

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>
23	1	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key election states. Analysis of Wallace's campaign status in various states attached. 3 pgs.
23	1	7/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: MacGregor's meeting with the Campaign Strategy Groups. Talking paper relating to the election and key states attached. 4 pgs.
23	1	7/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to MacGregor RE: results of the second wave polling. Results of the poll attached. 4 pgs.
23	1	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Finkelstein to Marik RE: the role of states in the 1972 campaign. 5 pgs.

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23	1	7/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes detailing MaGregor's meeting with Teeter, Magruder, Dailey, Marik, and other key campaign figures on key election states. 4 pgs.
23	1	5/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes revealing the highlights of a meeting between Teeter, Parker, and Strachan on important election states. 2 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	1	3/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Haldeman RE: RN's election itinerary. Proposed schedules for presidential visits to key states attached, as well as notes for a meeting with Teeter. 15 pgs.
23	1	1/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Colson RE: presidential posture and key campaign themes. 3 pgs.

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23	1	5/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: a request for a report on RN's campaign schedule to be used in a meeting. 1 pg.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Handwritten notes detailing various campaign topics discussed by White House officials. 1 pg.
23	1	4/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
23	1	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: forwarding a Teeter memo to Chapin. 1 pg.
23	1	3/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: suggested campaign posture and state visits for RN during the election season. 3 pgs.

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23	1	5/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: the design of second wave polling. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman and unknown. 3 pgs.
23	1	5/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: attached polling information on Connecticut. 2 pgs.
23	1	5/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Teeter's analysis of First Wave Analysis. 3 pgs.
23	1	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: catious use of first wave polling. 1 pg.
23	1	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Chapin RE: inconsistencies with regard to classifying key states. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.

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23	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: Oklahoma polling on the ITT controversy. Polling information attached. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: Southern California polling data. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Magruder RE: Haldeman's opinions on key states. Marked-up copy of same memorandum attached. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Evans RE: how to list key states. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes discussing Teeter and various states. 1 pg.

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23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on listing key states and analysis from Teeter. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Record of a discussion between "T" and "G" on key states and the opinions of various White House officials on which states are important. 6 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sheet of paper emblazoned with the handwritten word "Ohio." Polling data from that state attached. 2 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sheet of paper emblazoned with the handwritten word "Pennsylvania." Polling data from that state attached. 2 pgs.
23	1	3/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling information from Connecticut. 1 pg.

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23	1	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Kehrlri to Haldeman RE: a "Hartford Times" poll on Edward Kennedy. 1 pg.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on key states, campaign themes, and George Wallace. 1 pg.
23	1	4/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the list of attendees to a meeting between Haldeman, Mitchell, and Teeter. 1 pg.
23	1	4/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the list of attendees to a rescheduled meeting between Haldeman, Mitchell, and Teeter. 2 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note on key states and data from Teeter. 1 pg.

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23	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the list of attendees to a rescheduled meeting between Haldeman, Mitchell, and Teeter. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Rietz RE: Youth Chairmen in important states. Handwritten note added by Higby. 1 pg.
23	1	4/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the list of attendees to a rescheduled meeting between Haldeman, Mitchell, and Teeter. Handwritten note added by Higby. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/11/1862	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: Wallace's impact in various states during the campaign. 4 pgs.
23	1	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: the importance of a central campaign theme for RN. 3 pgs.

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23	1	5/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman RE: polling information on Ohio. Polling figures attached. 3 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Figures relating to key U.S. problems in 1971 and 1972. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	1	5/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: polling information from Connecticut on bombings of North Vietnam, George Meany, and the ITT controversy. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: the results of a California telephone poll. 2 pgs.
23	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: Oklahoma polling on the ITT controversy. Data attached. 2 pgs.

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23	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten notes on information from Higby, Dean, and Teeter, among others. 1 pg.
23	1	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Kehrlie to Haldeman RE: polling information from the "Hartford Times." 1 pg.
23	1	4/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: Washington. 1 pg.
23	1	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Brad E. Hainsworth to Dent RE: polling information on RN from Washington. 4 pgs.
23	1	4/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: ranking the importance of various states in the 1972 presidential election. 5 pgs.

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23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to "J" RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	1	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Butterfield and Cashen RE: Barry Gordy. Handwritten note to Strachan added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	1	5/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: polling information from Connecticut on bombings of North Vietnam, George Meany, and the ITT controversy. 2 pgs.
23	1	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Teeter to Mitchell RE: RN's political support in New York. Information on classification of conservatives and liberals attached. 8 pgs.
23	1	4/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lew Engman to Strachan RE: attached polling questions relating to taxes. 1 pg.

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23	1	4/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Roy Morey to Cole RE: Engman's attached questions on taxes. 1 pg.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Engman's proposed poll questions on taxation and its role in the election. 2 pgs.
23	1	2/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: vice presidential trial heats for the next round of polling. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	1	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John Campbell to Strachan RE: Cole's suggestion to include tax questions in a poll. Engman's list of questions on taxes attached. 3 pgs.
23	1	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Mitchell's meeting with various campaign figures to classify key states for election purposes. 1 pg.

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23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: political staffing. 1 pg.
23	1	5/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Haldeman RE: priority states in the 1972 presidential campaign. 1 pg.
23	1	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: the classification of states by importance to the 1972 presidential election. 4 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Polling information on various states in the 1968 election. 1 pg.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten list of key states. 1 pg.

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23	1	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	1	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Huntsman to Haldeman RE: the cost of ORC polls. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	1	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Strachan to Higby RE: Haldeman's ideas on key states. Handwritten notes added by Higby and unknown. 1 pg.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: request for a document marked up by Haldeman. 1 pg.
23	1	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key states in the 1972 election and White House staffers' opinions on that subject. 14 pgs.

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23	1	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key states in the 1972 election and White House staffers' opinions on that subject. 10 pgs.
23	1	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key states in the 1972 election and White House staffers' opinions on that subject. 10 pgs.
23	1	6/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to key election states. 2 pgs.
23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Document from unknown author detailing the thoughts of Dick Richards on priority election states. 1 pg.
23	1	5/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: attached document on Republican Congressional campaigns. 7 pgs.

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23	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Map of the United States, including electoral vote totals for each state. Not scanned.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Key State Analysis with
Wallace - Wave II Survey
Results

You reviewed the MacGregor Strategy Meeting determination of Key States on July 12. This memorandum reviews the Key States in light of the July 19 legal analysis of Wallace's ballot position in various states. The poll figures are from Wave II of the Campaign Surveys.

In the 10 Key States - California, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas, Michigan, Ohio, Maryland and Connecticut - the President's margin over McGovern is cut by 1 to 6 if Wallace is in the race.

WAVE II

		<u>N</u>	<u>McG</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>McG</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>Un</u>
CALIF.	-3	48	42	11	42	39	11	8
N.Y.					Results will be available 7/28			
PENNA.	-3	49	42	9	42	38	12	8
N.J.	-2	49	42	9	41	36	16	7
ILL.	-5	56	35	10	47	31	12	10
TEXAS	-6	54	35	11	42	29	22	7
MICH.	-3	45	45	10	33	36	23	8
OHIO	-4	56	38	6	47	33	15	6
MD.	-1	52	42	6	44	35	16	4
CONN.	-2	53	37	10	47	33	10	10

The only state lost as a result of Wallace's entry is Michigan. However, as the Wallace ballot position chart indicates, George Wallace is precluded from being on the ballot as a third party candidate because he ran in the Democratic Primary.

In Maryland, where Wallace cuts the President's lead from 10 to 9 points and in Pennsylvania, where Wallace cuts the President's lead from 7 to 4 points, Wallace is precluded from appearing on the November ballot as a third party candidate.

In New Jersey, where Wallace cuts the President's lead from 7 to 5 points, Wallace is already qualified on the general election ballot as a candidate of the American Party.

In the remaining Key States, California, Connecticut, Illinois, New York, Ohio and Texas, Wallace could obtain ballot position by convention, certification or petition. Each of these legal steps involves varying degrees of difficulty. As the chart indicates, Wallace could obtain nearly automatic ballot position in California, Connecticut and Ohio. Illinois and New York would be more difficult and Texas would be quite hard for Wallace to get on the general election ballot as a third party candidate.

GEORGE C. WALLACE (GCW)
STATUS REPORT 7/19/72

STATE	CAN GCW RUN	AS CANDIDATE OF	ACTION REQUIRED	DATE	STATE	CAN GCW RUN	AS CANDIDATE OF	ACTION REQUIRED	DATE
Ala.	Yes	AIP	Convention	9/9 *	Mo.	Yes	New Party	Petition:	7/31**
Alas.	Yes	AIP	Request	8/10 *	Mont.	Yes	AP	Convention	9/23 *
Ariz.	No	AIP	Convention	*	Neb.	No	All Applicable filing dates passed		
Ark.	Yes	AIP	Convention	9/4-9/24 **~H	Nev.	No	No Petitions Filed		
Cal.	Yes	AIP	Certifica- tion	9/6 *	N.H.	Yes	AP	Certify	9/27
Colo.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 300 sigs.	9/24 *	N.J.	Yes	AP	Already Qualified	
Conn.	Yes	George Wallace Party	Non.Papers	9/20 *	N.M.	Yes	AIP	Certify & Petition: 3% last vote	9/12 *
Del.	Yes	AIP	Convention & Certify	7/22 * 9/1	N.Y.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 20,000 sigs.	8/28-31 **~E
D.C.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 13,000 sigs.	8/15 **~H	N.C.	Yes	AP	National Convention	*
Fla.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1% last vote	8/15 **~B	N.D.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 300 sigs.	9/29**~E
Ga.	No	No Petitions Filed			Ohio	Yes	AIP	Convention	8/25 *
Hawaii	No	No Petitions Filed			Okla.	Yes	AP	Convention	8/10 *
Idaho	No	No Petitions Filed			Ore.	No	Ran in primary and lost		
Ill.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 25,000 sigs.	7/31-8/7**~E	Pa.	No (See Text)	All applicable filing dates passed		
Ind.	See Text	New Party	Petition: 8,500 sigs.	9/1	R.I.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 500 sigs.	7/28**
Iowa	Yes	AIP	Convention	8/4-9/3 *	S.C.	Yes	AP	Certify	10/4 *
Kans.	Yes	Conservative	Already Nominated		S.D.	Yes	Indep.	Petition 2% last vote	9/2 **
Kty.	Yes	AP	Already Qualified		Tenn.	Yes	AP	Convention	9/7 *
La.	Yes	AP	Certify	9/18 *	Tex.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 22,300 sigs. & Convention	9/1 ** 9/19
Me.	No	No Petitions Filed			Utah	Yes	AIP	Convention	7/31 *
Md.	No	No Certificate of Candidacy Filed			Vt.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1,535 sigs.	9/20**
Mass.	No	No Petitions Filed			Va.	Yes	AIP	Petition 9,109 sigs.	9/8 *
Mich.	No (See Text)	Ran in primary and lost			Wash.	Yes	New Party	Convention & Petition: 100 sigs.	9/19** 9/26
Minn.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 2,000 sigs.	7/5-9/12 **~E	W.Va	No	All applicable filing dates passed		
Miss.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1,000 sigs.	9/27 **~E	Wisc.	Yes	AP	Already Qualified	
					Wyo.	Yes	Indep.	Petition: 5,815 sigs.	9/27**

* States where Wallace can obtain nearly automatic ballot position if nominated by the American Party National Convention in Louisville, Kentucky, August 3-5.

** States where Wallace can obtain ballot position by petition; in seven it would be hard (H); in eleven it would be easy (E).

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

MacGregor Strategy
Meeting - July 11

Clark MacGregor met with the Campaign Strategy Group (Teeter, Magruder, Malek, Dailey, Marik, Finkelstein, and Miller) to discuss the Key States in light of Wave II polling results.

MacGregor opened the meeting with two comments. He said he planned on meeting with Mitchell, Connally, and possibly Colson to determine how the Democrats for the President would be arranged. Second, he advised the group that an appropriate approach was being made to Mayor Daley and that you had been informed.

MacGregor told the group that Governor Love and Secretary Morton would be in Miami Beach to welcome disenchanted Democrats. They will also push the line that McGovern heads an extreme elitist machine that has replaced the "party of the people". The Democrats cannot be allowed to keep that label. Many liberal Democrats are calling MacGregor to indicate their concern about McGovern.

MacGregor agreed with Teeter that the campaign should concentrate on the great national issues and McGovern's extreme positions. It is Teeter's view that McGovern's perception will be set in the minds of the American people in the next 2-3 weeks. MacGregor said the campaign will continue to hit McGovern through MacGregor's "Issues and Answers" appearance this Sunday, the distribution of the Wicker article, and the Pierre Rinfret discussions with economists. When Malek pressed for a single person within 1701 to run this operation, MacGregor deferred.

The Key State discussion focused on the three attached memoranda. There were two views expressed. Some thought the results showed the President so far ahead in Illinois, Texas and Ohio that the primary effort should be placed in California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, New York and Michigan. All agreed Washington should be dropped. Malek led the argument to work in the big states regardless of what the polls indicate. MacGregor concluded that there should be three states for maximum effort -- California, New York and Pennsylvania. New Jersey and Cook County in Illinois should also receive First Priority attention. The Second Priority states would be Texas, Michigan, Ohio, Maryland and Connecticut.

MacGregor also emphasized that the campaign would not shift its attention to Senatorial or Congressional races because if the President wins by 54-55%, Congressional races will be helped naturally.

GS/jb

TALKING PAPER

In early May, Mr. Mitchell, in consultation with the Strategy Group, established three groups of priority states for the campaign:

Top Priority (Maximum allocation of resources and focus of management attention. "Must win" states.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
California	45	+0.2	+3
Illinois	26	-0.3	+3
Texas	26	-2	-1
Ohio	25	+6	+2
New Jersey	<u>17</u>	-1	+2
	139		

Second Priority (High allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
New York	41	-6	-5
Pennsylvania	27	-2	-4
Maryland	10	-8	-2
Michigan	21	-2	-7
Connecticut	8	-8	-5
Washington	<u>9</u>	+3	-2
	116		

Third Priority (Lower allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Missouri	12	-0.5	+1
Wisconsin	11	+4	+4
Oregon	6	+6	+6
West Virginia	<u>6</u>	-6	-9
	35		

The emergence of George McGovern as the probable Democratic nominee, as well as the successful foreign policy initiatives of the President, have substantially altered his relative standing in the large population states.

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss the question of whether the original priority grouping should now be changed. The factors to be considered include:

1. What is meant by priority ranking, in terms of programmatic efforts, in-state campaign organization and total resource allocation.
2. How the President stands in terms of the number of electoral votes now leaning toward him. That is, how many of the large states must we win in order to carry the election.
3. How much should the June/July polls influence our thinking-- How firm do we believe the positive or negative margins to be.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Second Wave Polling Results

Attached are the sample ballot results from the second wave polling. The interviewing for this polling was all done between June 14 and June 25. I have noted differences in the two Nixon/Humphrey races from the first wave where applicable. We did not measure McGovern in the first wave which was done in December and January.

I will have the results from the National poll later today or tomorrow morning, the New York data in about ten days, and the Indiana data in about three weeks. The New York and Indiana polls were delayed to begin after the primary in New York and the State Nominating Convention in Indiana.

Generally these results are very optimistic and indicate that the President has improved his position since January. I think it is particularly significant that his committed vote is above or very near 50% in the two-way races against McGovern in the top priority states. This, as I am sure you are aware, has been a problem in the past.

While our situation has improved, we still appear to have some problems in Missouri, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Washington.

Also I just got an advance report of a telephone poll taken by Becker Research for the Boston Globe in Massachusetts which will be published tomorrow. It shows McGovern with 47%, Nixon with 44%, and 9% undecided. This is obviously a most optimistic result.

We will have the complete data from this second wave polling by July 15.

I will be happy to discuss these figures and the first wave data at your convenience.

Note: I will be giving these results to Gordon Strachan of Mr. Balaban's office on the telephone at 5 o'clock, Pacific Time, this evening.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

BALLOT SUMMARY OF STATES

	<u>U.S.</u>			<u>ALABAMA¹</u>			<u>CALIFORNIA</u>			<u>CONNECTICUT</u>			<u>INDIANA</u>			<u>ILLINOIS</u>			<u>MARYLAND</u>			
	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	
Nixon	54			47	65	+18	47	47	0	--	56	----	53			--	56	----	49	58	+ 9	
Humphrey	40			18	20	+ 2	40	40	0	--	32	----	38			--	34	----	45	36	- 9	
Undecided	6			35	14	-21	13	13	0	--	12	----	9			--	11	----	5	6	+ 1	
Nixon	48			29	34	+ 5	44	42	- 2	--	50	----	47				45	48	+ 3	44	48	+ 4
Humphrey	35			14	15	+ 1	37	35	- 2	--	27	----	33				36	28	- 8	43	29	-14
Wallace	12			36	43	+ 7	6	13	+ 7	--	13	----	11				7	15	+ 8	3	17	+ 9
Undecided	5			21	9	-12	13	11	- 2	--	11	----	8				12	10	- 2	5	6	+ 1
Nixon	--			--	63	----	--	48	----	--	54	----	--				--	56	----	--	52	----
McGovern	--			--	23	----	--	42	----	--	37	----	--				--	35	----	--	42	----
Undecided	--			--	14	----	--	11	----	--	10	----	--				--	10	----	--	6	----
Nixon	--			--	35 ^v	----	--	42	----	--	47	----	--				--	47	----	--	44	----
McGovern	--			--	15	----	--	39	----	--	33	----	--				--	31	----	--	35	----
Wallace	--			--	43 ^v	----	--	11	----	--	10	----	--				--	12	----	--	18	----
Undecided	--			--	7	----	--	8	----	--	10	----	--				--	10	----	--	4	----

¹ First wave figures from a survey for Winton Blount, June, 1971.

