

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>
21	2	11/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to Larry Higby. RE: Message that reads, "Per your request, enclosed are my thoughts regarding the President's posture during the campaign." Included are thoughts concerning the campaign, and the role of the media. 3 pgs.
21	2	11/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: Presidential campaign style for 1972, and ideas for campaign slogans like Truman's, "Give em' hell" style that will motivate voters. 2 pgs.
21	2	1/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to The President. RE: The Broder-Johnson Series. 2 pgs.
21	2	1/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Doug Hallett to Charles Colson. RE: Broader and Johnson's main points in their series, "The Politicians and the People." 8 pgs.

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21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A newspaper article written by Richard Wilson that's entitled, "Nixon Political Skill is Key to Democratic Hopes." 1 pg.
21	2	10/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article from The Wall Street Journal entitled, "Nixon: A feeling of Lost Opportunity." 2 pgs.
21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A newspaper article from The New York Times discussing the President's actions in 1971, as well as the tensions between U.S.-Soviet trade. 2 pgs.
21	2	12/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newspaper	A two-sided newspaper article from the Chicago Daily News that includes multiple stories such as: "Stumped? Here's How Auto Insurance Plan Works", and "What's Really Bugging Middle Class Americans and Why They Think as They Do." 6 pgs.
21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes entitled, "Lessons From FDR Summary." Some ideas included are: Opening the campaign as late as possible, use the presidency, not candidacy, and ignore opponent-don't mention them by name. 9 pgs.

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21	2	9/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From W. Richard Howard to Charles Colson. RE: The meeting with Sindlinger, and his analysis of the American voter beyond statistical reports. 4 pgs.
21	2	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Haldeman. RE: The interesting points made by Charlie Snyder; Wallace's top man. 1 pg.
21	2	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Charles Snider to Charles Colson. RE: The report from Florida that states that voters are not supporters of either Nixon or McGovern, but many are standing behind George Wallace. 4 pgs.
21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A newspaper article from The Wall Street Journal entitled, "Thinking Things Over", which emphasizes the fact that none of Nixon's enemies have been able to tarnish his bid for reelection up to this point. 3 pgs.
21	2	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Safire to Haldeman. RE: Critique of First Campaign Swing. 2 pgs.

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21	2	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Haldeman. RE: The President's trip to New York and California. 3 pgs.
21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report listing the tentative states to be polled; with a total of 15 listed as "target states", and 5 listed as "important". 1 pg.
21	2	1/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article from The Christian Science Monitor entitled, "How Political Writers See 1972: Nixon Leading All Democrats." 1 pg.
21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article from The Christian Science Monitor entitled, "Nixon Leading All Democrats." 1 pg.
21	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes that provide statistical information on Nixon's popularity in comparison to McGovern. 1 pg.

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21	2	10/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Time Magazine article entitled, "Nixon Moves Out to an Astonishing Lead." 1 pg.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

November 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Per your request, enclosed are my thoughts regarding the President's posture during the campaign.

Enclosure

MAGRUDER

It has generally been agreed that during the 1972 campaign, the President should capitalize on his incumbency and travel the "high road" in his communications and exposure to the voters. There is, however, a danger of carrying that strategy so far that the President is perceived as being too far above the campaign and, in effect, asking the voters to draft him for a second term. We must find the proper balance between projecting an image of presidential incumbency, competence and statesmanship, while at the same time transmitting the President's genuine desire to have a second term to complete the initiatives which he has begun.

The Degree of Presidential Involvement

Decisions regarding campaign strategy and particularly the President's role should be made on these assumptions:

1. That the election will be close. It is extremely difficult today for a Republican president to win an election by a wide majority no matter how great his competence nor how solid his record. Therefore, plans must contemplate the necessity of convincing the last undecided voter and getting the last supporter out to the polls.

2. The President has his strongest image with the American people as an incumbent and leader. Recent polls, in the wake of China the the economy, show a rising response to his initiatives in handling difficult problems. This trend counters the consistently declining public approval experienced by JFK and LBJ at this point in their incumbency.

Those two assumptions set the limits on Presidential involvement. In the first instance, we cannot assume that the campaign can be won without his presence. Despite current media emphasis on Democratic disarray and weakness in opinion surveys, we must expect their campaign to be strong. One need only recollect 1968, when Humphrey rose from the ashes of an incredible series of adverse events to achieve almost a dead heat.

In the second case, excessive campaigning may overshadow the image of incumbency and diminish the President's appeal as a leader.

The Presidential Campaign Message

The contents of the President's speeches will be very important in reinforcing the image of incumbency. His message should be constructive and statesmanlike, referring to his own accomplishments, his initiatives and his tangible objectives for the coming four years. He should stay above the fray and dwell to a minimum on criticism of his opponents or opposing points of view. The tone should be toward the high themes of the Administration: "A Generation of Peace," "Bring Us Together" and "The Spirit of '76." At the same time, he must deal with the "gut" issues to which the voters can relate in their own particular circumstances. For example, the reduction in the draft and the move toward the All-Volunteer Army affects the lives of fathers and sons and brothers and cousins of countless voters. In the field of economics, the balance of payments is an important policy issue, but the individual relates more strongly to the security of his job and the erosion of the buying power of his paycheck. We must not let the Democrats steal the march on matters relevant to the man on the street.

The Media

During the course of the campaign, the President will achieve high visibility in the media because of his incumbency alone. As has been demonstrated over the last several months, major policy decisions and events can result in particularly high visibility and a measurable impact on the electorate. The upcoming visits to China and Moscow, the continued wind-down of the Viet Nam war, possible agreements coming out of the current international negotiations, and other prominent events which may occur, should have a similar effect in 1972. In the same vein, our television advertising should be in an informational, news-type format, not excessively partisan and should reinforce the factors of incumbency, leadership, competence and specific accomplishments.

The Primaries

Our conduct of the early primaries can determine whether McCloskey will quickly fade from view, or whether he will be able to sustain enough momentum to nip at the heels of the President through the spring.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Bob Haldeman

FROM:

Harry S. Dent 

SUBJECT:

Presidential campaign style 1972.

The question of the Presidential campaign style for 1972 depends in part on our situation at campaign time. Harry Truman pulled it out with a "give 'em hell" style. However, the underdog, salty role was best suited for Truman. Eisenhower, the non-politician, could stay above the fray and maintain the political clout of his non-political image. FDR, the wily politician, was too busy running the country to fight with Wilkie or little guys. All these styles proved to be winners.

The one most applicable to this President seems to be the FDR style. It fits this President best with today's crises and the special importance of the President's plans for producing a realistic and lasting peace and prosperity with limited inflation.

Also, the people seem to want this President to be above politics as much as possible -- and the old press-created image of being so politically motivated must be dispelled. This was part of LBJ's downfall, shifting for himself. Even the enemies realize this President is a realistic leader bubbling over with expertise and experience, especially in foreign affairs. The reality of bold leadership is now getting through. Let's keep it that way. People now see the President as being more concerned with their welfare than his own -- the political risks of the bold, new ventures. This is the best politics by far. They should know the President will give up his job or lose it to pursue courses which he believes will give them and their children peace, stability, safety, and prosperity.

Previously they had begun to become convinced that the press was right -- we will shift and straddle for our own political skin. Now they see it differently. Thus, the rise in popularity.

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Mr. Haldeman

We should strive to avoid finger-pointing or political cuteness. And, we should not appear to be winding up our own Democrat assassins, though this job should be done in the right fashion.

We have a record and goals to sell. They can be sold -- the President and the family can be sold, positively.

The President should appear to be reasoned, realistic, dignified, and also, bold. The material is available to get this across with surrogates and others speaking across the country -- now, and then. We still don't get enough of this done.

TV should be used by the President to give his record, his aims and aspirations for the American people. He does well on TV now, but he is even better behind closed doors. He comes through in the Cabinet Room as knowing his business, being as American as apple pie, and with real sincerity.

The style for 1972 should include moving about the country much as has been done this year -- getting out with the people but avoiding crass politics. Isn't this awful coming from me?

The President should wind up with the constructive image of building a better, more stable America. The other side will be forced to carp and criticize. And, likely, they will have little of substance with which to work. So, they'll be destructive, negative, and assassins by their own actions and words and with some assistance.

If the President is a President -- cool, calm, reasoned, etc. -- not a grabbing politician in the minds of the public, this will add to the campaign theme which I feel should be to give the American people the feeling of security, safety, stability because of this leader. And, this leader must have this unfinished quest -- for a realistic and lasting peace and prosperity with limited inflation.

Events could force a Truman style, but not if we can help it. This style doesn't fit this President too well.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Broder-Johnson Series

You asked that I have Doug Hallett analyze the Broder-Johnson series that was run last month in the Washington Post. His analysis is attached. While I have succeeded I think in making Doug much less abrasive in the last few months as you will see from the attached, however, I have not in any way restrained his candor; probably that is all to the good.

In transmitting this to you I hasten to point out that I strongly disagree with a number of Hallett's observations and with some of his conclusions. As you know, I argued strongly for the day care bill veto. I also believe that you have established in the last six months a very strong, clear image with the American people as a forceful, activist, tough President who will do whatever has to be done for the public interest.

Moreover, in my opinion, we have done extremely well this year. Hallett argues that after all of our bombshells we are only two or three points above where we were a year ago; he overlooks the fact that presidents normally hit low points during their third year (whereas we have greatly strengthened our position) and that we had many problems to contend with, some quite unusual like the Pentagon Papers, Calley, the UN vote, a sluggish economy and Laos. Yet in the face of all this you greatly strengthened your hold on the country. What also cannot be measured in the polls is the intensity of support. I believe this has increased very significantly this year; that the support has strengthened and deepened even if the overall numbers have not risen more than a few points.

You perhaps also know from reading previous Hallett memos that he is not particularly given to understatement.

Having said all that, I do think, however, that he makes some good points, particularly the need for a more consistent theme in our domestic approach (not that our issues aren't good; we simply need to tie them together better), the fact that we often reach for superlatives which is beginning to be criticized widely, that we tend to underestimate Muskie and finally, perhaps the most important point of all in Hallett's memo, we try to appeal to the right with rhetoric and the left with substance while in fact the left is more impressed with words and the right with substance.

In an effort to conserve your time I have taken the liberty of underlining Hallett's memo since it is excessively long.

I should also point out that I think his conclusions are overly simplistic. Some may have validity, but they by no means represent the magic for a winning campaign. One of the keys next year in my mind is the cultivation of important voting blocs (along with, of course, all of the other major national initiatives that you are planning); in short, exploiting the advantages of incumbency. While his memo makes some interesting points and perhaps some which have validity, it doesn't address the key strategy issues of 1972.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM: DOUG HALLETT

Broder's and Johnson's basic points in their series "The Politicians and the People" are the following:

- (1) People are less angry, less passionate, less pessimistic about the future than they were a year ago. What was analyzed last year as fear about the future has now turned to apprehension. While two-thirds of the people surveyed still feel the country is no better off than it was in 1968, there is less immediate concern about short-run disintegration and collapse.
- (2) The President's strength has increased considerably as a by-product of the China trip, the new economic policy, etc. On the other hand, the President's initiatives have also made him seem more unpredictable, more mysterious, more inconsistent than he did before to many Americans. He is the first choice of a minority of the electorate. At a time when people are looking for direction and purpose in their leaders, the President remains a remote and uncertain figure.
- (3) There is considerable confusion and indecision about 1972. Never have political loyalties and allegiances been weaker. Party structures are almost meaningless in most areas of the country. People want to vote for the man, not the party. With the possible exception of the economy, no clear-cut issues are likely to stand out this election year.
- (4) The real issue is the psychological issue of trust and confidence. People are alienated from their government; they feel powerless; they question whether their leaders can respond to their fundamental concerns. 60 percent do not believe their leaders tell them the truth.
- (5) The youth vote is likely to be smaller than the vote of the electorate-at-large and young people are not likely to participate in large numbers in the political process. While young people are hostile to the President, they will not have a significant effect on the election.

(6) Muskie is the only Democratic contender both known to a majority of the electorate and known positively. Kennedy and Humphrey are better known, but less liked. While he has potential, however, Muskie has not yet developed the broad base of support and respect he would need to defeat the President.

(7) Wallace and Agnew are too controversial to be accepted as leaders. While many people agree with their statements, they sense they are not tolerant enough to be President. Wallace and Agnew are too sure of themselves.

It is important to note that Broder's and Johnson's conclusions are based on a distorted sampling of the electorate. They interviewed only 300 people. All pollsters agree that in-depth interviews with only a small sampling permits the interviewers to reinforce their own preconceived notions. Broder's and Johnson's sample does break down parallel to the 1968 election results, but it is far from representative. Only one Southern state was included in the survey. 26 percent of the sample were new voters -- and half of these were college students. These and other distortions have led to conclusions at variance with more scientific polls. Whereas polls indicate that blacks have gained confidence in the system in recent years, for example, Broder and Johnson assert they are more alienated.

On the other hand, I think the basic theme of the articles -- the alienation issue is accurately portrayed. Nothing else could account for the wide variation between popular support for the President's basic stands and support for his leadership. Nothing else could account for the President's dominance of the issues and his relatively weak showing, both in the trial heats and in the confidence polls.

The following is my point-by-point analysis:

(1) People are less pessimistic about the future -- This is true. The campuses have calmed. The doomsday rhetoric has quieted. People are beginning to believe, for the first time, that the war is ending and that the economy will not fall apart. Such events as the Moscow and Peking trips even show promise of leading the way to a better future.

Unfortunately, however, the President's success in the areas listed above is not necessarily translateable into votes at the polls. The President's support is based on professionalism, not on any personal or psychic or intellectual loyalty. People expect the President to be an effective tactician. Inversely, if he is not -- if his professionalism shows any weakness -- his base of support is likely to decline. While it will be hard for the Democrats to

counter if everything is going alright next fall, if one or more of the above issues have gone bad the President may not receive credit for anything he has done. One weakness in the chain will cast into doubt the long-run viability of every link, leading the way to such questions as: "Why couldn't we have gotten out of Vietnam faster? Why didn't the President impose wage-price controls earlier?"

Indeed, the President's successes may even work against him in a curious sense. In 1968, the President was acceptable to many people to whom he would not normally be acceptable. People such as Walter Lippman were for him because they thought we needed a tough, flexible operator to deal with the kind of problems we had then. Now that the immediate technical problems have been solved, now that the wounds have been healed to some degree, we can afford -- we may need -- other kinds of leadership. The same people who wanted an operational President in 1968 may be looking for a philosophical one in 1972. They are no longer scared about the present; they are concerned about the future -- and they want someone who can help define it for them. As it stands, the President does not fill the bill.

