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3	9	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: effective campaign attacks to use against McGovern in the closing weeks of the presidential campaign. 2 pgs.
3	9	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Charles S. Snider to Colson RE: the issue of trust and the perceived trustworthiness of RN and McGovern in the campaign. 4 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON 

SUBJECT:

Next two weeks.

I am convinced from listening to Sindlinger interviews on Saturday, by my own analysis of poll data and by my seat of the pants political instincts, that most people who are going to vote for the President because of his record and his accomplishments, have already decided how they will vote. Those who approve of the President and think he deserves re-election have been sold.

At this stage of the game, people who are uncertain about supporting the President are not going to be sold by being reminded of China, Russia, SALT or any other positive Nixon accomplishment. Many of them will choose us because we are the lesser of evils or, in the case of large numbers of Democrats, because they are turned off by McGovern. In my mind this is the anti-McGovern vote. If it remains anti-McGovern, it will either come to us or stay home.

The key objective in my mind in the next two weeks is to keep the undecided voter and the lukewarm Nixon support turned off on McGovern. Most of these people are Democrats and Independents. The polls show the Republican vote is remarkably solid and hopefully Clark will be getting everyone of them out to vote.

I, therefore, believe that positive advertising will accomplish little if anything in the last two weeks of the campaign. The Democrat or Independent who is not sold on us is not going to be sold on us by any classy commercials that we run in the next two weeks. We can,

~~We can~~, however, keep him unsold on McGovern. Also, the negative ads are Democrats ads. Just by running them we continue to remind the disaffected Democrat that he is not violating his sacred vows by supporting Nixon.

McGovern's strategic problems in some respects have been no different than ours. He has been trying to win the disaffected Democrats by a positive appeal to them and it obviously hasn't worked; it has by and large failed. He has now begun negative ads against us (thank God he didn't think of them sooner). These coupled with his hard hitting attacks, Watergate, etc., could begin to have a corrosive effect.

What I am therefore recommending is a negative negative strategy. If he is not countered, he can begin to persuade Democrats who don't like him or are turned off by his views that while he may be a horse's ass, Democrats should vote not for him but against us. We have to continue to make him so unattractive that no matter how bad a picture he paints of us, they still will come to us instead of him.

In short, I don't think that there are many people left in the country who can be persuaded to vote for Nixon. Those who are for us have had plenty of time to reach that decision. I think there are a lot of people, however, who are against McGovern and our job is to keep them against McGovern. I am putting it hard on the surrogates because I don't think in the critical period ahead we can relent on the attack, but in my view we desperately need extensive use of the most effective anti-McGovern TV commercials and newspaper ads. The President's own campaigning will keep our own troops charged up and will keep those who are for the President for him. Only the attack and the ads will keep those who are against McGovern against McGovern.

We can probably win the election by doing absolutely nothing for the next 14 days. On the other hand, if we keep the heat on we can produce a real landslide and the more Democrats we prevent from voting for McGovern by forcing them, even if they can't buy us, to stay home, the better the chance of bringing the Congress in with us, thereby avoiding the inevitable recriminations from our own Party.

# THE WALLACE CAMPAIGN



September 22, 1972

MTG w/  
mac gregor / mansit  
9/26/72

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

Dear Chuck:

Paul Johnson, the McGovern coordinator for more than half of Florida, was in my office Thursday.

Here is what he said:

"I have been over North Florida and Central Florida where I am the campaign manager for McGovern and I find that the people are not for McGovern and they are not for Nixon. They are still for George Wallace. They are waiting for George Wallace to drop even a feather of a hint as to where they should go. And that is where they will go."

He came here with a long brief on similarities between McGovern and Wallace. It was a part of the increasing courtship of the campaign by the McGovern forces. They are using "party man" and "Democratic candidate in 1976" and such other hoopla to sell the thought that Wallace must annoint the McGovern-Shriver ticket. There is an "undecided" group among Wallace people, but it is decidedly more anti-McGovern because of his supporters than the man or issues. I keep emphasizing the word "supporters." So, when you say people are against McGovern, they mean to a much greater degree, that they are against welfare cheats, queers, amnesty seekers, militants, hippies, etc. But somehow this supporter image has been pushed aside. Paul Johnson said "We are having our young people cut their hair, shave their mustaches, and clean up to get away from bad supporter image." In line with this,

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the McGovern national organization has attempted to employ as a speechwriter and consultant one of our campaign people who has been responsible for the Governor's statements since 1958. He turned them down because he is loyal to me although the offer was most attractive.

