

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>
26	4	8/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: National Journal Article on Polls--Andrew Glass. 1 pg.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to GS. RE: Message that reads, "Find out when to get the report to H by." 1 pg.
26	4	8/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: National Journal Article on Polls--Andrew Glass. The last paragraph is noted as being disapproved by Haldeman. 1 pg.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.

<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>
26	4	8/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	An article from the National Journal entitled, "Political Report/Pollsters Prowl Nation As Candidates Use Opinion Surveys To Plan '72 Campaign." 13 pgs.
26	4	9/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Jeb Magruder. RE: '72 Democratic Convention. 1 pg.
26	4	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From W.E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: '72 Convention, and the 1,800 seats needing to be allocated. 1 pg.
26	4	9/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: The coordinated activities of the White House Staff and Nixon campaign for the '72 Convention. 2 pgs.
26	4	9/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: A rough list of White House staff members who may be attending the '72 Convention. 6 pgs.

<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>
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 9/1. 6 pgs.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. RE: Message that reads, "MS- Waiting to see P." 1 pg.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note with a message that reads: "Roger Hays, Service Manager." 1 pg.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. RE: Message that reads, "Dent-Tom Evans meet today at 3." 1 pg.
26	4	8/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Murray Chotiner to John Mitchell. RE: The possibility of using Lane Dwinell as the person to look after the President's activities in New Hampshire. 1 pg.

<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>
26	4	8/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman. RE: Governor Walter Peterson of New Hampshire. 1 pg.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A list of "State Assignments" that indicates what each state can do to contribute to the national election in '72. 8 pgs.
26	4	8/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: An enclosed copy of Andrew Glass' article on polling, and the 1972 campaign which made an appearance in the National Journal. 1 pg.
26	4	8/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik to Jeb Magruder. RE: Polling Article by Andrew Glass in the National Journal- 8/14/1971. 2 pgs.
26	4	8/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	An article from the National Journal entitled, "Political Report/Pollsters Prowl Nation as Candidates Use Opinion Surveys to Plan '72 Campaign." 8 pgs.

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26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten note from Rita to Jeb that reads: "John okayed everything as proposed. I will come in full time in January..." 1 pg.
26	4	8/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Follow Up. RE: A check-in with Magruder concerning the description of the \$350,000 RNC research project. 1 pg.
26	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten document dated 9/10. 1 pg.
26	4	4/10/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	An expected attendance list of "The Philadelphia Society" in their national meeting held in Chicago. 3 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 305

Folder: 6 Campaign - Aug 13, Sept 17, Sept 18, 1971 [2 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>	
69	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strickland to Hagby, 8-3-71
70	Retain	Open
71	Return	Private/Political Memo, Timmons to Maguire, 9-3-71
72	Return	Private/Political Memo, Timmons to HRH, 9-2-71
73	Return	Private/Political Memo, Timmons to HRH, 9-1-71
74	Return	Private/Political Memo, Timmons to HRH, 9-3-71
75	Retain	Open
76	Return	Private/Political News, "State, K, Washington," 9-1-71
77	Return	Private/Political Memo, Chatman to Mitchell, 8-19-71
78	Return	Private/Political Memo, McAllister to HRH, 8-16-71
79	Retain	Open
80	Return	Private/Political Paper, "State Appointments," 8-16-71
81	Return	Private/Political Memo, Maguire to the AG, 8-2-71
82	Return	Private/Political Note, [unclear] to [unclear], 8-1-71
83	Retain	Open

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

August 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY *HL*

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

National Journal Article
on Polls -- Andrew Glass

*G.S.
Polls
Churn*

Dr. Derge called me this morning at 11:30 a.m. to report that he had just received a call from Andrew Glass of the National Journal who told Derge's secretary that he was doing an article for the Journal on polls and would therefore like to talk with Dr. Derge. Dr. Derge refused to talk to him but called me to advise of the fact that Glass had tried to reach him.

Andrew Glass called me at 1:10 p.m. and I, too, did not take the call.

A check with Ed Harper indicates that he knows Andrew Glass but had not received a call from him recently. Apparently Andrew Glass recently did an article for the National Journal on revenue sharing and gave the Administration a very rough going over. Harper reports that Andrew Glass breached an agreement with Jamie McLane on revenue sharing as he was not to directly quote Mr. McLane.

Checks with Ken Cole's office and John Campbell's office indicate that they have not received calls from Andrew Glass. Neither you nor Mr. Haldeman have received calls.
~~_____~~

A check with Tom Benham, however, indicates that he talked with Andrew Glass about a week ago for 15-20 minutes. The story Benham gives me is that Andrew Glass called him in the regular course of his calls to Gallup and Harris, etc., about political polling. Benham reports that he reviewed his involvement in past campaigns but he emphasizes that he did not disclose Dr. Derge's name nor mine. According to Benham, the National Journal article will be out in one week. Bruce says our only contact at National Journal is Bonafede and that requests to him go through Ziegler's office.

Should I have Ziegler's office contact Mr. Bonafede about Andrew Glass' article?

L. No. ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To:

AS

From:

L. Higby

Find out where to
get this & have a
report to H by

5:00 P.M.

L.

we didn't do any WH polling
~~Dent~~ - no, have, referred somebody,
 polling that WH did + referred to JSM.
~~Evans~~ - de Bolt returned call - mail + GL - did not
 return call; CWC-type of stuff; not all names; knows little
~~Maguder~~ -
~~Marick~~ -
~~Berge~~ -
 Bendam
 O'Neill

2 no security at Cts;
 Glass at Cts for
 few hours waiting
 for JSM.

Grassmuck - doesn't know of an Glass
 ↳ Descriptive WH info - guess: Glas → 1701, RNC (Bill low)
 Flan - not mentioned

No paper brief only 5 of 6 vendors. amazing
 - Mullet Facts
 - No mention of Flan
 "Peter Flan Of" - then changed to Cts

Political Report/Pollsters prowl nation as candidates use opinion surveys to plan '72 campaign

by Andrew J. Glass

8/14/71 1693
NATIONAL JOURNAL
© CPR 1971

From the White House to small-town America, the political pollsters are once more on the prowl.

A *National Journal* survey of political pollsters and their clients reveals that the business—which, like politics itself, is as much an art as a science—is deeply rooted in the campaign process. It revealed also that many candidates still are reluctant to say publicly how heavily they rely on polls.