(2) The President's strength has increased as a result of dramatic new initiatives, but these same initiatives have made him a more remote figure to many Americans. I don't think there is any question but that the President has gained as a result of his initiatives and is much better positioned for the campaign than he was six months ago. What is remarkable is that he has gained so little, standing now only 2 or 3 points above where he was six months ago.

In my view, this is our fault. Given the President's public personality when he entered office, given the over-inflated rhetoric of the sixties, it is not surprising that people were suspicious of promise and waiting for performance when the President took office. We recognized this in the first six months to a year of the administration. In the last two years, however, we have done virtually everything imaginable to undermine our own credibility and consistency.

In 1969, we were going "forward together." In 1970, we had a "New Federalism." By 1971, we had hyped it up to a "New American Revolution." Who knows what it will be this year? The Second Coming, perhaps?

We show no consistency of effort and commitment. The welfare program is pronounced the greatest domestic program since the New Deal, but we expend far more effort trying to place G. Harrold Carswell on the Supreme Court. We start off with a very exciting and challenging commitment to

the first five years of life, but denounce day-care (no, middle-class day-care) as committing the government to communal living.

Even our major efforts have a tinsely glow to them. The China trip and the economic policy may be admirable in themselves -- they are certainly incredible as they were ballyhooed by us. And all the time we are doing this, we tell the American people it was the previous administration which is responsible for overheated rhetoric and expectations -- and that we are the ones who are calming things down.

In the short run, of course, there have been benefits from our dodges and turns and from our Junior Chamber of Commerce boosterism. Maybe Agnew has even scored once or twice. But in the long run, I think, we have undermined the seriousness of the President and his Presidency. It is no wonder that today we find the public doubting anything we do, seeing in us instability, when their greatest want -- greater than any special-interest need -- is for just the opposite.

(3) 1972 is uncertain. With the possible exception of the economy, no issue -- concern, no political allegiance, no party-loyalty seems likely to dominate. There is opportunity in the disintegration of the nation's institutions -- church, family, town, university, union. There is opportunity to reach and win over large numbers of newly-independent voters. It is not opportunity of which we have taken the fullest advantage. We have not allowed ourselves to restructure public dialogue, provide new direction and new loyalties. While we have solved short-term problems and may benefit from having done so, we have not added new certainty or direction to the public mood.

Just the reverse, in fact. We have remained committed to all the folderol of the past -- superficial "Presidentialism," Billy Graham home-town religion, We're no. 1, partisanship excess -- at the same time we do everything possible to undermine the past's core. Substantively, we have been by-and-large on track (although we are not dealing seriously with the economy, a problem which is structural not cosmetic). P. R. -- wise, we have behaved as village burghers, testing the wind, dragged into every reform, declining to identify ourselves with our own concerns, failing to recognize the coherency and broader meaning of our own programs.

Take our non-fiscal justification for vetoing day-care, for instance. In the days of farms and small villages, having mothers bring children up at home made sense. Women were intimately involved in the production process of the farm. Children were able to roam and learn in a broadly educational environment. But now? Homes are isolated from places of work; staying

home means staying uninvolved. As for children, staying home means remaining in a sterile, homogenous suburban heighborhood or an even more confining urban apartment. Of course we need day-care -- massive day-care. Far from committing government to communal living, day-care means, instead, committing government to preserving some semblance of the community bringing-up process which we have enjoyed for most of our national history and giving women the same opportunity to feel productive and useful that their grandmothers had.

On many other issues, we exhibit the same kind of narrow provincialism -- even when we are on the right side of the issue. I don't believe people buy it anymore. Even when it is the best they can articulate, I think they expect more from their leaders. We have failed to give it to them -- and are, I think, paying the price.

(4) The real issue is the psychological issue of trust and confidence. I don't think it is quite as dominant as Broder and Johnson do, but I think it is much more important that we generally acknowledge. People don't "feel" the President's leadership -- except for a few brief moments such as the China announcements. The strongest, most memorable statements the President has made while in office have been statements of anger or know-nothingism or blatant politics; i. e. Carswell defeat, Calley conviction, Cambodia, vetoing day-care, pornography, abortion. They have not been devoted to explaining what the President is and what he is trying to do.

This is more than charisma -- at least charisma in the John Lindsay sense. It involves finding words and mediums which express the core of the President's character. Lyndon Johnson is not a superficially charismatic man, yet in his early years, before the war wore him down, his speech and his actions reflected a personal force that we never get from the President. Eisenhower could garble every other sentence, but, when you watched him on television, you knew he was a leader. Even Truman, haberdasher that he is, was able to express to his constituency a raw cussedness which was central to his leadership.

Richard Nixon? Man on the make; ashamed of and constantly running away from his past; manipulator; unsure of his convictions; tactician instead of strategist; Grand Vizier of all Rotarians, substituting pomposity for eloquence. That is the public impression. And that is why he is weak today. By 50 percent to 40 percent, the American people do not think he has any broad conceptual framework, any sense of direction or purpose.

In a sense, the nature of leadership is not nearly so important as its fact. That has been our mistake. We have adopted a pacification strategy, this

for that group, that for this, with deliberable avoidance of controversial intellectual and social stands, trying to reassure the left, which cares everything about words, with substance, trying to reassure the right, which cares everything about substance, with words. We have ended up alienating everyone -- and we will not be able to correct that until we start realizing that tomorrow's headline is not nearly so important as next fall's "impression"; that next week's tactical advantage may come at the expense of next November's strategic victory.

(5) The youth vote is likely to be relatively unimportant in 1972. Broder and Johnson confirm two of our own opinions: young people are going to vote less frequently than the rest of the population and they are not going to work in significant numbers for political candidates. Broder and Johnson are victims of their own distorted sample on their third point. Their analysis that young people are far more hostile to the President than the population-at-large is not born out by the polls. Kennedy has a substantial lead over the President in the trial heats, but he is the only Democrat who has any lead among the youth vote.

On the other hand, once the Democrats nominate one man and he has achieved a visible, stylish identity, he could take the same kind of lead among youth Kennedy now has. The President's support in this group is thin because of Vietnam, unemployment, etc.

(6) Muskie is the only Democrat both known to a majority of the electorate and known positively to it, but does not yet have the strategic advantage over the President. One of the most disturbing factors in our approach as we enter the campaign year is our gross underestimation of Muskie. He has been brilliant, as good as the President was in 1968, and he shows promise of being far more effective than the President has ever been in the public phase of his campaign. If he has not yet emerged as the President's equal, he also does not yet approximate the President's stature as he will as a nominated candidate for President.

People around here counting on a significant fourth party are, I think, crazy. Muskie is going to do so well in the primaries that no one will join McCarthy even if he does do it. Without irreparably damaging his right flank, Muskie has moved far enough left to have the tacit support of somebody like Al Lowenstein. Establishment reformers like Gilligan are already in his corner publicly. The Democrats want to win this year -- I don't think they're going to allow themselves to destroy their chances with suicidal splintering.

Most important of all, Muskie's public image is everything the President's is not: strong, reflective, prudent, even wise. The President could not maintain early leads against Pat Brown and Hubert Humphrey. How in the hell we think he's going to do better against an Ed Muskie with his usual plastic statesman, say-nothing strategy is beyond me.

(7) Wallace and Agnew are too controversial to be accepted as leaders. More evidence for the alienation theory. It is not just that Wallace and Agnew are too strident -- it is also that they are somehow too facile, too quick, too simplistic. People know that what they have traditionally believed -- and what Agnew and Wallace preach -- is not right anymore; that it needs replacement; that the society has changed and that their public leaders must deal with those changes even if they can't.

The lesson of Wallace and Agnew is that people want to be led -- they don't want to see their leaders mouth the same idiocies they do over a Saturday night beer. Yet that is exactly what we try to do -- elevating the idiocies into wordy, billowy speeches, to be sure -- practically every time the President makes a prepared, public statement.

I would caution, however, that Agnew's unsuitability for the Presidency does not mean he should be replaced as Vice-President. This should be decided on the basis of comprehensive polling this spring. There are too many people who say they would vote for the President, but "not that Agnew." On the other hand, I would regret very much having Governor Connally on the ticket, not just because I would hate to seem him close to the White House, but, more importantly, because he would overshadow -- and thus undermine -- the President. The President was right in his original intent with Agnew -- he runs better with nobody.

Conclusion: The same as usual: Not all the foreign trips to all the foreign capitals in the world are going to help the President unless they are coupled with a far more serious effort to deal with his very weak relationship with the American people.

The following steps should be taken:

(1) Get new speechwriters -- this is the most important. This President has the least experienced, least able group of speechwriters in recent history. We need guys with clout, who are involved and know a lot about substance, and who can put stuff together which is coherent, purposeful, and comprehensive -- which will have the same effect as the President's masterful desegregation statement.

Ideally, we would have guys like Daniel Boorstin, Irving Kristol, Edward Banfield, and Nathan Glazer. We probably can't get them, but the President ought to speak to Moynihan about it. We need and want people from that Public Interest -Commentary School and Moynihan would know where to locate good people whom we could get.

(2) Calm the P.R., stop getting overexcited about each new issue, and instill some consistency and follow-through in our P. R. -- political operation. We should not be aiming at taking advantage of each new issue by itself, but at taking advantage of each new issue as it relates to the President's over-all approach. Above all, avoid the cheap-shot, the head-line hunt, the simple slogan.

(3) Realize that what is important about the President is that he is the first President to realize that the hyper-individualistic -- "We're No. 1" -- frontier American philosophy is bankrupt and outdated. The President is the first President to comprehend that internally and externally this country and its people are part of a community structure -- as such, the President is the first real conservative President the country has ever had. He has readjusted both foreign and domestic policy away from twentieth century liberalism, realizing that an unbridled commitment to individualism in the modern world is enslaving and destructive; that both Vietnam and the war on poverty are symbols of its bankruptcy; that real freedom and real individualism cannot be conferred from above, but must be worked out organically within a community structure by community norms -- hence an incomes-decentralization strategy instead of a services strategy in domestic policy, hence the Nixon Doctrine instead of Wilsonian zealotry in foreign affairs. This should be the basic theme in every utterance made by this Administration.

(4) Stop displaying the President as if he had a stick up his ass. Put him in gutsy, colorful, photographic situations with people. Take him out of airplanes, hotels, and military reservations and put him in hospitals, police cars, outdoors, in urban areas, at local union meetings, on tough university campuses, at Indian reservations, etc. Use the White House more imaginatively.

(5) A more imaginative use of media -- we shouldn't be afraid to put the President in conflict situations -- the Rather thing was good insofar as it went (by far the best of conversations), but we can go farther. Show that the President can handle both his enemies and the people by putting him in situations with them. We should also be hitting much more the prestige mags with prestige pieces. Personally, I thought the President's 1967 Foreign Affairs article was more a travelog than an analysis, but even it has had impact far beyond its immediate readership.

Nixon Political Skill Is Key to Democratic Hopes

Larry O'Brien comes as near as anyone since Jim Farley to the old time standards of professionalism in politics. O'Brien directed the last three Democratic presidential campaigns, two of them successful, and the chances are that he will direct the next one.

As Democratic national chairman, Lawrence F. O'Brien has issued a long and "candid" year-end appraisal of the bad fix in which the party of the people finds itself. Candid it is. Also it is slightly off target in one respect as will here be expounded.

Certainly it is candid beyond belief that a Democratic national chairman should publicly confess that "if the Democrats are unable to nominate a strong ticket, Mr. Nixon is likely to win re-election without difficulty."

This is the trouble, nominating a strong ticket, and everybody knows it. Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine looks more and more the likely nominee unless Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts decides to

blitz the convention. The Democratic organization is not comfortable with either prospect.

O'Brien makes an observation, however, which is seemingly sound politically but is not historically astute. Having warned his fellow Democrats of the elements of President Nixon's strength, O'Brien admonishes them to believe no longer that Nixon will defeat himself.

On the contrary, it is mainly on this possibility that the Democratic national chairman should pin his fondest hopes. Politicians, like everyone else, become hung up on fixed ideas.

The fixed idea about Nixon is this: He is a consummate politician, calculating every move. He conducts skillfully contrived campaigns steadily advancing stage by stage, marshaling every resource in planned sequence until the final day when all is in order and his maximum support pours into the polling places.

Alas for Nixon, this is only a

myth. With all due respect for President Nixon's undoubted political skill, he has an unparalleled record of blowing elections.

A brief review of the record is convincing on this point. As President Dwight D. Eisenhower's anointed successor and running against a young Roman Catholic senator, Nixon entered the campaign of 1960 as a strong favorite. His campaign fizzled and he was defeated, by only a narrow margin, to be sure, but in contrast to the full expectation of victory he was entitled to indulge in when the campaign began.

It had been somewhat the same in his race for governor of California, when it was widely assumed that he would defeat an incumbent who had worn down his welcome. But the result was a Nixon defeat.

In 1968 it almost happened again. Beginning as an odds-on favorite in about as disastrous circumstances for the Democrats as could be imagined, Nixon's strength

steadily dwindled during the campaign and instead of winning by 5 million in the popular vote, as he expected, he came through with a scant 500,000.

The conclusion can be drawn that on a historical basis Nixon is stronger at the beginning of his campaigns than at the end of them. This conclusion is not marred, either, by the 1970 congressional campaign in which a presidential excess of zeal at the end gave Muskie the opening to make himself a leading contender for the nomination of 1972 in a single, low-key TV appearance responding to Nixon's law-and-order mood.

The hazards of Nixon's campaigns are thus very real and it is all the more surprising that those who run them should not fully recognize that somewhere along the line they careen along and sometimes go off the track.

Defining what causes them to do so is very difficult. There is somewhere in this mystery a lack of perception on the part of the Nixon campaigners of what the circumstances call for. Reliance on contrived events and rallies is too great and the timing and tone of TV appearances is sometimes just a fraction off. An artificial atmosphere results and recreates the old difficulties about Nixon's sincerity.

That is a rather feeble attempt to define the trouble. Perhaps a better way to say it is that the Nixon campaigns lack convincing naturalness, and that is not easily corrected.

In any event, Chairman O'Brien's best hope lies less in the strength of the ticket the Democrats will realistically be able to field than in another let-down Nixon campaign.

