

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>
48	58	2/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: meeting RN in Staff Mess. 2 pgs.
48	58	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: RN's weekend at Camp David. 1 pg.
48	58	10/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown to Khachigian. RE: strategy regarding McGovern. 2 pgs.
48	58	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: RN campaign strategies. 1 pg.

<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>
48	58	11/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: number of points RN leading by. 1 pg.
48	58	11/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: outside discussion at the Toots Shors restaurant. 1 pg.
48	58	12/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: meeting RN and PN at a dinner. 2 pgs.
48	58		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Author unknown. RE: campaign strategies and monographs to be sent out. 2 pgs.
48	58	6/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From RN to Buchanan. RE: developing attacks on McGovern campaign. 3 pgs.

Saturday, February 6, 1971

It is not unusual for me to invite weekend guests for Saturday lunches in the Staff Mess. It is unusual, however, to have them ~~xxxxxx~~ meet the President as well!

Today, Meredith and I and Ann Quinn, visiting from New York, were having lunch in the mess when I routinely called the Visitor's ~~xx~~ office to see if we could see the President's Oval Office -- assuming he was gone. I was told that the President was in, but that I should wait ~~for~~ for a return call. When they called back they said that Steve Bull would ~~be~~ meet us in the Cabinet room, and upon arrival there, Steve said that the President would like to see ~~me~~ me and meet my wife and guest.

It is not every day that you get to, etc., etc. The President was most cordial and put us at ease immediately. He wanted to know where Ann was from and on learning she was from New York, asked me if I had brainwashed her (New Yorker's having a particular bent towards not having proper political faith).

He then had us step over for a photograph, after which he told us about the seal in the rug and ~~x~~ in the ~~xx~~ ceiling of his office. Meredith was asking questions and was conscious of not wanting to appear overawed. Ann was overawed. I kept thinking I couldn't believe it. After two and a half years!

He spoke of how the room was set up for ~~his~~ his television appearances, and then showed us a silver ~~galleon~~ model of a Spanish galleon which was a gift from the Prince of Spain -- Juan Carlos de Borbon, who had just completed a state visit. He bantered that the Prince would be the next King -- that is, if Franco ever gives up his job.

As we left he kidded about my burning the midnight ~~xx~~ oil and

said, "That is what you tell your wife, isn't it?" To Ann, he remarked to the effect ~~that~~ that he hoped she could survive in New York, that he knew it was possible because he himself had survived New York for six years.

In the last statement, I made a mental note of just how far Richard Nixon had come and how important it was for him (and me) that one could survive and master New York ~~with~~ without the sometimes superiority of the establishment New York native. The Whittaker Chambers' son who became President survived New York City, and beyond the banter, that is the story that I understood on a lovely Saturday, when everything seemed to go right and the President of the United States finally found out what I ~~it~~ looked like.

7/28/72

*W. H. ...  
Guarantee*

KLK and MJK and family were staying up at Catoctin ~~park~~ park  
in Camp Greentop on May 5, 6, and 7 -- the weekend RN spent  
at Camp David making his decision on Mining speech.

Greentop (Good Luck Lodge is where we stayed) is about  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Camp David and RN's chopper flew over cabin  
en ~~route~~ route to David.