Like people who never walk under ladders even though they say they are not superstitious, candidates go on buying the polls. With the approach of the 1972 national elections, spending for political surveys is likely to match or exceed 1968 levels.

In his book, *Financing the 1968 Election* (D.C. Heath and Company, 1971), Herbert E. Alexander estimated that spending for public opinion polls for all candidates at all levels in 1968 came to \$6 million.

The estimate, based on 1,200 polls which cost an average of \$5,000, is conservative; one comprehensive statewide poll can cost \$15,000.

Top to bottom: The White House receives a steady stream of public opinion survey results. Some of them are commissioned, directly or indirectly, by the White House itself; others result from "piggybacking"—adding questions to polls already commissioned by Republican candidates or to polls taken for other purposes.

A campaign task force, working in

secrecy, currently is seeking to define polling needs for Mr. Nixon's 1972 campaign.

In addition, the President requests and receives regular "weathervane" polls that are commissioned for him by friends and admirers, mainly in the business world. Similar polls were taken on a regular basis for Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

But the political polling profession does not subsist alone on surveys taken by the White House or by the President's Democratic rivals.

Robert Teeter, the White House liaison man for Detroit-based Market Opinion Research, a Republican-oriented polling firm, said: "One of the big changes we're seeing is the level down to which polling is used."

"It used to be that there were a few sophisticated gubernatorial and senatorial campaigns using it. Now, almost all of them are in it. Many Congressmen use it. And it pops up in state legislatures and in city races."

Oliver A. Quayle III, who has taken polls for most of the Democrats now in the Senate, said: "It's now almost SOP. If you're interested in what people think, this is the best way to find out. People who have never polled before are polling now. It's standard procedure."

The "new breed": A veteran Democratic campaign manager believes the pollsters' growth is based in part on a new breed of politician. As he put it:

"You're finding more people running for political office with less political experience than ever before. So they really don't have an intuitive base of how well they'll do. They don't have the knowledge of their state that a guy who has been in politics a long time has. But they know enough that they need to know. So the pollsters are all selling."

At its higher rungs, the polling profession remains a tight-knit group. It divides, almost equally, into those who poll only for Republicans, those who poll only for Democrats and those who poll for both.

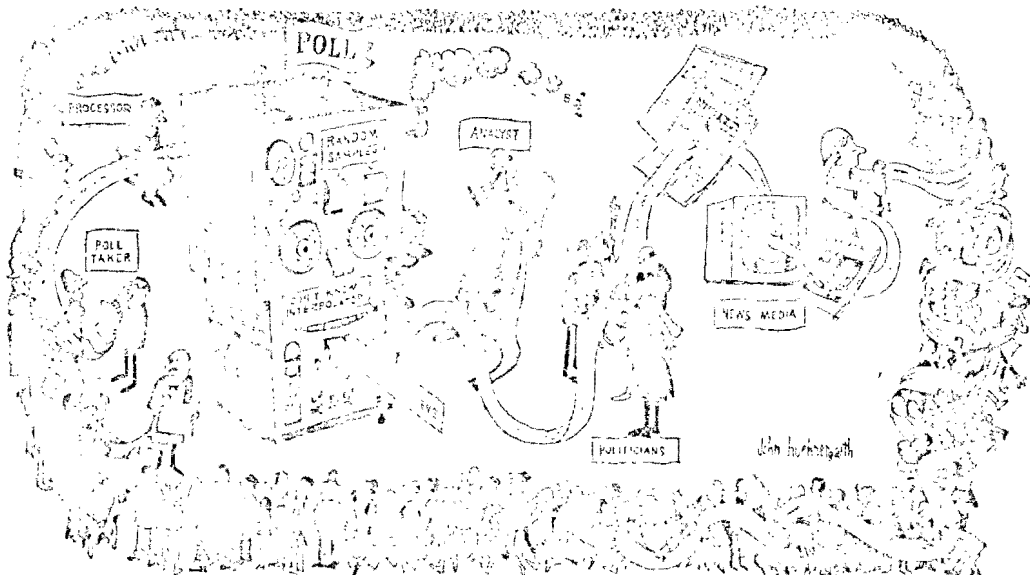
But, as pollster Michael Rowan said, "we're all one club."

Nixon

In seeking the Presidency in 1968, Richard Nixon spent about \$500,000 for the longest, most costly and most complex polling project in campaign history. Although there is no real battle for the nomination in sight, the Nixon White House has budgeted \$500,000 for polling research for the 1972 campaign.

Organization: In the White House itself, the gathering of poll information is supervised by H. R. Haldeman, the President's chief of staff, who has a background in advertising and market research. (For a report on Haldeman, see No. 10, p. 513.)

Campaign planning beyond the White House gates is being handled



Gallup and Harris: The Published National Polls

The chart at top right traces President Nixon's shifts in popularity, as measured by the Gallup Poll. On each occasion, some 1,500 persons, the normal national sample, responded to the question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?"

The bottom chart covers the same time period and traces the trend in trial heats between Mr. Nixon and Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, as measured by the Harris Survey. (Gov. George C. Wallace, D-Ala., was included in the trial heats; his support ranged from 9 to 13 per cent.)

Dots along the lines show the dates of the surveys. Parallel gray bands show the maximum extent of sample error.

