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4	5	12/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of memo from Colson to Magruder and Flemming re: Illinois political situation. 4 pgs.
4	5	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of conversation between Colson and Dave Bradshaw re: Illinois political situation, state tickets. Includes some handwritten marks. 4 pgs.
4	5	8/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Memo from Colson to Haldeman re: conversation between Lou Harris and Larry O'Brien about '72 Democratic prospects, presidential candidates, strategy. Colson suggests response strategies. 3 pgs.

December 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
HARRY FLEMMING

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

SUBJECT: Illinois Political Situation

I have just had an interesting report from a Democrat in Illinois who I regard very highly. He tells me the following with respect to the Illinois state ticket. He prefaced his remarks by saying that he has known all candidates except one, the new position of Comptroller, for 15 to 20 years so has had relatively good exposure to the situation.

Doesn't think Roman Pucinski who is on the Democratic ticket can beat Percy, but that he will probably give him a better race than anybody else. They are each going to be eating into the other and they're going to cause a lot of crossing back and forth. Obviously Percy is going to be able to eat in to certain liberal elements over on the Democratic side; on the other hand, Pucinski, both in his voting record and in a lot of things he's done back here, is going to get over and eat into the Republican side, on the conservative, because that's about where he's been. Pucinski's been kind of somewhat of a Percy to the Democratic side of the fence, but he's doing a very low key job as far as remarks go so far as television, playing it very smart. First keep in mind that he's a former newspaper man, having worked at one time with the Chicago Sun Times, so he's probably going to get all the newspapers, even possibly the Tribune, because he's been in very good shape with them. But secondly, he knows how to handle the press and he's been getting good press lately and coming on television with a very subdued, underdog approach which is coming over very well out here.

Paul Simon, who's the Lt. Gov, is the guy that will probably beat Ogilvie badly. The Sun Times poll in Chicago, taken about a month ago, shows Ogilvie way under him everywhere, including the 30 townships which are so important in Cook County. He is a very strong candidate.

Neil Hardian, who's the candidate for Lt. Gov. is a very youthful guy. He used to be AA to Daly, he is now the ward committeeman in the 49th Ward on the Northside of Chicago. He's a very affable guy, young, he handles himself well. He's on the ticket because obviously Simon is not really a Daly man and Daly has put Hardigan in Paul's back pocket to watch the store down in Springfield and, keep him advised of the premises. Hardigan is a good candidate.

The Attorney General slot went to a guy by the name of Tommy Lyons. Lyons is a State Senator. He was first elected in about '64 out in the Northwest side, was defeated the next time out, came back again and was reelected. He's done a good job in the Senate, is the son of a former well-known police captain in Chicago and is an affable guy and a reasonably good lawyer. It is doubted very much that he can beat Bill Scott. Assuming that Scott is told to run for Attorney General, and doesn't go up and run for Congress in the new 10th District. But, Scott is strong, he's got the ecology issue, he's used it well, hasn't made any mistakes and Scott's strong point is that he knows he's not a good lawyer and he's hired in good talent. As it stands now, Scott would certainly beat him.

At the Secretary of State level is Mike Howlett. Howlett is in his 50s, he's been 3 terms auditor of Illinois on the Democratic side, he is probably one of the best known politicians this state has ever had. The day he was first elected in 1960, the next day he started out downstate making speeches and he's never stopped. He wanted to be Governor, he knew he wasn't going to get it and he's a very, very strong candidate. It is doubted whether any Republican could beat him for Secretary of State. Now they are talking about putting Kohorski up which is probably a bad mistake, but that's the way Ogilvie's going; Howlett ought to take him easy. Allen Dixon and Kohorski ran against each other for Illinois State Treasurer and Dixon beat him, but by a small margin. Howlett is very well known in Cook County because he's originally from Chicago, but after a term and a half or two terms he moved to Springfield, so he's got both the upstate and downstate side covered very well and Howlett has probably talked in every Veterans of Foreign Wars, gymnasium and YMCA in the state of Illinois. Very strong candidate.

