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<td>28</td>
<td>6/23/1971</td>
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<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Colson to Haldeman RE: union affairs, particularly those concerning the Teamsters. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7/26/1971</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Colson to George Bell RE: the results of recruiting prominent political figures in key election states. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7/16/1971</td>
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<td>Letter</td>
<td>Unsigned letter to Joseph Tauro, possibly drafted by Colson, involving an attached document. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>7/12/1971</td>
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<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Colson to Haldeman RE: Harris polls comparing RN to Kennedy, Muskie, and other presidential hopefuls. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Colson to Haldeman responding to a previous memo by laying out strategies on various issues so as to prepare for the 1972 election. 3 pgs.</td>
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MEMORANDUM FOR:  H. R. Haldeman
FROM: CHARLES W. COLSON
SUBJECT: Teamsters

July 23, 1971

I have in accordance with your instructions stayed out of the Teamsters political activities. I can't help, however, but continue to be fed with information. George Bell has to hold Frank Fitzsimmons hand at least 3 times a week.

One point has come up which could be terribly significant politically. I think you should perhaps best raise it with the AG. I am sure you will leave me out of the discussion.

The AFL/CIO badly wants the Teamsters to rejoin and a major effort will be shortly undertaken to bring the Teamsters back into the AFL/CIO. The alliance formed between the Teamsters and the UAW has now been broken completely. There are no funds and both the Teamsters and the UAW are ripe for rejoining the ranks. It is in the interest of all 3.

Meany's one desire before he steps down or dies with his boots on is to reunite the labor movement. My information is that he will work at this intensively with a view to doing it before next year's elections.

As far as the UAW is concerned, We couldn't care less. In fact, from some standpoints it would be better for us politically to have them in the AFL/CIO fold because they will create political division within the ranks. The Teamsters is as you can well imagine quite a different story. My opinion is that the Teamsters will remain officially neutral but quietly work very hard for us. With money and organizational support. If they are merged into the AFL/CIO before then, however, they will probably be unable to do this. Hence it is in our interest to see that the merger does not take place. Fitz has it within his capacity to block it provided it is made clear to him that that is what we want. This agreement should be obtained very soon.

Teamsters
I am quite impressed by the attached. We have done a much better job than I had thought with respect to accumulating the names of powerful local leaders in key states who may be counted upon for support the next time around. What we have got to do at this point is see that all of them get stroked, letters from the President, dinner invitations, church services, etc. Perhaps a few key leaders should be brought in for meetings with the President as we did with the people from Pennsylvania. Certain key states are not included in the enclosed and we should go back to those states and ask again. And in those states where we do have the names, we had better get started. For example, we have 83 names from Illinois and that's going to take us a while to get through the stroking process. Additionally these lists should be made available to the Citizens Committee across the street as soon as they have an ongoing labor operation, so that after the stroking process is complete, the political operators can move in for the kill. In the case of Pennsylvania, we are in very good shape, in New York, we're in good shape and the political people can start working there now. Illinois, California and Ohio should be given maximum attention as early as possible. Also, New Hampshire should be hit for other reasons and Indiana picked up as soon as possible. Please give me reports from time to time on the progress you are making.
Dear Joe,

Attached is a letter which I would very much like to have you get Mr. Waite, the state chairman, to sign and release to the press. I am sending it to you as my old reliable cut-out. You perhaps should deal with someone else, if Waite objects. I would be willing to wager that Lloyd Waring would do it -- or even better, you might get John McCarthy to sign it.

What I would like is to have it mailed with copies sent to AP, UPI and, of course, all Massachusetts newspapers, radio and TV stations. I am sure there is one paper in particular where you can arrange for a rather extensive reprint of the letter.

There is no pride of authorship here. Feel free to toughen it -- just don't tone it down. This could make a pretty good national story. I am sure, by the way, that McCarthy would do it if you can get to him.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,
MEMORANDUM FOR:  H. R. Haldeman
FROM:      Charles Colson

SUBJECT:  Harris Polls

You have copies of the Harris polls on Kennedy for this week. Next week will be the Muskie trial heats, based on the same field survey of June 9-15. The figures are identical to May. In a 3-way race, the President trails Muskie, 42-40, Wallace gets 13, 5 undecided. But in a 2-way race, it’s 46-46, 8 undecided. Harris intends to play this as “the President has closed the gap on Muskie’s earlier lead” -- at least that’s the way he’s described it to me.

Harris points out that there is an enormous contrast between Muskie and Kennedy. The President still does well in the South, 40% to Wallace’s 27 to Muskie’s 26. But, in the West, Muskie beats us 51-43, in the Mid-West 49-41 and in the East 48-35.

Harris believes that the difference turns on the vote in suburbs and among independents. Interestingly, we do better against Muskie on the raw data than when the unlikely voters are eliminated (the opposite is true with Kennedy). This again illustrates that Muskie does best with high income, better educated suburbanites. In the $15,000 per year and over category, the President beats Kennedy 52-36, but loses to Muskie 54-41. With the independent vote, however, the President beats Muskie 44-37 (on the last poll in May, Muskie won the independent vote 45-36 but he has offset this loss by increasing his lead in the suburbs.

