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<td>From Colson to RN RE: Dick Scammon's observations on the state of the 1972 campaign in May. 2 pgs.</td>
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May 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL RHATIGAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

I have just had lunch with Cooper Holt and as I suspected he is feeling somewhat sensitive about not being involved in the campaign planning process. Cooper said he wanted to turn the whole VFW organization loose for the campaign and that they are solidly for Nixon. He has always felt shut out by Don Johnson and now really doesn't feel a part of it since Naylor is a Legion man and close to Johnson. Cooper is very sensitive this way.

This was the one reservation I had when I cleared Naylor's being hired by the Committee. I was concerned he would favor the Legion.

The only way to get this off to the right start is for you and I and Naylor to meet with Cooper so that I can make absolutely clear to Naylor that he is to work closely with Cooper. Cooper said none of their former National Commanders have been contacted yet which to me is ludicrous because many of them could be extremely helpful to the President. They are primarily Democrats and as we have found out many many times, the VFW is much more active in their support than the Legion.

Please have a discussion of this with Naylor and then set up such a meeting.
May 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

Jerry Riso impressed me as a very savvy, able individual. He seems apprehensive about the job, however, and I would therefore have serious reservations as to whether he can do it. The only problem I see at the moment is that we are right up against an absolute and complete deadline. Either we get someone quick or it will be impossible to mount the kind of effort we need. I suppose if we have to fall back on Burgess, who did it before, we should do so. Although if Riso could be put in the right state of mind and given the right guidance, he impresses me as having more native ability than Burgess.

Maybe we should review a list of potential political operatives who have had political organizing experience and are good. Their own identity with ethnics is not important. We can always use Balzano in public forums. Our principle requirement is for a shrewd political operative, someone who can think in political terms and knows what he is doing with respect to organizing.
May 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

Lou Harris offered today to spend some time with us analysing key counties around the country that can be influenced by specific issues. Lou said that he has spent years studying poll data in specific areas and he could possibly give us some advise and help in this area. I suggested that he meet with Teetor. Lou said in view of his great concern with not compromising his position publicly, he would prefer to meet with me and one or two other trusted, closed-mouthed political operatives. He, by the way, has a very high regard for Teetor.

Therefore, if you think he could be helpful, perhaps you would like to suggest someone he might want to sit down with who could pick his brains. For whatever it is worth, in passing he observed that McComb County can swing the entire state of Michigan. It is always over 60% Democratic in Presidential elections. On the busing issue, Harris believes it can be flipped the other way and if we get a majority in McComb County, we would win the balance of the state. As Lou puts it, he has a very good feel of the political map of the country. He may not know any more than we know and perhaps he knows even less, but on the other hand, we might get some benefit from listening to his views. It also doesn't hurt in our effort to keep Harris friendly. To have him feel helpful, the more vested interest, the better.
May 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

Dick Scammon called me last evening to give me a very detailed analysis of the Michigan election. As he put it on the Today Show Wednesday Morning, it will be "Ironic if the Federal Courts against whom President Nixon has so often campaigned turn out to be the vehicle through which he is re-elected". Scammon believes beyond any question that you will carry Michigan in November provided Wallace is not on the ballot and maybe even if he is. Scammon spent yesterday studying the poll data on Michigan and drew some interesting conclusions.

Busing was clearly the most important issue as everyone has observed; Scammon believes it was, however, virtually the only issue. Even with voters in the 18 to 24 year old group (Wallace carried the 18 - 24 year olds) one-third listed busing as their reason for voting for Wallace. Busing was regarded as the more important issue to the Democratic primary voter than either inflation or unemployment by margins of better than 3 to 1 depending on the category of voter.
For example, of all the Democratic voters only 6% named inflation as the most important issue in determining their vote. To Wallace voters the ratio is much higher. One in three Wallace voters voted for him solely because of the busing issue.

Scammon argues, as he has consistently, that we should step up our efforts to exploit the busing issue in 15 to 20 critical cities across the country. The areas need not be only those in which there has been a busing problem but also where there is a potential busing problem. Busing is only a code word for the real issue, which is black/white relations. Wherever large numbers of lower middle class whites live in close proximity to blacks, the existence of busing or the threat of busing is, as Scammon puts it, an absolutely decisive issue with anywhere from 20 to 30% of the electorate. Scammon said he could not understand what appears to be a somewhat restrained posture on our part on the busing issue; we do not appear to be exploiting it the way
we did law and order, for example, and yet this issue is demonstrably voter motivational. He volunteered that perhaps those of us in the Administration are "embarrassed" to be strongly pushing this issue because it "runs against the mainstream of Georgetown thought".

Dick said half-seriously that if we should prohibit any members of the Administration from attending any Washington dinner parties until after the election, that like all of our predecessors our people get so enmeshed in the Washington social circuit that then we then become more sensitive to the reaction in Georgetown than the reaction in the country. He feels that on this issue we may have lost touch with the folks.

In conclusion, Scammon feels that the issue is stronger than ever, that we need to do better, that we can exploit this issue in key areas in a way that will be positively decisive in November and that, if we handle it properly, the Democrats will be stuck. On the latter point, he feels that Humphrey and McGovern will try to waffle. If we too seem to be waffling, the issue will be totally lost. If we are clear and hard their waffling will only compound their problem. He still argues that a Constitutional Amendment is the way to put the issue in clearest focus.
May 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  H. R. HALEDEMAN
FROM:  CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT:  Billy Graham

Billy Graham is taping a radio show tomorrow which covers the Bible Belt and elsewhere, I gather. It will be on this Sunday which evangelists have proclaimed will be a day of prayer. Fred Rhodes who is working with the Southern Baptists for us feels that a call from you, if you are willing, suggesting that on this radio show he say that all Americans should write the President and the Hill expressing their support, which people all over the country are doing, Rhodes assures us that this is worth at least 350 million votes. [signature]