Colson and Harris RE: using international politics in election questionnaires, as well as regional polling figures for October 1972. 6 pgs.
3	44	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Douglas L. Hallett to Colson RE: advice on various campaign issues. 4 pgs.

File PC

Conversation with Lou Harris, October 13, 1972

H: ... such a build up of Henry's trip and the day after day and the extra day and then the extra day after that... you know, that if there isn't something, I worry now about a real letdown on that issue. I'm not worried about what McGovern or anybody else is saying, the things the American people are saying. For the first time we had our hopes up...

C: Do you think they have their hopes up?

H: Yep. We polled them, we were getting like 88% expected no settlement, I don't know, but I would guess that it might be no more than 50% expect no settlement before the election.

C: I wonder if that's a question worth asking, Lous?

H: Yea, it is and I intend to put it in. I can't get it in this one unfortunately.

C: You can't?

H: No, we had to release today. I probably should have put it in.

C: Oh, you mean, released your questionnaire.

H: To get it out in the field. We mail it out because it's the only way to do it.

C: Now you're really worrying me.

H: It does worry me. I'm not worried about if the Kissinger trip had been off the record...

C: It was , but...

H: Oh, but, shit, you know... I'm not saying there were any leaks out, but it leads the news every night and the President comes back from Atlanta and it almost overshadows Atlanta. They came to back to be with Dr. Kissinger had breakfast this morning... that sort of thing. It's almost like people are breathlessly hanging on to every word about this and what worries me is, they really have an appetite for something and I got that... sitting on that result about the bombing.

C: I understand your point and I was calling you really to tell you that... this thing is incredibly complicated and it isn't black and white...

H: Well, if it can be done with any degree of honor, I'd say do it. Just talking cold blooded ...

C: Well, you show sometimes uncanny perception because we put a certain deadline and they said, well, we'll let you know and I bet you that we're going to go right down to the wire as you indicated we might and they know they're putting us in a bind too. Because...

H: Some day, after this election, I'll tell you about something....I've been involved with the Russians before on some things and they're really strange people. They are...anti-Communists are strange people. They are heavy handed.. even though...I don't know them very well at all, but they'd say.. these guys have a certain kind of heavy-handed, butcher-like quality, so that in negotiations, they put it like pounds of meat on the table, rather than any delicacy at all. I don't know if that's what they're doing, but that's...

C: It's a curious combination of things that are going on, but my own view is that we are rolling inextricably forward towards something that is going to happen and that the timing of it is going to be more governed perhaps...more by almost the ponderous nature in which you have to do things.

H: ...they'll be a week late. You wait and see.

C: That's entirely conceivable...

H: They have a much more encumbered decision.

C: That's what I'm trying to say.

H: They are not free men to negotiate.

C: Well, they're freer now than they have been, but.

H: In other words, the days of Stalin they could make a deal stick ~~are~~ over in their world.

C: Particularly with this outfit.

H: That's right because they've got a collective leadership..

C: And, God, the Russians are more...are pushing harder...I don't know if you saw what Pravda said today, but...

H: No, but I had a guy come in this morning that said..I don't trust him because

he's this guy Bonda's successor, the counsellor of the embassy there. He came in and I gave him our line including the Japanese...when you say it's better to have a Japanese controlled in the open negotiating with the Chinese than going behind our back and your back. His eyes lit up and he took big notes at that. At any rate, but then I gave him a pretty strong sell on the Vietnam thing and said, don't you understand that a great deal of whether you get this cooperation you so desperately seek after the election depends entirely on what you do on Vietnam and at first he tried to weasel out, by saying, no, no, we don't really control it and I said, as long as you have some input into it, if that isn't full input for a settlement now on it, it can be costly to you...just like that and I thought that impressed him.

C: That's very good.