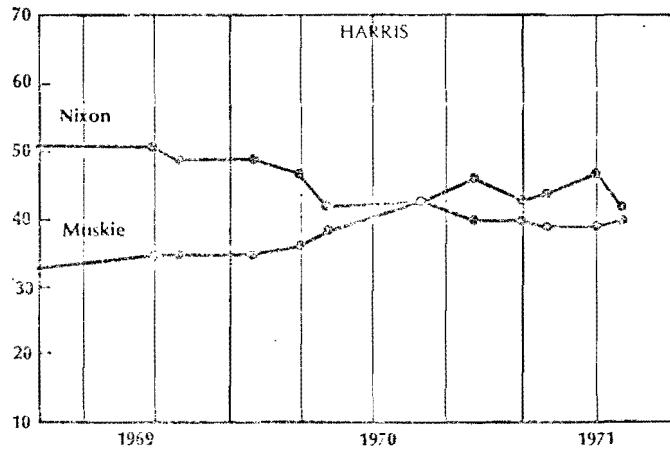
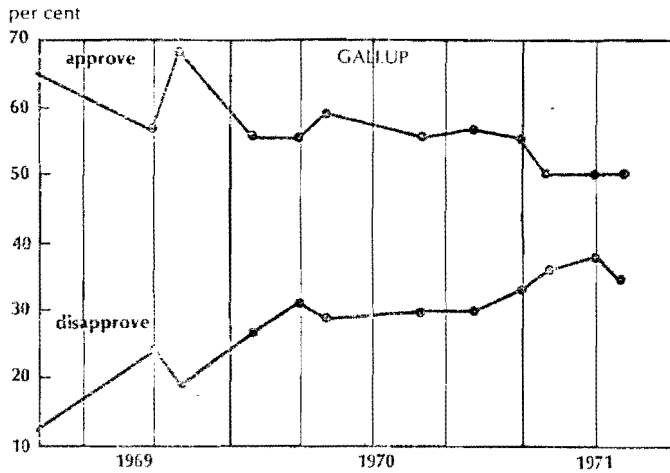
George H. Gallup and Louis Harris respectively head the only polling organizations that regularly publish political survey results on a national scale. Both Gallup and Harris maintain extensive private polling operations, which account for the bulk of their revenues. They do not accept political clients.

The Gallup Poll, first published in 1935, now is syndicated and goes twice a week to some 100 U.S. newspaper clients. The *Gallup Opinion Index*, a 32-page booklet that is published monthly, offers detailed breakdowns of Gallup polling data. It has about 1,000 subscribers.

The Harris Survey, syndicated by the *Chicago Tribune*, goes to 125 U.S. newspaper clients. The Harris column first appeared in 1963 and is mailed twice a week to subscribers. Harris also polls for Time Inc. He plans to publish a hardback, 500-page *Harris Survey Yearbook*, which will carry data on which his column is based.

The normal lag between interviews and publication in newspapers for both Harris and Gallup is two to three weeks.

In forecasting Presidential elections, both Gallup and Harris strive to minimize the undecided vote in their interpretations and to base their predictions upon estimates of voter turnout on election day. The two pollsters, however, employ differing methods in deal-



ing with undecided voters and non-voters. The variations in their techniques, along with sample error, account for the spread between their estimates.

The Gallup Poll samples all adults of voting age and then excludes likely nonvoters. The Harris Survey does not interview people who say they are not registered and excludes them from its sample. A further exclusion of unlikely voters is made later.

The Harris interviews normally last 90 minutes. Persons are asked for their Presidential preference three times in the course of the interview: a direct question at the start, a secret "ballot box" ques-

tion near the close and another direct question at the close. The Gallup Poll asks one secret "ballot box" question early in the interview.

The Gallup Poll is prepared in Princeton, N.J., by the American Institute of Public Opinion, a firm headed by Gallup.

The Harris Survey is prepared in New York by Louis Harris and Associates Inc. The Harris firm was bought in 1970 by Donaldson, Lukin and Jennerette Inc., a stock brokerage firm which is publicly owned. The sale was for 80,000 shares of voting common stock, worth about \$720,000 at current market prices.

by Citizens for the Reelection of the President, which is, in effect, a White House political task force; by the Republican National Committee; and by Attorney General John N. Mitchell.

A coordinating committee is shaping the campaign research effort, which will rely heavily on public opinion surveys.

The committee includes Jeb S. Magruder, who has been detached from the office of Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch, to manage the "Citizens" operation; Robert Marrick, Magruder's associate in the "Citizens" office; Gordon Strachan, a personal staff assistant to Haldeman, and Edward S. DeBolt, the RNC's deputy chairman for research and political organization.

The Nixon campaign steering committee also is utilizing an outside consultant on polling techniques—David R. Derge, 42, a political scientist and executive vice president of the University of Indiana in Bloomington.

Magruder is the key polling planner. As Harry S. Dent, special counsel to the President for political affairs, put it: "In this shop, Jeb is the guy who's the polling man."

Magruder declined to comment for publication on polling or on any other aspect of White House campaign planning. One official, who asked to be identified only as an Administration spokesman, said: "We don't want to get into even what we're thinking about doing. . . . They (the Democrats) know something is going on. Let them find out by working for it."

White House polls: Mr. Nixon has had access to a steady stream of private polling information since he took office. These polls have kept the President abreast of domestic political moods and furnished him with insights into changing trends on such questions as the public attitude toward admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

An almost continuous polling effort for the White House has been conducted, in secrecy, by Chilton Research Services, of Philadelphia, a division of Chilton Co. An aide to the President said, "The outside pollster (John H. Kolfron, Chilton's senior vice president) consults almost always directly with Haldeman, although on a non-sensitive matter he may talk with Strachan or Higby." Lawrence M. Higby is Haldeman's administrative assistant.

The President and his top staff also have access to other private polls, conducted for Republican senatorial or gubernatorial candidates as well as by political pressure groups friendly to the Nixon Administration. These polls are supplied without charge; the Chilton surveys are underwritten by the Republican National Committee.

A pollster who declined to be quoted by name said, "A lot of the (White House) work that was done in the past three years was done by individual candidates who were doing it as an accommodation."

The White House intends to repay some of these favors during the 1972 campaign. A Presidential aide, speaking for "background," said: "When Nixon is ready to go into an area, an offer for a 'piggyback' (poll) will be made. I think in almost every case, it will be the Nixon White House that will offer it down rather than its being offered up (to the President)."

Campaign firms: The White House scheduled a series of meetings Aug. 9-11 to review the capabilities of more than a half-dozen Republican-oriented polling firms.

"All of them were approached with the idea of contributing to the campaign as a sole or prime contractor," said a White House political aide. "But it's not inconceivable that Haldeman will decide 'I don't want any one person to know everything, so I'm going to parcel it out and these people can just like it.' He's like that."

Another White House official noted that "the Nixon campaign is being organized on a priority basis and therefore the need for national pollsters is minimized." The emphasis, he said, will be on disregarding those states where there is "no opportunity" and concentrating on the big electoral states "which will either win or lose the election for us."

Each of the polling concerns which made presentations to the White House was screened in advance by Haldeman. The group includes:

• Cambridge Opinion Studies Inc., headed by Tully Plesser and based in New York City. Plesser's political polling assignments have ranged from Sen. W. E. Brock's successful campaign in Tennessee last year to John V. Lindsay's uphill mayoral campaign in New York in 1969.