Nixon: a Feeling of Lost Opportunity

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

WASHINGTON—In its first two years the Nixon administration sought to conquer its political and cultural foes; today it seeks to co-opt them. The difference measures the administration's success in channeling the explosive passions of the late 1960s back into normal political patterns. But the same difference measures its failure to establish itself as something more than an electoral accident.

If matters develop as they now stand, President Nixon will be running for re-election on the basis of a breakthrough with Peking, summitry with the Russians, heretical adoption of wage and price controls. The motives behind these policies are not solely political, but it is more than coincidence that if they succeed the President will have left the Democrats with no place to stand.

This will be a difficult strategy to beat in 1972, assuming, again, that the policies work reasonably well. But it is the strategy of a President maneuvering for re-election in a period of history dominated by his foes. That strategy's adoption after the 1970 congressional elections reflects the failure of a far more ambitious strategy, using "the social issue" to force an electoral realignment, to create a new majority party.

The ambitious strategy grew up in the national mood that dominated the 1968 presidential campaign and many of the battles of the administration's first two years. It already grows difficult to recall the true intensity of that mood. The passions of those, say, Attica, are but a pale memory of over urban riots, campus disruption, mobilizations and moratoriums over Vietnam. There was a period when the question was nothing less than whether democracy would continue to work.

No Small Accomplishment

It is no small accomplishment that the Nixon administration has guided us, or anyway muddled us, safely through that difficult juncture. And its success in doing so owes not merely to "Vietnamization," showing that change can take place within the system, but also to "Agnewism," showing that the system can after all fight back when challenged. But though such difficult junctures are the stuff from which electoral realignment has historically been made, so far there is absolutely no evidence that the administration will be able to translate this success into political gain.

One way to start to understand this paradox is to see that "Agnewism" and "the social issue" involved questions not of political power but of moral authority. In the battles of the administration's first two years, this general theme took many specific forms: Do anti-Vietnam marchers represent a moral elite whose views must be followed regardless of electoral outcome? To what extent can a President expect the Senate to confirm his Supreme Court appointments? Who gets to decide who is to blame for campus disruption? Is Vice President Agnew an anathema or a true spokesman for the people?

These are, above all, questions of authority, the influence wielded not by those who have won office but by those who have persuaded society they embody superior virtue—though the particular virtue can be high birth or roots with the common man, the appointment of God or the efficiency of science, or the moral authority of high learn-

publican Party for failing to recognize that it has a problem in the Democrats' near-total domination of the academic community. But on this both agree: For whatever reason, there is a suspicion of anything more abstract than narrow programmatic ideas, a failure to understand that in the long run what counts is not laws but what people believe.

Take, for example, the Scranton Commission. On the issue of campus unrest the liberal idealists were at their greatest disadvantage; how could they govern society when obviously they could not govern even a university? Within the academic community, indeed, the issue was already making conservative ideas once again respectable, and in fact fashionable within a small but distinguished circle. A commission of, say, the de-radicalized academics, would have produced a report serving the same purpose in the society at large.

Instead, the administration appointed a commission headed by a patrician of the old establishment and laced with just enough radicals that their views had to be accommodated. The result was that the sensible bulk of the report was overshadowed by an introductory section shaped by the hand of Kenneth Keniston, in those pre-Reichian days reigning as the number-one apologist for campus unrest. To this the administration of the "silent majority" gave, if scarcely a blessing, nonetheless a presidential imprimatur. Moral authority is not won or lost by one presidential commission, or course, but this was a dramatic instance of a more general failing.

There is a case to be made about news media bias; certainly the instincts and habits of the media are one large handicap for the administration. But instead of a thoughtful analysis, we have been given clumsy charges of conspiracy. There are respectable arguments to be made connecting liberal rhetoric and radical excess, but instead we have been given what one disgruntled conservative calls "Murray Chotiner conservatism—you show the rock somebody threw at the President, but you never make a reasoned case."

There is definitely a paradox here, for White House aides convincingly describe the President as "hungry" for broad-gauge intellectual stimulation. Yet it is also true that he and his men shy from sophisticated arguments. They believe that oversimplification is inherent in politics, and that any part of a sophisticated argument that can be taken out of context will be used against you. The "benign neglect" phrase in one of Daniel P. Moynihan's memos is an example hard to deny.

Yet sophistication and erudition somehow do win points among the American people; the intellectual elite is in trouble not because of them but because it has abandoned them. And the ultimate comment on the Vice President's hard-line speeches is in "The Middle Americans" by psychiatrist Robert Coles. A 25-year-old welder told him, "You know, I hate snobs, but you've got to be honest and ask yourself if that man has what it takes up in the head to be President. I don't want a guy there just because he sounds like me shouting my head off over my lunch box."

Even if intellect were lost on the masses at election-time, it is not lost on elites that wield huge power between elections. Especially, it's hard to see how the authority of a prevailing elite can be displaced except by a competing one with its own self-confident counter-arguments. In a way this was the point of Mr. Moynihan's farewell speech to his Republican friends:

"The people in the nation who take . . . matters seriously have never been required to take us seriously. Time and again the President would put forth an oftentimes devastating critique precisely of their performance. But his initial thrusts were rarely followed up with a sustained, reasoned, reliable second and third order of advocacy."

In a real sense, a President himself is responsible for staffing that insures effective follow-up, of course, but in another sense he is at the mercy of the social forces that determine what kind of man is available in his party. Similarly, a politician's use of ideas is limited by the ideas his intellectual allies have made available. Those self-conscious conservatives "suspending" their support of the President ought to ask themselves whether the deficiencies of Agnewism reflect a lack of soundness in their own ideas, to what extent the President abandons them because they have failed him.

A Multi-Party System

No matter how blame is parceled out, a feeling of lost opportunity hangs over the present moment in the Nixon administration. Kevin Phillips, who won fame if not favor talking about "The Emerging Republican Majority," now tells lecture audiences we are likely to see the emergence of a permanent multi-party system. Richard Scammon, his Democratic counterpart, agrees precisely.

Any one moment can be misleading, of course. Conceivably, with the right Democratic nominee or George Wallace out of the race or both, Mr. Nixon could still come up with a 1972 victory convincing enough to carry into the future. Even if he merely co-opts his way to a narrow election, perhaps in his second term he could build longer-lasting support. If against all betting he could end the war with a nation-unifying economic miracle in South Vietnam like the one in South Korea, for example, he might gradually come to be seen as deserving credit for refuting most of the anti-American radicalism. Historically, though, electoral change has more often come in sudden and painful bursts, like the one just behind us.

So the Nixon administration may prove to be an ironical one. It was handed a nation in crisis and gradually restored politics as usual, only to find that politics as usual rebounds to its own disadvantage. The administration may go down in history as one of critical accomplishment, but one that lacked the vision to parlay accomplishment into political capital.

Mr. Bartley, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau, contributes editorials and other commentary.

To measure authority, ask to whom a society turns by habit for guidance on moral questions, questions of right and wrong, of good guys and bad guys.

In this society in recent years, authority has been the property of the liberal idealists, centered in the universities and the media, and powerfully buttressing the Democratic dominance. The Nixon administration's opportunity was that by 1968 this class had discredited itself with a creed about a racist-imperialist-violent-repressive-sexist America. There seemed to be no inherent reason that moral authority could not be grasped by pragmatic conservatives, with roots in the best instincts of the common man and the continuity of the American tradition.

There was a point when the administration seemed on the verge of that type of leadership. Though it started to withdraw from Vietnam, protests professing a higher morality built in the streets of Washington. President Nixon struck back with his speech to the "silent majority" on Nov. 3, 1969, surely one of the most successful single pieces of political oratory of our time.

The support for this speech, and for the closely following ones of Vice President Agnew, made it clear that the silent majority was no myth, and that the bulk of society rejected the professions of a higher morality. The majority saw the moral issue not as Vietnam, but as whether policy is made in council or in the streets, and on this issue the protesters were clearly wrong and the administration clearly right.

Somehow, though, the administration proved unable to follow up on this initial advantage. The hard-line Agnew rhetoric was continued so long, and with so little additional development, that it seemed the administration caused as much strife as its opponents. The administration could make a case that its foes were unreasonable in the rejection of Clement Haynsworth Jr. for the Supreme Court, but the incredibly bad Carswell nomination made the whole episode seem the administration's fault.

An Administrative Failure

In the wake of the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State tragedy, the administration appointed the Scranton Commission on Campus Unrest, and the President's own commission seemed to say that the liberal idealists were right after all. The President, unable to separate the best instincts of the common man from the other and often more momentary ones, intervened on behalf of Lieutenant Calley. All in all, this record did not reflect a consistent, self-confident moral leadership. Whatever the deficiencies of any other elite, the Nixon administration has failed to establish an aura of authority, not even enough to persuade its own supporters.

In general terms, the administration's mistake has been to throw the baby out with the bath. Conscious of confronting an intellectual elite, it too often rejected not only snobbery and utopianism but intellect itself. And this is more than the conclusion of an abstract and idealistic outsider; it is an impressive experience to talk within weeks to two former members of the administration—each a symbol of an opposite ideological pole—and to find them offering the same critique: The administration does not truly understand the power of ideas.

The two critiques vary not only on what particular ideas should have been followed, but on who is at fault. One blames the former advance men now surrounding the President for refusing to let thought interfere with image-making; the other blames the entire Re-

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The President in 1971

It has been a historic year for the United States and for President Nixon. In economic policy and relations with China, Mr. Nixon has shown himself able to break away from his own past positions and let the facts prevail.

The chaos in the international money markets forced the President last August to suspend the convertibility of the dollar into gold, but only his own predilection for surprise and for dramatic gestures impelled him to make a 180-degree turn in domestic economic policy. After years of scorning wage-price guidelines or any kind of "jawboning" and proclaiming his commitment to the free play of the market, Mr. Nixon startled the nation with his imposition of mandatory controls.

The initial ninety-day freeze was a psychological necessity to check the inflationary euphoria prevailing in many sectors of the economy. Thus far, the Administration's management of Phase Two controls has gone better on the price than the wage side, but both parts of the program hold reasonable promise. Indeed, historians may judge it to be this Administration's most solid success on the domestic front during its first three years in office. The biggest question at this stage is whether labor's dissatisfaction will wreck the tripartite Pay Board and force institution of an all-public agency to monitor wages as well as prices.

Unemployment continues to hover at the unacceptably high figure of 6 per cent. The jobless are the victims of Mr. Nixon's earlier deflationary orthodoxy and of his refusal to abandon it until after more than two and one-half years of failure.

The President's China spectacular has lit up the sky in foreign affairs. It also revealed that the Nationalist China lobby was a naked emperor. Instead of evoking public wrath by his overture to Peking, Mr. Nixon met with overwhelming general acceptance. But as the surprise wears off and the President's journey to China draws near, doubts arise about the manner if not the substance of this diplomatic initiative. The same potential long-term gains for cooperation and stability could have been achieved if Mr. Nixon had approached the problem more publicly and less personally. It was not necessary to turn this China overture into a brutal surprise for Japan, this country's major ally and trading partner in the Far East. It was likewise not necessary, except for domestic political reasons, for Mr. Nixon to begin the new relationship with a summit meeting in Peking. Such a meeting entails inevitable risk of mis-

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understanding or damaged prestige for the President while holding forth scant prospect of tangible gain.

The war in Vietnam is a more intimate American concern than the evolution of relations with China because American men are still being killed in Vietnam and American prisoners are still captive there. In 1971, as in the first two years of his tenure, Mr. Nixon pursued the will-o'-the-wisp of clear-cut military victory, contrary to his electoral promise to end the war. As the year ended, bombs were again being rained on North Vietnam, more United States pilots were being lost and the desperate effort to prop up pro-American regimes in Laos and Cambodia continued. The old, stubborn, unending violence in this corner of Southeast Asia provides an odd counterpoint to the President's peace-making ventures in China.

On other critical foreign issues, the Administration continued its well-conceived but as yet unrewarding efforts to find a peace formula in the Middle East and a limit to the strategic arms duel with Russia. Elsewhere, the year's record was much worse. President Nixon inexplicably managed to turn the India-Pakistan war into an occasion for deeply and unnecessarily offending India, a hitherto friendly neutral and the world's largest democracy.

* * *

At home, except for his bold intervention in the economy, the President has failed to provide leadership. Urban needs are seriously underfinanced. In racial affairs, the President has kept his distance from the black community and rarely spoken out except to strike politically popular notes against school busing. From his ill-conceived intervention in the Calley court-martial to his Christmas Eve commutation of James R. Hoffa's sentence, Mr. Nixon talked about law and order but subtly undermined it while crime went up.

He remains secretive, preferring surprise to communication. Whether trying to prevent the publication of the Pentagon Papers or egging on his Vice President to attack the press or holding his own news conferences to a minimum, Mr. Nixon reveals his desire to manipulate the press which he fears and distrusts.

As the head of a minority party who has jettisoned much of the platform on which he once campaigned, he could solidly establish his leadership only by winning public confidence on a broad scale for his purposes and methods. Despite the initiatives and accomplishments of the last year, it cannot be said that President Nixon has gained that necessary public confidence.

Broader U.S.-Soviet Trade

The recent Kremlin award of a major industrial design contract to a subsidiary of Pullman, Inc., makes it evident that Soviet-American tension over the Indian subcontinent has not immediately damaged the outlook for improved trade relations between the two countries. Recent progress on this front has been startling. Secretary of Commerce Stans and Soviet Agriculture Minister Matskevich have exchanged cordial visits in which both officials warmly expressed their interest in increased commerce. Moscow has agreed to buy about \$150 million of American grain; there has been a substantial barter deal involving the exchange of Soviet metals for American machinery, and the Administration has become much freer in granting licenses to American firms wishing to export machinery to the Soviet Union.

The economies of the two nations complement

Peter Lisagor

*No old-shoe
role for Henry*



WASHINGTON — President Nixon could probably banish Henry Kissinger back to the Harvard wilderness without regret or passion, and the republic would not go into instant decline.

The Nixon-watchers, however, would construe Kissinger's return to Cambridge as a potential calamity. Media analysts would see it as the beginning of the end of coherence in foreign affairs, not to mention novelty and surprise. Talk about conceptual designs, multi-polarity and doctrinal deviations would subside, and jokes about Metternich as the spiritual theoretician of Mr. Nixon's diplomacy would wither.

The cunning, schematic guile and theatrical quality of the President's maneuvers in foreign policy would vanish. In short, the old razzamatazz would be missing.