The guy for the new Comptroller position was put on for Illinois strictly to give some downstate balance because they are heavy top-side in Cook County. It is a very heavy Catholic ticket and the balance probably won't really mean much one way or the other.

I would say that Percy and Scott would survive. I would think the rest of the ticket would go down the drain. But, I think Tom Houser who is Nixon's campaign manager, is a very bad mistake. He's a nice guy but definitely not heavy enough to pull all of the strings together. Others were pushing John Aldorfer who is assistant to Secretary Stans, for the Secretary of State spot. Ogilvie wouldn't go for him. Aldorfer would definitely have helped Nixon, helped the ticket. Aldorfer withdrew and they then turned around and immediately named him downstate chairman for Nixon which was a mistake because Bob Blair, who was the Speaker of the House of Representatives out there and Henry Hyde who is the majority leader in the House, would have taken a co-chairmanship with Houser and would have run the downstate campaign. Bob Blair would have because he's from downstate, Henry Hyde is from Chicago and we would then have them lead in to all of the House and Senate districts which would have been the way to go. Blair now feels he wants to sit on his hands out here and I don't blame him.

All of the candidates on the ticket are well liked. There's going to be a good deal of harmony in there. No pluses at all. Hopefully the economy will be in such a condition that Nixon in no way has to tie himself to Ogilvie. It will be a disaster if he does. Hopefully also, Percy will need him and he won't need Percy. If that happens it will be a utopia for everybody and, of course, it indicates what his strength will be in other states. The ticket is a strong one. There hasn't been a stronger one put together in a long time.

We must remember, on ticket splitting, that Paul Simon is a Democratic Lt. Gov. He's the only one who survived in the Ogilvie race and strangely enough he's the first time they have ever had a Republican Governor and a Democratic Lt. Gov, so obviously he had one helluva lot of cross-over votes to him. I think there will be a lot of people that will vote for Nixon who will then cross over and vote for Simon and I don't know whether if they vote for Simon they will cross over and vote for Nixon. It used to be a state where they didn't split; it splits very heavy now; the machines are prone for that, they're constructed for that and this time there is going to be a helluva lot of ticket splitting.

For instance, that's why people who vote for Paul Simon for Governor will cross over and vote for Bill Scott for Attorney General. They will then cross over and vote for Mike Howlett for Secretary of State over a guy like Kohorski and anybody else that the Republicans would pick up.

One of the big things the President's got going for him is that Daly likes him and Daly doesn't take any pop shots at him. He likes him and that's a plus.

Pucinski on the other hand will be interesting. Apparently he swears up and down that he doesn't want to lose his seniority from his district and probably what they've told him is that they will put somebody in to hold it and he can get the district back if he loses, but then he's lost his seniority. But it will depend on who the Democratic Presidential candidate is as to how he picks what tact he will use and it may very well be a plus for Nixon because Pucinski is very, has been very, conservative out in the district.