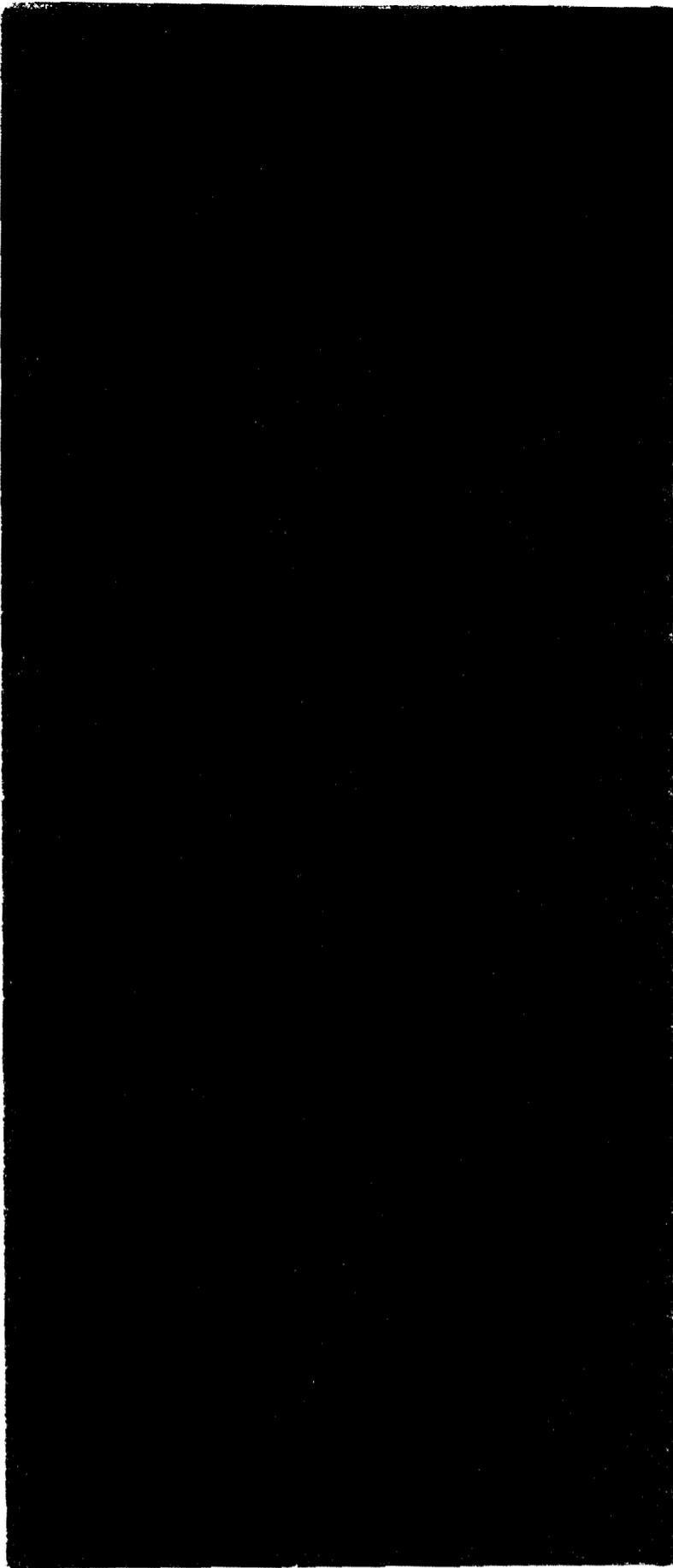
As Chopper flew over, we wondered what decision RN was  
making that weekend -- it turned out to be a ~~big~~ big one.

10/28/72

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS FILE

PJB met with RN on morning of 10/27/72 and RN instructed that McG must be hit and hit extremely hard with regard to VN. Forget about how McGov has changed his mind on VN and all that -- the main thing is to hit him for his seell-out and surrender policies. RN said be "vicious" in tarring McGovern with his record.

Also told ~~RRR~~ PJB abosolutely do not return any calls~~f~~ from the Post -- ~~ty~~ey have slandered Mitchell, Stans and Haldeman. Don't even acknowledge their inquiries. Kissinger walked in and RN said -- "Henry, don't talk to the Post -- don't give ~~Mxx~~ Murraxy Marder (their foreign affairs reporter) any stories -- give them to the Times but not the Post.



After morning meeting, met with Colson, PJB, Howard, Clawson and Des Barker. Colson told of meeting on 10/17/72 of RN, John Connally, Clark MacGregor, John Ehrlichman and presumably HRH.