Now cometh Ted Kennedy. And in line with this, Morris Dees has been on the phone almost daily to the man they tried to employ as a speechwriter. He says the turning point of the McGovern campaign would be the Wallace endorsement.

None of which is going to happen. Right now, we have a state that is 99 and 44/100 percent pure Nixon and Alabama straws in the wind will be a key to what Wallace does or does not do. I have been keeping him informed of this feeling and it is cemented at this stage.

Now, I would like to hitchhike mentally with you. In other words, I want to present some viewpoints that in our intellectual redneckism (as opposed to pointy-headed intellectuals) might give you and the Nixon organization an insight that I feel is missing.

We are in touch with all three parties and their supporters. I believe I have found a key to this campaign that is not present anywhere else in your organization.

The key word is trust. President Nixon said in his book "Six Crises" that "in politics, victory is never total."

There is no total victory today. There is too much executives. Too much over-confidence. Too little impact to the average citizen.

If I can drop back and punt for a second, McGovern came out of the Democratic convention scarred to hell and back as a hippie-loving, abortion-pushing, amnesty-favoring, homosexual supported liberal. Then he capped this with the Eagleton disaster. He was down and dirty and untouchable by average citizens.

Now, I want to make this point...there are liberals and left-ists but they are few in number and there are conservatives like the Birchers, etc. but they are few in number. The election is decided by average citizens who are not left, right or middle of the road. They are political wanderers who favor a little of the left, a little of the right, and a little of the middle of the road. Mainly they are concerned about a job, a three-bedroom house, a car, school, church, children, maybe a boat, and retirement. They don't know Bangladesh from an Eskimo, and they have absolutely no concept about what is happening in Vietnam, Korea or Japan and trade deficit is something for the economists.

They are sold politics by the tube. This is a TV political year, pure and simple, and that's it. Right now, they have McGovern, a man they can't stand. But the Democrats are working on this in reverse. They are trying to destroy Nixon's popularity by convincing the people that McGovern might be a man you can't stand but Nixon is a man you can't trust.

So the word is trust. Trust is the key. So Nixon has to sell trust. Only not trust in Nixon but trust in the people. If you could come up with a theme that Nixon trusts the people. Nixon trusts America. Nixon trusts freedom. Nixon trusts the realness of our times. Then you get away from trust in Nixon and you associate trust with Nixon with trust in America and trust in the people and everytime that McGovern and his crowd try to break this trust image, they create an impression that they don't trust the people, they don't trust America, they don't trust freedom.

I know how I would have our man present this theme. And I know how our staff could take this one line and break it off in the McGovern crowd because they are saying you can't trust America. In effect, they are still trying to sell the old saw that "would you buy a used car from Richard Nixon?"

I see this. Others see this. This is what the next 40 days is all about. The concept must be that trust is the key. The wheat deal, Watergate, Vietnam, all of this is tied in to breaking down trust in Nixon but if the Nixon team can turn this around and make it appear that this radical crowd is trying to destroy trust in America, then you have a victory so fantastic that even the polls you now have would be underestimated.

This "Now, more than ever" line is great and I like it. I know it is good. But where are the lines that go with it that explains why? Why not because Nixon trusts the people and Nixon trusts America--and that is why he is needed now more than ever because our times demand trust.

I see things happening across the country that polls won't reflect. The Democrats are still taking "issue" polls only--not image polls. They are cracking on the anti-issues in an attempt to crack trust.

I know the campaign is geared toward the middle of October but I also know that NOW is the time for action to get the Nixon campaign moving toward the Average citizen.

The average citizen wants to hear trust. He wants to be re-assured. Reassured. Reassured. This what it is all about.

These are thoughts for what they are worth.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,



Charles S. Snider  
Executive Director

CSS/bjc