

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>
4	34	1/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Colson to Magruder RE: a proposed ballot measure to lower the drinking age in California. 1 pg.
4	34	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Hallett to Colson RE: Republican political operations in California. 1 pg.
4	34	1/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Colson to Higby RE: Bob Dole's comments on the White House. 1 pg.
4	34	1/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Colson to Higby RE: an attached list and problems within the Republican Party. 2 pgs.

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4	34	1/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: the results of a recent Harris poll involving RN and the various Democratic hopefuls for the presidential nomination. 4 pgs.
4	34	1/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Colson to Higby RE: problems with the RNC. 1 pg.
4	34	1/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: polling data on New England. 1 pg.
4	34	1/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: polling data on New England. 1 pg.
4	34	1/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Colson to Malek RE: Bob Hill's decision to run for governor of New Hampshire. 1 pg.

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4	34	1/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to "The Staff Secretary" RE: political activity among younger Americans. 2 pgs.

204
CONFIDENTIAL

January 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By JW NARS, Date 2/23/82

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON

Purely by accident, I learned recently of a movement to get on the California ballot a proposition which would lower the age for beer and wine drinking to 18. Our friends turned it off, thinking -- correctly, in my view -- that such a proposition would encourage young people to vote more frequently than they might otherwise. It has occurred to me that similar propositions might show up in other states -- or measures on other matters which might conceivably affect voter turnout and, consequently, the chances of the President. We should, I think, be alert to similar developments in other states.

MEMORANDUM

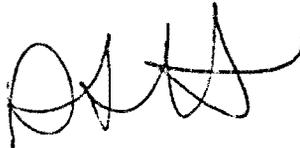
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

19 January 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM DOUG HALLETT



Do me a favor and show this one to the President - I talked to Bill Bagley, my state assemblyman in California and the state's best mind in general on government/political stuff, today. Bill is very concerned that we are letting the campaign out there fall into the hands of the Reagan Right. He's being circumspect and says he'll do headstands in Dubuque, Iowa if the President's reelection depends on it, but thinks we're making a terrible mistake in not broadening the base out there a little more. Being one who recommended giving California to Reagan, I agree. I think we can and should exact something in return for it unless we want to kill any Republican activity to the left of Lyn Nofziger. I think 1972 could be a disaster if we don't - and 1974, the way it's going now, is going to make 1958 in California look like a picnic.

By the way, Bill is very interested in a job back here - probably after the election. Anybody who knows anything about California can assure you that he's qualified for something at the subcabinet level - one of the Assistant AG sibts would be perfect if something is still open. There is nobody brighter in state government and Bill has put together a legislative record that is, according to California political historians I know, second to none in the state's history.

January 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Attached column

Maybe Bob would like to see a copy of the attached that was just sent to me by a friend.

This is the third time that Bob Dole has done this to us. He loves to blame the White House Staff for planting things in the press (which I know not one instance of); but he still continues to stick it into us publicly. It's absurd. Needless to say, I have written him about this.

Maybe his personal problems account for all of this and, if they are now settled, he may be a little easier to live with.

January 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: CHUCK COLSON
SUBJECT: Attached List

I find that I am increasingly being the guy that throws the turd into the punch bowl on almost everything going on. I, therefore, would like to pass a thought on to you. Give it to Haldeman if you want and blame me if you want, although pretty soon you're going to think I'm poking my nose into everybody's business.

In connection with trying to find one man in each of the non-key states who could be a good political contact as well as a mover and shaker, we asked Al Kaupinen and Harry Flemming to give us their list of people.

Attached is what they gave us. I could have done much better out of my own head than this and obviously 95 percent of this could have been gotten from the Congressional Directory. It is really a terribly amateurish nothing. I'm not complaining about this instance because we were able to go back through our own people and get what we needed. That's not the point. The point is that those guys do not have a political organization. God knows what they have been doing, but it is increasingly clear to me that they are simply taking some of the obvious names and relying on them rather than trying to develop a structure of independents, possible Democratic converts and/or new fresh faces. They're just dealing with the same obvious guys that the National Committee deals with.