THE FACT OF THE MATTER is that not much would happen if Kissinger disappeared. But it is a mark of the Harvard scholar-strategist's talent for insinuating himself into the center of affairs that heightens the impression he is the White House Rasputin, whose advice is critical and indispensable.

Perhaps not since Harry Hopkins gallivanted about the landscape as Franklin D. Roosevelt's multipurpose agent has a presidential adviser played as important a role as Kissinger apparently does. The word, apparently, is used advisedly. For nobody has authoritatively defined the Nixon-Kissinger relationship.

For instance, it is highly doubtful that Kissinger enjoys the intimacy with Mr. Nixon that Hopkins knew with F.D.R. Historian James MacGregor Burns wrote that Hopkins "had almost an extrasensory perception of Roosevelt's moods; he knew how to give advice in the form of flattery and flattery in the form of advice; he sensed when to press his boss and when to desist, when to talk and when to listen, when to submit and when to argue. Above all, he had a marked ability to plunge directly into the heart of a muddle or mix-up, and then to act. 'Lord Root of the Matter,' Churchill called him."



Col. Henderson's family rejoices

The family of Col. Oran Henderson gathers around him after his acquittal on charges of covering up the My Lai massacre. From left, his daughter Nancy, 12, daughter Ann, 16, and wife Lawson. (AP)

Prepaid health care weighed

A nonprofit corporation has submitted a proposal to state officials for a prepaid medical services program that the corporation says could save the state as much as \$50 million a year.

Officials of the corporation, American Medical Services of

Services, Dwyer said.

Participating doctors and hospitals would provide medical services to Medicaid recipients in return for the premiums from the state, Dwyer said.

The corporation would not purchase or own any medical facilities or real estate. Dwyer

Study suit for illegal track profit

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Atty. Gen. William J. Scott says he is considering plans to file suit to seek recovery of any illegal profits which politicians may have made through racetrack stock received while in public

More delays in Hanrahan trial possible

By William F. Mooney and Edmund J. Rooney

The Illinois Supreme Court ruling that prohibits questioning of grand jurors in the Black Panther case does not automatically clear the way for the immediate trial of State's Atty. Edward V. Hanrahan.

Attorneys for Hanrahan can ask for a rehearing before the Supreme Court, which has already ruled against him three times in his efforts to dismiss the indictment charging him with conspiracy to obstruct justice. This would cause a delay of at least another 21 days.

Hanrahan also has four motions to dismiss the indictment pending before Circuit Court Judge Philip Romiti in Criminal Court here.

Romiti has set a hearing Monday, but has given no indication whether he will rule on Hanrahan's petition that the indictment, which also names 13 other law officials, be dismissed.

BARNABAS F. Sears, special prosecutor who obtained the indictments before the



Hanrahan



Sears

after defense attorneys challenged the right of the grand jury to return the indictment.

Sears appealed and the Supreme Court upheld him June 23.

Two months later, on Aug. 23, the Supreme Court again ruled for Sears, and said that Judge Power could not appoint an amicus curiae — friends of the court — to hold an open hearing into defense charges that Sears used "undue influence" on the jury to obtain the indictment.

HANRAHAN and the other 13 defendants, in seeking dismissal by Romiti of the indictment list four technical alleged faults. Sears has answered each in length. They are:

part to the conduct of Hanrahan. He had given an exclusive interview, presenting his version of the raid, to the Chicago Tribune, and had also admitted his police officers portray themselves in an enactment of the raid presented on WBBM-TV (Channel

THE MAJORITY opinion the court also found "There has been an increasing tendency in criminal cases to some person other than the defendant, and some issue other than his guilt."

Justice Walter V. Schaumbach, a Democrat, wrote the majority opinion, in which he was joined by the court's three public members.

They are Chief Justice Robert C. Underwood and Justices Howard Ryan and Charles Davis.

A minority opinion upholding the right of Judge Romiti to hold public hearings was written by Justice Joseph C. W. Cahill, and concurred in by Justices Daniel P. Ward, a member Cook County state's attorney, and by Thomas Kluczynski, who, like Ward, is a Chicago Democrat.

price. For 4 days only, you can save \$15.31 on this lovely 7-ft. life like balsam. Come in and see this almost real tree. You also get a sturdy 4-legged stand



... must be ...

Hard-hat opinions

What's really bugging our middle class Americans and why they think as they do

By Victor Wilson
Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON — Observers of the American scene — politicians and others — have known something is bugging the nation's blue-collar workers since the mid-1960s. But no one really knew what.

When the 1968 presidential race began, politicians jumped to the conclusion the "hard hats" were angry because of a rise in crime (with racial overtones), despite attempts at most governmental levels to provide blacks with more jobs and higher welfare and educational standards.

Thus the law-and-order issue was born. But when election returns were analyzed, it was discovered that give or take a little, the hard hats voted about as usual.

THEN THE FORD Foundation stepped into the picture, seeking a better fix on what really was biting the hard hats (so named for construction workers' helmets). Nineteen social analysts, including public officials, began digging for facts under guidance of George Washington University's center for manpower policy studies.

While not wholly accepted as a definition, a

hard hat was viewed as head of a family with an annual income of \$5,000 to \$10,000. This would include, very roughly, the middle third of American families, or about 70 million persons. In political terms, this would represent about 25 million voters.

THE ANALYSTS' findings now are available and a lot of people — including politicians — may be surprised by some of them. Here are highlights:

- White hard hats generally favor black progress, especially where they consider it earned. But they don't want it to affect or threaten their own welfare.
- Contrary to popularly held beliefs, black job gains have not especially threatened the hard-hat position. Between 1958 and 1970, black hard hats increased by 700,000, while white hard hats increased by 2.5 million.
- In the lower scale of hard-hat ranks (manual laborers) resentment about blacks usually flares only if whites come into personal contact with black co-workers.
- A major hard-hat resentment (at all levels)

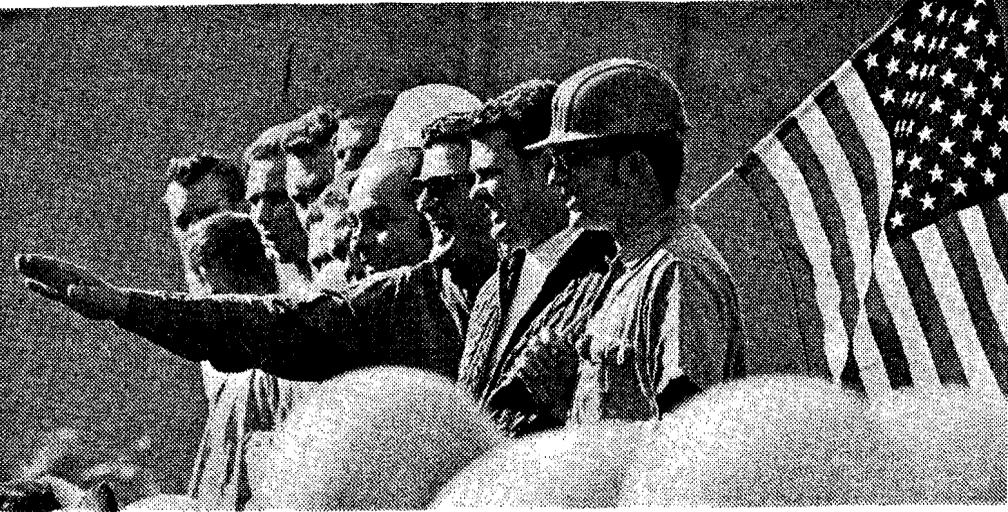
is over any strife that affects education, whether public or private. That's why student protesters usually get short shrift from hard hats. The studies indicate hard hats generally want their children better educated than themselves, and resent any action which might imperil this.

● Hard hats aren't likely to become a cohesive force (except as "against" voters) for any cause. They're divided on so many issues. Thus, older hard hats favor more Social Security and medical insurance; younger ones balk at increased payroll and federal taxes for these.

Union hard hats seem to resent wage-price controls. Non-union ones generally favor both.

ALL THE STUDY papers are in one volume, published under a Ford grant and titled "Blue Collar Workers" (McGraw-Hill, \$12.50). The editor was Sar A. Levitan, a research professor of economics at George Washington, and director of the manpower studies center.

One paper goes back to American beginnings to try to explain why hard hats are



Chicago construction workers.

"alienated." Says this study:

"National legend taught Americans that if a man was sober, wise, diligent and a little lucky, he 'had it made.' But many blue-collar families perceived that the rules of the game were changed by the anti-poverty efforts, which gave poor and minority workers a boost up the ladder (presumably) at the expense of blue-collar opportunity."

THE STUDIES note a "declining respect for craftsmanship" in America, and assert this increases pressure among hard hats to move from their current job status to a higher one. Many see more education as the way to do this, but are frustrated since jobs take

much of their time and effort.

Nevertheless, the studies generally are optimistic about the future. While hard hats are not usually organization joiners, nor active in politics except at election time, they pack plenty of "clout" at the ballot box, and know it. Thus, they'd be unlikely to switch to revolutionary roads.

On the contrary, says one study, "We view this group as basically conservative, and as pining toward 'success' within the traditional fabric of society. While others may hope to bring broad transformations to this society the blue-collar worker wants to 'make it' in the present system.

"His present discontent is partly impatience with those who threaten (or seem to) what he hopes are stable routes to upward mobility."

It now takes \$230 a week to live moderately: see below

GER'S WRIT IS FAR MORE limited than Hopkins' like F.D.R.'s man, he doesn't live in the White and the informality that characterized the Roosevelt-relationship is missing. There is nothing old-shoe . Nixon, nor about the former professor; the of their putting their feet up on the desk and rapping ass of beer is a fanciful one.

national security affairs, Kissinger has a broad ous mandate. He abandoned the role of the as assistant, or gray eminence, when he went seeking to arrange the President's summit with Chi-ers. At the Azores conference between Mr. Nixon ch President Georges Pompidou, Kissinger had alone with the French leader twice, and the as- is that they did not spend their time discussing ury French poetry.

has emerged as an open spokesman, more or less, istration policy, pre-empting the turf usually re- the President or his secretary of state. Although ed to remain an anonymous voice, he hasn't tried . Either through vanity or sheer force of intellect, eadily shed his anonymity, with a vigorous assist smen weary of being put in the position, through e of the "background briefing," of serving as an e government's psychology warfare tactics.

KISSINGER WHO ISSUED the veiled "warning" ssians that if they didn't apply some restraint on s in the war against East Pakistan, the President ve to take another look at his scheduled visit to ext May. But the rules he laid down required re- write it on their own authority, as if they had out of the White House through some occult pow- own.

s identity was revealed by a newspaper that de- he dismay of others bound by the rules, to play its e, many reporters were incensed. Kissinger has ssible and useful to newsmen, and the fear was f the few knowledgeable sources in the adminis- ould dry up.

inger is not an autonomous figure in the White pite the trappings of power worn by him. He is, at oining the President's bidding, with great skill and wit. If his role as an adviser has taken on aspects icist, this again is Mr. Nixon's choice.

tanding sly jests about his unique influence, the s in thrall to Kissinger. It is possible that one day nt might decide to cut him off at the knees, so to hat event, the institutional character of the Presi- d sustain Mr. Nixon, assuming he needed a prop, ould still pursue his course in Peking and Moscow ver else the four winds lure him, lacking only acknowledged talent for rationalizing each fit s the ultimate in presidential wisdom.

Los Angeles, and a sister corporation here, National Medical Services, say the program would not eliminate any medical services to recipients. The officials say 600 doctors and 14 hospitals in Chicago have expressed an interest in participating in the program.

DUANE DWYER, president of American Medical Services, said that, "essentially, under the program, doctors are pre-paid to keep the patients healthy."

Under the program, a doctor would be compensated out of "premium income" paid by the state to National Medical

added. **THE PROPOSAL** was first submitted in May to then state public aid Director Harold Swank, Dwyer said, who asked for further information about the operation of the program and its cost. A second time, officials of American and National Medical Services met with Edward T. Weaver, the new state public aid director, and state Sen. Fred Smith (D-Chicago).

Dwyer and G. Martin Taylor, president of National Medical Services, were to meet later Saturday with state Sen. Cecil Partee to discuss the proposal.

Scott made the remark at a press conference he called Friday to announce his filing of petitions to run in the March 21 primary for the Republican nomination for a second, four-year term as attorney general.

Scott said he would wait to file the race stock suit until a court has ruled on a similar suit which asks that the late Sec. of State Paul Powell's \$3 million estate be placed in the state treasury.

The suit is based on the theory that Powell used his public office to amass his fortune and that the state is thus entitled to the money.

grand jury, is expected to again appeal to the Supreme Court if Romiti rules for Hanrahan.

The indictments charge that Hanrahan, a former assistant, and 12 policemen conspired to obstruct justice.

The indictments are based on the conduct of Hanrahan and the others following a raid Dec. 4, 1969, by his police on a West Side headquarters of the Black Panther party. Two Panther leaders were slain in the raid.

CHIEF JUDGE Joseph A. Power refused to accept the indictment and ordered it sealed

• The indictment does not charge any specific crime was committed during the raid, therefore the conspiracy falls of its own weight. Sears cites a U.S. Court of Appeals ruling that conspiracy can exist without being linked to an actual crime.

• Any alleged violations are nullified because the statute of limitations expired. Sears said he beat the 18-month deadline by 33 days.

• There was an "undue delay from the date of the purported offense to the date of the return of the indictment." Sear concedes that there were numerous delays, but attributes many of these to the conduct of Hanrahan and the other defendants.

• Constitutional rights of the defendants were violated because the county grand jury was read testimony given before a federal grand jury which also looked into the case. Sears cites federal court rules permitting such testimony to be turned over, in some instances, to a county grand jury. Such procedures were followed here, Sears said.

BOTH the rulings by Judge Power were at the arraignment level, but defense attorneys brought up basically the same arguments when the case was assigned to Romiti for trial.

Hanrahan also charged that there had been an excess of pretrial publicity in the case.

The Supreme Court, in a 4-to-3 decision Friday, ruled that Romiti could not hold an open hearing into Hanrahan's charge that Sears used undue influence on the jurors.

The High Court also found that if there had been any excess of publicity, it was due in

S. Siders pledge to stall buses

By Dennis Byrne

A group of middle-class South Siders has warned they will "throw their bodies in front of the buses" if the CTA begins extended service on S. Yates on Monday.