MacG and Connally were asking the President to campaign more than he has planned. MacG said it was necessary to stir up the troops and also to help the GOP<sup>5</sup> candidates. Literally begged RN to get out more. JBC backed up the MacG viewpoints. Argued that everybody says that RN is in hiding, etc. RH has five campaign appearances remaining -- New York, Ohio, Chicago, Denver and California.

MacG and gropp wanted him to go to each region and then cop~~er~~ into four states to cover many bases. Colson and others view (including those in the Colson ~~88~~ meeting) believe strongly that RN must leave it as it is~~xxx~~ -- have WH events but not go out any more. Belief that it will hurt RN to have him on the stump -- campaigning doesn't help him. Gives DEms an excuse to go back to McG.

Suggestions that other events substitute. E.g., Domestic Council meetings, NSC meetings. Colson believed that Ehrlichman supported MacG because he had failed to provide RN with news events based on programs. No decision was made as to whether or not RN would do heavier ~~a~~ campaigning. Noted that he is like a fire horse and is anxious to campaign -- chomping at the bit.

~~10 11/21~~ 11/3/72

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS FILE

PJB informed me this p.m. that a ~~new~~ new Harris was ready that showed RN leading McGovern by ~~22~~ 28 points -- 61%-33%. However, Harris~~xx~~ would not release it and was instead going to go ~~xx~~ back into the field ~~■~~ for more surveys and then combine the results for Monday, November 6th. Thus if the Monday results show a 26% point spread, Harris will combine the two and mark it up as 27%. Apparently the Vietnam move by RN kept him up in the polls or moved him even a little more ahead -- a phenomenon that I simply did not think would happen. Moreover, the Christian Science Monitor today notes that ~~xxxx~~ in their survey, it shows that Vietnam peace moves helped and not hurt RN.

11/14/72

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS FILE

Around the middle of the campaign -- about October 13 or thereabouts, there was a gathering in New York to celebrate the opening of the new Toots Shors restaurant. Secretary of State William Rogers was there and recounts this story told to me by Chuck Colson.

The guests were standing around talking basically about politics. ~~Sex~~ George Jessel, the man known as the "Toastmaster General" and a comedian, came up to a crowd which included Mr. Rogers and said: "I'm, tired of talking politics, let's talk about sex." Everyone laughed and seemed to agree with Jessel's ~~decision~~ suggestion at which time Jessel said: "F--- McGovern!"

For once sex and politics ~~mix~~ mixed perfectly, and Jessel hit it right on the nose.

12/20/72

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

Last night, Meredith and I attended a reception given by the President and Mrs. Nixon for surrogates and campaign workers. About 200 were in attendance at ~~5~~ 5:00 p.m. The President first addressed the group in the East Room -- though tired, he seemed in an expansive mood and was joking, reminiscing and telling stories. Basically he ~~xxxx~~ thanked us for our campaign effort.

After his talk~~ed~~ a receiving ~~xx~~ line went through the Blue Room to be greeted ~~byxxx~~ by the President and First Lady. I came through ~~xxxx~~ ahead of Meredith as is the custom -- ~~xxx~~ giving my name and title to a military social aide who in turn tells the President who is coming through. As usual, I was at a loss ~~of~~ for words and mumbled something about good evening~~m~~, Mr. President. After a brief ~~xxxxxx~~ pause, he said~~x~~ as if to Mrs. Nixon, "He works down in the dungeon. They do the hard work, but it's lot of fun." He then said we did a good job and he ~~w~~ expressed his gratitude for ~~w~~ all the work we did in the campaign. Then he ~~xxxx~~ said: "He works with Buchanan -- softens him up." Then I turned to Mrs. Nixon and thankwed here ~~xxx~~ for inviting us and wishd here a merry Christmas. She complimented ~~xxx~~ Meredith ~~x~~ on a long red dress Meredith had ~~xx~~ sewn herself and ~~xxx~~ Meredith returned the compliment -- both of us forgetting to mention that Meredith had made the dress herself.