This leads to one of their major problems which is that they are duplicating the National Committee efforts which will cause a lot of the regular organization people to be offended and sit on their hands. There will be ~~the~~ inevitable rivalries and jealousies between the Nixon organization and the National Committee structure. The key is to keep the two

separate as was brilliantly done in the 1956 campaign. Citizens should be appealing to an entirely different constituency. The National Committee should be building up its own regular organization.

I'm afraid that this little exercise this week showed that we really have made no progress in that direction and that we really aren't developing anything very imaginative organizationally. This, of course, is what I've heard from many sources and am discovering myself the more deeply I get into it.

I went into this at great length with Malek today explaining my own views, largely based upon experience over the years. I have seen this happen before.

Perhaps I should talk to Bob about this sometime or I will try, if I can get a few minutes, to do a very analytical memo or maybe the best thing is for you to simply mention the problem to him.

January 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Latest Harris Poll

The latest Harris Poll was conducted December 28 through January 4 (ironically I urged this date upon Harris. I obviously did not know that the bombing was going to be resumed during the week after Christmas. My preference for the week was based upon the fact that we had a lot of good year-end stuff, good TV the week before Christmas and that we had really put the Congress down -- a point that was coming through in the media. I was also influenced by the Time "Man of the Year" Award. In any event, it turned out to be a very bad call time-wise).

On the trial heats it is Nixon 42, Muskie 42, Wallace 11. In a two way race, it is Muskie 48, Nixon 45. The Wallace vote, in other words, takes 2 away from Muskie for every one he takes away from us. Harris will not publish this information. He gives it to us for our guidance but agreed with me that it would be better not printed. It should be noted that all year long it has been the conclusion from the Harris data that Wallace was hurting Muskie more than us.

Harris will print the Muskie trial heat next week. We had discussed whether it would be better to wait awhile, but then we should get it out of the way, hopefully letting the President rise again in the polls the next time around. My thought was that it would be very bad to have this come out in February because people look at the publication date, they don't look at the date the poll was taken.

Against other candidates, our standing is relatively unchanged. It is Nixon 46, Humphrey 37, Wallace 12 and, in a two way race, Nixon 51, Humphrey 40. Against Kennedy, it is Nixon 45, Kennedy 39, Wallace 10, and, in a two way race, Nixon 50, Kennedy 41.

In the case of the Muskie gain, the big shift has taken place in the \$15,000 and over category -- the white professional upper middle class suburbanites. In early November, we were 53-37 over Muskie with this vote. Now it is 45-42. We only have a slight lead. This once again, has been all year long the most volatile group. It swings back and forth. Muskie is the only Democrat who can make inroads with this group and whenever he does he surges ahead in the polls. Neither the Kennedy-Humphrey or any of the others seem to be able to make any dent in this group which is critical to us and which is growing by leaps and bounds.

There was also a shift with the young people. Undoubtedly it was attributable to the bombing. We lost a little bit of ground in rural areas which Harris believes could be the bad attitude among small farmers at the moment.

Harris attributes all of this to the India-Pakistan situation, as to the handling of which we have a 28 positive and 48 negative rating. This is very low, particularly in a foreign policy area where we have come out the strongest in all of the Harris ratings. Significantly all of the other foreign policy ratings are down as well. Harris' theory is that when we are affected badly in one foreign policy area it rubs off on all others. On handling Vietnam it is 40 positive, 54 negative. Working for peace in the world is now 51 positive, 44 negative. It was in September 64 positive, 34 negative. In the foreign policy ratings, there are large "not sures" indicating there has been a real slippage here.