NOTE: Due to rounding not all columns add to 100%

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

BALLOT SUMMARY OF STATES

	<u>MICHIGAN</u> ¹			<u>MISSOURI</u>			<u>NEW JERSEY</u>			<u>NEW YORK</u>			<u>OHIO</u>			<u>OREGON</u>			<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>		
	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>
Nixon	--	49	---	43	48	+ 5	54	52	- 2	50			53	58	+ 5	48	50	+ 2	49	49	0
Humphrey	--	39	---	45	42	- 3	36	38	+ 2	40			40	37	- 3	38	31	- 7	43	41	- 2
Undecided	--	12	---	12	10	- 2	10	10	0	10			8	5	- 3	13	19	+ 6	8	10	+ 2
Nixon	--	36	---	37	37	0	49	44	- 5	47			48	50	+ 2	43	44	+ 1	44	43	- 1
Humphrey	--	30	---	40	35	- 5	33	30	- 3	39			38	30	- 8	36	24	-12	41	35	- 6
Wallace	--	24	---	12	20	+ 8	8	18	+10	5			8	15	+ 7	9	18	+ 9	8	13	+ 5
Undecided	--	11	---	11	8	- 3	10	9	-1	9			7	5	- 2	12	15	+ 3	8	9	+ 1
Nixon	--	45	---	--	44	---	--	49	---	--			--	56	---	--	42	---	--	49	---
McGovern	--	45	---	--	46	---	--	42	---	--			--	38	---	--	45	---	--	42	---
Undecided	--	10	---	--	10	---	--	9	---	--			--	6	---	--	13	---	--	9	---
Nixon	--	33	---	--	35	---	--	41	---	--			--	47	---	--	37	---	--	42	---
McGovern	--	36	---	--	37	---	--	36	---	--			--	33	---	--	39	---	--	38	---
Wallace	--	23	---	--	20	---	--	16	---	--			--	15	---	--	15	---	--	12	---
Undecided	--	8	---	--	8	---	--	8	---	--			--	6	---	--	10	---	--	8	---

1 First wave figures from a survey for Robert Griffin, February, 1972 with Muskie, not Humphrey, as opponent.

NOTE: Due to rounding not all columns add to 100%

<u>MICHIGAN</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>MICHIGAN</u>	<u>1W</u>
Nixon	41	Nixon	38
Muskie	42	Muskie	40
Undecided	17	Wallace	7
		Undecided	15

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

BALLOT SUMMARY OF STATES

	<u>WASHINGTON</u>			<u>WISCONSIN</u>			<u>TEXAS</u>		
	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>	<u>1W</u>	<u>2W</u>	<u>+/-</u>
Nixon	--	45	----	46	56	+10	49	55	+ 6
Humphrey	--	39	----	46	35	-11	40	35	- 5
Undecided	--	16	----	7	9	+2	11	10	- 1
Nixon	--	38	----	44	48	+ 4	42	43	+ 1
Humphrey	--	32	----	42	31	-11	36	28	- 8
Wallace	--	17	----	8	12	+ 4	12	22	+10
Undecided	--	13	----	7	9	+ 2	11	7	- 4
Nixon	--	41	----	--	44	----	--	54	----
McGovern	--	45	----	--	52	----	--	35	----
Undecided	--	13	----	--	5	----	--	11	----
Nixon	--	34	----	--	39	----	--	42	----
McGovern	--	39	----	--	47	----	--	29	----
Wallace	--	16	----	--	10	----	--	22	----
Undecided	--	12	----	--	4	----	--	7	----

NOTE: Due to rounding not all columns add to 100%.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 7, 1972

TO: Dr. Robert H. Marik
FROM: Arthur J. Finkelstein *AJF*
SUBJECT: Priority States

Please find attached several charts depicting my thinking on the electoral vote situation that would exist in a Nixon-McGovern contest. As you can tell the Nixon total electoral vote surpasses by 16, the 270 votes needed for election. Further, there is an additional 188 electoral votes which realistically can still be considered undecided. Due to recent information, states such as Illinois, Maryland and Ohio have been added to the safe Nixon total. Wisconsin, Oregon and Missouri have been added to the McGovern total. Of the 188 undecided electoral votes, on the basis of recent information and past election analyses, it can be assumed that 104 are leaning to Nixon. With New York State's 41 electoral votes kept completely in the undecided column, the President receives a stunning 390 electoral votes, the making of a real electoral landslide.

Considering the possibility of an electoral landslide, it would make great sense to solidify those states which would clearly give us the margin of victory. Therefore, our priority states should be those which are not sure states but large electoral states now leaning slightly to the President. California, Pennsylvania and New Jersey fit this criteria. I would also add Connecticut, New York and Michigan because of the very nature of the closeness of this election.

You will note that I suggest dropping five presently targeted states either because we have secured them or because to win them would take more effort than frankly is essential or necessary for this campaign. Three of those five states dropped, Texas, Illinois and Ohio, account for 77 electoral votes which should be constantly kept track of. I would suggest greater than normal emphasis upon the states organizationally and the use of the telephone operations.

Dr. Robert H. Marik

July 7, 1972

Finally I include a list of third priority states which are chosen because of the strength of the President. None of these ten states are target states. All of these ten states will have senatorial contests in 1972, where Republicans can either hold on to a seat (Kentucky), or as in the case of the other nine, gain a seat. In each of these states with the exception of Rhode Island, a Nixon--Senatorial Candidate Campaign would be helpful to the Republican Senatorial candidate's chances. Since the Republicans only need to gain five or six seats in the Senate to take control of that body, I would strongly suggest that the campaign strategy develop which would emphasize in these areas the ideal Republican ticket.

A. J. F.

AJF:kvf
Attachments
cc: J. Magruder

PRIORITY STATES

First Priority

A	{	1. California	-	45
		2. Pennsylvania	-	27
		3. New Jersey	-	17
B	{	4. Connecticut	-	8
		5. New York	-	41
		6. Michigan	-	<u>21</u>
				159

Second Priority

1. Texas	-	26
2. Illinois	-	26
3. Ohio	-	<u>25</u>
		77

Third Priority

1. Alabama	-	9
2. Georgia	-	12
* 3. Kentucky	-	9
4. Montana	-	4
5. New Hampshire	-	4
6. New Mexico	-	4
7. North Carolina	-	13
8. Oklahoma	-	8
** 9. Rhode Island	-	4
10. Virginia	-	12

TOTAL STATES

	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>U</u>
Alabama	9		
Alaska			3
Arizona	6		
Arkansas	6		
California			45
Colorado	7		
Connecticut			8
Delaware	3		
D. C.		3	
Florida	17		
Georgia	12		
Hawaii		4	
Idaho	4		
Illinois	26		
Indiana	13		
Iowa	8		
Kansas	7		
Kentucky	9		
Louisiana	10		
Maine			4
Maryland	10		
Massachusetts		14	
Michigan			21
Minnesota		10	
Mississippi	7		
Missouri		12	
Montana	4		
Nebraska	5		
Nevada			3
New Hampshire	4		
New Jersey			17
New Mexico	4		
New York			41
North Carolina	13		
North Dakota	3		
Ohio	25		
Oklahoma	8		
Oregon		6	
Pennsylvania			27
Rhode Island		4	
South Carolina	8		
South Dakota			4
Tennessee	10		
Texas	26		
Utah	4		
Vermont	3		
Virginia	12		
Washington			9
West Virginia			6
Wisconsin		11	
Wyoming	<u>3</u>		
	286	<u>64</u>	<u>188</u>

UNDECIDED STATES

	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>U</u>
Alaska		3	
California	45		
Connecticut	8		
Maine	4		
Michigan		21	
Nevada	3		
New Jersey	17		
New York			41
Pennsylvania	27		
South Dakota		4	
Washington		9	
West Virginia		6	
	—	—	—
	104	43	41
Safe	286	64	—
	—	—	—
	390	107	41

Mac G News Sum - 7a - River

7/11

Mac G, Teeter, May, Mal, Bailey,
Marik, Finkelstein, Miller

Reevaluation of Key sts based on
new polling info + Mc G nomination

- Mac G: - Covered w/H that approach
to Daley + on track
- Mac G, Conn, JM + maybe
CWC will meet today re
Dems for the P.
- the Dem Platform will
go thru quickly a la Gold
in '64; only prob is GW in
wheel chair.

Loew + Morton in MB - push
the extremist elite machine,
exclusive, elite - avoid the
party of people label + also
elite drummed out those who would
pay for party.

- Hil Dems w/ Cong calling Mac G
(100% ADA + 100% labor ratings)
renounce Mc G. Northern Hil Dema front
- Teeter - let's drop abortion issue,
→ no gain for us, instead push acid + am.
Mac G - no part in Fed P camp; Rt thing so far

Mac G + Teeter - Keep camp on major rail issues. Nail him to his most extreme positions on issues

Teeter - McG's perception is to be set now during next 2-3 wks.

Pub. Opinion Mac G on Is + Ans Sun -

H "negotiate instead of beg"

Take on McG on issues not as man

- Decision to be made: McG's public perception to be formed in next 2 wks then must get guns out on issues.

Mac G - don't abandon blast on McG - Tom Wicker article on fraud, "had"

Pierre Rinfret - blast on McG à la Wicker, as too eager + McG gone

Priority States

Mo, Ill, Ohio, Tx - Now on basis of 2nd Wave Poll - relatively safe for P.

Total States list - good

Cut back orig 11 sts - for resources
Cal, Pa, NJ, Conn, NY, Mich
for 159

~~Tx, Ill, Ohio - 2nd Priority bec/
"relatively safe"
Concentrate FM field org
becf holds ~~the~~ lead +
less imp for media buys~~

MacG - not shifting atten to electing
Sen + Cong; rather concentrate
on P, we do not have it
in bag + cannot shift to Sen + Cong
- Must elect P by 54-55% to
bring any Cong or Sens.
- Major point in our strategy shld
be to help Sen or Cong.

Treter - Can add Pa, NY, Mich
but must fight on Ill, Ohio,
Tx

Sts McG must take - Cal + NY +
~~PA~~ will carry the others so our
CAM resources should put ag/him there

FM - ① Ill, Conn, Md, Ohio + Tx | ② Cal, NJ, Pa + NY

Drop Wash + Mich for top 11
 (FM) and down to 9
 But Mac G leaning toward Mich
Marill - Mich, need in place
 phones, org etc to capture
 advantage of being
Mac G - combo of split lib.
 lib white Dems + blacks
 w/ weak labor, P could do it.
Mac G - whatever polls can't beat
 electoral heavy sts

Fri. - Sat
 Mail to Mac G

First Priority - expanded mlgs +
 get out vote teleg's, etc

Get
 Chart
 on
 Wash
 to
 Mac G
 Refer to
 Sedam

1st Priority:

Mac G: ① Cal, ② NY, ③ Pa - max effort.
 We will be very close
 ④ in these Sts + must go after
 N.J. (close + can of worms)
 ⑤ Ill (Cook County) only
2nd Pri ⑥ Tx, ⑦ Mich, ⑧ Ohio, ⑨ Md
 ⑩ Conn
 So far ahead +
 prob 3rd Pri

good
 only thing

Teeter, Parker, GS

Swis - Teeter - Mallet → H
 U.P. - in writing on track
 1st Fam - DP + H talked + in
 writing for USS Rtrip
 May 1 - Key st memo - mail
 for Parker

NY - Jews - Forest Hills - G & E
 w/Rele.

P. Must be Dem Convention w/12-15 pt lead.
 Ill. - Jerry - 70% + Ogilvie - 30-70%
 (Hell of camp; win so big +
 proc Rep credentials + open Eisen
 → Mo. - small - town / Farm event.
 - tough decision

Pa. - intra-party org prol's
 Phil / So Western + Pitts

N.J. - no change

TX. → Mex - Am / So Trip,
 Ballast Houston - show up.

Calif - People w/ fixed percep of RA,
 so use others + concentrate
 on unempl in So Cal
 Eco Event in SF,

Mich -



Ohio - press conf delayed + all help
Saxbe + Taft, Jim Rhodes
better before non-Rep grp; unpredict
Toledo - pollution issue
Wisc - still trouble /

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To : *AS* HIGH PRIORITY

From : L. Higby

*Please review &
return to me
when we meet this
HIGH PRIORITY
afternoon*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By lp NARS, Date 3-16-82

March 24, 1972
9:00 a.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

SUBJECT:

Scheduling the President between
Now and the Election

You sent me a memorandum on March 17th asking that by Friday, March 24, if possible, that I give you a rough cut or a general outline of how we could most effectively schedule the President between now and the election.

In your memorandum you state that now "that we have had the opportunity to get a complete round of polling data in, I would appreciate if you would get together with Malek, Teeter, and Parker ..." First off, I did meet with Teeter who made several amends to the fact that the polling information which we currently have for the most part comes from some January polls which are probably currently out of date. Evidently, the next round of polling will be in June. This does not mean that the information that Teeter provided was not useful. A side thought here, Gordon Strachan was a little panicked when Teeter asked to borrow the polling book just so he could give us a general overview of the current status within each State. I know that you have a security problem regarding the polling information; however, if you are going to have a problem with Teeter talking to me about our standings in certain States and what we need to be doing, perhaps you should get someone else to fulfill the scheduling responsibility for you. I think Gordon has to get the word that Teeter can give me certain information. Otherwise, we are not operating in the most productive way for you.

The attached is not a very good "first cut" at the project you gave me. All we have done to date is to have a meeting with Teeter, Magruder, Parker and Chapin. Malek who should be able to fill a considerable amount of the void which we presently have in terms of information is out of town until next week. *How?*

What we did at our meeting was to take a stab at a rough review of the key States and that is the report that follows. Next week we will take this project another step and plug in the voting block and special interest groups information which Malek

should be able to supply. One question I have here is whether or not we should work with Malek, Colson, and Cole so that we have the broadest range of understanding as to exactly what is being contemplated. Maybe Malek has all of this and I will determine by talking to him on Monday whether or not he feels the other two men should sit in the meeting. *Sure*

A couple of general points- the basic theory regarding use of the President which Magruder advanced as well as Teeter, and which Jeb says the Attorney General agrees with, is that we should hit our weaker areas in the key States now and try to pull over the undecideds. After the Convention, we should move to work our strong support areas and concentrate on them. *Probably right.*

In terms of issues, Teeter indicated that on health, race, and the environment the President is about even with the Democrats. We are evidently behind in terms of the President's handling of crime, drugs, and unemployment. While Phase II has been a positive move for us, people may be losing some confidence now. On Vietnam, evidently people feel that we are doing a good job. Our attempts to stop inflation are a small net plus. Busing, Teeter says, is a local issue. Regarding agriculture, it is evidently not the problem that any of us around here thought it was and we are in fairly good standing there. These are all general conclusions which Teeter advanced.

The following information State by State is based upon guidance from Teeter which combines his thinking based upon our January polling as well as outside poll information which he has been able to pull together.

NEW YORK

1. CURRENT STANDING: Even - 50-50 chance to carry State.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Catholic Ethnics, blue collar types, union members, Jewish vote - but not New York City types, suburban *No*
3. KEY CITIES:
 - BUFFALO
 - NEW YORK SUBURBAN AREA (Queens, Bronx, etc.)
 - ALBANY *Westchester*
 - ROCHESTER
 - SYRACUSE
4. ISSUES:
 - Local Taxes (Property)
 - Employment
 - Crime
 - Pollution - Northern portion i.e. Buffalo

SPECIAL NOTES:

Governor Rockefeller is not popular in Northern portion of State.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES

1. Buffalo - Great Lake Governors/river sludge clean-up, high school and environmental award.
2. New York City - Staten Island - Senior Citizens Voluntary Center.

ILLINOIS

1. CURRENT STANDING: President Nixon is ahead.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Blue collar, suburban, ethnic, Catholic, Polish (particularly Chicago)
3. KEY CITIES/AREAS:

Strength down State - play to Chicago -

play to Chicago suburbs - particularly

Southwestern side. *Daley's prob. w/ Dems.*
4. ISSUES:

Economy (inflation and unemployment)

economy three times greater the issue in

Illinois than the U.S. as a whole.

Crime and Drugs.

Property taxes.

Vietnam handling seems to be a plus in Illinois.

SPECIAL NOTES:

In Chicago, we should be identified with Percy who is very popular. The Governor was doing poorly ahead of the primary.

Muskie clobbers the President with the Catholics while the President defeats Kennedy.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES:

1. Chicago Western suburb - - The Fermi National Accelerator. This is forty miles West of Chicago - and it means technology and jobs.
2. Post Convention - in Galesburg there is a Farm Progress Show.
3. Arlington Heights - there is a National Association of Student Councils - in June. ?
4. American Legion Convention in Chicago on August 18. *Not really set.*
5. June 20 is the Illinois and Wisconsin Junior Chamber of Commerce Convention. *Do Not JC*

MISSOURI

1. CURRENT STANDING:

Difficult to win.

SPECIAL NOTE: Teeter feels that a trip prior to our June polling would be a good idea. We can then see if the President has any impact in Missouri and if his visit there was able to kick it up into a winnable category.

2. WHO WE ARE AFTER:

Rural small town voters, older more conservative

Democrats, Wallace voters.

3. KEY CITIES:

Where strong - St. Louis suburban area and that is where we should go after the Convention if polls indicate a chance to win.

Weak area - Kansas City and rural Columbia.

4. ISSUES:

Economy.

Environment in St. Louis.

Aging.

Taxes.

SPECIAL NOTES:

Wallace strength is greater now than it was in 1968.

Danforth's large vote in 1970 showed more of an anti-Democratic vote and the trend is now back to 1968.

Teeter feels Columbia, Missouri, is the place to visit.

MISSOURI

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES

In October in Kansas City - Future Farmers of America.

University of Missouri in Columbia -- press conference, visit agricultural facilities.

Visit to Stockton Dam for dedication. This is outside Columbia.

PENNSYLVANIA

1. CURRENT STANDING: Behind but a good chance to win.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Suburban areas, Catholics, middle-aged,
blue collar, lower white collar
3. STRENGTH Central part of the State.
We are not too bad off in Pittsburgh; however,
there is an inter-Party fight presently in Pittsburgh.
Weak Area: Philadelphia -- must get margin of
defeat down.
4. ISSUES: Crime - especially Philadelphia.
Environment.
Inflation.
Unemployment.
Vietnam - big issue in Pennsylvania.

SPECIAL NOTES:

Our standing with Catholics in Philadelphia is much worse than in the Nation as a whole.

Governor Shapp's popularity is very low.

We should do something with Rizzo in the drug field in Philadelphia.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES:

Teeter feels the Krol event is perfect.

The National Catholic Education Association speech may be the best event in Philadelphia.

Overdoes the Krol deal

NEW JERSEY

1. CURRENT STANDING: Teeter says we are in good shape.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Catholics, blue collar, suburban.
3. KEY CITIES: Where Strong: Bergen County's coast area.
Where Weak: Trenton and Newark.
4. ISSUES:

Crime, especially drugs.

Economy.

Inflation.

Unemployment

SPECIAL NOTES:

If Muskie is a candidate, we should go after some of the Black vote.

The Governor has a two-to-one popularity (favorable) rating.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES:

Kiwanis Convention in Atlantic City - late June.

doesn't do NJ

High School Graduation.

Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs at Princeton.