H: Well, that's the way...that's their language. ...they're always thinking in terms of...and end result and they don't give a shit how they get there but they want to know what is the connection. This guy also gave me a somewhat hard time on the Jackson amendment...so I said, well, don't be so categorical about condemning our country for that or even Israel. You'll find Israel is not for the Jackson amendment and he looked started at that. I had a good time giving him a hard time.

C: That's very helpful. Well, my question to you, is..there are 3 options. This gets very complex. One, a continuation...pressing hard to try to get it...

H: Yea, which means even intensifying the bombings...

C: No, no. But it means continuing the kind of stuff that we've seen this week.

H: Except we'll miss the French Embassy next time.

C: Wasn't that awful. No, I mean when I say continuing activities, I mean continuing Kissinger activity. Which was something that may or may not break before the first of November. But if it doesn't break before the first of November, well quite assuredly break in November...after the election, because we cannot by your thesis cannot do anything in the first 7 days in November. People think you know that you just sit down and say, well, here's the deal and everybody shakes hands, but this is the first time that there has really been...

H: The outlines that have come out, I must say, it's not that clean a deal.

C: No, you can see it shaping up.

H: There's some contingencies...stuff down the road which doesn't surprise me.

H: Which...it's been a muddied up war anyway and that's the way it should appropriately end.

C: Then, the second option would be the cut everything off cold, right now but that might really imperil the opportunity to get something. The third option is that the timing plays out such that something happens before the end of the month.

H: Well, I'd opt for the third very strongly, if you can see the daylight.

C: Oh, yea, but we're not in total control. The third could become the first is what I guess I'm saying.

H: Yea, I would worry about that last week of the election, if Henry were intensive negotiations up to then and then it broke off and everybody knew there was nothing coming up before the election....

C: Well, but they might also have a feeling it might be coming up right after it.

H: Well, I don't think that will wash.

C: Then we've got a hell of a dilemma.

H: I think it's a risk. Just piddling with numbers and guessing, but I'd guess you could get down to an 18 point lead which if the 12 difference of the big states could put them down to 6, which gets close. That's my worry. I wanted to say it the other day about Teeter, but remember the President so shrewdly said "the overall results aren't going to be reflected of how close it can get in the big states because of my lead in the South". Remember that? And he's dead right. He's a real keen political analyst, I must say, because that's true. We're getting a 12 point spread...I know, because this guy that did the New York poll was in my office before and he said to me'gee, you know I would have guessed a 6 point spread between the big states so that when we got 16 here in New York, it was going to be 22 nationwide and he said, I'm amazed. This guy's a statistician and we looked at our data and analyzed it and I said no, and here's why. The reason is that you've got not only the South, but you've got smaller states looking like the South as well and it's much tighter in the bigger states. And my worry is that's exactly where you'll get Vietnam sensitive vote. These big states on the coast, I'm less worried about Ohio and Illinois, but I'm more worried about New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, California.

C: Not Pennsylvania.

H: Well, I don't know.

C: Not Illinois and not Ohio.

H: Well, you half convinced me on Pennsylvania.

C: I don't think we have to worry in Pennsylvania. and I don't think we do in New Jersey or Connecticut. Now, those are states...well, we took Jersey before. We'll take Texas... so ~~we~~ even if the thing closes, and we lost California, that's more than offset by Pennsylvania and Texas.

H: Oh, yea. No, I'm not saying the election is going to be lost, but I think it could get down to anywhere from 58 to 60 instead of 61 to 64.

C: Yea, which is of course where we'd rather see it end.

H: And as I read Richard Nixon he'd like to get as much as he can get.

C: Well, yea, and I think...I was interested talking to one of my good Democratic friends the other day who said I'm not only voting for him but I'm pulling like hell for a big vote because we've got to clean the McGovernites out of the Democratic Party.