Harris does not believe, with the exception of the young voter, that the bombings caused the problem; he argues that it was India-Pakistan. Personally I disagree with him although he supports his case by pointing out that on handling Vietnam we did not show the same deterioration we did in all other areas. Harris believes that people got concerned over India-Pakistan, that maybe it would upset our initiatives with China and Russia and the general idea of achieving peace in the world. This is where he feels we were hurt. Also, the college educated, higher income groups would be much more sensitive to the sophisticated issues involved in the India-Pakistan controversy.

Just for purposes of comparison, in the over \$15,000 group the President beats Kennedy 57-32 and Humphrey 56-29. It is in this area that the entire difference with our standing, vis a vis, Muskie, can be found.

Also this is a group which does turn out to vote and which, as I pointed out, is an increasing share of the electorate. Hence, it can be critically important and there is a good lesson from all of this. That is, that Muskie is the one Democrat who can seriously penetrate this group.

On the positive-negative rating, we have dropped from 53-46 to 49-47. Harris will not feature this in a column but will bury it in statistics in a column relating to something else. It should be noted that this is not really much of a decline. All of the published Harris poll data of recent weeks has related to a combination of two polls. One taken the last week in October and one taken in the second week in November. We suffered a precipitous decline in between the two polls and rather than show us up one week and down the next, Harris, at my suggestion, combined the poll data. Hence, the 53-47 was really a lot better than where we actually were in mid-November. In the November poll, if that were broken out separately, we actually had about a 49-47 rating or just what we had in the latest poll.

There was some bright news on the economy. In all categories he showed significant improvement. For example, on the key question "Are the Nixon economic policies keeping the economy healthy", in July we were 22 positive, 73 negative. In November, 34 positive, 60 negative and now in the latest January poll, 38 positive and 56 negative -- still not good but the trend is coming up very well. In terms of keeping unemployment down we now get a 26 positive, 66 negative (in July it was 16 positive, 77 negative). For the first time in two years, a majority do not think that prices are rising more rapidly than before. In response to the question "Is the country in a recession?", today 49 percent say yes, 33 no. In November, it was 56 yes, 27 no. In August it was 62 yes, 24 no; In March it was 65 yes and 21 no. Again, the figures aren't good, but the trend is excellent. A majority feel now that there will not be a recession next year by a 35-31 score. This is a complete reversal of the response received to the same question last summer. The key question politically on the economy is "Are the Nixon economic policies doing more good than harm?" The reply to that is now 48 doing more good than harm, 27 doing more harm than good. Once again, a complete reversal from the position last summer.

Of passing interest, people by a 66 to 20 margin favor keeping controls for another year. Harris honestly believes that Muskie's rise in the polls

is a temporary "blip". The fact that he appears to have a lot of momentum (and in Harris' opinion does have a lot of momentum) has been getting a lot of publicity and doing very well in terms of his public image contrasted with an unsettling period in foreign affairs for us has brought him even with us again, but Harris does not feel it will last because on the issues and on handling the key issues we turn out much better.

Harris believes the following to be most significant:

Which candidates do you believe can do a better job with respect to the following issues?

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	None	Not Sure
Working for peace	39	34	8	3	16
Keeping the economy healthy	38	32	8	3	19
End to Vietnam fastest	36	30	11	4	19
Trust most personally as the man in the White House	36	33	9	4	18
Keep down taxes and spending	35	29	10	6	20
Race and civil rights	30	34	14	3	19
Solving problems of the poor	30	35	10	4	21
Crime - law and order	31	30	18	3	18
Air and water pollution	31	36	8	4	21
Health and education	34	34	9	2	21

NOTE: The foregoing was dictated by Mr. Colson over the telephone. It is very rough and rambling but at least gives the raw data of the latest Harris sample.

January 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Your Memo of December 14

In response to your memo of December 14, copy attached, Lofton apparently had the final say on the cover of Monday of December 13.

Thus far I have been spectacularly unsuccessful in getting Nofziger or any of his crew to budge at all. We do not now have control over what goes into Monday and we won't get it until somebody up there understands the rules of the game. I have tried but we are effectively ignored. If you think you can get anywhere with Nofziger, please try. I have the very uncomfortable feeling that that operation is not being controlled by anyone and what's worse, no one really seems concerned about it.