No

TEXAS

1. CURRENT STANDING: We may be even in Texas and we can win it with the possibility of either luck or Connally.
2. WHAT WE ARE AFTER: Suburban, Mexican-Americans.
3. KEY CITIES: Strong: Dallas is our strength. We are doing pretty well in Houston.
Weak: Mid-Texas and San Antonio.
4. ISSUES: Unemployment. We are worse off in Texas than in most States. *? Not true*
Busing - especially in mid-Texas. It is a negative and we have a credibility problem concerning busing.
Crime' - we are better off on crime in Texas than in most places.

SPECIAL NOTES:

Teeter says that Texans have big egos and that we can't over-expose ourselves in Texas. He feels that three or four trips to Texas prior to the Convention is not bad.

Connally is still extremely popular in Texas. He evidently went out of office with an 80+ popularity figure.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES:

- ✓ Visit to Connally's Ranch - Teeter says this is an excellent decision.
- ✓ Do the Rotary in Houston.

The National Governors Conference in June - Houston. *No*

Post Convention - Hit the very Southern tip of Texas for the Mexican-American vote.

how?

CALIFORNIA

1. CURRENT STANDING: We are even in California.
2. WHAT WE ARE AFTER: Undecideds (which is minimal).
Suburban voters.
3. KEY CITIES/AREAS:

Strongest in Southern California; however,
we are weak in our strong areas.

Weak area - Northern California.
4. ISSUES:

Economy.

Unemployment (Aerospace)

Environment.

SPECIAL NOTES:

Teeter advises not to go into California until after the primary. *Agree*

Teeter is concerned that the President does not over-expose himself in California. He feels other people should be used there. We need lots of help but not from the President.

Reagan is weak. He has a low popularity figure.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES:

- ✓ Gateway West/Point Reyes and the San Francisco Mint.
- ? Visit Aerospace plant which has shifted emphasis to domestic-oriented work. Relate to jobs.

MICHIGAN

1. CURRENT STATUS: We are within striking distance.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Blue collar, lower white collar, suburban.
3. KEY CITIES:
Strength - Oakland County. We are after
Macomb and Western Wayne County – the
suburban Detroit area.
4. ISSUES:
Busing.
Tax reform.
Unemployment.
Abortion (will be on the ballot in November).

SPECIAL NOTES:

Milliken has good popularity rating.

Griffin's popularity has gone up considerably due to busing.

PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE POSSIBILITIES:

American Nursing Association in early May in Detroit.

OHIO

1. CURRENT STANDING: Almost even - it may be that the President is on the plus side.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Catholic, ethnic, blue collar, suburban.
3. KEY CITIES:

Strong in Columbus and Cincinnati. Note that Taft polled weak in Cincinnati and that there is also a strong inter-Party fight in Cincinnati. Weak in Cleveland and Toledo. Cleveland is 20 percent of the State.
4. ISSUES:

Economy.

Crime.

Drugs.

Unemployment - Dayton and Cincinnati.

Taxes (schools) - Dayton.

Environment - Northern part of State.

SPECIAL NOTES:

Governor extremely unpopular.

Republican Mayor of Cleveland is one of the top ethnics nationally.

Teeter feels that we should go into Toledo on a pollution issue.

Play on this

WISCONSIN

1. CURRENT STANDING: Losing State.
2. WHO WE ARE AFTER: Blue collar, ethnics, Catholics.
3. KEY CITIES/AREAS:

Strongest in the area between Madison and Milwaukee. In the Northern part of the State we are weak in Madison and Milwaukee.
4. KEY ISSUES:

Economy.

Crime - Drugs.

Unemployment.

Taxes.

SPECIAL NOTES:

Governor Lucey is very popular.

Proxmire and Nelson extremely popular.

Laird not as popular as he was.

Teeter feels we should give Wisconsin a push after the primary and see how it stacks up when we do our June polling.

how?

FLORIDA AND TENNESSEE

SPECIAL NOTE:

Teeter says we are in good shape in both Florida and Tennessee.

ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR A MEETING WITH TEETER

The following are some rough notes from the meeting with Teeter regarding the key States: They are general in nature but mainly apply to the image of the President and the style of campaigning that Teeter feels he should undertake.

1. It is a problem because the President is viewed as a tactician. He is a person who is a troubleshooter but has no grand design.
2. People feel that the President is too expedient - for example, Calley, drugs, other things where he strikes, hits, and leaves an issue.
3. We must get across that the President looks at the broad scope of things, "Grand America" design.
4. We should not fight the campaign issue by issue. We should fight the campaign with a broad look to things - relating things. Talk about the destiny of the country - talk about what we are doing and will continue to do - where we are going to end up.
5. We should talk about America being number one, but talk about it in terms of vision and not as a defense. We should not say that we are for the SST because we want to keep American number one in aerospace, but rather it should be related differently.

Regarding some of the above thoughts, I have attached a memorandum which I wrote to Colson several weeks ago which touches on some of the above points. In particular, the expanded use of a "Generation of Peace".

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1972
9:30 a.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Per your request, the following are some suggestions and comments on what others presented in terms of the President's posture during the next few months:

It was obvious from Ken Cole's presentation of our forthcoming domestic objectives that there is little which is exciting. Much of what we will present is going to face the same problem as what was proposed last year in the sense that, for example, in the case of the value added tax, it is going to be hard to explain and relate to people in a decisive, political way.

My feeling is that we still need to have an umbrella for the domestic program such as we have for the foreign policy. Obviously, it is much harder to come up with a general theme for our very fragmented domestic objectives.

I think the rationale regarding a "Generation of Peace" can offer the vehicle which we are after domestically. It is also the concept which if explained properly can be not only palatable but perhaps generated into some excitement as far as the President's interest is concerned. The point is that the President is after a "Generation of Peace" not only abroad but more specifically at home. This is an offensive peace. It is not a peace that has been reached, but it is a peace for which he is driving. He can relate it to any number of different areas such as peace and security for the aged; peace of mind about our environment; peace of mind in education by developing the neighborhood school system; peace in the knowledge that the drug problem is coming under control and that pushers and those criminals exploiting drugs will be prosecuted in the toughest fashion; peace of job security for the laboring man; the peace of the promise of rehabilitation for those in prisons, and so on.

What we are after is setting the President apart from any challengers, Democrat or Republican, on the highest of plains and being able to relate to key issues with a

certain emotional feel while being somewhat specific in terms of concrete steps that he has taken.

Safire spoke of the need during the campaign period for promising. I do not think that the "Generation of Peace" concept is incompatible with the idea of promises. The important thing is what the President is striving for and what he has done. The "Generation of Peace at Home" concept can tie very easily to the change in our whole domestic situation since the 1968 chaotic condition of our country. It also has great ties to the visionary aspects of the bicentennial era.

You mentioned specifically three steps which we need to take. Your first was to get the President's understanding in the domestic area and to have him not be defensive but to get him personally committed to speak in an offensive way on certain domestic goals or domestic-related type events; (2) You wanted to determine exactly what our message should be; and (3) You wanted to have everyone unleashed (per Ziegler's concept) and keep them sober, honest, and have the President's commitment spoken to by everyone including the President. Scali made the point that the third item was the most important and indispensable in terms of being straightforward and clobbering the Democrats. I disagree. I feel that the indispensable step, if indeed we are right, is to move off on the number one ingredient that you mentioned which is the Presidential commitment. I know that other people have tried to build cases for the President to become more committed on the domestic scale. They have been unsuccessful. The problem on this has been, however, that they have done so on specific things such as the environment, health care, revenue sharing, and so forth. They have never been able to zero it in on a theme basis which the President should constantly strike at such as he does with the "Generation of Peace" or "Peace for a Generation" foreign policy theme.

Although it will drive the President crazy, I do agree with Ziegler's theme that we should loosen up and let more Administration people attend Sperling-type breakfasts and speak out and be a little bit more free-wheeling about things. There is no question in my mind that we are over-controlled and too restrictive in what, when, and how we advocate. Our programmatic, PR-oriented, oversell criticism is to a large degree, if not entirely, a by-product of our own restrictive process.

All of what I have said in this memorandum is not to insinuate that I disagree with the understanding which I have received from Haldeman regarding the President's desire to accentuate the foreign policy thrust of his Presidency. As I said this morning, I think that during 1971 our emphasis probably boiled down to a 30% domestic orientation with the other 70% being foreign policy. I think we are unbalanced in terms of the necessity politically to hit harder domestically. This is going to be especially true

3.

as we come into the campaign. It would be a good idea if we could keep the President as the sole protector of the country on foreign policy grounds during the campaign, but I do not think that this is going to be the case. The only way that this would work would be if we were on the verge of or in a war. We must be able to build some case for the President in domestic affairs and the way our schedule and philosophy are weighted now, I do not think that we have the proper defense. I guess this was the conclusion of the group this morning.

At one of the next meetings which we have on this project, I would suggest that someone come in with the most current information out of our issue polls. We need to know exactly what people are thinking in terms of where the President is strongest on each particular issue, where we are weak, and what issues are most important to the people. Perhaps this can be helpful in our selection of themes.

cc: Mr. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

Will you please get together the State Sheets that Dwight Chapin was supposed to be putting together in conjunction with Teeter, et al. This is a result of the original request for a master scheduling strategy for the President between now and the election, based on the polling data, etc. Chapin has been meeting with Teeter and Magruder, as I understand it, for the purpose of finishing this situation up. Dave Parker was going to be in touch with you on it, but lets get the thing drawn together and closed prior to the time we go to Russia.

Please submit your report on this project by Friday, May 19th.

Parker

- ① April x re St by St
after Teeter Start Dice
- Dice get mailed input
- ② 4/26 - G → H re Post Res Tips
- ③ Canada - 4/14 + New Plan
DP + DC never read
comments
- ④ H memo for Fla - thru
So Sts - DP updating
Canadian proposal
(Fri) 5/19 - DR → DC w/ ↑

Up in the air

- ① Poll Book -
- ② 2nd Wave for 5
- ③ St by St Profiles | ?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: April 13, 1972

TO: Dwight Chapin
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You asked for a copy of Teeter's memorandum on recommended appearances and issues. Attached.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/12

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Teeter mentioned this memorandum to Chapin, who has asked for a copy. Since no specific figures are given, I suggest Chapin receive this copy for his schedule planning.

OK

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.
WASHINGTON D. C. 20006
(202) 333 0120

March 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R.M.T. by Evans*
SUBJECT: Recommended Appearances and Issues

We have now evaluated the results of all of the first wave polls and based on our analysis we believe it is important for the President to improve his standing in several crucial states during the next few weeks. Our research in several state campaigns indicates there is a substantial number of undecided voters who can be turned into committed (Nixon) voters if given some attention before the actual campaign period begins and before the campaign clearly becomes a two (or three) man race.

Moreover, those voters who can be moved from being undecided to the committed column early appear to remain there for the duration of the campaign. Our past experience also indicates that the specific technique used to appeal to these voters is not as important as the fact that the appeal was made. In the case of the President, personal visits will be the most effective means of committing the voter to the President. Wide issue impact is guaranteed with the tremendous media exposure the President commands.

It will be important for the President to begin his activity now. As Muskie increases his awareness and especially if he wins several primaries, the President may not be able to make up the difference. Our experience has shown that there are some limits to the President's level of support and the Democrats will undoubtedly increase their awareness.

This memorandum outlines the top priority states for the President's attention during the Spring and the issues and areas within those states having the greatest potential of increasing the President's strength. We do not address ourselves to the specific types of appearances as it is impossible to draw such conclusions from the data at this time. Further suggestions as to the types of appearances will be made in a subsequent memorandum. It may be useful to try several types of appearances during the next few weeks and then do some quick follow-up telephone studies to test their effectiveness.

Several criteria were used in selecting the priority states. First, we limited our choices to those states where the President is running behind, or in the case of larger states, where he and Muskie are very close. Second, we only considered situations which appear to require immediate action and would benefit from some attention. Of course, the priorities may change as the campaign progresses and further memoranda will be forthcoming as changes become evident in the data. Those states which clearly should be top priorities and would benefit from some attention during the Spring and early Summer are:

New York

At the present time the President is running neck and neck with Muskie. Currently, Muskie's awareness is low and his voting strength will probably increase as he becomes better known.

It will be important for the President to visit the New York City area and possibly the Buffalo area. His initial visit to New York City should be oriented to problems relating to middle and lower income persons (under \$12,000). These voters are concerned about drugs, crime and unemployment and live primarily outside Manhattan. A visit to Buffalo should be aimed at attracting middle income Catholics with taxes and pollution as the leading issues. A later visit to New York City should involve pollution problems and be oriented towards younger voters.

Texas

To win in Texas the President must improve his position in the mid-state region, principally Austin. Bussing is the major concern to Austin area voters. Other important issues are unemployment, crime and drugs. A presidential visit to Austin would be helpful.

California

The campaign in California will require the President to shore up his traditional Republican vote in southern California while decreasing the margin against him in the northern part of the state. Initially, we would suggest that the President visit southern California at a business related function. He should deal particularly with the economy/inflation, taxes and unemployment.

A later visit to the northern part of the state, possibly San Francisco will also be needed. Pollution would be an appropriate topic.

Pennsylvania

- In order to counter the extremely poor showing of the President in Philadelphia, he should visit this city. The visit should deal with crime and drug problems, especially as it relates to personal safety issues.

A fact finding trip in cooperation with Frank Rizzo may be an appropriate vehicle to make such a trip. It would be especially convenient if Rizzo would publicly invite the President to Philadelphia to study the "problems of the cities", notably crime and drugs.

Maryland

Nixon is weakest in the Baltimore metropolitan area where a visit would improve his position. The issue of most concern will be urban crime.

Missouri

In this state the President is running poorly in rural areas with older voters over 65 who voted for him in 1968 and who are now reverting back to their traditional Democratic vote. To improve this situation, the President should visit rural Missouri covering taxes (particularly property taxes) and inflation.

Wisconsin

The President is weakest in the southeastern portion of this state, and a visit to Racine or Kenosha would help improve his poor showing here. The principal issues should be unemployment, taxes, inflation and the economy.

If the President is unable to cover all of the areas indicated, alternative plans should be developed. This may involve the use of cabinet members instead of the President; but if such approach is taken, the effect of the visit will be greatly reduced.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

MS
see memo

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Second Wave Polling

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend the design of our second wave polling and to get your approval of the basic design so I can begin to work with the vendors on questionnaire design and specific cost estimates.

Purpose

The purpose of this wave of polling will be to update our polling information in the priority states after all the major Presidential Primaries are over and after perception of the potential Democratic candidates is better defined. The Primaries and national events have undoubtedly changed public opinion in several important areas since January, and we need current polling data to reevaluate our position in each of the priority states, to further define our national campaign plan, and to develop individual state campaign plans.

This set of polls will allow us to identify changes in the various candidates ballot strength or perception or in the basic issue structure since January. It will also allow us to begin to develop some trend lines on both the candidates and issues for the campaign.

Some of the major areas I think should be covered on this wave are:

Secret ballot measurement of the President vs. Humphrey, McGovern, and Kennedy with and without Wallace

Ballot effect of various potential Vice-Presidential candidates

Perception of the major candidates

Familiarity/Amount of knowledge of the candidates
Approval rating/Why
Personal perception data

Measurement of core pro and anti Nixon vote

National issue structure

Rating of intensity of issue concern

Rating of candidates ability to handle major issues

Perception of whether a problem has gotten better or worse under the Nixon administration

Attitudes toward specific national problems

Tax reform/VAT

National defense

Status and attitudes toward police

Attitudes toward Congress

Attitudes toward trade unions/George Meany

Attitudes toward Phase II

Marijuana/Drugs

Farm problems

Women's issues

This data would all be tabulated and analyzed by past voting behavior, by current voting intention, by degree of commitment for or against the President, by geographic regions, and by the various demographic groups. These are essentially the same breaks that we used in Wave I and would allow us to identify any specific changes in the President's strength since January. The data from this wave would also be run by Area of Dominate Influence (ADI) which would allow the advertising people to use the data more effectively by relating it to the major media markets.

Design

I think we should divide the states to be polled into two groups on this wave and do a fairly long interview designed to get in-depth data on the candidates and issues only in the top priority states and do a much shorter (and less expensive) interview designed to get the basic head-to-head and issue data in the other states.

The states I recommend we do in June are:

Long Interview

California

Texas

Illinois

Ohio

New Jersey

New York

G → Taster 5/15

Pennsylvania

Short Interview

- Alabama *why?*
- ~~Pennsylvania~~
- Maryland
- Michigan
- Connecticut
- Washington
- Wisconsin
- Missouri
- Oregon
- West Virginia ?
- Indiana

*5/15
Tater-Dec/IM
by Kelle + more polls
discussed*

While Indiana and Alabama are not on our list of priorities, I think we ought to check Indiana because of various state problems and we should survey Alabama to ascertain the President's voting strength in one of the deep south states. Alabama was selected simply on the basis that we can conduct the study on a shared cost basis with Red Blount.

OK

Timing

The appropriate schedule of this wave would be:

Approval of basic design	May 15
Development of questionnaire and final design	May 16-25
Preliminary approval of questionnaire and signing of contracts with vendors	May 30
Final approval of questionnaire	June 8
Interviewing	June 15-30
Preliminary reports	July 5
Final reports	July 15

Cost

The approximate cost of this wave would be \$250,000. This cost estimate does not, however, take into consideration any shared cost studies with individual states which I will negotiate as soon as this project is approved. I now anticipate the shared cost arrangements in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, and possibly Washington, and Oregon.

The final cost would be determined after the questionnaire and design is finalized and will be submitted to you for approval.

Recommendation: That you approve the second wave of polling, the list of states to be polled, and the schedule. The questionnaire and exact cost estimated will be submitted for your approval by May 30.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/ EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Connecticut Poll Results

Attached is some additional data from the recent Becker/Hartford Times Connecticut Poll. The poll is based on five hundred (500) telephone interviews done April 28-30, 1972.

This data is scheduled to be the subject of several stories in the Hartford Times this week. The President's speech on Monday night may, however, alter their publication schedule.

The President was also run against Humphrey, McGovern, Muskie, and Kennedy both with and without Wallace and that data will be available in a few days prior to their publication of it.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Connecticut
Becker Research
April 28-30, 1972
500 Interviews

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the situation in Vietnam:

	<u>April</u>	<u>February '72</u>
Approve	54%	62%
Disapprove	39	28
Don't know	7	10

Do you think the United States government is or is not doing all that it should be doing to bring about a peaceful end to the Vietnam war?

Is	40%
Is Not	53
Don't Know	7

Would you favor or oppose sending more U.S. troops back to South Vietnam to prevent South Vietnam being overrun by North Vietnamese troops?