• Chilton Research Services, which conducts its surveys by telephone from Philadelphia. Chilton also handled the mechanics of an intelligence effort in

1968 for Mr. Nixon mounted by Joseph Bachelder, who has since retired as a political polling consultant.

• Decision Making Information Inc., based in Santa Ana and Los Angeles, which polled in 1970 for both Gov. Ronald Reagan, R-Calif., and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, R-N.Y.

• Market Opinion Research, of Detroit, which advised George Romney early in 1968 to scuttle his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. The company has done some weathervane polling after Mr. Nixon's television appearances.

• Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J., which handled the 1960 and 1968 Nixon campaigns, as well as the 1964 Presidential campaign of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz. (ORC's billings from political clients in 1968 amounted to \$600,000—\$450,000 from the Nixon campaign.)

David Derge, although a regular White House visitor, did not attend the presentation sessions, which were held in the offices of the "Citizens" group, one block from the White House. Derge is known to be a strong partisan of ORC.

Split verdict: A decision on the allocation of polling resources for the campaign is expected to be submitted to the President for his review and approval by the end of August.

Whether or not a prime polling contractor is chosen, a White House official said that polling arrangements for the 1972 campaign may not emerge in a clear-cut manner.

The official said: "Knowing the President, he never puts all his marbles in one basket. . . . He will want additional head-to-head and special-issue polling."

"He never even tells anybody about it. But you always have somebody on the side who will do a weathervane sampling after a (Presidential) night on television. . . . That's just Nixon. All of us get used to that. There's always an edge."

Another White House official who will be involved in the campaign, also speaking privately, said that, in all probability, some of the more sensitive polling results will go to the President directly, perhaps through Haldeman, without being circulated to the White House political staff.

"There are some things—like how does Agnew affect the ticket—that might be asked that even Mitchell won't get," the official said. (Mr. Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew as

A Candidate Looks at His Polls

In an interview with National Journal, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., reflected upon the role that polls played in his unsuccessful 1968 Presidential campaign and in his 1970 Senate campaign:

In 1968, we were so damned short of money that we didn't use polls as much as I think we should have. Had we used them a little better, I think I might have been a little more effective.

Which is another way of saying, if you're not just looking at how popular you are as a candidate, but rather are using the polls to base your public attitudes on public issues, I think you can become a more effective candidate. You at least have the means of being one.

The polls can also show your areas of weakness. It gives you time, if you take them early enough, to repair those areas if it's at all possible. It also shows your areas of strength that you can be sure of and other areas that you need to buttress and maintain.

It takes time to do polling that's effective. If we had the time and the money, we would have been much better off, particularly where it comes to issues.

For example, I know that in '68 we had some gut reactions on the law-and-order issue. But we didn't have an in-depth understanding of its intensity. Even though I worked at it, I didn't start early enough. I also think we might have been able to detect age-group differences and how each group reacts.

It's all a question of what you ask for. And what you ask for is oftentimes determined not only by what you want but what you can afford.

In order to use polls really effectively, you need to take a series of them—in depth.

The man or the firm that does that kind of polling has to be very sophisticated in terms of the kind of questions which evoke honest, objective answers. You've got to be careful that you don't set up questions that give you answers that you want.

So you really have to deal with

professionals in this business that have a great professional reputation at stake.

In 1970, we used polling very effectively. I started early. In fact we had one of our early polls in hand months before I even declared. We took it simply to see what the reactions might be and what the issues might be.

In other words, I wanted to know myself: Did I have political strength and where did I have it?

Then, we also had in that first (Oliver A.) Quayle poll a number of issues that we wanted to get a response to.

One of the things that I found in the polls, for example, that always intrigued me was the tremendous support we had among young people—running as high as 80 per cent support within this group. I didn't believe at first I could have so much support in the 21-25-year-old group. But it became obvious afterwards that I did.

I noticed that when we'd go into neighborhoods where there were many young married couples how well we would do with them. In the elections, the young married couples stuck with us, so the polls verified themselves.

Also, you would think in a state like mine, in Minnesota, that the agricultural and economic issues might be paramount.

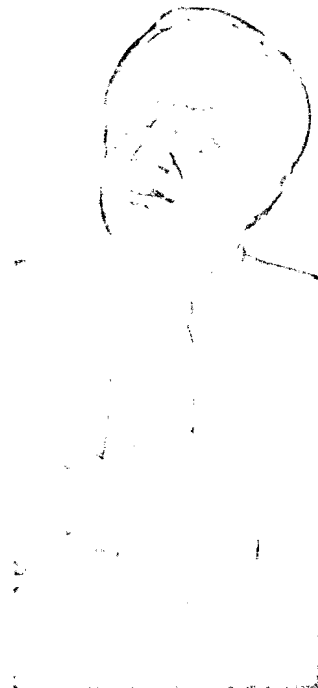
But we found that there were other issues that were much more overriding than merely the economic issue. Like the law-and-order issue, for example. And we acted on that information.

So, I'm a great believer in the use of polls as a tool—providing that you're willing to spend the money to get a first-class job. You must not deal with amateurs in this business.

I think John Kennedy used polls very effectively. When he got a poll that was a plus for him, he used it to build further support.

I think this can be done today.

If a county chairman sees you're ahead in the polls, he tends to say, "Well, he can win." It isn't a ques-



Hubert H. Humphrey

tion of whether he likes you or not. It builds a bandwagon effect. It creates a political atmosphere.

Actually, the politics of polls can be most important of all.

If they're favorable to you, or if they show you with a trend—even if you're not ahead—if the trend seems to be coming your way, then it has a tendency to build its own momentum.

It really is almost better than spot announcements (commercials) on television. It's a kind of political advertising in its own right.

As Humphrey noted in connection with his 1968 campaign, an important test of a Presidential campaign is the depth and breadth of its research effort—which, to a large degree, relies on public opinion surveys. The Senator as yet has not commissioned any new polls to test the appeal of his candidacy for President in 1972.

his Vice Presidential running mate in 1968 was influenced by ORC polls which showed him running better alone than with any possible "name" in the Republican Party. Mr. Nixon decided to bypass better-known personalities for Agnew, who was then Governor of Maryland.)

Utility: Although White House officials seek to dampen publicity on their polling efforts, they say privately that polling information, while in plentiful supply, does not play a critical role in White House political decision making.