Affairs such as this make working here worth it all. The decorations were beautiful, the Marine band played Christmas music and local chorale sang ~~ex~~ carols. <sup>+</sup>ood and drink were available as well. A<sup>+</sup>ter all the frustrations, a brief greeting from the President and to hear his thanks and to see that he recognizes your name and functions, it makes you want to get back to work. And Mrs. Nixon is absolutely superb at making you feel like you are the most important person in the world -- she always has something special to say to each one coming through the line, to put ~~ex~~ you at ease. I've never seen anyone like her~~x~~.

- I A monograph should be prepared which might be entitled "Things They Would Like to Forget". In this area one should go back to what the commentators and columnists wrote and said at the time of Cambodia when they predicted World War III, and also what they wrote and said at the time of the May 8th decision when they predicted the cancellation of the Soviet Summit. Secondly, this piece could go back and pick up all of the predictions that were made in 1971, and particularly after the '70 Cambodia decision with regard to RN's inevitable defeat in 1972. In addition, the predictions that were made with regard to McGovern's inevitable appeal to youth, the prairie populist, and all that sort of thing, and finally, the predictions that were made during the course of the campaign that McGovern was closing the gap, that RN would blow the lead, etc.
  
- II A second monograph might be entitled "Dirtiest Campaign in History Against a President". Here one could pick up the worse of the McGovern/Shriver quotes and even some from other of the Democratic partisans. One might go back and pick up some of the smears on RN through the years. One might also use this as a method of demolishing again, the myth of RN's rough campaigns in the past. Go back and read Earl Mazo and his quotes with regard to the Douglas campaign and the Harry Truman lines, all of which hit on issues and all of which were cases where RN hit hard on the issues, but never questioned, as a matter of fact, made it clear, that he never was raising questions about motives or patriotism, only about judgment. In this respect there should also be the counter-side of it to the effect that RN (one of the cleanest campaigns in history) not only did he never attack the opponents, but as far as surrogates and everybody else were concerned, they stuck to the issues and never engaged in name calling. Also, in terms of the campaign tactics, while he was unmercifully heckled and his meetings sometimes disrupted by violent demonstrators, instructions were put out and pretty thoroughly carried out, which avoided any heckling of McGovern or Shriver and of course, no violence whatsoever.

With regard to the media, perhaps a good way to get at that problem is to praise the writing press generally, for their relative objectivity, with the exception of the Washington Post, the New York Times, and in the television field, CBS. It is better to praise some and pick out a few deserved opponents as targets of justifiable criticism for terribly biased campaign coverage.

- III A monograph dealing with the subject that "RN Won It". This would answer the line of Semple et al that it was a question of simply tenacity and being "lucky". Here you could point out that RN for four years was up against overwhelming odds, - a Congress in control by the other party, the candidate of a minority party with the Republicans only 25% of the voting population whereas it was around 35% when Eisenhower ran in 1952 and 1956.

The fact that RN made some very tough decisions - November 3rd, Cambodia, August 15, May 8, and of course, the decision on China which was really one of the tough decisions.

Then, in terms of RN winning it, one might point out that he refused to be drawn into the battle despite provocation not only from the press and McGovernites, but from within his own party. The point should be made that he resisted even the advice of his friends like the New York Daily News, Kilpatrick, etc., that he should get in the ring and slug it out. In reading over memoranda that were prepared right after the Democratic convention in this respect, one would note that a number of White House Staff, including Bill Safire on one extreme, and John Whitaker on the other, felt that we should not have an above the battle position, but should get in and fight hard to win the election.

Also on this score, one could point out that RN's Southern Strategy, his opposition to bussing, his appointments to the Supreme Court, his standing firm on the patriotic theme, his opposition to expanded welfare programs, his support of the work ethic, and his refusal, even after the Meany episode at Miami Beach, to get into a battle with labor. These were all decisions that were enormously important in fashioning the victory. It should be pointed out, for example, that many of his own staff felt that on aid to parochial schools, amnesty, pot, etc., where RN took a strong position, he turned out to be right and some of the staffers turned out to be wrong.