Converstion with Dave Bradshaw, December 6, 1971

B: ... preface my remarks by saying this, that of the entire Democratic ticket here, Chuck, except for one guy who's running for a new position known as Comptroller created by our Constituion last year, is a guy from down in Indiana, a dean of a small school I never heard of and neither did anyone else, but the rest of the ticket I've known all of them for at least 15 and some of them 20 years, so I've got some reasonably good exposure to these guys. Now, Pucinski out here, I don't think he can beat Percy, but he's probably, will probably give the guy a better race than anybody I know. They are each going to be eating into the others and their going to cause, I think, a lot of crossing back and forth. Obviously Percy is going TO BE able to eat in to certain liberal elements over on the Democratic side; on the other hand, Pucinski, both in his voting record and in a lot of things he's done back here, is going to get over and eat into the Republican side of, on the conservative, because that's about where he's been. Pucinski's been kind of somewhat of a Percy to the Democratic side of the fence. But he's doing a very low key, I shouldn't say a campaign, but his remarks so far on television, I think he's playing it very smart. First keep in mind that he's a former newspaper man having worked at one time with the Chicago Sun Times, so he's probably will have as a former newspaper man, I'll be surprised if he doesn't get all of the newspapers even possibly the Tribune, because he's been in very good shape with them. But secondly, he knows how to handle the press and he's been getting good press lately and he's coming on television with a very subdued, underdog approach which is coming over very well out here. Now, secondly, Paul Simon who's the Lt. Gov. out here, is the guy that I told you about that I felt would beat Ogilvy badly and the Sun Times poll out here taken about a month ago shows Ogilvy way under him everywhere, including the 30 townships which are so important here in Cook County. So Paul is a very very strong candidate. Neil Hardigan, who's the candidate for Lt. Gov., is a very youthful guy. He used to be AA to Daly, he's now the ward committeeman in the 49th Ward on the Northside of Chicago. He's a very affable guy, young, he handles himself well. He's on the ticket because obviously Simon is really not a Daly man and Daly has put Hardigan in Paul's back pocket to watch the store down in Springfield and, you know, keep him advised in the premises. But Neil is a good candidate. The Attorney General slot went to a guy by the name of Tommy Lyons. Tommy is a State Senator, he's, was first elected in about '64 out in the Northwest side, was defeated the next time out, came back again and was reelected. He's done a good job in the Senate, he's the son a former well-known police

captain here in Chicago and is an affable guy and a reasonably good lawyer. I doubt very much whether he can beat Bill Scott. Assuming that Scott, who I believe is meeting with the President today, is told to run for Attorney General, and doesn't go up and run for Congress ;in this new 10th District here. But Scott in there is strong, he's got the ecology issue, he's used it well, he hasn't made any mistakes and Scott's strong point is that he knows he's not a good lawyer and he's hired in good talent . But I doubt that Lyons could beat him and I think if, as it stands now, I would say that Scott would certainly beat him. At the Secretary of State level you've got Mike Hallett. Now, Mike is in his 50's, he's been 3 terms auditor of Illinois on the Democratic slate, he is probably one of the best known politicians this state has ever had. I remember the day when he was first elected in '60, the next day he started out down state making speeches and he's never stopped. He wanted to be Governor, he knew he wasn't going to get it and he's a very very strong candidate -- very strong. I doubt whether any Republican could beat him for Secretary of State. Now they're talking about putting Koharski up which I think is a bad mistake, but that's the way Ogilvy's going, I would say Hallett ought to take him easy. I would think that he would beat him. As you may recall, Allen Dixon and Koharski ran against each other for Illinois State Treasurer and Dixon beat him but by a small margin. I would think that Hallett who's very well known in Cook County because he's a originally from Chicago, Chuck, but after about a term and a half or two terms he moved to Springfield, so he's got both the upstate, downstate side covered very well and I would say that Mike Hallett ~~was~~ probably talked in every Veterans of Foreign Wars, gymnasium, YMCA in the state of Illinois. Very strong candidate. The guy for this new Comptroller spot was put on for Illinois strictly to give some downstate balance because we're heavy top side up here in Cook County. We're heavy Catholic in this ticket and I don't think that is going to really mean much one way or the other, but I would say that Percy and Scott would survive. I would think the rest of the ticket would go down the drain and that's how I see it out here. But I think that, you know, ~~I've had some input in talking with Runsfeld,~~ Tom Houser out here who is Nixon's campaign manager, I think I've indicated to you, Chuck, I think that's a very bad mistake, he's a nice guy but definiely not heavy enough to pull all of the strings together. Clem and some others were pushing John Aldorfer who you know is assistant to Stans for the Secretary of State spot, Olgilvy wouldn't go for him, Aldorfer definitely would have helped Nixon, helped the ticket. Aldorfer withdrew and they then turned around and immediately named him downstate chairman for Nixon which I think was a mistake because I had Bob Blair who was the Speaker of the House of Representatives out here and Henry Hyde who's the majority leader in the House, would have taken a co-chairmanship with Houser and would have run the downstate campaign; Bob Blair would have because he's from down state, Henry Hyde is from Chicago and we then would have got ourselves lead in to all of your House and Senate districts which in my judgment would have been the way to go.