"Nixon has never had much use for polls," a personal friend of the President said. "He only pays attention when they happen to agree with his gut feelings. And he likes situations where the polls do not put him under pressure, such as his Agnew decision of 1968."

A GOP official agreed with this assessment and added: "Most of those people (the White House staff) just look at the head-to-head results—at just two numbers. It's very sad. Most of them just flip to the last page (of the polling report) to see, in summary, how we are doing."

Democrats

Of Mr. Nixon's potential Democratic opponents in 1972, only the current front-runner, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine, is now engaged in polling research. Most of the other Democratic Presidential hopefuls have so far given little or no thought to commissioning public opinion surveys for their campaigns.

Muskie "People have been waiting around for our polls before moving," said Anna Navarro, 24, the Muskie campaign's full-time polling consultant. "The question is how to project what people want to see."

An initial round of telephone-interview polling for Muskie was completed in late July by Independent Research Associates Inc., a Washington-based firm headed by William R. Hamilton, who has worked mainly for Democrats in the South. Before joining the Muskie staff in January, Miss Navarro worked for Hamilton.

Media—While it is unusual to have a pollster on a campaign staff, Miss Navarro said she felt the arrangement benefited the Senator. She saw her role as the "readist"—the person who must "knock down theories and present unpalatable news."

In that capacity, Miss Navarro has

Establishing the Tolerances

Pollsters commonly encounter skeptical members of campaign teams who suggest that by interviewing more people—or perhaps another set of people—the pollster would have produced different results.

George H. Gallup, founder of the Gallup Poll and now semi-retired, has an answer for these skeptics: "The next time you go to the doctor for a test, why not have him test *all* your blood?"

Gallup says that "no major poll in the history of this country ever went wrong because too few people were reached." But, he says, many have gone astray because of the way those persons were selected.

Samples: Some political pollsters, including Gallup, interview people in randomly chosen clusters, using what is known as a probability sample. (For his nationwide poll, Gallup conducts about five interviews in each of 320 voting precincts, chosen on a random basis.)

Others use a quota sample, a less costly technique in which people are chosen to be interviewed on the basis of specific characteristics in the same proportion as they appear in the population or whatever "universe" the pollster is studying. If 12 per cent of the "universe" is Negro, for example, a quota sample would include 12 Negroes in every 100 people interviewed.

Gallup and other published pollsters abandoned quota samples after 1948 when polls taken that way indicated that Thomas E. Dewey would defeat Harry S. Truman in the Presidential race.

Error: A probability sample permits the pollster to measure sample error—the maximum extent to which the survey results may differ from a survey of the entire population. Quota samples do not permit statistical measurement of error.

The tables below indicate the range of error for samples of various sizes. Statistically, the error will be no larger than the figures in the tables 95 per cent of the time. As the figures indicate, the size of the sample must be increased as much as four times to cut the margin of error by half.

Table I shows the maximum error—plus and minus—in probability samples of varying sizes and division. The larger the sample, the smaller the error; the more evenly people divide, the higher the possible error.

In comparing two percentage results, another question arises: How large must the difference be for it to reflect a genuine distinction, beyond the range of statistical error?

Tables II and III show the number of percentage points to be discounted in comparing differences in polls. Table II is used for percentages near 20 (or lower) and 80 (or higher); Table III is used for percentages near 50.

Thus, if 50 per cent of those interviewed in 1969 and 40 per cent in 1971 responded in the same way to a question, Table III can be consulted to determine whether the difference is statistically meaningful.

	(size of sample)						
	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200	100
Results near 10%	2	2	3	3	4	5	7
Results near 20%	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Results near 30%	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Results near 40%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 50%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 60%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 70%	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Results near 80%	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Results near 90%	2	2	3	3	4	5	7

sample	1,500	750	600	400	200
1,500	4	4	5	6	8
750	4	5	5	6	8
600	5	5	6	6	8
400	6	6	6	7	8
200	8	8	8	8	10

sample	1,500	750	600	400	200
1,500	5	5	6	7	10
750	5	6	7	7	10
600	6	7	7	7	10
400	7	7	7	7	10
200	10	10	10	10	12

SOURCE: Paul K. Ferry, president of The Gallup Organization

The Ethical Dilemma: Politicians vs. Pollsters

In the spring 1963 issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Louis Harris wrote: "The pollster who is knowledgeable about politics will inevitably be invited to sit in on strategy meetings. . . . (He) will more and more be in a position of recommending when and how many polls should be conducted for his client, rather than simply waiting for the political powers-that-be to call him and set the timetable."

Harris was writing from experience. In October 1959, he was one of nine men who met with John F. Kennedy to plan Kennedy's 1960 Presidential campaign. (Harris went on to take polls for the Democratic National Committee until he started a newspaper column in 1963.)

Yet, a deep involvement with a candidate's fortunes raises an ethical dilemma for some pollsters, especially those who consider themselves social scientists, seeking to discover what motivates people, rather than campaign consultants, seeking to get their candidate elected.

One pollster, Mervin Field, noted in a 1967 speech before his colleagues that "there is an implicit pressure to use the (polling) research for other than purely objective fact gathering. It is used to convince financial backers, to encourage party workers, to bolster the confidence of the candidate, to freeze out potential opponents and to support existing biases."

In this climate, Field said, a major problem can arise over "the selective use of certain findings to create a misleading impression." Thus, "there are leaks to newsmen for 'background,' and leaks to the opposition to lull them or to steer them in a direction that will help (the client)."

AAPOR: In an effort to minimize unethical conduct, the American Association for Public Opinion Research, founded in 1947, has set standards for reporting poll results.

An AAPOR code of ethics, adopted in 1960, calls upon members to monitor release of the results and to correct promptly any misinterpretation of their findings.

In 1968, AAPOR, which includes both commercial and aca-

demie members, issued a standard "which news media can utilize when reporting poll results." Each of these news reports, AAPOR said, should include:

- the identity of the survey's sponsors;
- a description of the sample, including its size;
- an indication of the allowance that should be made for sample error;
- a report on which results, if any, are based on only parts of the total sample (For example, some poll results may represent interviews only with those persons who are likely to vote.);
- a statement of technique—whether the interviewing was done in person, by telephone, by mail or on street corners;
- a statement on the timing of the interviews, putting them in context with relevant events.

The AAPOR code applies both to polls which are prepared for publication and to polls taken for a private client whose results subsequently are publicized.