Mrs. Rosalie Oberman, of 8312 S. Yates, said residents are irate because the CTA's decision was made without advance notice and threatens the residential character of the street from E. 71st to E. 87th streets.

Meetings this week with CTA and city officials were fruitless, according to Mrs. Oberman. Now the residents hope to obtain a court injunction. Some 500 residents have signed a petition against the route, she said.

SHE SAID the buses would clog Yates and endanger children.

"And then there's the element of people that would come in on the buses," she added. "There would be strangers waiting around for the buses. . . ."

"We certainly don't feel a need for a bus through here," she said. "Most of the residents here have cars and moved here to get away from buses.

"The blacks moving in here are affluent blacks and have two, even three, cars."

Moderate living

It takes \$230 a week

By Les Hausner

A Chicago family of four needs a gross income of more than \$230 a week to maintain what the federal government considers a "moderate" standard of living.

That's \$70 more than the average weekly paycheck of a Chicago factory worker.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics last issued a budget based on figures from spring, 1970. The bureau will not issue the annual budget estimates this year, but current figures may be determined by taking into account increases in living costs.

THUS, IT IS estimated that maintaining moderate living standards requires an annual family income of \$11,960.

In October, the latest month for which figures are available, Chicago factory workers averaged \$161 a week, or \$8,372 a year.

A year ago, a family of four required more than \$11,600 a year (\$225 a week) to live on a moderate scale.

There are no frills in the budget. It does not allow for savings or extras such as a second family automobile. Nor does it allow for deductions for the Illinois state income tax, which went into effect in late 1969.

Last winter, the bureau estimated that a lower standard of living could be maintained for about \$7,725, or about \$148 a week.

A YEAR AGO it took \$16,800 to maintain what the bureau calls a "higher level

budget." The figure probably is above \$17,300 today.

The budgets differ mainly in the quality and quantity of goods and services purchased.

Food accounts for 27.3 per cent of the family's expenditures in the lower budget, 23 per cent in the moderate and 19.9 per cent in the higher budget.

But the bigger the budget, the higher the percentage paid for housing: 24.4 per cent for the top budget, 23.4 for the moderate and 20.5 for the lower budget.

Medical care uses up 8.1 per cent of the lower budget, 5.3 per cent of the moderate and just 3.8 per cent of the higher budget.

THE FAMILY used in the survey has a father, 38, a non-working mother, a boy, 13, and

a girl, 8. The father has been in the labor force for 15 years.

The latest available figures from the Illinois Department of Employment show that the average weekly salary of a factory worker in the Chicago areas was \$160.69 in October.

Average take home pay for a worker with three dependents was less than \$137.

Here are some average weekly gross wages paid various groups of workers in Illinois in October:

Contract construction, \$284.00.

Manufacturing, \$160.69.

Printing & publishing, \$176.21.

Trucking & warehousing, \$224.92.

Retail trade, \$106.00.

Banking, \$120.60.

Laundries, \$94.59.

Hotels, \$89.59.

ult" ing.
Does this mean I can't sue if I'm butch- in an accident?

You can sue, but your award will be to half the first \$500 of medical ex- and 100 per cent of medical expenses 00. If you suffered permanent partial ty or disfigurement, or death, you or sirs sue for unlimited damages.

May I buy additional "no-fault" cov-

es. For a premium of from \$15 to \$24 a you can buy excess coverage which pays l expenses beyond the \$2,000 in your policy, extends lost-wage reimburse- and lost-services reimbursement to six and if you're killed, provides up to \$150 lost-wage reimbursement to your sur- for up to 260 weeks.

ian alert
AZ (AP) — The Boli-
government placed all se-
forces on an emergency
Friday after charging
"vast terrorist plan"
veloping and that exiles
e extreme left were as-
g in neighboring Chile
infiltration attempt into

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coverage of my policy?
A.: Only if you have purchased the excess "no-fault" coverage described above. And even if you have the excess coverage, you will want to keep your uninsured motorist coverage if you often drive with people other than your immediate family. This is because the excess coverage pays increased expenses only for members of your immediate family who live with you.
Q.: Can I get "no-fault" insurance for my motorcycle or truck?

A.: It applies only to private passenger cars. But if you insure your car, "no fault" will cover you while you're driving a truck, motorcycle or other land vehicle, or if you're hit by a car while a pedestrian.

Q.: I've got more questions.
A.: Call the State Department of Insurance's toll-free number 800-252-8926.

include all those employing one to three workers for 20 or more weeks in 1971, or who had a payroll of at least \$1,500 in any 1971 calendar quarter.

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as he was definitely at fault.

How about passengers in your car? Your insurance company pays them the same benefits it paid you depending on their medical

... \$12 a day for lost services for 5 years be-
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policy.

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Welcome '72 At

No-fault stumped? Here's how auto insurance plan works

in Camper
r Springfield Bureau

INGFIELD, Ill. — To understand the new modified no-fault auto insurance remember these four points:

not really no-fault at all. Your insurance company will still want to know who responsible for the accident, and if you responsible your insurance premium will go up.

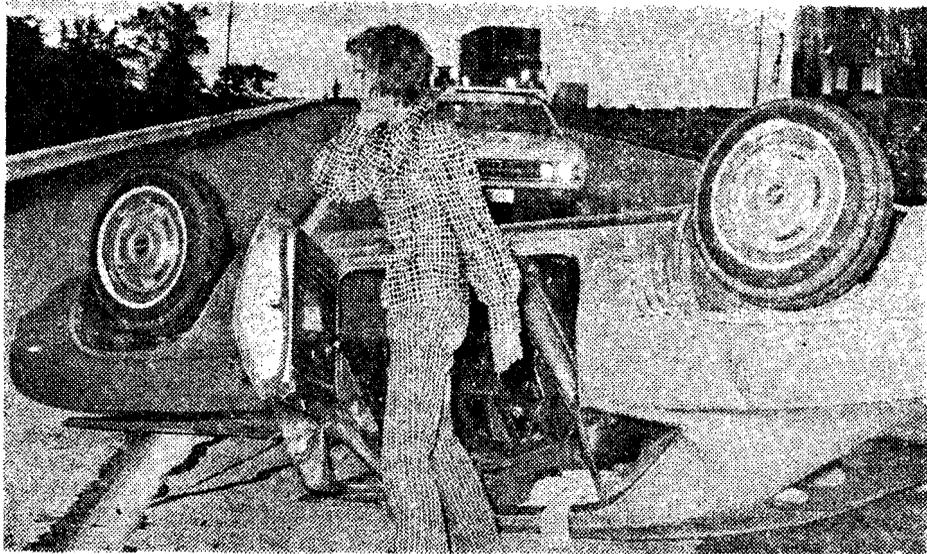
program helps you by guaranteeing payment of your medical bills and your lost income, whether or not you the accident. At present, if you were fault in the accident, you might have to months or years to get your money from other driver's insurance company.

program helps insurance companies litigating your right to sue for "pain and suffering" damages, the so-called "blood" which insurance companies blame high cost of auto insurance.

as nothing whatsoever to do with your collision, property damage or liability insurance. You will keep those and "no-fault" will be added on top.

ETHER YOU LIKE IT or not, you and over 4.5 million auto insurance policyholders in Illinois will have no-fault insurance at no extra cost.

ee how "no-fault" will work, let's suppose you're sitting in your car waiting for a light to change next New Year's Day and some idiot rams his car into the rear of



No fault Insurance: It will help pay accident costs promptly.

insurance company eventually will be reimbursed by the other driver's insurance company for these costs, and his premiums probably will go up.

If you should be killed (God forbid), your own policy would pay your medical and funeral expenses up to \$2,000.

How about damage to your car? That's handled exactly the way it is now; the other driver's insurance company pays for it, as long as he was definitely at fault.

How about passengers in your car? Your insurance company pays them the same benefits it paid you depending on their medical

date, buy additional "no-fault" coverage for a premium of from \$15 to \$24 a year. This coverage pays, regardless of fault:

- Medical expenses above the \$2,000 covered in your mandatory no-fault policy.
- 85 per cent of lost wages (up to \$150 a week) for five years beyond the one year covered in your mandatory policy.
- \$12 a day for lost services for 5 years beyond the one year covered in your mandatory policy.
- Survivors benefits payable to the surviving spouse or children of 85 per cent of lost in-

lost \$1,200 in wages. Your "no-fault" insurance paid all the medical bills and \$600 of lost wages.

If you like, you may sue the faulty driver for your other \$600 lost wages, plus \$750 for "pain and suffering" damages.

It works this way. Pain and suffering damages are limited to half the first \$500 of medical expenses, plus an amount equal to all medical expenses over \$500.

The questions: Will you file suit for this \$1,350, even though it may take up to five years to get a court hearing, or will you be satisfied with the prompt \$1,600 you got to pay your out-of-pocket expenses?

Vincent Vaccarello, deputy director of the state Department of Insurance, believes people will take their out-of-pocket payments and go home, because "the incentive to sue has been removed. We've eliminated the jackpot at the end of the rainbow."

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS Law Prof. Jeffrey O'Connell, whose own more extensive no-fault plan was killed in a state legislative committee this year, believes people will continue to press damage suits "once they have learned how to use the system."

He says the Illinois plan offers "naked encouragement to pad medical bills," partly because "no-fault" insurance will pay medical costs already paid by your own health or hospitalization insurance, allowing you to make a profit on your hospital stay.

*So after your medical bills have reached \$500, each additional dollar of medical cost entitles you to perhaps 90 cents from your own hospitalization policy plus the right to

Peoria crash stirs U.S. air taxi quiz

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The National Transportation Safety Board Friday announced a special safety investigation of the nation's 160 scheduled air taxi operators. The probe is a result of evidence uncovered in the crash of a Chicago and Southern air taxi last Oct. 21 during a landing in rain and fog at Peoria, Ill. Sixteen persons died in the wreck.

Safety board Chairman John H. Reed said an investigation had revealed "a number of deficiencies involving the safety of air taxi travelers," but refused to specify them since the investigation is still under way.

Reed said details of the investigation will be announced shortly.

ACCORDING to the Federal Aviation Administration, there are 160 scheduled air taxi operators in the United States. The agency had no immediate figures on the number of planes used by them but it put the total number used by both scheduled and unscheduled air taxi operators at approximately 5,850.

The Chicago and Southern plane hit a power line 75 feet above the ground, and plunged into a farm field four miles from the airport.

At the public hearing on the crash, it was shown that two planes made a total of five missed approaches to the airport prior to the attempted landing of the air taxi.

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you and your car are pretty well banged up, and you end up with \$1,000 in medical bills and are off your \$300-a-week job for four weeks.

Even though the other driver was clearly at fault, your own insurance company will pay your medical bills (up to \$2,000) plus \$600 in lost wages at the rate of \$150 for each week you're off work. The "no-fault" policy pays 85 per cent of lost income up to \$150 a week for up to 52 weeks.

If you are unemployed but, for instance, stay home and take care of the kids, your insurance policy would pay you up to \$12 a day for a year to pay for a housekeeper while you are laid up.

YOUR INSURANCE company must pay you within 30 days after you get your first bills, or pay you triple damages. Your insur-

expenses and income loss.

If you had been at fault in the accident, your insurance company would give you exactly the same amount of money for medical and funeral expenses, lost wages and personal services for nonwage earners. It would also pay you for the damage to your car if you carry collision insurance.

BUT SUPPOSE IT WAS areally terrible accident. Suppose you had \$15,000 of medical bills and were off work for five years.

If you were not at fault and had only the basic, mandatory "no-fault" coverage you would have to seek the additional payments from the other driver's insurance company. If you were at fault, you would have to pay the expenses yourself.

But you may, right now or at some future

come up to \$100 a week for up to 200 weeks. The maximum payments under this additional protection are \$50,000 per injured person and \$100,000 per accident. And while the mandatory "no-fault" insurance covers everyone in your car, this additional protection covers only members of your immediate family who live in your home.

BUT LET'S GET BACK to your original accident. You had \$1,000 of medical bills and

damages. In any event, if a person can prove that your faulty driving caused him to sustain permanent disability or disfigurement (or if your accident killed him), he or his heirs can sue you for unlimited damages. That's why you have to keep your liability insurance. You also need liability insurance to pay for medical expenses incurred by non-Illinois residents you might injure with your car.

Illinois gets court OK on hiring

A federal judge has ruled that Illinois has complied with hiring provisions under the 1971 U.S. Emergency Employment Act.

The Illinois State Employees Union, which represents 13,500 state employes, had filed suit charging that the state failed to give a public notice of hiring provisions under the act.

The state received \$4.2 million in federal funds to hire 792 persons under the act. Only 157 had been hired when the union filed suit Nov. 8.

U.S. DISTRICT Court Judge Hubert L. Will, who gave the state the green light on hiring on Friday, had enjoined the state when the suit was filed.

The grant ends July 1, 1972, when all unused funds must be returned to the U.S. government.

In a related matter, the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security said changes in the state's unemployment compensation act will become effective Jan. 1, 1972, providing jobless pay coverage to an additional 500,000 workers.

Employers to be covered by the law for the first time will

Questions, answers on coverage under state's modified program

From Our Springfield Bureau

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Here are some questions and answers about Illinois modified no-fault auto insurance plan:

Q: What does no-fault do?

A.: It requires your auto insurance company to pay up to \$2,000 medical and funeral expenses, 85 per cent of lost wages (up to \$150 a week) for 52 weeks, and \$12 a day for a year for personal services (such as child care) to you or anyone injured while riding in your car, regardless of whose faulty driving caused the accident.

Q: What do I have to do to get "no-fault" insurance?

A.: Nothing. After Jan. 1 you've got it.

Q: How much will it cost me?

A.: Nothing beyond the cost of your present policy.

Q: I can't believe my insurance company is going to give me something for nothing.

A.: Insurance companies hope to provide this coverage with the money they save

Q. What if my car is damaged, but I'm not injured? How does "no-fault" work then?

A.: It doesn't. "No-fault" applies only to personal injury accidents. Property damage accidents will be handled exactly as they are now — though the collision insurance part of your policy.

Q.: So I have to keep my collision insurance?

A.: Yes. And you also should keep your comprehensive fire and theft insurance.

Q.: Can I get rid of my liability insurance?

A.: No. You need it to protect you from big lawsuits for permanent disability and to protect you if you should injure somebody not covered by "no-fault" (somebody from another state, for instance).

Q.: Can I get rid of the medical payments insurance in my auto policy?