Harris attributes Muskie’s strength to the fact that he is bland, has a neutral image and does not really come across as a partisan Democrat. The lack of controversy with respect to Muskie is at this time his great strength, but will in due course tend to wear thin. The risk to him is that he will become boring and uninspiring.
Lou's close friend, Howard Stein, tells him that there is at least a 50/50 chance that McCarthy will enter the Presidential race as a fourth party candidate. As a result, Harris has done a 4-way poll showing the President at 37, Muskie 35, Wallace 12 and McCarthy 10.

By way of incidental intelligence, Lou says that the Kennedy people believe that Humphrey is absolutely dead as a result of the Kennedy/Johnson papers, that Muskie has been badly hurt but, that Kennedy has not been affected. I have to assume from this that they feel there is no ruboff from JFK to Teddy.

On the subject of the New York Times controversy, Harris believes we should layoff the issue as far as the press issue is concerned; as he puts it we have come out very well, that the real thrust has been against the Democrats and Kennedy and Johnson. He is in the field right now determining what the partisan fallout has been. Based on what he said I can pretty well surmise what he will come up with.

He advises that we should be careful not to appear to gloat over the Democrats' problems, especially LBJ, nor should we on the other hand appear overly concerned about the recent revelations. We should stay above the battle; he believes that the Pentagon Papers controversy will continue while the press issue fades and that our job is to keep the focus on the Democrats. Harris does not believe that the press issue is a gut issue, that it doesn't really affect people or motivate them. The feeling that they have been duped and deceived, however, is a strong emotional point that will endure.
July 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Your Memo of June 29 -- Key Issues of 1972

A. Presidential Image

I would hope that through our efforts, the public would have three perceptions of the President by the Fall of 1972:

1. A Man of Peace. He got us out of the war. Through his enormous diplomatic skill, he is keeping us out of war and building a generation of peace.

   He is skilled and experienced in foreign affairs. Other nations respect him and will deal with him (particularly the Soviets). He best understands and can handle the enormous foreign policy issues of the nuclear age.

2. A Strong President. He is courageous, tough and self-confident -- a leader who can cope with any crisis -- who is thoroughly professional in his handling of the Presidency -- who knows what he is doing at all times and most importantly is fully in charge (coupled with this obviously is the credibility question; a self-confident leader to engender public confidence must also be trusted and believed). The fact that the President is viewed today more as a politician than a statesman (according to ORC) is not all bad. A tough, even ruthless, politician can be perceived as a strong, tough leader in some respects better than a statesman (remember HST).
3. A Dignified Man with a High Moral Purpose. In an era of social permissiveness, the President is fighting to preserve the fundamental moral values and beliefs; he is successfully fighting the moral decay in our society. He will not tolerate permissiveness on crime and drugs; he is defending the country's old-fashioned virtues.

B. Issues

It should be noted that the issues we want may not necessarily be the issues of the campaign. Some will undoubtedly be out of our control. The first two we want are so obvious that they hardly need be stated for there is nothing better than peace and prosperity. The following are in order of priority:

1. Peace. The war is over. Progress is being made towards disarmament and a more secure world order is being achieved (we do not want it to be fully accomplished. We should argue that with 4 more years, we can indeed make it a more secure, safer world).

2. Times are Good. Jobs are secure and rising prices have been brought under control. The economy is moving forward on a solid, strong foundation. In this regard, jobs are more important than the environment; I also agree firmly with Connally that we must develop a solid record as a tough international trader.

3. Drugs and Crime. Hopefully we can run against permissiveness, at the same time pointing to a solid record of accomplishments in these 2 areas.

4. Reduction of Property Taxes. If we have revenue sharing in any form or if we have in anyway called for a revised tax structure, we can develop a real "gut" issue. There are $66 million homeowners. Especially in a race against Muskie, the suburbs may well hold the key to victory (according to Harris, at least, this is where Muskie runs unusually strong for a Democrat). This issue alone could lock up this key vote. We must be the ones fighting ever-increasing property taxes.
5. **A Series of Special Issues Aimed at Special Interest Pocketbooks.**

   a. Farmers
   b. Senior Citizens
   c. Conservative Labor (hard hats, Teamsters and Longshoremen)
   d. Veterans

In each of these we can build a solid record on the issues specifically tailored to each group. We are well on our way with senior citizens; we are beginning to make progress with the veterans; a little more money will solve the farm problem and as to the "hard hats" and Teamsters, we can win them on the social issues and lower property taxes, if we just pick up one or two specific economic issues aimed at their pocketbooks (we know what they are).

6. **Welfare Reform.** We have a real opportunity here, particularly if we have succeeded in the enactment of our legislation. Everybody is against welfare loafers and we are well out front on this issue.