AAPOR members elect a standards committee, which is charged with investigating complaints of misuse of polls. It is currently studying allegations of irregularities in published polls taken during the Democratic mayoral primary in Philadelphia earlier this year.

No individual ever has been cited by the standards committee for misconduct, although the panel occasionally has met privately with pollsters whose conduct was under question. AAPOR's governing body, an executive council, is empowered to warn by a citation or to expel members, but it has never done so. Sidney Hollander Jr., a member of the AAPOR council and former chairman of its standards committee, said: "The mood of the organization is changing and they're in a position to be much tougher."

Irving Crispi, executive vice president of The Gallup Organization and also a former chairman of the AAPOR standards committee, wrote in *Polls, Television and the New Politics* (Chandler Publishing, 1970) that the 1968 code should dampen "the inclination of many journalists to make blanket state-

ments as to 'what the polls are showing'" while encouraging "the reporting of *whose* poll using *which* methods and (obtaining) *what* results."

NCPP: In April 1968, George H. Gallup invited some 25 pollsters to attend an organizational meeting in Santa Barbara, Calif., on the eve of the annual AAPOR conference. The session led to formation of the National Council on Public Polls, which at present has 16 member organizations.

NCPP dues are \$100 a year for membership. The group's current president is Robert T. Bower, director of the Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, D.C. Its trustees are three pollsters—Gallup, Harris and Archibald M. Crossley—and Richard M. Scammon, director of the Election Research Center of the Governmental Affairs Institute.

"As of now," Bower said, "there is no evidence that a 'bandwagon effect,' induced by polls, influences the result of elections."

The group will issue a quarterly newsletter, starting this fall, aimed at journalists and other users of polls. As yet another way of promoting more sophisticated evaluations, NCPP plans to sponsor seminars for Senate aides, political managers and newsmen, at which polling techniques will be analyzed.

Legislation: There have been a few attempts to enact laws to regulate polling, but none has succeeded.

Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi, D-Mich., is sponsoring a Truth-in-Polling Act (HR 503), which has been referred to the House Administration Committee.

The provisions of the Nedzi bill parallel those of the AAPOR and NCPP codes. (In one respect, the bill goes further by requiring public filing of the percentage of interviews in the total sample that were completed and the percentage of persons in the sample who refused to be interviewed.)

In March 1963, a bill aimed at rigorous control of the publication of any prediction poll passed both houses of the Texas legislature. It was vetoed by Democratic Gov. (1963-69) John B. Connally, who is now Treasury Secretary.

been working closely with Robert D. Squier, 36, head of Communications Co. of Washington, D.C., and Muskie's media consultant. (For a report on Squier and the role of political media consultants, see Vol. 2, No. 40, p. 2135.)

"Squier is involved in the whole process," Miss Navarro said. "We work as a team and talk about what his data needs are. Polling is moving more toward a media orientation because people are getting their information through the tube."

Meanwhile, she said, "The Senator is always badgering us for information." Muskie plans to receive in-depth surveys from five or six primary states by January 1972. In addition, Muskie requires polling research on such political questions as how closely should he affiliate himself with Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, a controversial figure but a potential source of delegate support in Illinois.

Telephone—The Hamilton firm uses a "tight screen," seeking to reach only persons who intend to vote in selected 1972 Democratic primaries.

In upholding their telephone-based techniques, Hamilton and Miss Navarro explain how they attempt to keep the sample unbiased and to establish a good rapport during the half-hour interviews. The technique also costs about 60 per cent less than field interviews of comparable size—a major consideration in the money-short Muskie campaign.

For the Muskie polls, numbers are gleaned from telephone directories in the areas to be surveyed and several digits are changed before the call is made. This ensures that unlisted numbers will be represented in the sample. (In Los Angeles, 35 per cent of all residential telephones are unlisted; in New York, 20 per cent.)

The Hamilton interviewers call back three times if no one answers; they do not always interview the person who answers the phone. They also employ a toll-free "verification number," which most people ask for but which only a minority actually call. This keeps their rejection rate to 5 per cent.

Criticism—In general, pollsters for Democratic candidates have snanned telephone polling, and the Muskie techniques have elicited criticism from established pollsters. They wonder, in private, whether Hamilton, who has been polling since 1963, can "go the distance" on a Muskie Presidential campaign.

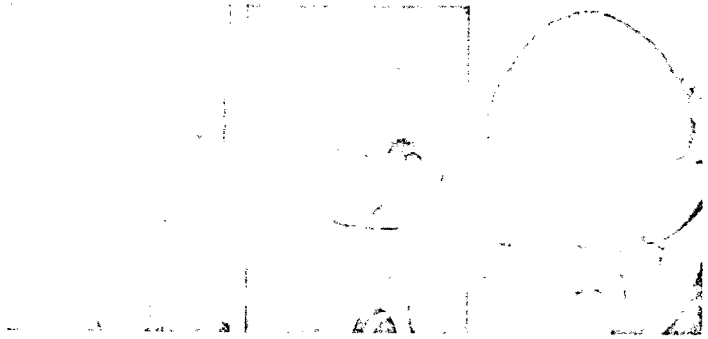
"Since when did a 24-year-old kid know something?" said a veteran pollster who works mainly for Democrats, referring to Miss Navarro. "I couldn't handle a Presidential campaign when I was 24. I think it's silly."

Another pollster remarked privately: "Basing a major campaign on this type of information in a primary fight is a terribly risky thing to do, because if Muskie falls on his face in Florida, he's not going to get up again. If they are going to have a research program like that, how are they going to run the country?"

"My own horseback judgment is that our supporters ought to be able to tell us what's on the minds of people. Also, people are much more nationally oriented; you don't have the kind of Balkanization on issues that you used to have."

Hart nevertheless said that the McGovern forces probably would poll in Wisconsin and Oregon "to find out what issues predominate" there. Hart said, "I think that would be worth the outlay. But that's January or February."

Bayh—Robert J. Keefe, administra-



Tully Plessner

Robert Teeter

Anna Navarro

Miss Navarro said: "It's too new, and conventional wisdom says it's no good. Yet I have a gut feeling for what I'm after; you have to know how to play with it."

After the round of open-ended telephone questioning, Miss Navarro said she is more convinced than ever that the system works well and will provide the kind of data the Senator needs.