A.: Yes. You may call your agent and ask him to cancel it, because it is included in your new "no fault" policy. He will refund a portion of your premium. If you do not cancel it, you will get double medical payments if you are injured.

Q.: May I cancel the uninsured motorist



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Lessons from FDR Summary

- Open campaign as late as possible
- use Presidency, not candidacy
- precede w/ heavy "non-political" activity
- Use opening to set up an enemy - then concentrate on it
- compare conditions before election to now
- identify opponents party with bad guys
- Ignore opponent - don't mention by name
- choose own weapons and timing
- make campaign revolve around P, not his rival
- ignore challenge to debate
- Use others to carry the campaign
- esp. good attackers - Col. VP
- Attack
 - meet opp attacks head on w/ counter attack
 - answer falsifications directly
 - attack opp. Party record
 - attack opp. associations
 - attack conditions pre-election vs. now
- Avoid specifics re: plans for second term
- Use a few major speeches with huge build up
- preferably as late as possible - last 2 weeks
- close on a high note - vision of future
- but first attack hard.
- (error in '70, closed on low note after high level campaign)

Lessons from FDR

1936

set up major enemy + concentrate fire on it
(class theme, symbols of wealth, privilege, etc.)
concentration on party platform pre-convention
concentration on minorities - played special interests
(brought Ambassadors home to campaign)
make campaign revolve around him - not his rival
(never mention opponent by name)
effort to court Republicans
(never suggest Repub voters were his opponents)
late opening of formal campaign - Sept 29
before that - non-political inspection trips
explained specifics re: failure to meet 1932 pledges
(“humanity came first” - re budget)
made most of contrast in 1936 vs 1932
election eve - unrestrained attack on opponents
("we have only just begun to fight")
gave few specifics re: plans for second term

1940

announced complete absorption in fr. pol. + defense
no time for purely political debate
but will attack falsifications
didn't rise to debate challenge - ignored challenge
chose own weapons + timing
used Ickes to chop up Willie + reply to attacks
five major addresses in late Oct - 2 weeks
attached falsifications, ~~letter~~
attached Reput record
recited Admin accomplishments on defense
attached strange led fellows of Reput
vision of America - positive, idealistic
heavy Dem Campaign - while P. non-pol
played heavily on 1932 vs now
VP led attack

1944

opened Sept 23 - great campaign speech to Farmers
final drive in late Oct
fr. pol. address - long NY not reached
election eve
answered charges - attached dirty campaign

Roosevelt

1936

parties divided on issues

R.: exploit class antagonisms

questioned feasibility of govt. coop w/ business

advisors encouraged war on Big Business

wanted maps, banners + bus. against him

concentrated fire on symbols of wealth

concentrated pre-cov. on party platform

close attn to drafting - ordered it short
class theme in acceptance speech

created coalition centered on masses in cities

minorities: Catholics, Jews, nationalities

brought ambassadors home to campaign

Good Neighbor League - to get clergy, social workers etc

main appeal to middle class Protestants

importance of Campaign revolve around him, not rival

never mentioned Landon by name

special effort to court Republicans, used Teles

never sugg. Repub. voters were his opponents

no campaigning til August

did do "non-pol" inspection of flooded areas

found campaign opened Sept 29

started by hitting charge directly re communism

identified his opponents w/ the privileged few

pub. to square actions w/ 1932 campaign pledges

explained why budget not balanced

humanity came first

main role: prosperity-maker
economic upsurge

signs of returning prosperity unmistakable
even w/ 8 mill. unemployed

hard evidence country was in the money again
ordered Sec Ag cotton at 12¢

"Sec Treas no people laid off

- made most of contrast in US in 1936 + 1932

election eve - unrestrained attack on opponents

"Of course we will continue ..." over & over

"we have only just begun to fight"

success in cities due to attr to ethnic groups

esp. newer immigrants

gave few specifics re: plans for second term

voters admired his personality

profited from economic conditions

ratification of Welfare State

Big boot here to stay.

Roosevelt

1940

in acceptance speech

emphasized would be completely absorbed by
foreign policy + defense matters
but would campaign under certain circumstances
"shall not have time or inclination to engage in
purely political debate"

"but shall never be loath to call the attention
of the nation to deliberate or unwitting
falsifications of fact"

did not rise to Willkie's challenge to debate
ignored challenge in public

chose his own weapons, followed his own timetable

Leahy made Admin reply to Willkie acceptance speech
with his usual vitriol

P's time in summer consumed w/ defense + fr. pol.

took some decisive steps as C. in C.
Toured defense installations - continued thru campaign

made no political utterances on these occasions

did get publicatn as C. in C.

Willkie declined to join fr. in bipartisan fr. pol.

in late Oct. Planned 5 political addresses

to reply to those "guilty of systematic and
deliberate falsification of the facts!"

(Willkie's popularity was rising)

Willkie's increasingly bitter attacks on P. re fr. pol.
were making strongest impression

Dem. campaign underway while P. being non-political
pro P. speakers blistered Repub Congl voting record
repeatedly reminded of desperate straits in
which P found country in 1933
& of what the New Deal had accomplished
tagged Repub as vehicle of isolation + appeasement
said aggressor nations hoped for P. defeat
Wallace (VP. nom.) energy added much to attack
P. openly entered campaign Oct 23. 1st of 5 speeches
managed both to reply to Wilkie's charges
and to put Repub on the defensive
First: referred to many falsifications; replied to two
refuted in great detail charge New Deal had failed
to bring about econom. recovery
assured no secret treaties
closed: "It is for peace that I have labored;
and it is for peace that I shall labor all
the days of my life."
Second: blistering attack on Repub record in defense + for pol.
Third: expanded on Admin defense accomplishments
"Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars"
Fourth: hit "strange assortment of political bedfellows
who have been brought together in Repub pol. conspiracy"
alliance b/w extreme reactionary + extreme radical
Fifth: positive, idealistic note - vision of America
gave campaign unusually vigorous + effective conclusion
Two weeks blitly dominated public attention.

Roosevelt

1944

Pre election - global meetings, Repub playing of C. C.
raised stature

could not only stay on Olympian heights

many domestic problems

labor - strikes, had to seize railroads

long relations - new law, veto override

taxes - Congress refused

Repubs attacked weakest point of Admin

bureaucratic inefficiency + wrangling

FDR terrible organizer + administrator

contributed to conflicts by creating a new agency

preference for secrecy + encouraging rivalries

(to keep aides honest + running hard)

tone deaf to nuances of govt. org.

messes up because he did not know any better

P. refused to announce run for fourth term

gave Dems chance to org. groundswell campaign

re VP - incredible shifting, lying + vacillation

"his unwillingness to be unpleasantly frank was

notorious among those who knew him well."

gave Trip report speech in Aug - rambling + pedestrian

none of his regular speech writers were with him

opened campaign Sept 23 - speech to Teamsters

worked for weeks on speech

greatest campaign speech of his career

masterpiece of political strategy + tactics

delivered conversational, chatty style - on nat. radio
attacked Repubs, praised labor
answered charges, defended Fala
gave campaign excitement, stimulated supporters,
angued Dewey + Repubs into wild accusations
launched final drive in late Oct.
for pol. address in Brooklyn Oct 21
long motorcade thru cold rain - 2 million
final speech in Boston
answered charges re communism
attack Repub whispering campaign

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM: W. RICHARD HOWARD

SUBJECT: Sindlinger

Dick

My visit Sunday night to Sindlinger & Co. was very informative and extremely interesting. His operation is unique because by listening to the actual interviews one can better understand what people are really trying to say. This information is lost in statistical reports. I heard 25 - 30 partial or complete interviews over a 4½ hour period Sunday night, and after lengthy discussions with Al Sindlinger, I can make the following observations:

1. It was clear that an overwhelming majority of people support the President. However, it was also clear they could not effectively explain why. When asked why they planned to vote for the President in November, most gave only vague responses like, "I think he is doing a good job". A few mentioned the President's trips to China and Russia as being positive, but no one could say why.
2. There is great animosity and even fear that McGovern might be elected. Out of the 25 or so interviews, only three people strongly endorsed McGovern; two were Blacks and obviously were voting for McGovern because of their extreme dislike of the President. The other one identified himself as a Legislative Aide in Washington, D.C.
3. It was easier for people to describe why they didn't like McGovern than why they did like the President. Most responses were lengthy and the themes that came through were:

- a. He switches his position too much,
- b. He is too radical and extreme,
- c. Everyone knows he can't do what he is promising, and
- d. (which was most significant and ran through almost every comment)
He would not be an effective leader.

4. The main responses, even by supporters of the President when asked what they thought the President was doing wrong were:

- a. He has not done enough about inflation. Prices have gone up, but wages remain about the same. Food prices were mentioned in almost every interview.
- b. Jobs and unemployment was a minor theme.
- c. The President is not campaigning enough. There were several comments along this line. People seem to think they want the President to get out and campaign more and yet they would contradict themselves by indicating they didn't want the President to become a "politican".

There was a strong implication in a great number of comments along these lines that people were getting nervous about the campaign and because of the extensive amount of campaigning and advertising by McGovern, they felt the President should do more publicly but they didn't know exactly what.

5. One other question that seemed particularly significant was that people were asked, "Do you believe we are living in a time of change and if so, do you agree that we should have change or do you disagree?" When asked this question, most everyone said yes and they agree that changes were needed. However, when asked the next question; "What changes would you like to see?" a very large percentage indicated that they wanted a return of morality and restoration of tranquility that they all seemed to remember in the distant past.

Throughout the evening, Al Sindlinger and I discussed the significance of the various responses and conversations and we came up with the very strong conclusion that:

1. The President should now begin being seen more, particularly on TV. However, and I underline this because it is extremely important, the President should always be seen saying something positive. He should never appear negative in anyway. This would mean that the President should not go to Laredo, Texas and blast the judicial system and their handling of drug pushers; and he should not go to New York and issue a statement on terrorism.

It was clear from the interviews that what the American people are urgently looking for (and many think they have) is a strong leader. Their concept of a leader is one who gives them a secure feeling by everything he says and does, as opposed to someone who continues to point out the problems in the world. McGovern is producing a negative reaction in people, primarily because everything he talks about is negative.

The President must now use this campaign to bring into very clear focus how his activities over the past four years will positively effect every American. He must be specific and direct in outlining his goals, not only for the next four years, but for the future of America. He should also condemn those who would impugn the dignity of our system. However, he should do so by making it clear that everyone recognizes America is not perfect, and we should never cease striving for perfection. But those who continue to discuss the flaws in our system as if they were terminal illnesses, are a discredit to our country.

I emphasize that the President should always be positive and never appear to be negative and never attack the problems people already know exist; but instead discuss those specific goals he hopes to achieve, not only in the next four years (that phrase is too political) but for the future of America.

The President should ask the American people for the mandate he believes is necessary in order to accomplish these positive goals and ideas.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON 
SUBJECT: Wallace People

I have been very impressed with Charlie Snyder, Wallace's top man, who sent me the attached letter which I thought you might like to read. While it is rambling, he makes two very interesting points.

The first is the overture now being made to Wallace by McGovern. This is for real. I don't think there is a chance of their succeeding but the McGovern people are presenting some very persuasive arguments.

The second point deals with the campaign theme, and while he hasn't stated it very well, I think the trust issue is a very powerful one. Right now we own it. Snyder suggests that we exploit it, a point with which I concur on the positive side.

THE WALLACE CAMPAIGN

September 22, 1972

M-8 111
M-8 111
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,

STAND UP FOR AMERICA

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MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36103

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 executive-vists. 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 leftists 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

Thinking Things Over

By VERMONT ROYSTER

Ah, Friends!

Voltaire's exclamation "May God defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies" must strike a responsive chord in the breast of Richard Nixon.

For one of the more amazing things about President Nixon's term of office, right up to and including the present campaign, is the way his real political enemies haven't been able to lay a glove on him while his political supporters keep socking him in the solar plexus.

Take the current campaign. Senator McGovern has been firing broadsides at Mr. Nixon all year long, and the whole theme of the Democratic attack is that the country can't stand four more years of President Nixon. The Senator has swung with every issue he could think of: the Vietnam war, unemployment, inflation, welfare and busing.

With what result? So far as the polls show, none. The President has been leading the Senator by margins of two to one. Even among the youth vote, which was supposed to belong to McGovern, the President seems ahead.

For this result on these issues the President can reasonably claim the credit himself. If he hasn't ended the Vietnam war, he has at least defused its political explosiveness with his policy of Vietnamization. If he hasn't ended inflation, he has reduced it from the rates spurred by the policies of the last Democratic administration. His bold moves toward Moscow and Peking have relaxed the cold war for the first time in a generation.

* * *

Which leaves the Democrats with what issues? Why, the Watergate caper and the suspicion of scandal in the Russian wheat deal. And who gave the Democrats those issues? Why, those who profess to be Richard Nixon's friends.

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Just who cooked up the idea of bugging Democratic campaign offices—much less why—remains a mystery. What is clear is that it was thought up by somebody who thought he was helping Mr. Nixon, and that at least one of those involved had some sort of connection, however minor, with the Nixon re-election campaign. The sheer stupidity of it must make the President blanch.

Or look at the wheat deal. Mr. Nixon worked long, hard and skillfully to widen trade relations with the Soviet Union. When he finally arranged for the Russians to buy millions of bushels of U.S. wheat for many millions of dollars, he must have thought he had done a real good job of work for the American economy and the American farmer. And that he would surely get a few brownie points.

What he has got, thanks to bungling in the Agriculture Department, is the suspicion of hanky-panky. And the suspicions, whether or not they are justified, are enough to lose him points with a lot of wheat farmers. Some are irate enough to switch to McGovern.

In short, the two good issues his political foes have were handed to them by Richard Nixon's own teammates.

These are the latest examples. They are not, unhappily for the President, the only ones. That sort of thing has been happening to him all through his term of office.

His two biggest defeats in Congress were the Senate rejections of two consecutive Supreme Court nominations. The merits of Messrs. Haynsworth and Carswell aside, both proved to have some skeletons in their closets which made them politically vulnerable. The problem was that those the President relied on to check these things out, didn't. If the failure to do so with the first one, Haynsworth, was a slip, the failure with the second one, Carswell, after that example was a blunder beyond understanding.

Then there was the ITT affair, involving allegations that the company's contribution to the abortive San Diego convention plans were somehow entangled with the Justice Department's dropping of antitrust moves against the company. There may have been no relationship whatever, but apparently nobody even saw the lurking booby-trap.