Favor	16%
Oppose	78%
Don't Know	6

The U.S. has recently resumed bombing target inside North Vietnam in retaliation for the current North Vietnamese offensive in South Vietnam. Do you approve or disapprove of this resumption of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam?

Approve	53%
Disapprove	39
Don't Know	8

In your opinion, will the renewed U.S. bombing of North Vietnam help speed up the end of the war in Vietnam, will it cause the war to last even longer than otherwise or don't you think the bombing will have much effect one way or the other on when the war ends?

Speed end of war	27%
Delay end of war	19
No effect	41
No opinion	13

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Campaign Poll Analysis
and Wave II

Bob Teeter submitted his Final First Wave Analysis to you and John Mitchell today. It is attached at Tab A. The conclusions and recommendations are specific and surprising. You may want to use this memorandum as a talking paper at one of the regular political meetings, either with or without Teeter present.

Teeter also asked Mitchell for authority to conduct the second series of polls in mid-June. The cost is approximately \$250,000. Teeter is soliciting suggestions from the Campaign and White House Staffs. The final questionnaire will be submitted to you and Mitchell for final approval on June 1. Teeter's memoranda are at Tab B.



A

B

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Use of the First Wave Polling Results

Our in-depth analysis of the first wave polling results has pointed up a problem in using this data. When the polls were taken in January, Muskie's image in terms of personality and issues was apparently fuzzy in the voters' minds. He was seen as a vague, faceless Democrat with neither any particular pluses or minuses of his own. However, the data on the President was well defined in voters' minds.

Because of the lack of definition in Muskie's image in January and partially because of the effect of the primaries, the data on the Democratic candidates should be used carefully.

I think between now and the California primary we should be primarily concerned with convincing people to vote for the President rather than worrying about the President's image vis-a-vis any particular Democrat. Moreover, I think this is smart strategy. Our second wave data will give us much more reliable data for that purpose.

CONFIDENTIAL

April 21, 1972

Jeb
MS

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Key States

As you know, we have been using a number of lists of key states for different purposes such as surrogate scheduling, early primary strategy development, and media planning. The groupings of states have not been completely consistent, however, and we feel that in order to plan effectively for the general campaign we should establish one firm list. Therefore, during the course of the next week, we will analyze alternative selections of key states, consider the implications of each, and adopt a consolidated list.

cc: Mr. Larry Higby
Mr. Gordon Strachan

*You should be telling Chapin
what the list should be —
Not vice versa. When
are we going to get this
straightened out*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

X

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

April 27, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*

SUBJECT:

Oklahoma Opinion on ITT

Attached are the results of a poll taken by DMI in Oklahoma relative to the ITT controversy. The number of respondents was 800 and it was conducted April 1 - 8.

Despite the fact that the majority think the charges will turn out true, very few think that the current administration is any worse than past administrations.

VOTER ATTITUDES IN OKLAHOMA: ITT

"To what extent have you followed the recent ITT controversy--
quite a bit, somewhat or not much?"

(1) Quite a bit	17.3%
(2) Somewhat	20.4
(3) Not much	62.3
	<hr/>
	100.0%

"Generally speaking, do you believe the charges against ITT will
turn out to be true or false?"

(1) True	52.8%
(2) False	47.2
	<hr/>
	100.0%

"And, generally speaking, do you believe such scandals have
happened more often with the Nixon administration or have
happened just as much with other administrations?"

(1) More often with Nixon	10.3%
(2) Just as much with others	89.7%
	<hr/>
	100.0%

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

X

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
 (202) 333-0920

April 27, 1972 •

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
 SUBJECT: California Telephone Poll

I have just received the results of the monthly telephone poll DMI conducts in Los Angeles and Orange County.

This poll consists of 1,000 telephone interviews with the current wave being done from approximately March 20 to April 3rd.

This data would indicate:

- 1) The President's committed vote held fairly constant from February to March and is 3.9% greater than it was in September 1971. Wallace's strength appears to be increasing.

	<u>Sept. 1971</u>	<u>Feb. 1972</u>	<u>March 1972</u>
Richard Nixon	39.6%	44.8%	43.5%
Edmund Muskie	36.5	36.7	34.9
George Wallace	7.8	6.8	9.1
Undecided	<u>16.1</u>	<u>11.7</u>	<u>12.5</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- 2) The President's ratings on handling the economy appears to be worsening.

	<u>Oct. 1971</u>	<u>Feb. 1972</u>	<u>March 1972</u>
Approve	62.3%	50.9%	49.5%
Disapprove	24.4	35.5	37.6
Don't know/ No opinion	13.3	13.6	12.9

3) Muskie's strength among Democrats is falling while Humphrey's and McGovern's is increasing by significant margins.

	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>1972</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1972</u>
Kennedy	30%	28%	26%	24%	17%	12%
Muskie	26	33	31	29	32	25
Humphrey	10	10	14	17	21	27
McGovern	9	10	9	9	7	14

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

April 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

There seems to be some lack of agreement as to exactly what States constitute our "key list". Haldeman, for example, does not feel that Washington State is a key State. He feels we should continue to consider Florida a key State, as well as perhaps the Carolinas. Regarding your ranking of key States, it is his opinion that Michigan should outrank Wisconsin since it has more voters and is more important. He also thinks that Pennsylvania and New Jersey should be on Class A list.

You may want to discuss this with Gordon and/or Larry so that we arrive at a list which everyone is satisfied constitutes the key States.

cc: Larry Higby ✓
Gordon Strachan

April 15, 1972

MS
Haltman
resolved

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN *C*

There seems to be some lack of agreement as to exactly what States constitute our "key list". Haldeman, for example, does not feel that Washington State is a key State. He feels we should continue to consider Florida a key State, as well as perhaps the Carolinas. Regarding your ranking of key States, it is his opinion that Michigan should outrank Wisconsin since it has more voters and is more important. He also thinks that Pennsylvania and New Jersey should be on Class A list.

You may want to discuss this with Gordon and/or Larry so that we arrive at a list which everyone is satisfied constitutes the key States.

cc: Larry Higby
Gordon Strachan

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102

CONFIDENTIAL By EP NARS, Date 3-17-82

DS
What is the story on Key State
2

EYES ONLY

April 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BUD EVANS

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Key States

Dan Todd relayed to me your and Chuck's concern about our key State listing, and particularly Chuck's feeling that Michigan and Washington are a waste of time.

This initial selection of key States was made after a careful analysis of all available polling information. At this point it appears that we are much closer than we expected to be in Michigan and Washington and this is the reason for their inclusion. Obviously, these States can change as the campaign develops and new data becomes available. However, at this point everyone at 1701 is operating pretty much with this same list, and I would think you would want to do the same.

still

If you or Chuck *feel* strongly that we are way off track with Michigan and Washington, it may be worthwhile to have a discussion with Bob Malek on how these conclusions were arrived at. Also, I would be happy to discuss it with you further if you so desire.

cc: Chuck Colson

re dictation

4/15

Tetter

N.Y., N.J., Pa., Md., Ohio,
Ill., Mich., Wis., Mo.,
Tx., Cal., Ore., Fla., Conn

Ⓐ N.Y., Ohio, Ill., Tx & Cal
Pa.?

~~Ⓐ~~ Wis + Mo - prels

Key state list -

May
Teeter.

Bull
Mould 3/4

- Bring it up to date.

Teeter analysis - Wed mtg w/ Chapin
Wallace Olt

- Chapin, Porter, JSM, La Rue,
- Scheduling list

A. CALIF, TEXAS, N.Y. OHIO, ILLINOIS

B. PENNSY, N.J. WISC. MARYLAND, MD.

C. MICHIGAN, CONN, ORE, WASH

DRAFT
4/15/72

T - There are all kinds of internal memos at the Committee that have been written, some by the direct mail guys with their proposals and others by the advertising guys and others by this guy and that guy. Everybody had developed and said "here's where we should concentrate and here is the list of states". Well, some guys -- we were all operating with the same basic 14 or 15, you know that we have been operating with for some time. There's been a list, I think, of 14 for quite a long time that's been pretty much circulated in the White House, I assume out of Haldeman's office because ^{everybody} there is using it, and, in fact, a couple of Cabinet officers had called up and asked questions about specific things and said, "You know we have the list of the key 14 states."

G - What's that 14?

T - Well, that's the one that, Christ, I'm going to miss one, but it would be -- Well, just let me to take two more sentences and then I can give it to you in order. And so, I wrote a little note, just a two sentence note, to Jeb and said, there are a lot of lists of target states. The ad guys have what they call safe states, marginally safe states, opportunity states, target states, and Mary _____ has a list of what they call, you know, safe states, battleground states and

probable loss states, and I've got a list of states -- and this is really reordering the same basic 13, or 14 or 15 states -- and I just wrote a note out to Jeb on Thursday, I guess, or whatever day I was there, and said, "I think that it might be useful at the next small group strategy meeting that we agree"-- we all seem to agree on the 13 or 14 states -- "that if we get them in a little bit of rank order and call them by the same names, whether they be A, B or C, or whatever, and we get the Attorney General to agree to some basic decisions as to what the A states means. If the state is going to be an A state, what does that mean? That means that it is an absolute top priority and it is a large state too and it means that we are going to put this kind of emphasis there for the time being. And if it is a B state, so in other words the ad guys and the polling people and the scheduling people and all that are operating with the same kind of general structure," and he agrees with that. Now that hasn't really been done, but I said, in this meeting, which was that same afternoon, the same day, with Dwight. He had this list of 14 states that he was operating with and those states are, and God I hope I can remember them: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, Texas, California, Oregon, Florida, -- how many have you got there, do you know?

G - 1-13.

T - ~~██████~~ I'm one shy. Well, Connecticut. Connecticut is the one that we have added on a tentative basis. And I said, "There's a hell a difference between those 14 states", and I said -- they were talking about the President's schedule which Haldeman has asked Dwight to get a kind of proposed master plan together -- and I said, "It is obvious to me if you want to know, if he has a limited amount of time, and these are the 14, the big ones have got to be, New York, Pennsylvania -- no, no -- New York, Ohio, Illinois, Texas and California." I said, "Those are 5 states, there is no question in anybody's mind that they are A states now and they will be A states and it is inconceivable that any of those would be in either the safe or sure loss category at any time during the campaign." I said, "Those are 5 and we have tentatively added Pennsylvania to that list, that there is no question about, you know, the rest of them we have a lot of questions about." But those are 5 that anyone who has ever been through a campaign knows damn well that they are going to be there forever. So, that's the only way we have grouped them up to this point, but I think at one of these next meetings we're going to try to sit down and say OK these are going to be the A, B and C, and this is basically what that means.

G - OK. But you have no decision on the states from Mitchell or anybody?

T - Well, I think that Mitchell agrees and has agreed with me at every case that those 5 states were the A states. I don't think that there is any, and I don't think anybody has ever disagreed with that because if you take size and closeness and ticket splitting votes. And the one question mark in there would be whether you put that _____.

Now I said, "let me for the purposes of this meeting," and this is not purporting a list but during the course of that meeting, I said "For your purposes, Dwight, let me divide ^{the rest of} them for you into what I think should be some considerations to your program. One those is is that we have a couple of states like Wisconsin and Missouri that we've got problems with. Those are two states where we are not doing as well as I think most of us expected, and we will want to take a good look at those states when we do our next wave of polling in June and July. It seems to me that if we are going to put some effort in there and then measure and see if we had any effort and if that effort had any effect, those would be two that ought to be considered for the time period you are talking about. And Porter was in that meeting and I said "This seems to be particularly true", -- at this point we were talking a lot about the surrogate and I said "Those are two that if you could get in and out of with some surrogates three or four times before June 15th, it would be help. Then we could tell when we measured again if we had any movement

or not.^u And the other two were Pennsylvania and New Jersey that I said were marginal and I think you should consider them just the same.

G - OK. Listen, would you do this for that meeting on Monday with Mitchell and Bob. Would you put together a very brief list of the states so we could get a final decision out of them what the key states really are?

T - Yeah. Although I'm not sure that that isn't one of the topics of the meeting Monday night.

G - OK. I don't know if Mitchell is going to attend or not on Monday night --

T - Well, I don't think he is, but --

G - be surprised. But Bob and Mitchell should obviously focus on that in the meeting with you on Monday.

T - OK.

G - OK. Would you put something together on that for us.

T - Yeah. I'll bring that with me on Monday.

G - Great.

T - I've got -- Have you got any idea what time of day?

G - Oh, no. I would guess late morning or late afternoon,
but that's just a guess.

T - Well, I've got to go up to the Hill



Ohio

Replacement
Sheet for
Vendor's Report.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

What do you think are the most important problems facing the State of Ohio at the present time?

	Total 1st Mention as Important Problems	Total 2nd Mention as Important Problems	Total 3rd Mention as Important Problems	First mentioned problems %							Cent. & SE
				Rep.	T-S	Dem.	Marg.	N&E	NW	SW	
High taxes	26.6%	(17.8%)	(3.6%)	28.0%	28.3%	25.8%	20.7%	31.0%	32.3%	13.5%	28.6%
Unemployment	19.4	(10.0)	(2.8)	14.3	15.1	28.3	19.6	21.4	7.3	22.9	17.0
Education/ Schools/Money for schools	14.7	(9.0)	(3.0)	16.8	17.1	11.3	12.0	10.6	18.8	22.4	12.5
Government/Need new leaders	7.2	(2.6)	(0.9)	11.2	7.9	4.6	4.3	4.5	13.5	8.9	8.0
Ecology/Pollution	6.5	(8.2)	(5.0)	5.6	7.6	4.2	10.9	8.6	4.2	3.1	7.1
Crime	6.1	(5.8)	(3.9)	7.5	6.3	5.4	5.4	5.8	4.2	7.3	7.1
Finances	4.5	(2.9)	(1.8)	7.5	4.6	3.3	2.2	4.0	1.0	8.3	2.7
Economy/Inflation	3.1	(1.5)	(1.0)	2.5	3.6	2.5	4.3	3.0	5.2	2.6	2.7
Drugs	2.6	(5.9)	(4.0)	1.9	2.6	1.7	6.5	2.0	5.2	3.1	1.8
Welfare	1.4	(1.1)	(0.9)	0.6	1.3	1.7	2.2	1.3	2.1	0.5	2.7
Other mentions:											
Racial problems	0.9	(2.8)	(0.9)								
Health care	0.5	(1.6)	(1.3)								
Housing	0.3	(0.8)	(0.3)								
Roads	0.3	(0.8)	(0.4)								
Transportation	0.0	(0.5)	(0.3)								
Bussing	0.1	(0.3)	(0.0)								
All others	1.0	(0.5)	(1.3)								
Don't know	4.8	(28.0)	(68.9)								



Pennsylvania

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

In which one of these areas do you think Senator Kennedy would do the best job as President?

	<u>Voter Type</u>					<u>Area</u>			<u>Total Inter-view Base</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Marg.</u>	<u>Phil.</u>	<u>Phil. Suburb</u>	<u>Pitt. Metro</u>		<u>Out-State</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	399
Race Problem	17.0	14.3	12.5	26.0	11.8	33.3	14.1	8.7	15.3	68
Vietnam	11.3	9.5	11.6	13.4	9.2	9.7	9.4	10.0	13.1	45
Unemployment	6.0	4.8	5.4	5.5	9.2	8.3	7.8	3.7	5.5	24
General Unrest	5.3	1.2	4.5	6.3	9.2	6.9	7.8	2.5	4.9	21
Inflation	4.5	3.6	4.5	6.3	2.6	1.4	6.3	6.2	4.4	18
Education	4.3	3.6	4.5	4.7	3.9	4.2	3.1	--	6.6	17
Health Care	4.3	6.0	6.3	1.6	3.9	4.2	6.3	2.5	4.4	17
Ecology	3.3	1.2	5.4	1.6	5.3	1.4	4.7	2.5	3.8	13
Bussing kids	2.3	3.6	3.6	--	2.6	--	1.6	1.2	3.8	9
National Defense	1.8	2.4	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.4	--	1.2	2.7	7
Taxes	1.8	14.3	12.5	26.0	11.8	2.8	--	--	2.7	7
Drugs	1.5	2.4	1.8	1.6	--	1.4	1.6	2.5	1.1	6
Crime	.5	--	.9	.8	--	1.4	--	--	.5	2
Don't know	36.3	46.4	35.7	29.1	38.2	23.6	37.5	58.7	31.1	145

In which one do you think he would do his poorest job?

	<u>Voter Type</u>					<u>Area</u>			<u>Total Inter-view Base</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Marg.</u>	<u>Phil.</u>	<u>Phil. Suburb</u>	<u>Pitt. Metro</u>		<u>Out-State</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	399
Taxes	8.0	6.0	8.0	10.2	6.6	5.6	6.3	3.7	11.5	32
Inflation	6.3	9.5	6.3	3.9	6.6	5.6	3.1	5.0	8.2	25
General Unrest	5.3	8.3	4.5	6.3	1.3	--	7.8	5.0	6.6	21
Crime	4.5	3.6	8.9	2.4	2.6	4.2	6.3	3.7	4.4	18
National Defense	4.3	1.2	8.0	3.9	2.6	5.6	3.1	1.2	5.5	17
Ecology	3.8	4.8	1.8	5.5	2.6	8.3	3.1	--	3.8	15
Unemployment	3.5	3.6	5.4	.8	5.3	--	--	7.5	4.4	14
Vietnam	3.3	1.2	5.4	2.4	3.9	2.8	1.6	2.5	4.4	13
Race Problem	3.3	7.1	.9	2.4	3.9	4.2	1.6	3.7	3.3	13
Bussing kids	3.0	3.6	2.7	3.1	2.6	--	6.3	--	4.4	12
Health Care	2.0	--	.9	4.7	1.3	4.2	3.1	1.2	1.1	8
Drugs	2.0	--	1.8	2.4	3.9	1.4	3.1	2.5	1.6	8
Education	1.0	--	.9	.8	2.6	1.4	1.6	--	1.1	4
Don't know	49.9	51.2	44.6	51.2	53.9	56.9	53.1	63.7	39.9	199

AFU
4/3 ✓
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/27

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

The campaign has not conducted any polls in Connecticut. However, Governor Meskill discussed a private Connecticut poll with John Mitchell that showed the President slightly ahead in Connecticut. Teeter is not privy to the results.

At Mitchell's direction, Teeter arranged an agreement with Becker, the Hartford Times pollster, to obtain results in advance of publication and to piggy back questions with confidential results.

On April 4, Teeter should receive the first results from Becker.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BAK*
SUBJECT: Hartford Times Poll

The March 21 News Summary contained the following note on the Hartford Times poll:

-- A Hartford Times poll finds 55% of Connecticut's voters object to EMK running for President this year.--

It was requested that this be compared with our results.