The non-pollers: Other Democrats who are either in or at the edge of the battle for the party's Presidential nomination have not yet commissioned any private polling. The Democratic National Committee, still in debt from the 1968 campaign, has no plans to poll, but David A. Cooper, the DNC's director of research, said he is prepared to offer technical polling advice to any Democrat seeking office in 1972. (None of the Presidential hopefuls has contacted him.)

McGovern—"We've seen some private polls that other people have done," said Gary W. Hart, campaign director for Sen. George S. McGovern, of South Dakota. "The reason we're not doing it is that, first of all, it's too early and, second, it costs too much money and, thirdly, they won't tell us anything we don't already know...."

tive assistant and a top campaign planner for Sen. Birch Bayh, of Indiana, said the Senator strongly believes in taking polls, but, in light of his "low-recognition profile, there's not much point in taking them now."

Keefe said he had been "picking the brains" of two pollsters, John F. Kraft and Quayle, "both of whom are trying to get our business."

"When we go into (the Florida) primary situation, we will poll three or four months out," Keefe said.

Kennedy—"We have no reason to poll," said Richard C. Drayne, press secretary to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts.

"My boss reads polls rather avidly. He's pretty good at interpreting them. But we don't pull our own. There are other people who pull them for you, or maybe send you results, but we've not commissioned any. There's no point in paying \$40,000 for a poll just to see whether you were right on an issue."

Humphrey—In the 1968 Presidential campaign, Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic nominee, spent \$262,000 on polls taken by Quayle and five smaller firms.

Now that he is in the Senate, according to Jack McDonald, his press

Directory of Major Political Public

A 1972 campaign manual prepared by Lawrence F. O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, states: "There is no campaign expense which should be approached with more care and investigation than the selection of a pollster."

"Each pollster develops and refines his own particular methodology. Each will take a different view of the candidate's needs and design a survey approach to meet those needs," O'Brien advises candidates who plan to take polls to solicit proposals from at least three professional organizations.

Another campaign handbook, *The Political Persuaders*, by Dan Nimmo (Prentice Hall Inc., 1970), notes that many polling firms are primarily engaged in mar-

ket research and undertake political polls only in election years.

On the other hand, Nimmo says, there are firms that take a greater interest in their political than their commercial clients. "These firms provide the client with a written proposal, prepared in consultation with sampling statisticians in complicated cases, which outlines what the pollster intends to do, how, and at what cost."

Listed below are the names, addresses and telephone numbers of 74 U.S. firms engaged in political public opinion research on a regional or national basis. (The list excludes part-time consultants and firms primarily engaged in campaign management.) The name and title of each firm's principal officer are included.

- American Institute of Public Opinion;** Dr. George H. Gallup (chairman); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-9600. *²
- Analytical Research Institute Inc.;** Irving Gilman (president); 104 S. Division St., Peekskill, N.Y. 10566; (914) 737-8855.
- Harriet Andrews Research Services Inc.;** Harriet Andrews (director); 4007 Falls Road, Baltimore, Md. 21211; (301) 889-3805.
- Arizona Institute for Research;** Marian Lupa (field director); 100 East Alameda, Tucson, Ariz. 85701; (602) 624-3886.
- Audits and Surveys Co. Inc.;** Solomon Dutka (president); One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 689-9409.
- Bordley and Haslach Inc.;** Robert L. Haslach (president); 422 Waverley St., Palo Alto, Calif. 94301; (415) 326-0696.
- Barratt Market Research;** Ruth C. Barratt (owner); 5415 N. College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46220; (317) 251-1119.
- Becker Research Corp.;** John F. Becker (president); 675 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139; (617) 868-0010. *
- Belden Associates;** Joe Belden (president); Southland Center, Dallas 75201; (214) 748-7188.
- Benson and Benson Inc.;** Lawrence F. Benson (chairman); Benson Building, Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-3540.
- E. John Bucci Co.;** E. John Bucci (president); P.O. Box 266, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-5775.
- Bureau of Social Science Research Inc.;** Robert T. Bower (director); 1309 17th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 223-4300. 1#
- Callahan Research Associates Inc.;** William J. Callahan (president); 31 East 28th St., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 755-5972.
- Cambridge Opinion Studies Inc.;** Tully Plesser (president); 625 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 759-2220.
- Cawtrix Associates;** Albert H. Cawtrix (president); 1061 31st St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007; (202) 337-1600.
- Douglas H. Carlisle;** 1100 Gregg St., Columbia, S.C. 29201; (803) 233-0406.
- Center for Political Studies;** Prof. Warren E. Miller (director); Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106; (313) 764-2570. 1#
- Central Surveys Inc.;** William M. Longman (president); P.O. Box 100, Shenandoah, Iowa 51601; (712) 246-1630.
- Chilton Research Services (Chilton Co.);** John H. Kolfron (director); 56th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 19139; (215) 748-2090.
- Civic Service Inc.;** Roy Plautch (president); 403 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo. 63101; (314) 436-4185.
- Corey, Canapary and Galanis;** Dorothy D. Corey (president); 2 Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111; (415) 397-1200.
- Dorothy D. Corey Research;** Dorothy D. Corey (president); 1705 Victoria Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019; (213) 731-2414.
- The CRC Group Inc.;** Harry W. Riskin (president); Beaver Hill, Jenkintown, Pa. 19046; (215) 886-1000.
- Crossley Surveys Inc.;** Franklin B. Leonard (president); 909 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-4100.
- Decision Making Information Inc.;** Vincent P. Barabba (chairman); Richard B. Wirthlin (president); 2700 N. Main St., Santa Ana, Calif. 92701; (714) 558-1321.
- Farrell Research and Communications Inc.;** Fran Farrell Kraft (president); 30 6th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 547-7081.
- Field Research Corp.;** Mervin D. Field (research director); 145 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif. 94104; (415) 392-5766.
- First Research Co.;** David Early (president); 1451 N. Bayshore Dr., Miami, Fla. 33132; (305) 371-3681.
- John H. Friend Inc.;** John H. Friend (president); 261 N. Joachim St., Mobile, Ala. 36603; (205) 433-3786.
- Louis Harris and Associates Inc.;** Louis Harris (president); One Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020; (212) 245-7414. *
- Martin Hagan;** 1100 Hotel Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Okla. 73101; (405) 236-0931.
- Sidney Hollander Associates;** Sidney Hollander Jr. (president); 2500 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218; (301) 467-8565.
- C. E. Hooper Inc.;** (a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.); Oscar B. Lubow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.
- Independent Research Associates Inc.;** William R. Hamilton (pres-