Howley???

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Blair feels now he wants to sit on his hands out here and I don't blame him and that to me was a bad move, but these guys, all the pros know what they're doing and us amateurs don't. But anyway, that's where it's at, Chuck, that gives you a run down on how that state ticket looks.

C: I appreciate it. Tell me how this cuts the President or does it, which way?

B: It hurts him in that it's one of the strongest Democratic tickets I've seen fielded out here. Number one, all of the candidates on that ticket are well liked. There's going to be a good deal of harmony in here. It's no pluses in my judgment at all. Hopefully the economy will be in such a condition that Nixon in no way has to tie himself to Olgilvy. That'll be a disaster if he does -- just a disaster. Hopefully also, Percy will need him and he won't need Percy. If that happens that will be a utopia for everybody and of course it indicates what his strength will be in other states, but this ticket is a strong, strong Democratic ticket, very strong. I haven't seen as good a one put together out here in a long time. You know, there's always been a couple of spots that were weak.

C: But is Illinois one of the states that sometimes people like to do a lot of ticket splitting and if they have sort of a moderate or independent or Republican, moderate Republican, then he figures well I'll vote for Nixon because I can balance myself and vote for a Democrat for a Governor, I'll vote for Democrat for Governor and therefore, you know...

B: Yea, well keep in mind this, which is very important Chuck, Paul Simon is a Democratic Lt. Gov. He's the only one who survived in the Olgivy race and strangely enough he's the first time we've ever had a Republican Gov and a Democratic Lt. Gov. So obviously he had one helluva lot of cross-over votes to him. I think there will be a lot of people that will vote for Nixon who will then cross over and vote for Simon and I don't know whether if they vote for Simon will they cross over and vote for Nixon if you follow me, but we used to have a state here that didn't split -- it splits heavy now, you know, the machines are prone for that, they're constructed for that and I think this time you're going to have a helluva lot of split voting. For instance, that's why ~~you~~ for instance people who vote for Paul Simon for Governor will cross over and vote for for Bill Scott for Attorney general I think they'll then cross back and vote for Mike Hallett for Secretary of State over a guy like Koharski or anybody else I can think that the Republicans would pick up. But it's a damn strong ticket. I think one of the big things that the President's got going out here is that Daly likes him and Daly doesn't take any pop shots at him. He likes to cut of his gip (?) and that's a plus. Now, Pucinski on the other hand, will be interesting. I talked with Roman

ten days ago; he called me on something else. He swore up and down he didn't want to lose his goddamned seniority from his district and probably what they've told him is that they're going to put somebody in to hold it and he can get the district back if he loses, but for Christ sake, he's lost his seniority. That's what happened when Yates ran against Dirksen out here. And...but Roman is a kind of a guy that I think it will depend a lot on who the hell the Democratic candidate is for President as to what kind of a tact Pucinski will take, but it may very well be because you see I consider Pucinski a plus for Nixon because Roman is very, has been very conservative out in that goddamned district. And I think that that is a plus for the man, Chuck, having Pucinski on the ticket.

EYES ONLY

EYES ONLY

August 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON

SUBJECT:

Lou Harris

Lou Harris rode down on the plane from New York yesterday with Larry O'Brien. O'Brien talked to him like the old confidant that he once was. According to Harris, O'Brien made the following points:

1. The early runners, McGovern, Bayh, etc., are all dead. Scoop Jackson is picking up some support but is making a mistake by putting all of his eggs in one basket, i. e. Florida. O'Brien believes that even though Jackson has Holland and Smathers working for him, Muskie will get Chiles and Askew and Muskie will win the Florida primary.
2. Muskie has a big leg up and is improving his lot with the pros; he has picked up some very effective regional coordinators.
3. Jackson's one hope is that the defense issue will come back hard. O'Brien believes that in fact it will but he still won't be able to make a strong race.
4. Teddy is not out of it "by any means". His problem is that he will have to make a decision next January on the California primary. He probably, according to O'Brien, will not go in (Harris has it from Steve Smith that Kennedy probably will go into California). If he doesn't go in, according to O'Brien, Muskie will win the nomination unless he "commits a terrible goof".
5. The one candidate over whom O'Brien feels he has no control is Gene McCarthy. O'Brien considers him a son of a bitch, a spoiler and a sorehead who is still mad at the guys who did him in in 1968. Whoever the candidate is (with one exception) he will stay in and run on a fourth party ticket; he's especially irked at Muskie and Humphrey and would love to stay in the race if either of them are the nominee.

6. The one exception is if Teddy were nominated; for some curious reason he does not want to block Teddy. O'Brien says that Teddy's man, Dave Burke, now works for Howard Stein and this could be behind it. O'Brien considers a McCarthy fourth party candidacy as the biggest danger the Democrats face next year. He also says that McCarthy is a "money" man who will run if he thinks he can make something out of it, but he won't unless he has financial backing and there is some money in it for him personally.
7. Humphrey will try but can't make it. He'll never quit trying and will go into California.
8. Lindsay will become a Democrat in mid-August, but will not run for the Presidency.
9. O'Brien feels that the economy is the only issue that the Democrats have. He simply cannot understand why the President has not used selective wage and price controls. This would cut the legs out from the Democrats and take away their only issue. He considers that all the "dove" candidates are dead and that the President has completely taken over the "peace" issue. No Democrat can profit politically in the foreign affairs field, but they can win on the economy unless the President pulls the rug out and does some spectacular things, which O'Brien feels the President is entirely capable of doing. As he puts it, "It's all in the President's control. But, I don't understand why he hasn't done it".
10. O'Brien is not concerned at all about money. He has no intention of paying off the \$9 million debt, \$800,000 of which is owed to Daley (who is very unhappy about it). The Committee collected \$1.7 million on their dinner, they will spend it all this year but Strauss is doing an excellent job and thinks that he can raise the funds needed for a Presidential campaign next year without any difficulty.
11. O'Brien believes that Texas was a fluke in 1960 and 1968 and that the Democrats should clearly write it off for 1972. He sees no chance of winning it but he does believe that they can win Ohio, Illinois and New Jersey. He, therefore, believes that California will be the swing state in the election. He thinks that the "Nixon South" is gone as far as the Democrats are concerned, that they might pick up one or two border states but that's all and they need Wallace in the race to deny us the deep south. If Wallace were not in, they would lose the entire south.

12. O'Brien's attitude is guardedly optimistic. He said as he moves around the country he finds that the economy is really biting people and that if the President does not do something fairly significant and if the Democrats play to this issue alone, they can win. He is very cautious in his outlook, however, and is extremely worried about the McCarthy situation which he kept coming back to in the course of the discussion.
13. O'Brien thinks that Reagan is no asset in the coming election, will not help us in California and is the most dangerous problem the President has within the Republican Party?

From all of the foregoing, two things of significance emerge in my mind. We should be planning how to encourage McCarthy's candidacy. It may all turn on one man, Howard Stein. If Stein agrees to go all the way and bankroll McCarthy's candidacy, McCarthy will stay in the race all the way, even as a spoiler. Stein is Jack Dreyfus' partner as you know and I would think that through Bill Rogers or others, we could perhaps encourage Stein's commitment to McCarthy. It would even be worth pumping some money in.

A second point which seems to me to be very important is the Democratic debt. We have an analysis of the Democrat's creditors and we should start on the outside a pressure campaign to force them to pay their bills before they start spending new money. Obviously we can't get involved in this from here but some of our business friends on the outside might be asked to organize a campaign to put the screws on.

You and I talked about this many months ago. It was my judgment then that we should not try to embarrass the Democrats over their debt or create public sympathy for the "poor" Democrats, but rather wait until the campaign was about to get underway and then see that the creditors put the heat on them. If someone from 1701 were to pick a couple of good loyalists on the outside, they could start them to work on this now.