Gordon Strachan will follow up on this request and prepare an answer.

cc: Alexander P. Butterfield

Wallace Stro
Key Sts
Camp Theme

April 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Meeting with John Mitchell
and Bob Teeter - April 12

John Mitchell and Bob Teeter could meet with you for one hour tomorrow, April 12, 1972 at 1 P.M. to review campaign strategy based on the First Wave survey results. Teeter's memorandum on the Wallace candidacy is attached for your review before the meeting.

When Magruder discussed the meeting with Mitchell he asked who should attend. Magruder indicated no preference and Mitchell deferred to you. The question is whether Magruder and I should attend. Magruder and I have had considerable trouble getting Bob Teeter to respond to anything other than a direct, personal order from you or Mitchell. If Magruder and I could attend, our "clout" with Teeter would be increased and he would be more responsive.

_____ Set meeting at 1 P.M. with Mitchell and Teeter.

_____ Magruder and Strachan attend.

_____ Magruder and Strachan do not attend.

_____ Re-schedule meeting.

Your other suggestion about a political strategy meeting at Camp David with Ehrlichman, Colson, Mitchell, Magruder, Malek, you and me has not been mentioned to Magruder.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Meeting with John Mitchell
and Bob Teeter - April 17, 1972

You asked that the survey-strategy meeting with Bob Teeter be re-scheduled. A check with John Mitchell's secretary indicates that 3 P.M. today would be convenient. The question of whether Jeb Magruder and I should attend the meeting remains unanswered. Mitchell deferred to you when Magruder asked him.

- _____ Set meeting at 3 P.M. with Mitchell and Teeter.
- _____ Magruder and Strachan attend.
- _____ Magruder and Strachan do not attend.
- _____ Re-schedule meeting.

Recent Teeter memoranda on Wallace and the campaign theme are attached for review though you have already seen copies. Another matter which you may want to cover with Mitchell and Teeter is the question of Key States. The last time you formally addressed the question of Key States is June 23, 1971. Colson submitted a list of ten, which was accepted. The ten were California, Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Florida, Indiana and New Jersey. Mitchell has not directed Magruder to follow any set group of Key States, though several lists are used for a variety of purposes (scheduling, advertising, computer mapping, direct mail, etc.).

The list which Chapin discussed with you in Canada is Teeter's informal assessment based on the campaign's first wave polls

and other polls Teeter has seen. The list is (a) California, Texas, New York, Ohio, and Illinois; (b) Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Maryland, and Missouri; (c) Michigan, Connecticut, Oregon and Washington. Neither Teeter nor Magruder have covered the list with Mitchell. Magruder and others in the campaign are anxious for guidance from you and John Mitchell.

Att.

GS/jb

→ China Hanes

Key pts

Reasons - Wash, etc.

- 1st Wave

- Not Teefer (14) + angry attrib to him

Conn. on + OK;

Don't know source.

Teefer memo -

every has
list - all
90%

No agree fr/T Mon A, B, C.

Prob being resolved
by SM + mail.

Sat morning strategy mtg.

Teefer Note

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

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Att.

GS/jb

April 14, 1972

GA
Jordan

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN RIETZ

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Selection of State Chairmen

Thank you for the list of target dates for selection of the Youth Chairmen in the various States (it was only a week late, you fink). You may already be thinking along these lines and simply omitted them, but I would urge you to shoot for having State Chairmen in the States of Michigan, Ohio, and Washington by May 15th. I would certainly think that these should have a higher priority in your thinking than other States you have targeted for then - including Colorado, Nebraska, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, and Kansas.

Rietz

Once again what are the
key States and what is
our strategy in each —

L.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

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and Bob Teeter - April 17, 1972

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The list which Chapin discussed with you in Canada is Teeter's informal assessment based on the campaign's first wave polls

Re-scheduled
He does want to do it but give him a couple days notice
K.

and other polls Teeter has seen. The list is (a) California, Texas, New York, Ohio, and Illinois; (b) Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Maryland, and Missouri; (c) Michigan, Connecticut, Oregon and Washington. Neither Teeter nor Magruder have covered the list with Mitchell. Magruder and others in the campaign are anxious for guidance from you and John Mitchell.

Att.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 11, 1972

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Yarvis*
SUBJECT: Wallace Strategy

This memorandum will outline the current impact of George Wallace on the November election and various campaign implications of his candidacy at this time.

Ballot Effect of the Wallace Vote

In our national study, George Wallace obtains approximately 11% of the vote. As expected there is great geographical variance in his strength. In those states where we have conducted campaign polls, the Wallace vote ranges from 24% in Tennessee to 5% in New Hampshire. Our 1968 experience would indicate that the Wallace vote might range up to 40% in the deep south -- Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia. Attachment A shows the vote in those states where we have polled.

The effect of a Wallace candidacy on the President's vote varies greatly depending on the Democratic nominee. Against Humphrey or Kennedy, a Wallace candidacy hurts the President's chances in several crucial northern states. On the other hand, it is to the President's advantage to have Wallace on the ballot where Muskie is the candidate. In the border states, the President defeats all potential Democratic candidates by such large margins that a Wallace candidacy has no effect. ^{1/}The following table shows the effect of the Wallace candidacy:

1/

A state was put in "Helps" or "Hurts" category depending upon the change in the President's margin from the two way to the three way ballots. A state was categorized as "No difference" if the margin remained the same or if the President won or lost the state by 10% or more.

	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>
<u>HELPS:</u>	Indiana +4/+8 Missouri -10/-8 New Hampshire +7/+10 New Jersey +8/+11 Ohio +6/+8 Oregon +1/+3 Pennsylvania -6/-4 Texas -2/-1 Wisconsin -12/-9	Wisconsin 0/+2	Iowa +8/+9
<u>HURTS:</u>	California -5/-6 New York +1/-1	Maryland +4/+1 Missouri -2/-3 New York +9/+7 Oregon +11/+7 Pennsylvania +6/+3 Texas +9/+6	California -5/-7 Kentucky +9/+8 Maryland -1/-2 Missouri -2/-6 New Jersey +8/+7 New York +2/+1 North Carolina +14/+9 Ohio +10/+7 Pennsylvania +6/+3 Tennessee +15/+9 Texas +1/0

NO DIFFERENCE:

Florida +21/+17	California +7/+7	Florida +15/+10
Iowa +8/+10	Florida +22/+17	Indiana +8/+8
Kentucky +15/+15	Indiana +15/+14	New Hampshire +22/+20
Maryland -1/-1	Iowa +18/+21	Oregon +4/+4
N. Carolina +19/+12	Kentucky +16/+16	Virginia +25/+18
Tennessee +14/+11	New Hamp. +24/+23	Wisconsin -11/-11
Virginia +15/+15	New Jersey +18/+16	
	N. Carolina +25/+17	
	Ohio +13/+10	
	Tennessee +17/+11	
	Virginia +23/+17	

Our research shows that the farther to the left the Democratic candidate is perceived from the President the more negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. Therefore, if the Democratic nominee moves to a central position on the liberal-conservative spectrum, a Wallace candidacy should be to our advantage and vice versa. It appears that if McGovern is the nominee, the effect of a Wallace candidacy would be similar to Kennedy and Humphrey rather than like Muskie.

Approximately 50% of the Wallace vote is hard core voting for him on all ballots, while the other half switch to and from Wallace depending on the particular candidate choices offered.

Profile of Wallace Voters

The demographic voter profile of the Wallace voter varies considerably by region. In California, Wallace voters are primarily in the \$7,000 to \$15,000 income bracket, have less education, are more Protestant and are slightly more non-union than other voters. A high percentage are male. In terms of voting behavior, Wallace draws slightly more Republicans than Democrats.

In New York, Wallace voters are more likely to be Democrats, Catholics and union members. A much higher percentage of men support Wallace than do women.

Wallace voters in Florida are highly Democratic, and have substantially lower education than other voters. Wallace also draws heavily from voters who are Protestant and non-union. The support from men and women is more even in Florida than in other states although slightly more men than women support Wallace.

In terms of issues, Wallace voters rank the issues in approximately the same importance as other voters; however, Wallace voters display more intensity of feeling about all issues.

Nationally, bussing remains the least important of all issues tested, although Wallace voters are more opposed to bussing than Nixon or Muskie voters. The most important issues are crime, drugs, and taxes, and Vietnam. The tax issue is more important for Wallace voters than other voters. A majority of Wallace voters disagree that the President's economic policies will benefit the working man, compared to lesser percentages of Nixon and Muskie voters who disagree. Wallace voters generally perceive the President's handling of issues more favorably than Muskie voters but substantially less favorably than Nixon voters.

Other Third Party Candidates

Our research shows that our chances for winning every state are substantially improved with the addition of other Democratic third party candidates such as Shirley Chisholm and Eugene McCarthy on the ballot. This conclusion was confirmed by an independent California study showing a similar result in increasing the President's margin with addition of Benjamin Spock to the ballot.

Alternatively a conservative Republican third party candidate would undoubtedly be a detriment to the President's voting strength.

Campaign Implications

In the border states, the President's large margins preclude any negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. The effect in the deep south, however, is uncertain and consideration should be given to conducting additional secret ballots in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana to determine whether the President would be

able to win these states with and without a Wallace candidacy. A recent poll conducted in Louisiana shows a slight edge for Nixon over Wallace. This finding should be verified and studied in other deep south states.

Our research also indicates that the Wallace voters do considerable switching and a careful program should be developed to identify concentrations of Wallace vote in critical states. The issues that appeal to Wallace voters (crime, drugs, and taxes) are ones which will need emphasis to all voters. Therefore, our success in dealing with the Wallace voters will depend largely on our ability to identify these voters and reach them with our message. Similar to ticket-splitters, Wallace voters should be easier to convert than traditional straight Democratic party voters. Direct mail and canvassing programs should first be directed at the heaviest Wallace precincts from 1968. This effort should be coordinated with an identical effort directed at high ticket-splitting precincts.

The decision as to whether we want Wallace on or off the ballot should be delayed until the Democratic candidate is chosen and his perceived position on the liberal-conservative spectrum is determined. The closer the Democratic candidate is perceived to the President, the more help a Wallace candidacy will be. As of now, it appears that a Wallace candidacy in November would be a detriment against either Humphrey or Kennedy. There are indications, however, that this situation may change as a result of the primaries and further campaigning. At this time, it seems most appropriate to us to keep our options available rather than making any firm decision.

If possible, we should begin to take whatever steps are necessary to have Shirley Chisholm, Eugene McCarthy and Benjamin Spock on the ballot in all critical states. Chisholm appears to be our best choice of these potential candidates. Consideration should be given to funding the candidacy of one of these persons to permit their filing as a third party candidate in as many states as possible. Similarly, we must make every effort to prevent a conservative third party candidate being used against us.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

April 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Campaign Theme

R.M.T. by [signature]

As we begin to focus the campaign exclusively on the general election and as the President increases his travel schedule, I think it important that we develop a central theme or idea for the campaign. It is important that the President's campaign have one central idea -- a message that everyone knows by election day to which various statements and actions can be tied. It does not necessarily have to be a slogan, although one could emerge later. The main point is that the campaign have a central idea or message that the majority of voters find attractive and would support.

Based on my analysis of our first wave data and the other research data I have looked at, I am concerned that the President is viewed as a tactician without an overall strategy or master plan for the country. This causes voters to interpret many of his positions and programs as things done for political expediency or to appease specific special interest groups rather than as part of an overall plan to move this country toward a perceivable set of goals or objectives. A majority of voters do not apparently think the President has such a master plan. No one seems to know how the President would like to leave the country after eight years "for his children and grandchildren."

I think it is imperative for the President and for the campaign to articulate his master plan to the voters and to show how the President's positions and programs fit into the plan. This should become the campaign theme -- the idea that ties everything together.

While this is important for every campaign and every President, I think it is particularly important for this one. It is a relatively well-accepted fact that he does not have any great personal appeal and will not be re-elected on the basis of personality or personal appeal. Moreover, because of the current issue structure and the type of problems he has had to deal with, I think we would have trouble trying to fight the campaign on a series of specific issues.

As an incumbent, the President is always open to the charge that he should have done more. More importantly, the general attitude in the country toward government, and politicians is very negative. If the voters know and understand what the President is trying to do for the country and how each of his programs are a part of that plan, it should be easier to gain support for his programs.

Also, the fact that voters are concerned about more issues now than has been the case in previous campaigns and also because the solutions to many of these problems are complex, it will be difficult for the President to attract the ticket-splitter on the basis of specific issues. Rather, he is going to have to appeal to these swing voters on the basis of a set of well-articulated goals for the country and further showing that his programs are moving the country toward these goals, and that he is more capable of leading the country toward these goals than his opponent.

The essential elements of this theme are what the President believes to be the destiny of the nation and the element of hope. The President could do this well. It would be positively received in the press and it is the type of approach which the public apparently wants and would favorably receive. The President may find that a "destiny speech" is the appropriate vehicle to deliver such a theme. It would allow him to stay on the high road and elevate the level of the campaign. It would be something he could develop and use now as President and yet carry into the campaign. It would give the campaign a common thread with which to tie things together while giving many of his individual statements and positions a prospective which they currently lack, yet be general enough so that the President would not be trapped by events between now and the election.

By giving the voters the idea that he has a master plan, the President would go a long way in solving the credibility problem. If the voters could see his various positions in the context of an overall strategy the President would be less suspect of being political. This approach gives the administration more breath and depth by tying things together such as China, Vietnam, welfare reform, bussing, economic controls, revenue sharing etc. It would also emphasize the complexity of the job and give us the benefit of being evaluated on the record as a whole.

While I recognize that the President should not get into a position of over promising, and also realizing that anything he says must be believable, I think his basic theme must restore the element of hope. I believe our data clearly shows that the people have lost hope that things can and will get better. More recently, there are indications that the public is looking for someone to restore this feeling of hope and optimism which has characteristically been the American attitude.

I have the feeling that the President has been very close to this idea several times when he has talked about the loss of the American spirit and desire to be number one, but his choice of words has left him just off the mark. Possibly a slight change of words or emphasis could make this basic idea catch hold. Also, I have the feeling that the President has used this approach to defend unpopular positions in the past, such as the SST. He has left the impression that we should strive to be number one so that we will be better than everyone else, not just for the sake of excellence itself. This is a subtle difference which has occurred in our society in the past 10-20 years.

We have the advantage of time to experiment with this approach over the next several weeks while the Democrats are involved with the primaries. The various domestic appearances which the President makes during the spring and summer present an excellent opportunity to try to find the combination of words and ideas that catch. Possibly the President needs a "new" inaugural address to be used on some occasion when people least expect it, such as during a campus appearance or before ethnics. It may be possible to tie this approach to the Bicentennial.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

May 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information is a copy of a poll that was given to me by Chuck Ross, the Ohio State Chairman.

DM 1
 Apr 1-8, 1972
 MONTGOMERY COUNTY
 DAYTON, OHIO

	MUSKIE	HUMPHREY	KENNEDY
NIXON	47%	51%	51%
	35%	38%	38%

	NIXON	HUMPHREY	UNDECIDED
DAYTON CITY	41	45	14
N. SUBURBS	55	37	9
S. SUBURBS	60	30	10
UNION HOUSE	38	48	15
NON UNION HOUSE	57	33	10
18-24	43	49	8
25-34	52	35	13
35-44	61	31	8
45-54	46	41	13
60+	50	38	12
NIXON	89	10	2
MUSKIE	18	78	4
UNDECIDED	17	30	53

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY _____ IS
HANDLING HIS JOB AS _____ ?

	Approve (%)	Disapprove (%)	Don't Know (%)
Richard Nixon	2 49	3 39	12
John Gilligan	3 38	4 45	17

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY THE _____
IS HANDLING ITS JOB?

Ohio State Legislature	4 33	2 38	29
County Commission	1 52	1 21	27

18-24	46	46	8
25-34	46	39	14
35-44	58	28	14
45-59	48	40	13
60+	45	44	11
UNION HOUSE	41	46	13
NON UNION HOUSE	53	35	12
DAYTON	41	44	15
M. PUB	53	33	14
W. PUB	56	37	8

2000 cases
 mail probability sample
 Personal interviews

5-3-72
 Gordon:
 Here is some free
 data for you
 Sam

"Here is a list of problems facing the country today. Which two or three of these are you personally most concerned about?"

	General Public			Thought Leaders		
	July-Aug. 1971	Jan.-Feb. 1972		July-Aug. 1971	Jan.-Feb. 1972	
Drug addiction	48%	53%	+5	51%	45%	-6
Air pollution	46%	39	-7	53	32	-21
Inflation	42	42	-	48	41	-7
Water pollution	31	24	-7	29	28	-1
Involvement in Vietnam	29	25	-4	18	26	+8
Quality of education	25	26	+1	37	37	-
Racial difficulties	25	23	-2	22	29	+7
Juvenile delinquency	21	24	+3	31	27	-4
Litter and solid waste	20	12	-8	18	16	-2
Using up natural resources	15	12	-3	15	18	+3
Slums and urban ghettos	13	13	-	14	13	-1
Chemical additives or preservatives in food	9	8	-1	10	12	+2
Draft evasion	9	5	-4	9	9	-
Invasion of privacy	9	11	+2	8	18	+10
Employment opportunities for blacks	6	7	+1	3	8	+5
Deceptive packaging, labeling	5	5	-	5	8	+3
Discrimination against women	3	4	+1	4	4	-
No opinion	2	1	-1	*	0	-

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 5, 1972



CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Connecticut Poll on Bombing, ITT, and Meany

R.M.T. [Signature]

Attached, please find the responses to questions involving the increased bombing of North Vietnam, the I.T.&T. controversy and George Meany. This data was collected along with a recent Connecticut newspaper poll by John Becker as a part of our arrangement with him. These responses will not be published.

The trial heat data will not be available until the first of next week, but I am advised that the President was run against Humphrey, McGovern, Muskie, and Kennedy. In each of these races the President leads. Less encouraging, however, his approval rating on the handling of Vietnam is significantly down from February. The Vietnam data will run in the Hartford Times on Sunday. The head to head data including demographics will be available early next week.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Question: In your opinion, will the renewed U.S. bombing of North Vietnam help speed up the end of the war in Vietnam, will cause the war to last even longer than otherwise or don't you think the bombing will have much effect one way or the other on when the war ends?

Will help speed up end of war	27%
Will cause war to last even longer	19%
Won't have much effect one way or other	41%
Don't know/No opinion	13%

Question: When the leaders of the present national administration in Washington are making major decisions, how much importance do you think they attach to the opinions and feeling of people like yourself--a great deal of importance, a fair amount of importance, only a little importance or practically no importance at all?