* * *

The conclusion from all this must be that the President has not always been well served by his subordinates. The puzzle it leaves is about the choosing of them.

One paradox here is that Richard Nixon is probably the most intellectual of any President since Woodrow Wilson; his remaking of American foreign policy is only one example of his capacity for thinking through problems, for searching out broad principles and for applying imaginative solutions. Yet aside from Henry Kissinger, who among the President's top advisers impress you with the sweep of their minds?

In too many cases their virtues seem to be chiefly those of loyal henchmen. Every President needs such, for they are useful virtues. But fierce loyalty bereft of any broader view breeds the kind of thinking that begins by saying wouldn't it be nice to know what the Democratic strategists are up to, and ends with the stupidity of Watergate.

Thus every President also needs those who can look beyond the exigencies of the moment. It is not enough, for example, for an adviser to say that so-and-so will make a judge sympathetic to our views and also please a certain constituency. When he does only that he risks the political attack against which there is no good defense.

What a President needs most are advisers able to ask "what kind of minds do we want on our courts?" So asking and so searching, they are able to give the President advice good for more than this day only. They are more apt than to come up with candidates both better for the judiciary and also more impregnable to political attack.

Such advisers are not easily found. Yet since any man in a responsible position cannot avoid being judged in part by the qualities of his subordinates, Mr. Nixon must share some of the responsibility when he acts on "bad advice." Or even when others, acting on their own, take off into the wild blue yonder.

After all, if you run down the list of the Cabinet and the White House staff and don't find too many who bowl you over with their breadth of intellect, who chose them? The captain of that crashed merchant ship off Cape Hatteras must answer for the actions of the mate on watch.

True, no President can protect himself entirely from gaffes, blunders and scandals of those who profess to serve him. At least none ever has. The federal establishment is too big, too many people are involved.

But the moral is one Mr. Nixon might brood upon. It's the same as in that old childhood fable: nothing is more dangerous than a blundering friend.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
RE: Critique of First Campaign Swing

If we were in any sort of contest, the first two days' campaigning would be cause for alarm.

These were the impressions a normal person would get from the activities:

1. The President went out to raise money. The huge headline in the New York Daily News, no liberal bastion, was "Nixon In Town To Raise Funds." Since over 2 million copies of that headline circulated in an area of 15 million people, it can be safely said that the negative message got across to the greater metropolitan area. In Washington, the Star headline was "Nixon Raises \$7 Million" and that carried also on radio and TV. On the positive side, the young people theme at the dinner went well.

The other story in New York, the Statue of Liberty visit, got good pictures but a bad play. The demonstrators left a bad taste. What I saw on television was a fairly obvious message from the President about how patriotic immigrants are -- very political, no uplift. Looked like a cover to his fundraising appearance.

The meeting with Jewish leaders came across well, with the "no harsh confrontation" theme predominant.

2. The President was apologizing for not campaigning. That's for others to say; not like Nixon to apologize the way he did in San Francisco and made the UP lead.

3. The President talked spending in San Francisco and holding down spending in LA. This impression created by Broder story and headline -- "Nixon Promises Spending, Thrift" -- but he influenced a lot of other writers and broadcasters.

4. The thing wasn't in focus. Other stories dominated -- Kissinger in Paris, the POWs on the way home. Seemed like the campaign was being conducted in Europe.

Some lessons to be drawn:

1. Fundraising appearances at this stage are a great big mistake; the dead audience calls for an infusion of yelling kids, and the money could have been raised with a Presidential film at the dinners. Our fat cat image grows, and we do not appear to care. Fortunately, the other side doesn't know how to exploit it without seeming envious.

2. High-intensity, 17-hour campaign days preceded and followed by relative news calm make our campaign look herky-jerky. We do not have a stride, nor are we explaining what our campaign rhythm is; as soon as the poll difference begins to narrow, this kind of sporadic campaigning will be interpreted as "Nixon, worried about the latest poll showing McGovern momentum, cast aside his above-the-battle pose and plunged into... etc."

3. We're not campaigning for anything. The "four more years" chant is offensive. We know that people vote against, and we should help them be against McGovern and what he stands for; but the best way to be "Presidential" -- which is our best attitude -- is to carry a positive line. Some of this was in the fundraising dinner speech, especially toward the end, but the only way I know that is because I asked for a text. "The" speech is not yet with us.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: President's Trip to New York
and California.

Per your request, my assessment of the trip is that on balance we neither gained nor lost ground.

On the positive side, there was some excellent footage of the President with Brennan and his boys, but only on ABC and Metro-media that I am aware of. (You realize my prejudice; naturally I would think this is a real plus.)

Also, on the positive side, we may have defused the criticism that the President is unwilling to campaign. I think there was just a little bit of this creeping into the press and perhaps the public consciousness; I am not sure of the latter. At least a trip like this enables us to show that we are not in hiding or that we are not taking the electorate for granted. The coverage was such that everyone knows the President was out campaigning this week.

Also on the plus side, we were able to get away with the fund-raising dinners without having them particularly visible. In other words, we did enough other things so that the public did not get the impression that we were just playing to the fat cats.

Finally, on the positive side, some of the crowd shots were good and the President directing the cameras on to the good guys on Liberty Island was a plus. Also, again I may be somewhat jaundiced in my opinions because I enjoyed seeing the President one-up the media.

On the minus side, one line moved out of New York indicating the President was calling for a Republican Congress. All the pollsters I talk to, along with my political instincts, tell me that that line is counter-productive. We ought to be doing nothing that sharpens up the Republican-Democrat focus. If we do our jobs right, our coattails will bring in a lot of Republican Congressmen but we mustn't make the issue a Republican Congress. The polls show that the public want a Democrat Congress.

Also on the negative side, the wires, the New York Times and to a much lesser extent, TV, made it appear that we were meeting McGovern head on, that the President was attacking him and defending against the charge that we should come out more often on the campaign trail. I think it is imperative that in everything the President says and does, he keeps the sharp focus on the issues that separate the candidates, but that beyond that he not get himself into a head-to-head confrontation directly with McGovern.

Another negative on balance was the speech on Liberty Island. On TV it looked like a campaign stump speech and in my opinion campaign stump speeches are losers for us. They take us right off the Presidential pedestal. In my mind at least the President doesn't even look like the same person he does when he is shown in the White House or doing Presidential things. (There was a big difference in the impact of the President visiting flood stricken families in Wilkes-Barre and standing on the podium at Mitchellville. The President doesn't always have to be confined in the White House to remain Presidential. He can be going out as President to see people and to see how federal aid is working in an area where there are clear Presidential responsibilities. That's campaigning as President rather than as a candidate.)

Another negative was the Broder piece today, although it's impact is probably very minimal. He got us on what appeared to be conflicting statements. I haven't seen this turn up anywhere else; hence I would view this one as a one-shot jab by Broder. The point is good, however; we should be careful on the statements that we drop in the future not to give them this opening.

Coincidentally, as we got on to the front pages campaigning, McGovern's campaign went back with the corset ads. Some people may look upon this as a plus; I don't. I am beginning to agree with Al Capp that the more campaign-type publicity McGovern and Shriver get, the better. If we shove them off the front pages, then that is not good.

The demonstration issue fizzled. The press simply will not buy our line; obviously they don't want to; it would help us. The most we got out of this was a little play on MacGregor's charges and a little play on the fact that we were trying to capitalize on demonstrators. I have a gut feeling that the American people already associate McGovern with anti-war protesters, and we don't have to spell out the connection. A hell of a lot of people saw the scene at the Doral. While I hate to admit defeat, I don't think the press will give us a decent break on this one. If we continue to try, it could boomerang. This one makes me sizzle because I think McGovern is so vulnerable, but I just don't see how to come at it.

The trip further strengthens my conviction that the less campaigning we have to do the better. I believe that people are bored with politics this year and that one of George McGovern's biggest liabilities is that his campaigning has been overexposed. Failing to show up for a vote in the Senate this week was very damaging to him in my opinion. He appeared to be putting politics ahead of the business of the country. The more he does and the less we do it, the better we are.

A final point with respect to the trip: I don't think we can get the President's whole message across to the people in any kind of campaign format. Predictably, the press focus on the trip was a great deal more on technique rather than on substance. The media tends to blur whatever message we are trying to get across. The President has to talk directly to the American people by radio or TV and he not only has to ask for their support, but tell them why they should support him. As to the latter point, he not only has to frame the issue to put us on the right side and McGovern on the wrong side, but he must talk about what he proposes to do in a positive way over the next four years. At some point, this is going to be very necessary. Right now we are asking people to vote for us because we stand for X and McGovern stands for Y. X is good; Y is bad. So far that is fine, but as the campaign grinds on, we have got to hold out the promise of what we will accomplish for this country, given another 4 years and then ask the people to give us that chance.

TENTATIVE LIST OF STATES TO BE POLLED

Target States - (15)

- California
- New York
- Pennsylvania
- Texas
- Illinois
- Ohio
- New Jersey
- Florida
- Indiana
- North Carolina
- ? Washington *Hipaleau*
- Missouri
- Tennessee
- ? Kentucky
- ? Iowa *sure*

- Virginia
 - Wisconsin
 Md.

? -
 Special
 Southern?
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 Ala, La, Ga
 Ky, Va

Important Primary States - (5)

- 7 Wisconsin
- Maryland
- Oregon
- Nebraska
- 1 New Hampshire

How political writers see 1972

Nixon leading all Democrats

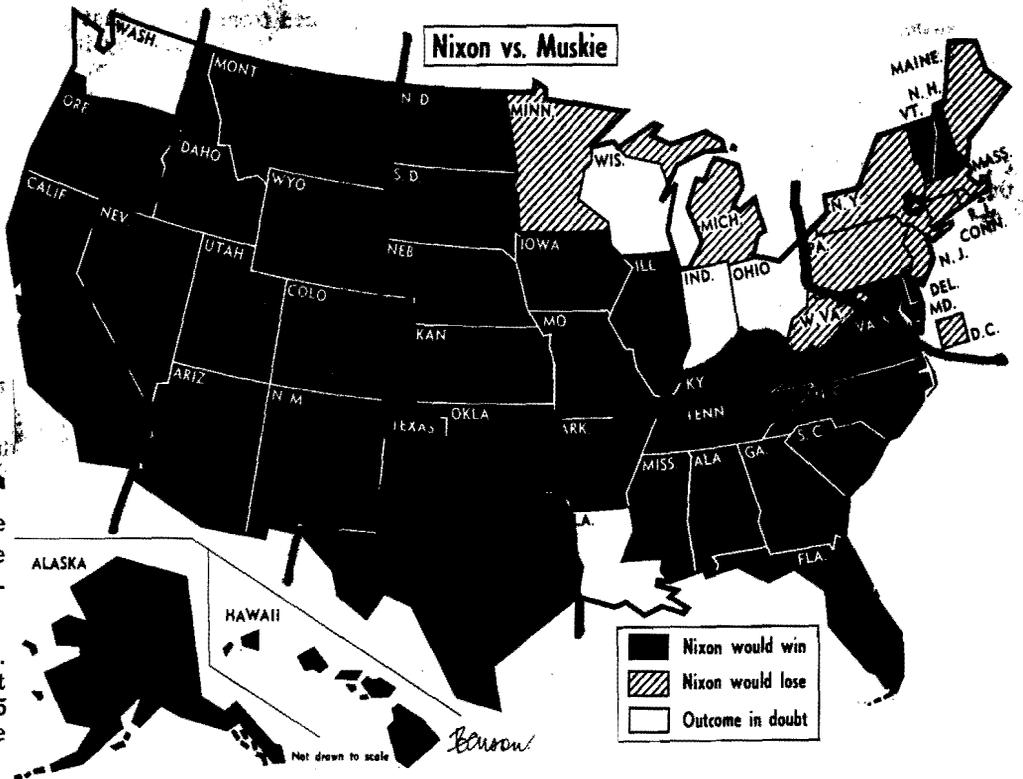
By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

National political correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

President Nixon would be reelected if the election were held today, a state-by-state survey by the Christian Science Monitor discloses.

Pitted in a two-man race against Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, his strongest possible opponent, Mr. Nixon would win 35 states with 315 electoral votes (270 votes are



A Monitor survey

How survey sees electoral map today

needed to be elected). He would lose 10 states and the District of Columbia, and 5 would be in doubt.

Against other possible opponents, the Nixon advantage is even greater. None of the races included a third contender such as Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

On Aug. 31, 1967, a similar Monitor survey showed the vulnerability of President Lyndon B. Johnson to defeat at the hands of the possible Republican opponents of that period.

The poll consists of the assessment of Monitor political writers in each of the 50 states plus the District of Columbia.

Their reference points include their conversations with voters, politicians, and political observers and state polls.

From this, and their own knowledge of the state's political climate, the writers have made their "calls" on the outcome,

as they see it, of seven possible pairings with Mr. Nixon.

Against Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, the writers conclude, Mr. Nixon would win 40 states with 374 electoral votes.

Against Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, President Nixon would win 39 states with 421 electoral votes.

Against Sen. George McGovern, Mr. Nixon would win 42 states with 455 electoral votes.

Against Sen. Henry M. Jackson, Mr. Nixon would win 42 states with 469 electoral votes.

Against New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, Mr. Nixon would win 45 states with 460 electoral votes.

Against former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, Mr. Nixon would win 46 states with 501 electoral votes.

Thus, while the President had an average of 50 percent approval of the public for his performance during 1971, according to the Gallup Poll, this does not seem to result in a landslide back to the race, state by state.

Should Governor Wallace be included, it

might be that he would take a swathe of Southern states, as he did in 1968—thus deducting several states from those included in Mr. Nixon's winning totals in the Monitor poll.

In the findings Mr. Nixon, when running against Mr. Muskie, would win the following states:

Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming.

Opposition strongholds

Against Senator Muskie, Mr. Nixon would lose Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

★ Please turn to Page 3

★ Nixon leading all Democrats, Monitor survey indicates

Continued from Page 1

The outcome-in-doubt states in a Nixon-Muskie race: Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Washington, and Wisconsin.

If Mr. Nixon were to oppose Senator Kennedy, the President would win Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and Maine.

Mr. Nixon would lose these areas to Senator Kennedy: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

States "in doubt" in a Nixon-Kennedy contest: Ohio and Washington.

Against Senator Humphrey, the states Nixon would win: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Maine, and Louisiana.