In sum, we want to get across the truth which is that it wasn't just the case of McGovern losing it, it was the case of RN winning the election. Here you go back to the Lubell and Sidlinger ideas that the election was really won on May 8 when RN made this tough decision, and when, from there on, it was probably not possible for any Democrat to win.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN

FROM: THE PRESIDENT

In talking with Chuck Colson after the press covering McGovern came back to Washington from California, I think there are two lines of attack that might be developed through a well done column, a TV broadcast by one of the political commentators, or, if neither of the first two are possible, by a mailing which might get into the hands of opinion makers. Of course, a column in Monday is also a possibility.

The first thing should be a column on the press coverage of the McGovern campaign to date. It might be entitled, "The McGovern Protective Society". The take off for such a column could well be Godfrey Sperling's piece in the Christian Science Monitor where he speaks about the love affair between McGovern and the press. He specifically makes the point that it isn't what the press says about McGovern so much as it is what it leaves out. Colson's discussion with a top news magazine reporter interestingly enough hits this very same theme. What we have here is a situation where the working press, because they really believe in their hearts exactly what McGovern believes in, are frantically doing everything they can to clean him up and make him a respectable candidate for the nomination. My guess is that if you were to interview the working press traveling with McGovern, you would find that 90% of them were agreed with his stand on amnesty, abortion, pot, surrender in Vietnam, confiscation of wealth, the \$1000 baby bonus for welfare recipients, etc. As realists they know that these positions, however, may sink him in the election. And typical of the left wing they are willing to use any means whatever to get their man nominated, even if it means covering up his real views during the period of the campaign so that he can win the election and then have the opportunity to put his views in practice through the power he acquired.

Here we see the fundamental difference between the right wing extremists and the left wing extremists. The right wingers would rather lose than give up one iota as far as principle is concerned. The left wing's primary

motivation is power. They are always willing to compromise their principles in order to get power because they know that without power they cannot put their principles into effect.

In any event, I think this theme could be extremely interesting if picked up by columnists, commentators and political experts across the country. It is very important in terms of the final campaign that the media be effectively discredited. In this instance, they are asking for it and when their own colleagues, like Sperling and Colson's contact, complain about their biased coverage of the McGovern campaign, it provides an opening which should be exploited.

Of course, one of the very best ways for this opening to be exploited would be to have one of the Democratic candidates like Humphrey or Muskie pick it up. Perhaps getting this theme into their camps might be an idea. In any event, if Buchanan could write out a good quotable piece on this Colson and his group, with Buchanan's advice, could probably find a way to get it broadly circulated.

The second column, which I think could prove useful in the longer term, is somewhat similar in theme to the first one but broader in scope. What we have here is a situation where the Eastern Establishment media finally has a candidate who almost totally shares their views. Here again, if you consider the real ideological bent of the New York Times, The Washington Post, Time, Newsweek and the three television networks, you will find overwhelmingly that their editorial bias comes down on the side of amnesty, pot, abortion, confiscation of wealth (unless it is theirs), massive increases in welfare, unilateral disarmament, reduction of their defenses, and surrender in Vietnam. Now they have a candidate within sight of the nomination who shares all these views. Now the country will find out whether what the media has been standing for during these last five years really represents the majority thinking of the country or is, in fact, a minority view. Incidentally, that piece by Father Greeley in the Washington Star recently may be somewhat prophetic in this respect. As you may recall, he entitled it, "The Movement Has Had It". I would put it somewhat broader: The Liberal Establishment Media May Have Had It.

I do not mean to suggest that the battle ahead will not be a vicious, brutal one because the left wing media will fight much more cleverly than the right wingers have fought. As I pointed out above, they will clean up their candidate, they will lie, distort and do anything that is necessary to get into power. They never allow their piously held principles to get in the way of their overriding drive to gain and wield power.

In any event, I think these are two things which Buchanan has been writing on eloquently over the past ten years and he should be able to do justice to them in developing these themes now. It will then be up to the operating staff to find ways to get Buchanan's effort appropriately distributed.

cc: Chuck Colson