Great deal of importance	7%
Fair amount of importance	34%
Only a Little importance	30%
Practically no importance	25%
Don't know, no opinion	4%

Question: Have you heard or read anything recently about a big company being accused of making a large political contribution while a federal anti-trust suit was being brought against that company?

Yes	75%
No	21%
Don't know	4%

Question: Would you please tell me the name of that company?

Named ITT	66%
Others named	2%
Don't know/No Opinion	7%

Question: As you may know, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, has recently quit the National Pay Board and said that President Nixon's economic policies discriminate against the working man and favor big business. President Nixon on the other hand, says that his economic policies treat everyone equally. Do you tend to agree with President Nixon or Mr. Meany?

Agree President Nixon	35%
Agree Mr. Meany	49%
Neither	5%
Don't know	11%

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N W
 WASHINGTON, D C 20006
 (202) 333-0920

April 27, 1972 •

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
 SUBJECT: California Telephone Poll

I have just received the results of the monthly telephone poll DMI conducts in Los Angeles and Orange County.

This poll consists of 1,000 telephone interviews with the current wave being done from approximately March 20 to April 3rd.

This data would indicate:

- 1) The President's committed vote held fairly constant from February to March and is 3.9% greater than it was in September 1971. Wallace's strength appears to be increasing.

	<u>Sept. 1971</u>	<u>Feb. 1972</u>	<u>March 1972</u>
Richard Nixon	39.6%	44.8%	43.5%
Edmund Muskie	36.5	36.7	34.9
George Wallace	7.8	6.8	9.1
Undecided	<u>16.1</u>	<u>11.7</u>	<u>12.5</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- 2) The President's ratings on handling the economy appears to be worsening.

	<u>Oct. 1971</u>	<u>Feb. 1972</u>	<u>March 1972</u>
Approve	62.3%	50.9%	49.5%
Disapprove	24.4	35.5	37.6
Don't know/ No opinion	13.3	13.6	12.9

3) Muskie's strength among Democrats is falling while Humphrey's and McGovern's is increasing by significant margins.

	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>1972</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1972</u>
Kennedy	30%	28%	26%	24%	17%	12%
Muskie	26	33	31	29	32	25
Humphrey	10	10	14	17	21	27
McGovern	9	10	9	9	7	14

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

April 27, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*

SUBJECT:

Oklahoma Opinion on ITT

Attached are the results of a poll taken by DMI in Oklahoma relative to the ITT controversy. The number of respondents was 800 and it was conducted April 1 - 8.

Despite the fact that the majority think the charges will turn out true, very few think that the current administration is any worse than past administrations.

VOTER ATTITUDES IN OKLAHOMA: ITT

"To what extent have you followed the recent ITT controversy--
quite a bit, somewhat or not much?"

(1) Quite a bit	17.3%
(2) Somewhat	20.4
(3) Not much	62.3
	<hr/>
	100.0%

"Generally speaking, do you believe the charges against ITT will
turn out to be true or false?"

(1) True	52.8%
(2) False	47.2
	<hr/>
	100.0%

"And, generally speaking, do you believe such scandals have
happened more often with the Nixon administration or have
happened just as much with other administrations?"

(1) More often with Nixon	10.3%
(2) Just as much with others	89.7%
	<hr/>
	100.0%

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

4/27

L. * Three wires - reaction

- #'s of
- Sen Hughes - critics +
- FU comments
- Analyses

Call #'s

UPI - machine not printing

1145

" 45 - Tunney

- McG

70, 56, 59

AP 36 ^{45 78} UPI - 44, 45, 54

Dean - Demo report 12 Aft
re 4/29 + 5/4

Kathy + Mort re net news re

Teter - McG or H

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1972

*GS
A 3/27/72 0-775*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*
SUBJECT: Hartford Times Poll

The March 21 News Summary contained the following note on the Hartford Times poll:

-- A Hartford Times poll finds 55% of Connecticut's voters object to EMK running for President this year.--

It was requested that this be compared with our results.

Gordon Strachan will follow up on this request and prepare an answer.

cc: Alexander P. Butterfield

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MACRUDER 

This is why we are interested in Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
SUBJECT: Washington

The President

The President is looking good. The State GOP just received the results of a poll taken by Central Survey. The results are extremely encouraging:

Do you approve of the way Nixon has been doing his job?

<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
51%	43%	6%

Do you approve of how the Vice President has been doing his job?

<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
38%	41%	20%

In an election between Nixon, Muskie and Wallace

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>No Position</u>
43%	38%	10%	9%

If you favor Wallace, but Wallace not on ballot, how would you vote?

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>No Position</u>
47%	41%	12%

If Jackson were the nominee for Vice President on Democrat ticket

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>No Position</u>
37%	50%	13%

Another questionnaire was handed out at the precinct caucuses in King County (a very conservative county) representing 33% of the state's population. The results here are also encouraging:

Do you approve of President's method of ending the war?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
90.2%	9.8%

Should President set a specific date for withdrawal?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
10.4%	89.6%

Do you approve of wage and price controls?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
74.6%	25.4%

Was the China trip in the national interest?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
89.4%	10.6%

Do you approve of Nixon's Supreme Court appointments?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
64.0%	36.0%

Who is your first preference for GOP Presidential nomination?

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Ashbrook</u>	<u>McCloskey</u>
92.8%	5.4%	1.8%

Who is your first preference for Vice President?

<u>Agnew</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Rockefeller</u>	<u>Ashbrook</u>
76.4%	14.3%	7.1%	2.2%

Page 3

Harry S. Dent
April 18, 1972

Governor

Governor Evans (R) will win. The Central Survey Poll showed him with 40% approval. The Democrat contenders are Martin Durkan, 18%; ex-Governor Albert Rosellini, 21%; and Jim McDermott, 6%. The contest is between Durkan and Rosellini.

Senate

No race.

House

The redistricting issue is still in court and things could change. Assuming the current plan is accepted, the House race looks like this:

Thomas Pelly (R) not running. Joe Pritchard is the GOP nominee and should win. There is no Democrat nominee as yet.

Lloyd Meeds (D) is favored. GOP candidate is Bill Reams. There is no primary contest. The redistricting favors the GOP.

Julia Hansen (D) will win; however, she is upset about redistricting which favors GOP and has threatened to run for Governor. No GOP candidate as yet.

Mike McCormack. No Democrat primary. The redistricting favors the Republicans. The GOP candidate, Stewart Bledsoe, can win. No primary opposition.

Thomas Foley (D) favored. Redistricting favors the Democrats. No GOP candidate as yet.

Floyd Hicks (D) no primary will win. Redistricting favors Democrats. No GOP candidate.

Page 4
Harry S. Dent
April 18, 1972

Brock Adams (D). No primary, is favored.
Redistricting favors GOP but the district
remains swing Democrat. GOP has no candidate
as yet.

We will keep Pelly's seat and can gain two more seats.

Issue

The two chief issues are the economy and jobs and local
taxes.

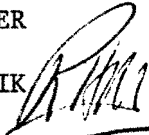
The bombing of North Vietnam is not a viable issue.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
 (202) 333-0920

April 26, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
 THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
 FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK 
 SUBJECT: Priority Ranking of the States for the Campaign

This memorandum sets forth, for discussion purposes, a proposed priority ranking of the states, for the purpose of developing strategy and resource allocation for the campaign. A brief rationale is presented with each state or grouping of states.

CATEGORY I - SAFE STATES - (Have supported the President by large margins in the past. Should be won in 1972.)

<u>Farm States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Nebraska	5	+28
Kansas	7	+20
North Dakota	3	+18
Iowa	8	+12
South Dakota *	4	+11
	<u>27</u>	

* Would not be safe if George McGovern is on the ticket.

<u>Mountain and Western States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Idaho	4	+26
Wyoming	3	+20
Arizona	6	+20
Utah	4	+19

New Mexico	4	+12
Colorado	7	+ 9
Montana	4	+ 9
Nevada *	<u>3</u>	+ 8
	35	

* Nixon lost Nevada by 2% in 1960. With a Democratic registration edge of 58%D - 35%R - 7%I, it is the least "safe" of these states.

Border States (Recent polls suggest the President has increased his margin from 1968, particularly if George Wallace does not run.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Oklahoma	8	+16
Virginia	12	+10
Florida	17	+10
North Carolina	13	+ 8
Kentucky	9	+ 6
South Carolina	8	+ 6
Tennessee	<u>10</u>	+ 4
	77	

New England States (Will not be "safe" if Muskie or Kennedy is on the ticket.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Vermont	3	+ 9
New Hampshire	4	+ 8
Maine *	<u>4</u>	-12
	11	

* Lost in 1968 with Muskie on the ticket; won in 1960, against a New Englander, JFK, by 14%

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

<u>Midwest States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Indiana	13	+12

Total "safe" states: 24 (163 electoral votes).

CATEGORY II - WALLACE STATES - (States won by Wallace in 1968. The President may win some, even with Wallace in the race; if Wallace is out, they should be relatively safe.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Wallace Margin (%)</u>
Arkansas	6	+ 8 (Nixon Second)
Louisiana	10	+20 (Nixon Third)
Mississippi	7	+40 (Nixon Third)
Alabama	9	+47 (Nixon Third)
Georgia	<u>12</u>	+12 (Nixon Second)
	44	

CATEGORY III - SWING STATES - (Close election expected; intensive campaign must be run. These will undoubtedly be Democratic target states.)

<u>Large</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
California	45	+0.2	+3
New York *	41	-6	-5
Pennsylvania *	27	-2	-4
Illinois	26	-0.3	+3
Texas	26	-2	-1
Ohio	25	+6	+2
Michigan *	<u>21</u>	-2	-7
	211		

<u>Medium</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
New Jersey	17	-1	+2
Missouri **	12	-0.5	+1
Wisconsin **	11	+4	+4
Maryland *	10	-8	-2
Washington	9	+3	-2
Connecticut*	8	-8	-5
	<u>67</u>		

<u>Small</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Oregon	6	+6	+6
West Virginia *	6	-6	-9
Delaware	3	-2	+4
Alaska	3	+2	+3
	<u>18</u>		

Total "swing" states: 17 (296 electoral votes).

* Although past electoral behavior would indicate an uphill battle for the President, recent polls suggest he has a good chance at this time to carry these states. Ultimate strategy will depend on the Democratic nominee. These states must be watched carefully during the campaign, to be sure that they are treated as target states only so long as they remain winnable.

**States with the most apparent erosion since 1968.

CATEGORY IV - PROBABLE LOSS STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Massachusetts	14	-30
Minnesota	10	-12
Hawaii	4	-21
Rhode Island	4	-32
District of Columbia	3	-64
	<u>35</u>	

CONFIDENTIAL

- 5 -

Recommendation

That the priority listing of states given above be adopted,
as the basis for strategy development and resource allocation.
It will be continually updated as new information is received.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

TO:

J

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Give me this
when Bob Teeter
arrives next -
either then or Fri

~~Confidential~~

~~Cashen~~ Teeter

(F)

L
FYI

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~ALEX BUTTERFIELD~~
~~HENRY CASHEN~~

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By CP Date 2-12-82

On March 19, I mentioned to you that we had learned from Bob Teeter that Barry Gordy, the owner of the Motown music groups had supported Senator Griffin in previous elections and probably could be recruited to the President. Henry, I believe you were going to check with one of your law partners in Detroit and get an exact reading on Mr. Gordy. We need to know where this project stands so that Alex can begin the high level recruitment procedure if that is appropriate.

Would you let me know?

Totally
ag/us.
Cashen 4/21

→ Gordon - And we did an undercover security check which (brief as it was) turned up no serious derogatory info. Of course a lot comes out of a full field investigation that doesn't show up in these quickie-type checks. **A**

Apr 13

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *R.M.T.*
SUBJECT: Connecticut Poll on Bombing, ITT, and Meany

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CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

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Others named	2%
Don't know/No Opinion	7%

Question: As you may know, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, has recently quit the National Pay Board and said that President Nixon's economic policies discriminate against the working man and favor big business. President Nixon on the other hand, says that his economic policies treat everyone equally. Do you tend to agree with President Nixon or Mr. Meany?

Agree President Nixon	35%
Agree Mr. Meany	49%
Neither	5%
Don't know	11%

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 4, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
 SUBJECT: New York Conservative Ballot

Additional cross runs were made on the New York data to determine whether the President's name should be added to the Conservative ballot in New York.

The President is currently enjoying substantial support from the conservative end of the political spectrum.

<u>Ballot</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Conservative</u>
Nixon	25%	48%	65%
Muskie	64	43	25
Wallace	4	3	6
Undecided	7	6	4

This shows that the President's voting strength clearly increases toward the conservative end of the spectrum. Similarly, 55% of the Republican support is at the conservative end of the spectrum. With ticket-splitters, 25% are conservative compared to 33% at the liberal end.

	<u>Party Type</u>		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Ticket-Splitter</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Liberal	18%	33%	47%
Neutral	23	41	31
Conservative	55	25	18

If the President's name were on the Conservative ballot, he would presumably run very well with those voter segments included with the box shown on the above chart. In other words, we would expect him to run well with the Republicans and the conservative elements of ticket-splitters and Democrats. This includes 41% of the total vote. With the balance of the New York electorate, the President should be able to attract sufficient voters to have some probability of winning the state.

By not running on the Conservative ticket the President faces a risk that the Conservatives could run some other candidate. This would undermine the President's strength from the right.

We would expect that a coalition of Republicans and Conservatives would undoubtedly alienate some liberals of the Republican Party and liberal ticket-splitters; however, our data shows that there are very few liberal Republicans. Although there are more liberal ticket-splitters, a large segment of ticket-splitters (41%) are in the middle of the spectrum and a Nixon candidacy on the Conservative ballot would be unlikely to alienate these "middle-of-the-road" ticket-splitters.

The 1970 senatorial race has shown that a conservative coalition can effectively be used to win the state. Buckley won the 39% using a coalition of the Conservative Party and the "Independent Alliance." Therefore, it seems feasible to produce more than 49% of the vote (1968 Humphrey vote) using a coalition of the Republicans and the Conservatives.

Without a candidate on the Conservative ballot in 1968, the President tallied 44% of the vote. If the Conservative Party chooses to run some candidate other than the President, the vote for the President would probably be reduced to the point where victory was impossible.

In summary, we believe that it would be to the President's advantage if he were to run on both the Republican and Conservative ballots. However, if the President is not on the Conservative ballot, we should make every effort to see that the Conservative Party does not run an opposition candidate.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

	TOTAL/ SAMPLE	LIB ERAL	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	CONSER VATIVE
TOTAL	1007 100.	103 100.	131 100.	132 100.	329 100.	112 100.	92 100.	77 100.
BALLOT D								
NIXON	444 44.	19 18.	30 23.	44 33.	157 48.	66 59.	65 71.	53 69.
MUSKIE	453 45.	70 68.	86 66.	77 58.	142 43.	34 30.	18 20.	17 22.
WALLACE	40 4.	4 4.	4 3.	5 4.	10 3.	6 5.	7 8.	4 5.
UNDECIDED	69 7.	10 10.	11 8.	6 5.	20 6.	6 5.	2 2.	3 4.
BALLOT E								
NIXON	472 47.	18 17.	40 31.	49 37.	167 51.	69 62.	68 74.	52 68.
HUMPHREY	395 39.	68 66.	73 56.	67 51.	116 35.	30 27.	14 15.	17 22.
WALLACE	47 5.	3 3.	4 3.	5 4.	19 6.	5 4.	6 7.	5 6.
UNDECIDED	92 9.	14 14.	14 11.	11 8.	27 8.	8 7.	4 4.	3 4.
BALLOT F								
NIXON	452 45.	15 15.	30 23.	59 45.	152 46.	71 63.	64 70.	55 71.
KENNEDY	432 43.	75 73.	83 63.	61 46.	135 41.	28 25.	20 22.	17 22.
WALLACE	46 5.	6 6.	4 3.	3 2.	20 6.	4 4.	5 5.	3 4.
UNDECIDED	76 8.	7 7.	14 11.	9 7.	22 7.	9 8.	3 3.	2 3.
BALLOT G								
NIXON	417 41.	19 18.	29 22.	43 33.	144 44.	60 54.	63 68.	49 64.
MUSKIE	351 35.	34 33.	61 47.	58 44.	117 36.	35 31.	16 17.	21 27.
WALLACE	36 4.	3 3.	3 2.	5 4.	12 4.	3 3.	6 7.	4 5.
MC CARTHY	105 10.	28 27.	20 15.	19 14.	25 8.	8 7.	2 2.	1 1.
CHISHOLM	47 5.	16 16.	11 8.	2 2.	14 4.	1 1.	2 2.	1 1.
UNDECIDED	50 5.	3 3.	7 5.	5 4.	17 5.	5 4.	3 3.	1 1.

	TOTAL/ SAMPLE	LIB ERAL	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	CONSER VATIVE
TOTAL	1007 100.	103 100.	131 100.	132 100.	329 100.	112 100.	92 100.	77 100.
1968 VOTE								
NIXON	428 43.	16 16.	28 21.	42 32.	146 44.	68 61.	66 72.	54 70.
HUMPHREY	325 32.	52 50.	57 44.	58 44.	92 28.	24 21.	15 16.	15 19.
WALLACE	21 2.	1 1.		2 2.	13 4.	3 3.		2 3.
DON'T KNOW/DIDN'T VOTE	233 23.	34 33.	46 35.	30 23.	78 24.	17 15.	11 12.	6 8.
CONSIDER SELF								
REPUBLICAN	283 28.	13 13.	18 14.	20 15.	85 26.	51 46.	47 51.	41 53.
DEMOCRAT	443 44.	56 54.	82 63.	62 47.	150 46.	32 29.	24 26.	24 31.
INDEPENDENT	218 22.	26 25.	26 20.	37 28.	73 22.	25 22.	16 17.	10 13.
BEHAVIORAL								
REPUBLICAN	218 22.	8 8.	16 12.	16 12.	50 15.	44 39.	38 41.	39 51.
DEMOCRAT	353 35.	58 56.	63 48.	47 36.	110 33.	24 21.	17 18.	22 29.
TICKET-SPLITTER	320 32.	21 20.	32 24.	51 39.	130 40.	36 32.	32 35.	13 17.
MARGINAL	116 12.	16 16.	20 15.	18 14.	39 12.	8 7.	5 5.	3 4.