H: Right. You tell the President this story. It's occurred to me in the last couple days, thinking hard about this, that the mark of a real champion... as a matter of fact it makes a difference in boxing particularly, but in any sport, is when... boxing is the most dramatic in a way because the guy has to be able to take his opponent out clean and hard and he's got to knock him out all the way. He doesn't like a TKO. If you're going to win a football game, and I'm not saying you roll up the score deliberately, but it should be 60-12, you make it 60-12. And I sense...tell the President I share that view. There's no way to play except for keeps all the way. I don't know if you agree with that, but I think you do. And that's why...I see this now, the only issue. I swear...I don't think this recent Washington Post this is going to wash...it's too late....

C: And God...well, you and I will plot about taking over the Post...It is the most incredible story I have ever read in my life.

H: The economy keeps getting better, the...I just don't see the...young people are not moving, I've kgot reports back from the colleges all the time now and what's happened is they haven't gone to Nixon they've gotten apolitical...anti-political.

C: Yea, my son says that at Princeton they're not even getting absentee x ballots.

H: No, I checked it out...Columbia it's the same thing. They're not interested in politics at all. They're just turned off and so, I'm not worried about the youth vote, except I am worried about the goddamn Vietnam, it worries the hell out of me. It's soft. It's got a soft...I've been studying the last 8 years

of my life studying the guy.

C: Oh, I know it. You've been more perceptive to the changes than anybody else.

H: And it's ..this worries me..it doesn't worry me that it will lose the election, it worries me that...reporting on the Saturday before the election that it's gone from 27-17 or something. And...

C: I think it's holding now, Lou, from every feeling I get. Well, I don't know.



HARVARD LAW SCHOOL
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

13 October 1972

P

Dear Mr. Colson:

I am in receipt of your letter of 10 October. Much as I hate to admit it, I appreciate your responding -- and was hoping you would. While I hesitate to take your time at this point in the campaign, I have too much respect for both of us to not respond immediately.

First, I do owe you an apology, primarily in the sense one might have advised Chairman Khrushchev that he owed an apology to President Eisenhower for walking out of the 1960 Paris summit talks. My letter was both rude and boorish, and I regret that I allowed myself to get so out-of-control. Your psychoanalysis is well-taken; you point out a real problem, and one which you are not the first to notice. In retrospect, my final melodramatics appear particularly unfortunate -- I do not think any personal disappointment I might suffer justifies withdrawing whatever assistance I can be to the campaign. Most importantly, I also owe you an apology for the direct challenge to your integrity; I did not, and do not, have sufficient evidence to make such an allegation.

Nevertheless, I do take exception to other parts of your letter. On the matter of most immediate dispute, I refer you to Sec. 140(g)(1) of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972: "The Commission shall be composed of... (C) not to exceed thirteen members appointed by the President not later than ninety days after the enactment of this act. Such members shall be appointed from among - ... (vi) students." There is no mention of the word "undergraduate," and no justification I can find for interpreting the legislative intent as limiting the student-class of membership to undergraduates.

As I have indicated, I do not have cause for alleging that you "fabricated" a false statutory requirement; nor do I really think you either consciously or deliberately did so. What I do think is that you did not take the few moments of your time and use the few calories of your energy

it would require to pursue my interests when Mr. Kingsley's office informed you, probably indirectly, whatever they did. In all frankness, if Mr. Kingsley's office did tell you there was a statutory requirement for an undergraduate, I find it difficult to believe that a lawyer and former congressional staff member of your skill and experience would not be suspicious -- statutes just aren't written that way. But, leaving that aside, I have watched you in action too often and have too much regard for your inquisitiveness and thoroughness to believe that you would not have pursued the matter, even to obtaining the text of the statute, had you thought it important to do so. That just isn't the way you do business when you want something.

Nor do I think the other matters I raised -- and which contributed to my outburst -- are so insignificant that they indicate, at most, inadvertence on your part. Certainly a White House pass, EOB mess and gym privileges, a title of equal stature to my colleagues', access to the news-summary before asking at least a half-dozen times for it, an office less than 200 yards from the nearest secretarial assistance, invitations to the numerous briefings and other meetings my closest parallel, Mr. Karalekas, had as a matter of course, perhaps a trip to the convention -- or anywhere -- certainly these things are not more important than some of the other opportunities I had -- and I question your implication that I, even in my rashest moments, think they are.