The key is obviously who we put in. I talked to Freeman and he is definitely not interested in anything. As he puts it, if he would do anything he would go to the White House; that's his first choice. He would have no interest in the Committee.

I think it's a very high priority that we find a man to replace Nofziger and that he be our man. Perhaps Malek could be asked to look for someone quickly. As you remember, I raised this with Bob who said he wanted to take it up with the Attorney General. Obviously that's great, but let's get it rolling if we can.

Yesterday was a classic example. I sent Karalekas to the Committee after getting Dole's approval on Muskie's statement. He personally supervised the printing and distribution and then had messengers deliver it. It was on the wires within an hour and a half and 3 hours before its release time it was out. The Committee has never done this on their own, hard as that may be to believe.

EYES ONLY

January 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON

SUBJECT:

New England Poll Data

Attached is some current New England poll data. This was given to me by my pollster friend John Becker who took it from poll data done for Governor Peterson. Hence we obviously have to not circulate it. This is just for your information.

EYES ONLY

January 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: New England Poll Data

I thought you might like to have the attached poll data that John Becker gave me yesterday. He gave me all of this out of a poll taken for Governor Peterson so we obviously have to treat it very discreetly.

January 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: CHUCK COLSON

Bob Hill has just resigned as Ambassador to Spain to run for Governor of New Hampshire. Hill is recognized as one of the most solid Nixon loyalists in New Hampshire. Hill is recognized as one of the most solid Nixon loyalists in New Hampshire. He may well defeat the Governor in the Primary but the results will be harmful to both the President and the Republican Party. New Hampshire Republicans are notorious for cannibalizing one another.

What complicates the present situation is that the Governor, a liberal Republican has endorsed the President, although some of the people are being coy about McCloskey. When Hill, a Nixon loyalist, tackles the Governor this may jeopardize support for us from the Governor and his friends. It is, to say the least, an awkward situation. Hill believes that Peterson could be enticed not to run for reelection, thereby giving Hill a clear shot at the field and without a primary most political observers feel Hill would be elected Governor. He believes and I have no way of confirming this, that Peterson would accept any federal appointment; that he is fed up with the governorship and would like a graceful way out.

This should not be explored without approval of the Attorney General obviously. But if he agrees it should then be of a very high political priority. I do not know who would approach the governor or how it would be done, but I am sure Mitchell has ways of accomplishing it. Assuming he agrees, it should be done you can then find him a suitable spot.

January 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE STAFF SECRETARY
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Action Memo #P-1957
Young Voters

Request

It was requested in Presidential Action Memorandum P-1957, taken from the December 6, 1971, News Summary, report on the National Youth Caucus held in Chicago, that I advise the President on:

1. My analysis of our youth group activity, and
2. Administration participants and observers.

Response

1. The Rietz group seems to be making some progress along the lines Rietz outlined in his report. An active speakers' program -- coordinated with my office -- is already underway. Field work has been undertaken in New Hampshire (2 full-time people plus the youth group's college director), Florida (one full-timer), and California (one full-timer). The Florida demonstration registration project went well and has been extended to New Hampshire, California, Tennessee and Texas. Convention plans are also proceeding.

While I have not seen as much activity out of 1701 as I would like, I think they are beginning to make some progress.

2. The Committee to Reelect the President did have an observer at the Caucus by the name of John P. Venners. Jack Caulfield also had an observer. Both observers filed very complete reports.

As to participants, Venners attempted to get Congressman Crane, Mayor Luger, Senator Brock and Representative Preyer on the program with no success.

The organizers (primarily ADA staff members led by Allard Lowenstein) turned down all requests. The Caucus was obviously a "Dump Nixon" movement and there was no desire to present a balanced viewpoint.

While we were unable to get on the program, Venners was successful in disrupting the Caucus by instigating a Black Caucus walk-out.