	TOTAL/ SAMPLE	LIB ERAL	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	CONSER VATIVE
TOTAL	1007 100.	103 100.	131 100.	132 100.	329 100.	112 100.	92 100.	77 100.
CURRENT VOTING BY COMMITMENT								
HARD NIXON	344 34.	12 12.	22 17.	32 24.	115 35.	56 50.	57 62.	45 58.
SOFT NIXON	173 17.	9 9.	18 14.	29 22.	71 22.	20 18.	9 10.	12 16.
HARD DEMOCRAT	285 28.	61 59.	59 45.	45 34.	77 23.	17 15.	10 11.	8 10.
SOFT DEMOCRAT	252 25.	18 17.	33 25.	40 30.	96 29.	29 26.	15 16.	16 21.
HARD WALLACE	22 2.	2 2.	2 2.	2 2.	8 2.	2 2.	4 4.	2 3.
SOFT WALLACE	40 4.	3 3.	4 3.	5 4.	13 4.	6 5.	5 5.	3 4.
VOTE SWITCHING								
NIXON-WALLACE/UNDECIDED	19 2.		1 1.	1 1.	6 2.	3 3.	2 2.	6 8.
MUSKIE-WALLACE/UNDECIDED	22 2.	3 3.	2 2.	4 3.	6 2.	4 4.	1 1.	
ALL OTHERS	965 96.	100 97.	128 98.	127 96.	317 96.	105 94.	89 97.	71 92.

	TOTAL/ SAMPLE	LIB ERAL	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	CONSER VATIVE
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WALLACE	47 100.	3 6.	4 9.	5 11.	19 40.	5 11.	6 13.	5 11.
UNDECIDED	92 100.	14 15.	14 15.	11 12.	27 29.	8 9.	4 4.	3 3.
BALLOT F								
NIXON	452 100.	15 3.	30 7.	59 13.	152 34.	71 16.	64 14.	55 12.
KENNEDY	432 100.	75 17.	83 19.	61 14.	135 31.	28 6.	20 5.	17 4.
WALLACE	46 100.	6 13.	4 9.	3 7.	20 43.	4 9.	5 11.	3 7.
UNDECIDED	76 100.	7 9.	14 18.	9 12.	22 29.	9 12.	3 4.	2 3.
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NIXON	417 100.	19 5.	29 7.	43 10.	144 35.	60 14.	63 15.	49 12.
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CHISHOLM	47 100.	16 34.	11 23.	2 4.	14 30.	1 2.	2 4.	1 2.
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HARD WALLACE	22 100.	2 9.	2 9.	2 9.	8 36.	2 9.	4 18.	2 9.
SOFT WALLACE	40 100.	3 8.	4 10.	5 13.	13 33.	6 15.	5 13.	3 8.
VOTE SWITCHING								
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ALL OTHERS	965 100.	100 10.	128 13.	127 13.	317 33.	105 11.	89 9.	71 7.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

LEW ENGMAN

Attached is a list of questions concerning taxes which we feel should be included in the earliest possible poll. If it doesn't appear that there is a national poll coming up shortly, they should be put into the key states. I would appreciate your keeping me advised of what the timing is likely to be.

Enclosure

cc: Ken Cole

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: KEN COLE

FROM:

ROY MOREY *Ray*

Attached you will find several questions which Lewis Engman and I would like to see included on the next national poll.

cc: Ed Harper
Lewis Engman ✓

1. There is a great deal of talk these days about the fairness of our tax system. Some say that our present system is fair to all taxpayers and need not be changed. Others say that the system is not fair to everyone and needs a complete overhaul (show card to respondent).

Tax system fair and
need not be changed

Tax system
unfair and need
of overhaul

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- 1a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO NEXT QUESTION)

- 1b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 1c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 1d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 1e. (Where would you place) Hubert Humphrey?

- 1f. (Where would you place) George McGovern?

- 1g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important
5. Dont' know?

2. These days, everyone seems to be feeling an increased tax burden. Where do you find the burden the heaviest?

Federal income tax

State income tax

State sales tax

Local property tax

2a. Which of these above taxes do you dislike the most?

3. There is a lot of talk these days about tax loopholes in the federal income tax. As far as you are concerned, is this a:

Major problem

Minor problem

Not a problem

Don't Know

3a. (If response is major or minor problem, then ask) Which major loopholes should we correct first?

1.

2.

3.

(Any Others?)

4. (Hand card to respondent and ask) Would you favor a change in any of the following income tax provisions?

Deductions for charitable contributions	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Deductions for home mortgage interest	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Not taxing one-half of the profit from certain sales (for example: homes, stock, land, etc.)	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Not taxing income from investments in City and State bonds	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Deductions for residential property tax	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Teeter

AS

February 8, 1972

H
FO
~~4/15~~
5/1

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

Don't forget to raise in May the subject once again (or April) whenever we are putting together the polls, the subject of the special Vice Presidential trial heats that we discussed.

4/18 - another 2 weeks
work on 1ST set of
data; then memo
requesting on May 1
by May 10 - set 2nd
Wave - draft ? by
companies - Jm/H
- Subject to change 8

LH:kb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: JOHN CAMPBELL

Ken Cole would like these questions put in a poll as soon as possible. Would you please advise us when they will be included.

Attachment

1. There is a great deal of talk these days about the fairness of our tax system. Some say that our present system is fair to all taxpayers and need not be changed. Others say that the system is not fair to everyone and needs a complete overhaul (show card to respondent).

Tax system fair and
need not be changed

Tax system
unfair and need
of overhaul

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- 1a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO NEXT QUESTION)

- 1b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 1c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 1d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 1e. (Where would you place) Hubert Humphrey?

- 1f. (Where would you place) George McGovern?

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1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
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3a. (If response is major or minor problem, then ask) Which major loopholes should we correct first?

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(Any Others?)

4. (Hand card to respondent and ask) Would you favor a change in any of the following income tax provisions?

Deductions for charitable contributions	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Deductions for home mortgage interest	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Not taxing one-half of the profit from certain sales (for example: homes, stock, land, etc.)	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Not taxing income from investments in City and State bonds	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

Deductions for residential property tax	Yes
	No
	Don't Know

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/1

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Magruder, Marik, Teeter, Dailey and LaRue met with John Mitchell on Friday, April 26 to decide on the Key States for the campaign. Magruder, under pressure, agreed to include Fred Malek in the meeting. The decisions are summarized in the attached memorandum to Mitchell.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To: MS —

From: L. Higby

Who'll do the political
staffing you or Clegg?

What is the answer
to his question?

L

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1972
9:00 a.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN



Do you agree with category III on page 3 of the attached memorandum which details the priority States for the campaign?

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
 (202) 333-0920

May 1, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
 THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
 FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
 SUBJECT: Priority Ranking of the States for
 the Campaign

This memorandum summarizes the decisions made in the strategy meeting of April 28, regarding current priority ranking of the states, for the purpose of developing strategy and resource allocation for the campaign. A brief rationale is presented with each state or grouping of states.

CATEGORY I - SAFE STATES - (Have supported the President by large margins in the past. Should be won in 1972.)

<u>Farm States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Nebraska	5	+28
Kansas	7	+20
North Dakota	3	+18
Iowa	8	+12
South Dakota *	4	+11
	<u>27</u>	

* Would not be safe if George McGovern is on the ticket.

<u>Mountain and Western States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Idaho	4	+26
Wyoming	3	+20
Arizona	6	+20
Utah	4	+19

New Mexico	4	+12
Colorado	7	+ 9
Montana	4	+ 9
Nevada *	3	+ 8
	<u>35</u>	

*Nixon lost Nevada by 2% in 1960. With a Democratic registration edge of 58%D-35%R-7%I, it is the least "safe" of these states.

Border States (Recent polls suggest the President has increased his margin from 1968, particularly if George Wallace does not run.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Oklahoma	8	+16
Virginia	12	+10
Florida	17	+10
North Carolina	13	+ 8
Kentucky	9	+ 6
South Carolina	8	+ 6
Tennessee	<u>10</u>	+ 4
	<u>77</u>	

New England States (Will not be "safe" if Muskie or Kennedy is on the ticket.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Vermont	3	+ 9
New Hampshire	4	+ 8
Maine *	4	-12
	<u>11</u>	

* Lost in 1968 with Muskie on the ticket; won in 1960, against a New Englander, JFK, by 14%.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

<u>Midwest States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Indiana	13	+12

Total "safe" states: 24 (163 electoral votes)

CATEGORY II - WALLACE STATES - (States won by Wallace in 1968. The President may win some, even with Wallace in the race; if Wallace is out, they should be relatively safe.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Arkansas	6	+ 8 (Nixon Second)
Louisiana	10	+20 (Nixon Third)
Mississippi	7	+40 (Nixon Third)
Alabama	9	+47 (Nixon Third)
Georgia	<u>12</u>	+12 (Nixon Second)
	44	

CATEGORY III - PRIORITY STATES - (Close election expected; intensive campaign must be run including maximum organizational effort within the states. These will undoubtedly be Democratic target states).

Top Priority - (Maximum allocation of resources and focus of management attention. "Must win" states.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
California	45	+0.2	+3
Illinois	26	-0.3	+3
Texas	26	-2	-1
Ohio	25	+6	+2
New Jersey	<u>17</u>	-1	+2
	139		

Second Priority - (High allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
New York *	41	-6	-5
Pennsylvania *	27	-2	-4
Maryland *	10	-8	-2

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Michigan *	21	-2	-7
Connecticut *	8	-8	-5
Washington	<u>9</u>	+3	-2
	116		

Third Priority - (Lower allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Missouri **	12	-0.5	+1
Wisconsin **	11	+4	+4
Oregon	6	+6	+6
West Virginia *	6	-6	-9
Alaska	3	+2	+3
Delaware	<u>3</u>	-2	+4
	41		

* Although past electoral behavior would indicate an uphill battle for the President, recent polls suggest he has a good chance at this time to carry these states. Ultimate strategy will depend on the Democratic nominee. These states must be watched closely during the campaign, to be sure that they are treated as target states only so long as they remain winnable.

**States with the most apparent erosion since 1968.

CATEGORY IV - PROBABLE LOSS STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Massachusetts	14	-30
Minnesota	10	-12
Hawaii	4	-21
Rhode Island	4	-32
District of Columbia	<u>3</u>	-64
	35	

STATE	DIFFERENCE	NIXON %	FOMPAREY %	MALCOLM %	
NEBRASKA	+20.0	55.8	37.6	6.4	
IDAHO	+20.1	56.0	35.7	11.6	
WYOMING	+20.3	56.8	36.5	6.7	
KANSAS	+20.7	54.8	34.7	10.2	
ARIZONA	+19.8	54.8	35.0	9.6	
UTAH	+19.4	56.6	37.1	6.4	
NORTH DAKOTA	+17.7	55.9	38.2	6.7	
OKLAHOMA	+16.0	47.7	31.0	20.6	
INDIANA	+12.3	50.3	38.0	11.4	
IOWA	+12.2	53.0	40.8	6.7	
NEW MEXICO	+12.1	51.8	39.7	7.9	
SOUTH DAKOTA	+11.3	53.3	42.0	4.8	
FLORIDA	+ 9.6	40.5	30.9	28.5	
VERMONT	+ 9.3	62.8	43.5	3.2	
MONTANA	+ 9.0	50.6	41.6	7.3	
SOUTH CAROLINA	+ 6.5	33.7	29.2	36.7	
NORTH CAROLINA	+ 6.2	39.5	29.2	31.1	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	+ 6.2	52.7	43.9	3.6	
NEVADA	+ 2.2	47.5	35.3	16.9	
KENTUCKY	+ 6.2	43.3	37.3	18.0	
OREGON	+ 6.0	49.8	43.8	6.7	
TENNESSEE	+ 3.8	37.3	26.7	35.7	
WISCONSIN	+ 3.6	47.9	44.3	7.3	
DELAWARE	+ 3.5	46.7	47.6	13.0	
CALIFORNIA	+ 3.7	47.8	44.7	6.7	
ILLINOIS	+ 2.9	47.1	44.2	8.3	
ALASKA	+ 2.7	45.3	42.6	12.7	
OHIO	+ 2.3	45.2	42.9	11.9	
NEW JERSEY	+ 2.0	46.7	44.0	9.7	
MISSOURI	+ 1.2	44.9	43.7	11.4	
VIRGINIA	+ .3	36.9	26.7	36.5	
MARYLAND	- 1.7	47.9	43.6	14.6	
TEXAS	- 1.2	39.9	41.1	19.0	
WASHINGTON	- 2.1	45.1	47.2	7.4	
PENNSYLVANIA	- 3.6	44.0	47.6	8.0	
CONNECTICUT	- 5.2	44.3	49.5	6.7	
NEW YORK	- 5.4	44.3	49.7	6.3	
MICHIGAN	- 6.7	47.5	48.2	10.0	
ARKANSAS	- 8.7	30.8	30.4	38.9	
WEST VIRGINIA	- 8.8	40.8	49.6	9.3	
MAINE	-12.2	43.7	55.3	1.3	
GEORGIA	-12.4	30.4	26.7	42.8	
MINNESOTA	-12.5	47.5	54.0	4.3	
HAWAII	-21.7	36.7	59.8	1.3	
LOUISIANA	-24.8	23.5	28.2	48.3	
MASSACHUSETTS	-30.7	32.9	63.0	3.7	
RHODE ISLAND	-32.2	37.8	64.0	4.1	
MISSISSIPPI	-40.5	13.5	23.0	63.5	
ALABAMA	-51.9	14.0	18.7	66.9	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	-63.6	18.2	37.3	-	

Key Sts:

Tal Pap Re Dom Pol
Cal, Wisc, Ill, Ind, Ohio, Mo,
Tx, Tenn, N.J, Va, N.C. Fla,
(Pa + NY) ← Special category

WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/30/71

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

This is terrible. Why?
See me for explanation. OK.

L.

d'd tell them to forget it for
now until we have an agree
social policy plan
L.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By JP NARS, Date 3-17-82

June 30, 1971

*100
Aron &
1 copy
for my
key to
file*

CONFIDENTIAL / EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JON M. HUNTSMAN *JMH*
SUBJECT: ORC Polls - \$72,500

After consultations with OMB, Noble Melencamp, and John Campbell, it was determined that there were only two alternatives to cover the cost of the ORC polls.

1. Special Projects Fund -- The chances of any audit in this area are remote. Traditionally, White House funds are never audited. There are sufficient funds (over \$500,000) remaining in this Special Projects account. However, no White House polls have been conducted (according to our records) since 1955.

2. Outside Funds -- Higby or ~~Higby~~ *Strachan* must go outside government sources (private contributions), through Herb Kalmbach, etc. for required monies.

With the exception of these two alternatives it was determined that no other agencies or councils can proceed with these expenditures legally or contractually. Domestic Council cannot do this because they are already overextended in this area for FY '71 and they are also concerned about congressional reactions should they be audited.

Should one of these two alternatives above be selected, the actual funds will not be needed for 3-4 weeks to pay ORC. Work, however, should be complete on this program within two weeks. ORC should have the go-ahead signal today. *Elshichman says the Parents*

this or at least the 4 key state polls in San Clemente. They total \$30,000.

Special Projects Fund: _____

Outside Resources: _____

~~Other Project Funds: _____~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS

June 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

SUBJECT:

Key States

You may have already covered this with Dwight, but, in light of the plans he is making for this summer's travels, it might be helpful for him to have the results of Haldeman's selection of the key states.

Please advise whether you want me to cover this personally with Dwight.

*L. - This was on the tape I dictated Saturday. Our minds are beginning to track together
- I covered the information with Dwight this morning.*

Rob. Rodner
L

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To :

MS

From :

L. Higby

Give me copy of
the whole memo
of H.P. H. Mark Jr.
✓

DONE
6-26-71

G

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By SP NARS, Date 8-17-82

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:	H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM:	GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT:	Key States

Ken Cole asked you for a list of key states. Independent contact with Colson, Dent, Evans, and Flemming developed the recommendations attached at Tabs A, B, and C respectively. The chart at Tab D depicts 18 possible key states with notations as to who suggested which states.

Each of the individuals contacted indicated that lists are sterile and offered the following information:

1. To the five that everyone agrees on, Dent added New Hampshire, Oregon, Wisconsin, and North Carolina, primarily because of primaries and electoral votes. Dent does not believe that New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania can be carried. Indiana is not on his list because if we can't carry it, we cannot win the election.
 2. Tom Evans' suggestions are the result of his directing the RNC to do an extensive "statistical, socio-economic and survey data analysis" that developed a list of 39 states broken into four priority groups. The explanation of the selection process appears with the Evans list at Tab C. Magruder's recommendation of key states will attach the Tom Evans' list.
 3. Flemming argues that any selection of key states must be separated on the basis of pre and post-Convention considerations. On the chart attached at Tab D, only the big nine states that Flemming thinks will be crucial after the Convention are listed.
- Flemming's pre-Convention states include the seven that have laws which may require the President to enter the primaries as well as those states which he may have to enter for other reasons - New Hampshire, California, etc.

Of course, Flemming's concern about pre-Convention states indicates that others are thinking about the subject of your request of the Attorney General that a "formal recommendation . . . to the President covering strategy, timing, and surrogate candidates" in primary states be prepared.

Recommendation:

That Ken Cole be advised that the Colson 10 key states represents the current consensus of opinion.

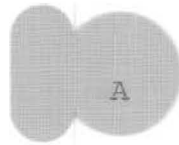
Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

*12 A states in order I have listed
+ 2 target possibilities - NY & Pa.*

*Or can take top 8 A states
+ 2 target poss
which gives you Colson's list.*

Info to Ed Harper 6/28 per L.



100-100

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1971

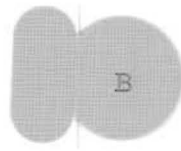
MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

Mr. Colson considers the following to be the key states:

- ~~California~~
- ~~Texas~~
- ~~New York~~
- ~~Pennsylvania~~
- ~~Ohio~~
- ~~Illinois~~
- ~~Missouri~~
- ~~Florida~~
- ~~Indiana~~
- ~~New Jersey~~

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dick".

W. Richard Howard



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Harry Dent called and left the following message:

THE KEY STATES:

California
Illinois
Ohio
Texas
Missouri
New Jersey

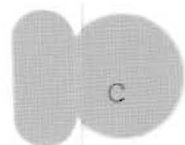
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Wisconsin
North Carolina
New Hampshire
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The following were left off because he does not feel we can get them:

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Michigan
Pennsylvania

Indiana - Because if we cannot take it we cannot win the election.



Republican
National
Committee.

June 17, 1971

Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO:

Gordon Strachan

FROM:

Lewis Dale 

RE: Target States

Enclosed is the material you requested. Tom asked that I emphasize to you that this material must be held in the strictest confidence. If such information finds its way into the press, the President's chances of re-election will be badly damaged.