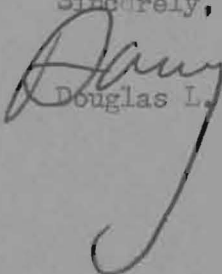
On the other hand, I must say that I have too much regard for your ability as a bureaucratic in-fighter and upward-moving political force to accept the idea that you cannot recognize their importance, indeed their necessity, to anybody, especially a young person, who is trying to operate effectively in an environment like the White House. Rightly or wrongly, people judge you by the outward symbols of your clout -- and I did not have many. Obviously it would be silly to contend that a White House pass makes much difference in comparison with "making even a small contribution to the course of our nation's affairs" (Attacking me that way is like the President attacking liberals for valuing forced, cross-city bussing over the American flag, Mom, Pop, and apple pie); it is not silly to suggest that I might have been able to make a bigger contribution -- and certainly would have had a more profitable professional experience -- had I enjoyed the privileges other staff members enjoy automatically. Nor is it out of the question to suggest that you are quite capable of recognizing that. The fact that you pay Mike Balzano (given his ability) and Mel Stephens (given his experience) over \$20,000/annum is, I think, sufficient evidence for my contention that I was under-

paid.

I apologize for the tone of the letter (that's what you get for having me write all those "nut-cutting" speeches last year) and the specific, unsubstantiable assault on your integrity. I, too, would like to think that I wrote the letter in a rash moment and on reflection realize it was both unjustified and unfair. I retain, obviously with some considerable feeling, the reservations I have expressed above as well as the thoughts I expressed -- and have never retracted -- in my September 1 letter.

With best regards,

Sincerely,


Douglas L. Hallett

The Honorable Charles W. Colson
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

P.S. Some gratuitous campaign advice from a common citizen:

- (1) You're doing fine on Watergate -- it's a D. C. exclusive. On the other hand, it would not hurt to have the President fire somebody on some other issue, sick an anti-trust suit on somebody, or blast a polluter -- provided it wasn't too patently politically done.
- (2) The Veep and the surrogates need some chargeing up as we discussed a couple weeks ago -- you can't let these Democrats stop thinking about amnesty, pot, abortion, crime (especially) or else they will start thinking about another four years of President Nixon's economic management. Remember '70 and don't go too heavy, but don't let the social issue run out of gas -- just reword it and elevate it a bit.
- (3) The tax issue has been great in the last two weeks. Add to it some clean, clear figures on the cost-of-living -- especially that figure about the President increasing the average real income by 5 percent -- that should be in everybody's every goddamn speech.
- (4) I'd still like to see a domestic, thematic speech on reprivatization, decentralization, individualism, etc. as the core of the President's domestic program. I'd still like to see

it in a good visual location, but, you're right, the radio stuff does get good play, without having the President run around like a political candidate.

(5) Shriver needs counter-attacking. He is getting less buffoonish, and he gets good press locally wherever he goes. You should ask Hugh Scott, whose acid tongue is perfect for tagging Shriver as an elitist dreamer, to follow him around.

(6) I'd still like to see the President go to a factory-local union meeting and give a ramble on the Mosow Report-type issues and what he's done/is doing in response.

(7) The Committee for the Resurrection's precinct activity remains, as far as I can tell, vastly overestimated. On the other hand, McGovern cannot even get people to work for him here. It's dead, dead, dead.

(8) If Don Dwight can bring out a crowd -- and only if -- the President should come to Boston. The McGovern people here tell me that the moving-over they expected to begin in the last week hasn't occurred, at least yet; for the first time, I really think the President can actually carry this state. The unity bit in Atlanta, as well as everything else, was good -- if he comes to Boston, retain that tone.