Against Mr. Humphrey, the states Mr. Nixon would lose include Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

"In doubt" states in a Nixon-Humphrey race: New Jersey, North Dakota, Virginia, and Washington.

Against Senator McGovern, Mr. Nixon would win Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut,

Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Maine and New Hampshire.

Against Senator McGovern, President Nixon would lose Massachusetts, Minnesota, South Dakota, and the District of Columbia.

In a McGovern-Nixon contest the states in doubt: North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Against Senator Jackson, Mr. Nixon would win Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah,

Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Maine and New Hampshire.

Against Senator Jackson, Mr. Nixon would lose Arkansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and the District of Columbia.

States in doubt in a Nixon-Jackson race are Georgia, Louisiana, South Dakota, and West Virginia.

Lindsay on ticket

Against Mayor Lindsay, President Nixon would win Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Maine, and Louisiana.

Against Mayor Lindsay, Mr. Nixon would lose Massachusetts and the District of Columbia.

States in doubt in a Nixon-Lindsay race are Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

McCarthy as foe

Against Eugene McCarthy, Mr. Nixon would win Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma,

		Now	all under.	Super May
Nixon solid	47	} 63	} 72	84
Nixon now/may chg	16			
Don't know	37	} 9	} 37	53
McG now/may chg	12			
McG solid	16	} 28		

Likely

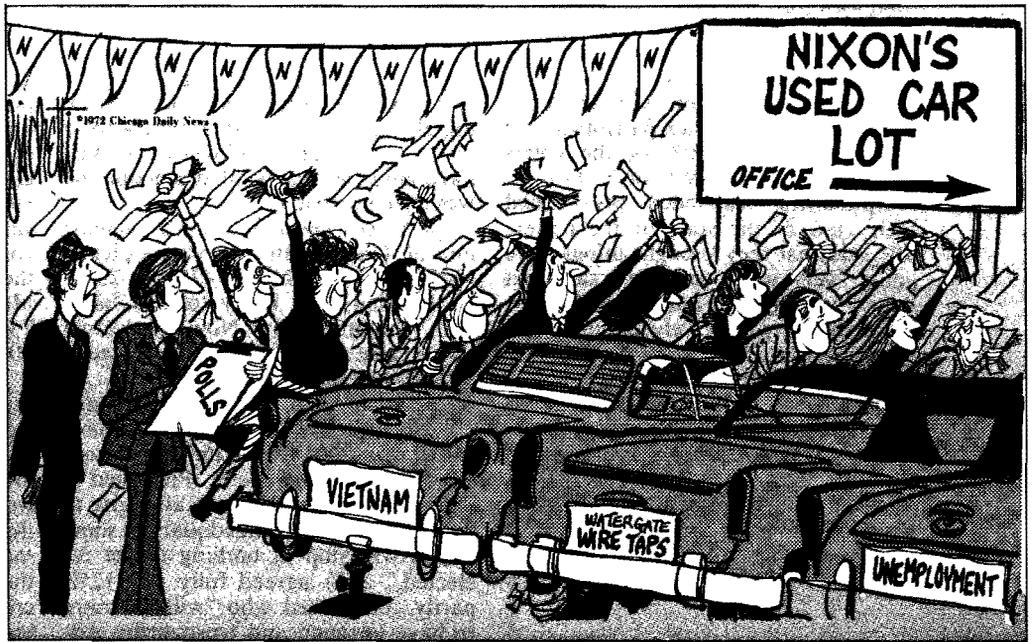
N - solid	47	McG	16
$\frac{2}{3}$ may chg	10	$\frac{2}{3}$ may chg	8
$\frac{1}{2}$ DK	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ DK	5
$\frac{1}{4}$ McG chg	3	$\frac{1}{2}$ N chg	9
	<u>64</u>		<u>37</u>

Worst likely

-10% solid	42	McG solid	16
- 50% N chg	6		
+ $\frac{1}{4}$ DK	2		
	<u>50</u>		



"Which candidate are you most apathetic about?"



"If I didn't see it with my own eyes, I wouldn't believe it."

THE VOTERS

Nixon Moves Out to an Astonishing Lead

After a month of false starts and wheel spinning, the McGovern campaign bandwagon is definitely on the move—backward. A new TIME poll conducted by Daniel Yankelovich Inc. between Aug. 25 and Sept. 12 shows that McGovern's campaign is having a negative effect: in several states where he has stumped the hardest, he has lost ground; and the issues he has emphasized the most are those that are now hurting him more than ever. The poll finds that Nixon leads McGovern by an astonishing 39 points—62% to 23%.

That is an 11-percentage-point increase over the spread Nixon enjoyed in a TIME/Yankelovich Poll conducted the previous month. The latest poll was based on telephone interviews with 2,239 registered voters in 16 key states with a combined total of 332 electoral votes (270 are needed to win). For McGovern, the figures are almost uniformly bleak. However the American electorate is sliced, by age or income, occupation or ethnic group, party affiliation or religion, McGovern leads the President only among blacks, Jews and college-educated youth. With the exception of the Jews and Germans, Nixon has held or gained ground in every group and on every major issue. Most startling of all, the poll shows that a plurality of Democratic voters now prefer Nixon over their party's own candidate by a margin of 43% to 40%.

In some respects, of course, it is still early in the campaign, and there is still room for fairly drastic swings in voter mood and opinion—and in polls. McGovern's own, released last week, showed Nixon 56%, McGovern 34%,

with 10% undecided. It was taken Sept. 13-15 by telephone among 1,200 voters.

In the past few months, McGovern's image has slipped badly. During the spring primaries, samplings by Yankelovich determined that McGovern projected himself as a "strong liberal." It was precisely his firm and often courageous stands on controversial issues that set him apart from and above the host of other Democratic challengers. Now McGovern is casting a slim and pale shadow. Yankelovich interprets McGovern's new image as that of a "weak radical." Almost one in three voters now believes McGovern to be radical, in spite of the fact that he has softened many of his positions. At the same time and partly for the same reason, three out of four voters, including half of his supporters, agree completely or partly that McGovern is "indecisive." In a country that seems to be growing more conservative, the tag "radical" is more than ever anathema. Add the image of weakness, and the result is a formula for overwhelming defeat.

State by state, issue by issue, category by category, the poll shows almost uniform slippage for McGovern. Among the more revealing findings:

► *Nixon has pre-empted the Viet Nam issue.* Last spring the war in Viet Nam seemed to be the linchpin of McGovern's campaign. So sure was he of his support in that area that he sought to broaden his base and find new issues. But the TIME poll clearly indicates that it is Nixon and not McGovern who is now winning points on Viet Nam. In fact, it appears to be one of Nixon's key strengths and one of McGovern's

most serious weaknesses. The war continues to be the No. 1 issue among voters, but 64% feel the President is "doing everything he can to end it." In the first Yankelovich poll, 47% picked Nixon as the "real peace candidate" compared with 39% for McGovern. This time round, 55% of the voters chose Nixon and only 30% McGovern, a net loss of 17 points in the spread.

► *In spite of the voters' obvious concern over the economy, McGovern's efforts to spell out his own solutions seem to have backfired.* Voters in the sample list the economy as their main concern after the war. But in the same breath, 48% say that Nixon has done everything he can to keep prices down. Asked to choose between the candidates, 52% picked Nixon and only 21% McGovern. Those figures represent a 13-point gain in the spread for Nixon over the previous poll. On which candidate can best close tax loopholes, McGovern led Nixon in the previous Yankelovich poll, 40% to 21%. In the current poll, voters astonishingly picked Nixon, 35% to 31%, even though the President has yet to spell out his tax reform proposals (see THE ECONOMY). McGovern fares no better on welfare and unemployment. Asked whose welfare proposals most resemble their own views, the voters gave Nixon a 25-point spread over McGovern. By a margin of 18 points, they judged him better able to provide jobs for everyone.

► *At the beginning of the campaign, McGovern clearly hoped to draw on a deep well of dissatisfaction and bitterness among American voters—and that may have been his biggest miscalculation.*

tion. To be sure, American voters are angry, but what they seem to be angriest about are attacks on their country. Asked if they were sick and tired of hearing people attack patriotism and American values, 75% of the voters sampled, including 59% of McGovern sympathizers, responded yes. Asked their view of the state of the nation, 9% said that they thought things were going "very well" and 50% said that things were going "fairly well," showing a majority relatively content with the status quo. Those twin moods—satisfaction with their own life and fear of those who would change it—surfaced in other responses. Asked whether the country "has to change a lot faster," a

majority of blacks agreed, but a plurality of whites (49% to 46%) did not.

By constantly appealing to people's fears and dissatisfactions and demanding change without articulating a lofty vision of his own, McGovern may well have alienated many of the people he was trying to reach.

► *McGovern has lost his populist appeal.* One month ago, voters picked McGovern over Nixon 47% to 25%, as the man most likely to deal fairly with "the little man." Now those same voters give a 2-percentage-point edge to Nixon on the same question.

► *Although voters believe Nixon is capable of underhandedness to achieve re-election, they seem to think him more honest than McGovern.* Presented a statement saying, "Recent attempts to bug the Democratic headquarters show Nixon will stop at nothing to get re-elected," 21% agreed fully and 12% partly. Yet, asked who "will do more to have an open and trustworthy Administration," two voters picked Nixon for every one who chose McGovern.

Such results seem to fly in the face of logic. McGovern the tax reformer is given no credit for his promise to close loopholes. McGovern the peace candidate is thought less apt to bring peace than Nixon, who has failed to do so in his first term. McGovern the prairie populist is thought less likely to pay attention to the needs of the little man than Richard Nixon, who a majority of voters suspect is too close to big business. These responses suggest that the voters have turned against McGovern for intuitive, seat-of-the-pants reasons having more to do with personality than issues, and that they now rationalize their choice by giving Nixon the benefit of the doubt on issues.

Yankelovich calls this the "halo effect," and believes it colors almost all the answers related to issues. One month ago, voters claimed, by a margin of 45% to 28%, that McGovern would do more to see that minorities are treated "fairly." Now they have neatly flip-flopped on the issues, although nothing concrete has happened in the campaign to cause such a change: 42% now see Nixon as best able to deal with minorities, v. 31% for McGovern. This makes little empirical sense, but for that very reason it bodes ill for McGovern. More and more, Nixon is gaining momentum as the man who can do no wrong.

The change has affected virtually every geographic and demographic category, as the chart on this page shows. Thus Nixon has increased his lead in every age bracket. For example, one month ago TIME's poll showed McGovern leading by 5 percentage points among the 18- to 24-year-old voters. Now Nixon holds the edge—3 percentage points. Even more ominous, 21% of the college youth and 26% of non-college youth view McGovern less favorably now than a month ago.

In the first TIME poll, McGovern led among Jews by a mere 7 percent-

age points. Making headway in his effort to overcome his problem with Jews, he has increased that margin to 20 points, presumably a sign that Jews are lining up along more classic liberal and economic issue lines. This seems so because when it comes to who can deal more fairly with Israel, Jewish voters still prefer Nixon 36% to 23%. The change among black voters is perhaps the most startling. In the first TIME poll, McGovern's lead among blacks was 73% to 10%. Now it stands at 55% to 20%, a loss of 28 in the spread.

Robin Hood. In spite of McGovern's Robin Hood tax proposals, which would hit the rich and benefit the poor, he has lost as much ground among the lower economic groups as he has among wealthier voters. Voters earning less than \$7,500 now give Nixon a 22% margin over McGovern, exactly double the margin of a month ago. Nixon increased his spread by 15 points among blue-collar workers and 5 points among union members. Surprisingly, Nixon stretched his lead further among middle-income voters (\$7,500 to \$15,000) than among the rich (\$15,000 and over), who stand to lose the most from McGovern's economic policies—possibly because of McGovern's strength among rich but liberal professionals.

For McGovern, the worst news in the poll is that Nixon seems to be pulling the country to the right, while voters perceive McGovern drifting to the left. At present, three out of four voters describe themselves as either conservative or moderate, and almost the same proportion see Nixon in one of those two stances. Yet they view McGovern as going in the other direction, in spite of all his attempts to stake out a more nearly middle-of-the-road position. Back in July and August, only 22% of the voters called McGovern radical. Now 30% see him as such, while only 1% of the voters put themselves in the same category. Rather than getting in step with the average American voter, McGovern seems further out of step than ever.

In all probability, the most frustrating finding for McGovern is that the majority of voters agree with him that Nixon should come out of hiding and participate in a nationally televised debate. Such a confrontation now seems as unlikely as those other developments the McGovern camp was hoping for—major Republican goofs, the explosion of the Watergate scandal, an upheaval in Viet Nam. There are still six weeks left, of course—plenty of time for something major to happen in this already volatile campaign. Polls, it is always necessary to remember, do not predict, they only describe the voters' state of mind at the moment. But if the election were held today, McGovern would join those presidential aspirants buried under the country's historic landslides—Henry Clay, Horace Greeley, Alton Parker, James Cox, Alfred Landon, and of course Barry Goldwater.

Supposing the election were held today, whom would you vote for, Nixon the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?

	Nixon	McGovern	Not sure	Nixon's gain (or loss) over first poll
TOTAL	62%	23%	15%	+11
California	59	28	13	+9
Texas	71	18	11	+14
Michigan	65	21	14	+12
Illinois	59	23	18	+3
Ohio	63	23	14	+10
Pennsylvania	61	21	18	+18
New York	57	26	17	+14
Other Nine States	62	22	16	+8
Republican	93	1	6	+8
Democrat	43	40	17	+11
Ind./Other	61	18	21	+6
Male	63	24	13	+7
Female	61	22	17	+13
18-24 Total	46	43	11	+8
18-24 College	40	53	7	+2
18-24 Non-College	49	34	17	+5
25-49	65	21	14	+10
50-64	61	21	18	+3
65 & Over	65	19	16	+20
Blacks	20	55	25	+28
Catholic	58	24	18	+10
Protestant	69	18	13	+9
Jewish	32	52	16	-13
Irish	66	20	14	+13
German	66	19	15	-5
East European	46	33	21	0
Italian	68	21	11	+28
Blue Collar	59	23	18	+15
White Collar	69	18	13	+13
Prof./Exec.	65	26	9	-1
Under \$7,500	52	30	18	+11
\$7,500 to \$15,000	63	21	16	+11
Over \$15,000	66	22	12	+5
Liberal-Radical	33	54	13	+12
Moderate	65	19	16	+13
Conservative	76	13	11	+10