Another point to remember is that this list is continuously updated and is subject to change, based on analyses of relevant data constantly being gathered here.

Enclosure

June 16, 1971

MUST

- 13 Indiana ✓
- 8 Iowa
- 12 Virginia
- 17 Florida ✓
- 10 Tennessee
- 45 California ✓
- 26 Illinois ✓
- 17 New Jersey ✓
- 25 Ohio ✓
- 173

2nd PRIORITY MUST

- 26 Texas ✓
- 12 Missouri ✓
- 10 Maryland
- 13 North Carolina ✓
- 27 Pennsylvania ✓
- 41 New York ✓
- 11 Wisconsin ✓
- 8 Connecticut
- 10 Minnesota
- 158

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1971

3rd PRIORITY MUST

- 8 South Carolina
- 9 Washington
- 4 New Mexico
- 3 Vermont
- 4 Montana
- 3 Nevada
- 7 Colorado
- 4 New Hampshire
- 6 Oregon
- 9 Kentucky
- 3 Delaware
- 4 Maine
- 64

PLUS

- 5 Nebraska
- 4 Idaho
- 6 Arizona
- 3 Wyoming
- 7 Kansas
- 4 Utah
- 3 North Dakota
- 8 Oklahoma
- 4 South Dakota
- 44

June 15, 1971

The following target states are the result of analysis of current statistical, socio-economic and survey data. The electoral vote totals of each section are noted and followed by a brief description of the reasons for their selections.

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The Plus States are defined as those areas that traditionally support the Republican Party and Nixon. In 1972, given a favorable national atmosphere towards the President, we should do well in these states. They are also states that tend to be more single issue oriented. For example, if farmers are feeling fairly comfortable about Nixon and the agriculture policy of the Administration, the chances are that these areas will be in our column. If, on the other hand, the attitude toward Nixon and the agriculture policy is negative, there is very little that could outweigh this attitude.

MUST STATES

The Must States are defined as areas that statistically and historically support Nixon/Republican nominees. It appears that without all these states in our column, Nixon has little or no chance of being re-elected. Ohio and California, for instance, have never failed to be in the winning column if a Republican was victorious. The reasoning behind the statement, "If Nixon doesn't carry all of the Must States, he won't be elected President," is that if one of these states is not carried, there is little chance of finding a second or third priority state which would make up this loss more easily.

SECOND PRIORITY MUST STATES

The Second Priority Must States represent those states that statistically have less chance of moving over to Nixon, but, none the less, are within striking distance. These states represent the next best opportunities in the large electoral category. It is necessary that some of these be moved into the win column for Nixon.

THIRD PRIORITY MUST STATES

The Third Priority Must States represent those areas that statistically Nixon can win. These are areas with smaller electoral vote totals, but about the same odds, as the Second Priority Must States. Nixon must win some of these.

The method of arriving at these target states included a ten year analysis of Presidential elections, an analysis of 1966, 1968 and 1970 Congressional, Senatorial, and Gubernatorial races, an analysis of polling trends of various regions in the country and state polls where available, RNC state issue files of the past year to see if there have been any major trends or shifts in public opinion that have been evidenced in newspapers or other publications, as well as the reports of the RNC field staff.

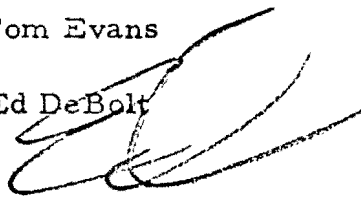
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CONFIDENTIAL

June 16, 1971

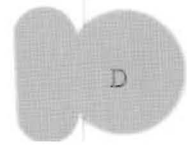
MEMORANDUM TO: Tom Evans

FROM: Ed DeBolt



States not included in previous memo:

9	Alabama
3	Alaska
6	Arkansas
3	District of Columbia
12	Georgia
4	Hawaii
10	Louisiana
14	Massachusetts
21	Michigan
7	Mississippi
4	Rhode Island
<u>6</u>	West Virginia
99	



K E Y S T A T E S

A 1	45	CALIFORNIA	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
A 5	17	FLORIDA	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
A 2	26	ILLINOIS	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
A 6	17	NEW JERSEY	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
A 4	25	OHIO	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
A 3	26	TEXAS	Colson	Dent		Flemming
A 7	13	INDIANA	Colson	Dent		
A 8	12	MISSOURI	Colson	Dent		
B 1	41	NEW YORK	Colson			Flemming
B 2	21	PENNSYLVANIA	Colson			Flemming
	8	IOWA			Evans	
	4	NEW HAMPSHIRE		Dent		
A 9	13	NORTH CAROLINA		Dent		
	6	OREGON		Dent		
A 12	10	TENNESSEE			Evans	
A 10	12	VIRGINIA			Evans	
A 11	11	WISCONSIN		Dent		
X	21	MICHIGAN				Flemming

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Key States

Ken Cole asked you for a list of key states. Independent contact with Colson, Dent, Evans, and Fleming developed the recommendations attached at Tabs A, B, and C respectively. The chart at Tab D depicts 18 possible key states with notations as to who suggested which states.

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Fleming's pre-Convention states include the seven that have laws which may require the President to enter the primaries as well as those states which he may have to enter for other reasons - New Hampshire, California, etc.

Of course, Fleming's concern about pre-Convention states indicates that others are thinking about the subject of your request of the Attorney General that a "federal recommendation . . . to the President covering strategy, timing, and surrogate candidates" in primary states be prepared.

Recommendation:

That Don Cole be advised that the Colson 10 key states represents the current consensus of opinion.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

GS:lm

KEY STATES

CALIFORNIA	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
FLORIDA	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
ILLINOIS	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
NEW JERSEY	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
OHIO	Colson	Dent	Evans	Flemming
TEXAS	Colson	Dent		Flemming
INDIANA	Colson	Dent		
MISSOURI	Colson	Dent		
NEW YORK	Colson			Flemming
PENNSYLVANIA	Colson			Flemming
IOWA			Evans	
NEW HAMPSHIRE		Dent		
NORTH CAROLINA		Dent		
ONTARIO		Dent		
FLORIDA			Evans	
VERGINIA			Evans	
WISCONSIN		Dent		
MICHIGAN				Flemming

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

Mr. Colson considers the following to be the key states:

- California
- Texas
- New York
- Pennsylvania
- Ohio
- Illinois
- Missouri
- Florida
- Indiana
- New Jersey



W. Richard Howard

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Harry Dent called and left the following message:

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California
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Ohio
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Republican
National
Committee.

June 17, 1971


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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO:

Gordon Strachan

FROM:

Lewis Dale 

RE: Target States

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Enclosure

June 16, 1971

MUST

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17 New Jersey ✓
25 Ohio ✓
173

2nd PRIORITY MUST

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12 Missouri ✓
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11 Wisconsin ✓
8 Connecticut
10 Minnesota
158

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1971

3rd PRIORITY MUST

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3 Vermont
4 Montana
3 Nevada
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9 Kentucky
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PLUS

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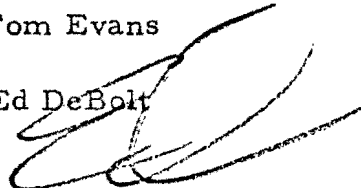
CONFIDENTIAL

June 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Tom Evans

FROM:

Ed DeBolt



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10	Louisiana
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21	Michigan
7	Mississippi
4	Rhode Island
6	West Virginia
<u>99</u>	

June 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Key States

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Comment _____

GS:lm

K E Y S T A T E S

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TEXAS	Colson	Dent		Flemming
INDIANA	Colson	Dent		
MISSOURI	Colson	Dent		
NEW YORK	Colson			Flemming
PENNSYLVANIA	Colson			Flemming
IOWA			Evans	
NEW HAMPSHIRE		Dent		
NORTH CAROLINA		Dent		
OREGON		Dent		
TENNESSEE			Evans	
VIRGINIA			Evans	
WISCONSIN		Dent		
MICHIGAN				Flemming

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

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W. Richard Howard

THE WHITE HOUSE

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Republican
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June 17, 1971

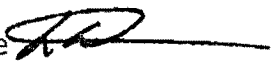
Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EYES ONLY

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PLUS STATES

The Plus States are defined as those areas that traditionally support the Republican Party and Nixon. In 1972, given a favorable national atmosphere towards the President, we should do well in these states. They are also states that tend to be more single issue oriented. For example, if farmers are feeling fairly comfortable about Nixon and the agriculture policy of the Administration, the chances are that these areas will be in our column. If, on the other hand, the attitude toward Nixon and the agriculture policy is negative, there is very little that could outweigh this attitude.

MUST STATES

The Must States are defined as areas that statistically and historically support Nixon/Republican nominees. It appears that without all these states in our column, Nixon has little or no chance of being re-elected. Ohio and California, for instance, have never failed to be in the winning column if a Republican was victorious. The reasoning behind the statement, "If Nixon doesn't carry all of the Must States, he won't be elected President," is that if one of these states is not carried, there is little chance of finding a second or third priority state which would make up this loss more easily.

SECOND PRIORITY MUST STATES

The Second Priority Must States represent those states that statistically have less chance of moving over to Nixon, but, none the less, are within striking distance. These states represent the next best opportunities in the large electoral category. It is necessary that some of these be moved into the win column for Nixon.

THIRD PRIORITY MUST STATES

The Third Priority Must States represent those areas that statistically Nixon can win. These are areas with smaller electoral vote totals, but about the same odds, as the Second Priority Must States. Nixon must win some of these.

The method of arriving at these target states included a ten year analysis of Presidential elections, an analysis of 1966, 1968 and 1970 Congressional, Senatorial, and Gubernatorial races, an analysis of polling trends of various regions in the country and state polls where available, RNC state issue files of the past year to see if there have been any major trends or shifts in public opinion that have been evidenced in newspapers or other publications, as well as the reports of the RNC field staff.

It should be reiterated that this is the status of state priority selection as of June 15. This is not meant to be definitive, but only a device to serve the needs of those who must make early resource allocations on behalf of the effort to re-elect the President.

June 16, 1971

MUST

13 Indiana ✓
8 Iowa
12 Virginia
17 Florida ✓
10 Tennessee
45 California ✓
26 Illinois ✓
17 New Jersey ✓
25 Ohio ✓
173

2nd PRIORITY MUST

26 Texas ✓
12 Missouri ✓
10 Maryland
13 North Carolina ✓
27 Pennsylvania ✓
41 New York ✓
11 Wisconsin ✓
8 Connecticut
10 Minnesota
158

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1971

3rd PRIORITY MUST

8 South Carolina
9 Washington
4 New Mexico
3 Vermont
4 Montana
3 Nevada
7 Colorado
4 New Hampshire
6 Oregon
9 Kentucky
3 Delaware
4 Maine
64

PLUS

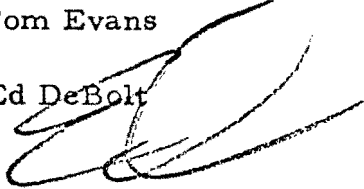
5 Nebraska
4 Idaho
6 Arizona
3 Wyoming
7 Kansas
4 Utah
3 North Dakota
8 Oklahoma
4 South Dakota
44

CONFIDENTIAL

June 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Tom Evans

FROM: Ed DeBolt



States not included in previous memo:

9	Alabama
3	Alaska
6	Arkansas
3	District of Columbia
12	Georgia
4	Hawaii
10	Louisiana
14	Massachusetts
21	Michigan
7	Mississippi
4	Rhode Island
6	West Virginia
<u>99</u>	

6/17

cole - list of key for top
states
- Use Dent / Flemm / JSM

CWC - Big 10
Cal, Tx, NY, Pa, Ohio, Ill,
Mo, Fla, Ind, Wis.

~~Berge, ORC~~
Dent -

RNC - analysis of key sts
by computer consid's
Tom Evans - Louis Dale.

Jel → ~~De Bolt~~ -

Whitaker list of Key St + Pol Memo?

~~Ken Riets Riets~~

Flemming - ① Primary sts that we
will have to go into (Fla, N. Car,
Mo, Tenn, Wis, Neb, Ore)

② sts that have primaries where
we may have to do something
NH, Mass, NJ, RI, Ohio, Ind, Ill,
Cal, NM, SD, Pa, D.C., W Va,

add NY + Tx - not primary but elec votes.

18

- ③ Key, Va, Ky, Del, Farm Sts, Rocky Mtn
- ④ Miss, Ala, La, Alas, Hawaii

Past Conventions:

① ~~Cal, Ill~~
 9 large states { Cal⁴⁵, Fla¹⁷, Pa²⁶, N.Y.²⁷, Ohio²⁵, Ill²⁶,
 Mich²¹ but elec votes - target
 N.J.¹⁷, N.Y.⁴¹ ← lost in 68

~~538~~ 538 ÷ 2 = 269 - ~~to win~~
 270 - to win

← unless 3rd P

② ~~Cal~~ ~~Ill~~ ~~Pa~~ ~~Ohio~~ ~~Ill~~
 ③ ~~Cal~~ ~~Ill~~ ~~Pa~~ ~~Ohio~~ ~~Ill~~
 ④ ~~Cal~~ ~~Ill~~ ~~Pa~~ ~~Ohio~~ ~~Ill~~
 ⑤ ~~Cal~~ ~~Ill~~ ~~Pa~~ ~~Ohio~~ ~~Ill~~
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Ill, Pa - sts where parties in
 prob, we are looking
 at putting an organization on top.
 ① ~~Cal~~

Dick Richards gave me the following list of the top 20 priority states. The RNC's rough criteria at this time are number of electoral votes and likelihood of winning the state. The first 18 states are simply those with the largest electoral vote, ranked in order, with the exception of Massachusetts (14 votes) and Louisiana (10 votes). All are considered "winnable" at this point, since the greatest margin of loss in 1968 was 44% - 49% in New York.

The 19th and 20th states could be Kentucky, with its upcoming gubernatorial race and nine electoral votes, or Oregon or New Hampshire because of the primaries.

TOP PRIORITY STATES

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ELECTORAL VOTES (1972)</u>
1. California	45
2. New York	43
3. Pennsylvania	27
4. Texas	26
5. Illinois	26
6. Ohio	25
7. Michigan	21
8. New Jersey	17
9. Florida	17
10. Indiana	13
11. Missouri	12
12. North Carolina	12
13. Virginia	12
14. Georgia	12
15. Wisconsin	11
16. Tennessee	10
17. Maryland	10
18. Minnesota	10
	<u>349</u>
19. (Kentucky	9
(Oregon	6
20. (New Hampshire	4

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

May 19, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FYI

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT FINCH

FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

Listed below are Republican Senators and marginal House members up for re-election in the 20 target states:

1. California

Senate	-	None	
House	-	Mailliard	(6th)
		Veysey	(38th)

2. New York

Senate	-	None	
House	-	Lent	(5th)
		Peyser	(25th)
		Kemp	(39th)

3. Pennsylvania

Senate	-	None	
House	-	Goodling	(19th)

4. Texas

Senate	-	Tower	
House	-	None	

5. Illinois

Senate	-	Percy	
House	-	None	

6. Ohio

Senate	-	None	
House	-	Powell	(24th)

7. Michigan

Senate	-	Griffin	
House	-	None	

8. New Jersey

Senate	-	Case	
House	-	Sandman Forsythe	(2d) (6th)

9. Florida

Senate	-	None	
House	-	Burke	(10th)

10. Indiana

Senate	-	None	
House	-	Landgrebe Zion Dennis	(2d) (8th) (10th)

11. Missouri

Senate	-	None	
House	-	None	

12. North Carolina

Senate	-	None	
House	-	None	

13.	<u>Virginia</u>			
	Senate	-	None	
	House	-	Broyhill	(10th)
14.	<u>Georgia</u>			
	Senate	-	None	
	House	-	None	
15.	<u>Wisconsin</u>			
	Senate	-	None	
	House	-	Davis	(9th)
			O'Konski	(10th)
16.	<u>Tennessee</u>			
	Senate	-	Baker	
	House	-	Baker	(3d)
17.	<u>Maryland</u>			
	Senate	-	None	
	House	-	None	
18.	<u>Minnesota</u>			
	Senate	-	None	
	House	-	Frenzel	(3d)
			Zwach	(6th)
19.	<u>Kentucky</u>			
	Senate	-	Cooper	*
	House	-	None	

* Has announced he will not seek re-election.

Oregon

Senate - Hatfield

House - None

20. New Hampshire

Senate - None

House - None

Supportive GOP Senators standing for re-election in states having Presidential preference primaries, but not listed as target states, include:

Nebraska - Senator Curtis
 South Dakota - Senator Mundt

Additional GOP Senators standing for re-election in 1972 in non-target and non-Presidential preference primaries.

Alaska - Senator Stevens
 Colorado - " Allott
 Delaware - " Boggs
 Idaho - " Jordan
 Iowa - " Miller
 Kansas - " Pearson
 Maine - " Smith
 South Carolina - " Thurmond
 Wyoming - " Hansen

There are two marginal GOP House members in Presidential preference primary states not listed among the 20 "target" states:

Massachusetts - Keith (12th)
 Nebraska - McCollister (2d)

Additional GOP marginal House members not in target states or Presidential preference states:

Colorado	-	McKevitt	(1st)
Connecticut	-	Steele	(2)
Delaware	-	dePont IV	(AL)
Iowa	-	Schwengel	(1st)
	-	Kye	(4th)
Kansas	-	Winn	(3rd)
Montana	-	Shoup	(1st)
South Carolina	-	Spence	(2d)
Utah	-	Lloyd	(2d)

Listed below are the 1972 Presidential preference primary dates:

March 14	-	New Hampshire *
March 21	-	Illinois *
April 11	-	Rhode Island *
April 25	-	Pennsylvania * and Massachusetts *
May 2	-	District of Columbia, Ohio and Indiana *
May 9	-	Nebraska * West Virginia *
May 23	-	Oregon *
June 6	-	California, New Jersey, New Mexico * South Dakota
June 20	-	New York

Five other states are seriously considering conducting a primary but have not yet settled on a method: Alabama, Florida, Idaho, Maryland and Wisconsin.

The following Republican Governors also stand for re-election in 1972.

Illinois	-	Olgilvie
Iowa	-	Ray
New Hampshire	-	Peterson
Vermont	-	Davis
Washington	-	Evans

* Direct Presidential Primaries.

CC: Mr. Rumsfeld
Mr. MacGregor
Mr. Timmons
Mr. Ehrlichman
Mr. Belieu
Mr. Weinberger
Mr. Gifford
Mr. Magruder