Opinion Firms in the United States

- ident); 4000 Albemarle St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-5056.
- Institute for Motivational Research;** Ernest Dichter (president). Albany Post Road, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10520; (914) 271-4721.
- Institute of American Research;** Stephen J. Kovacic Jr. (president); 88 East Broad St. Columbus, Ohio 43215; (614) 221-2062.
- International Research Associates Inc.;** Helen S. Dinerman (chairman); 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020; (212) 581-2010.
- Gordon L. Joseph and Associates;** Gordon L. Joseph (president); 1510 Veterans Memorial Boulevard, Metairie, La. 70005; (504) 835-0635.
- John F. Kraft Inc.;** John F. Kraft (president); 30 6th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 547-7080. *
- W. H. Long Marketing Inc.;** W. H. Long (president); 122 Keeling Road East, Greensboro, N.C. 27410; (919) 292-4146.
- Louis, Bowles and Grace Inc.;** Alex Louis (chairman); 1433 Motor St., Dallas, Tex. 75207; (214) 637-4520.
- Samuel Lubell;** 3200 New Mexico Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-3230. #
- Market Facts Inc.;** David K. Hardin (president); 100 S. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60606; (312) 332-2686.
- Market Opinion Research;** Frederick P. Currier (president); 327 John R, Detroit, Mich. 48226; (313) 963-2414.
- Market Research Field Interviewing Service;** Marian R. Angelletti (director); 3915 East Thomas Road, Phoenix, Ariz. 85016; (602) 956-2500.
- Marketing Evaluations Inc.;** Jack E. Landis (president); Cy Chaikin (senior vice president); 14 Vandeventer Ave., Port Washington, N.Y. 11050; (516) 767-4540; (212) 357-7405.
- Marplan Research Inc.;** F. J. Van Bortel (president); 455 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017, (212) 697-8788.
- Mid-South Opinion Surveys;** Eugene Newsom (president); 1750 Tower Building, Little Rock, Ark. 72201; (501) 374-0605.
- Joseph Napolitan Associates Inc.;** Joseph Napolitan (president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-3780.
- National Analysts Inc.;** Peter R. Vroon (chairman); 1015 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107; (215) 627-8109.
- National Opinion Research Center;** Norman M. Bradburn (director); University of Chicago, 6030 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637; (312) 684-5600. †#
- Opinion Research Corp.;** Joseph C. Bevis (chairman); North Harrison St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5900.
- Opinion Research Laboratory;** Guy E. Rainboth (president); 2108 North Pacific, Seattle, Wash. 98013; (206) 632-9274.
- Opinion Research of California;** Don M. Muchmore (chairman); 1232 Belmont Ave., Long Beach, Calif. 90804; (213) 434-5715. *
- Political Surveys and Analysis Inc.;** Charles W. Roll Jr. (president); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5670.
- Public Affairs Analysts Inc.;** Joseph Napolitan (president); Michael Rowan (executive vice president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-6024.
- The Public Pulse Worldwide Inc. (a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.);** Oscar B. Lubow (president), Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.
- Publicom Inc.;** Gerald D. Hursh (president); 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; (202) 293-1611.
- Oliver A. Quayle III and Co. Inc.;** (a wholly owned subsidiary of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.); Oliver A. Quayle III (president); 141 Parkway Rd., Bronxville, N.Y. 10708; (212) 295-0779. *
- Research Services Inc.;** John W. Emery (president); 1441 Welton St., Denver, Colo. 80202; (303) 244-5945. *
- Research Systems Inc.;** R. B. Collier (president); 1314 Burch Drive, Evansville, Ind. 47711; (812) 867-2463.
- Response Analysis Corp.;** Dr. Herbert I. Abeison (president); 1101 State Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 921-3333. *
- Responsive Research Corp.;** Peter K. Simonds (president); 7 Water St., Boston, Mass. 02109; (617) 742-3582.
- The Roper Organization Inc.;** Burns W. Roper (president); One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 679-3523.
- W. R. Simmons Associates;** W. R. Simmons (president); 235 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 986-7700.
- Sindlinger and Co. Inc.;** Albert E. Sindlinger (president); Harvard and Yale Aves., Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-8260.
- Strategy Research;** Richard W. Tobin Jr. (president); 4141 N. Miami Ave., Miami, Fla. 33127; (305) 751-2216.
- Suncoast Opinion Surveys;** Richard H. Funsch (president); P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33731; (813) 894-4560.
- Survey and Research Services Inc.;** Dorinda T. Duggan (president); 2400 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140; (617) 864-7794.
- Survey Research Sciences Inc.;** Richard R. Stone (president); 11411 North Central Expressway, Dallas, Tex. 75231; (214) 691-0578.
- Surveys and Research Corp.;** Libert Ehrman (executive vice president); 1828 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-1935.
- Wallaces Farmer;** Richard J. Pommrehn (research director); 1912 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50305; (515) 243-6181. #
- Joe B. Williams Research;** Joe B. Williams (research consultant); Elmwood, Neb. 68349; (402) 994-5395.
- Daniel Yankelovich Inc.;** Daniel Yankelovich (president); 575 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7500. # #

* - member of the National Council on Public Polls

† - non-profit and/or academic

- results are always publicly published

- compiled by Ann Northrop

secretary, "There's no activity of any kind... He doesn't have advance men. He doesn't have money men. He doesn't have delegate people. He doesn't have pollsters."

Jackson—A no-polling report also came from the office of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, of Washington, whose supporters are gearing up for a major effort in next March's Florida primary.

S. Sterling Munro Jr., Jackson's administrative assistant, said that "When your investment is zero, your cost-benefit ratio is 100 per cent."

Sharing the burden: At a dinner meeting of Presidential candidates, called by party chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien July 14, Muskie proposed undertaking a pooled public opinion survey, utilizing a single pollster, as a means of saving campaign funds.

The Muskie plan will be studied further in staff meetings, but it was not greeted with enthusiasm.

None of the dark-horse candidates—such as Sen. Fred R. Harris, of Oklahoma, and Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, of Arkansas—are having any polling done for them, and they are not interested in paying an equal share of the cost of a joint survey—the formula that Muskie's staff regards as the most equitable.

All pollsters interviewed by *National Journal* opposed the shared-data proposal, although they did not want to say so publicly for fear of offending Muskie, whose business they believe is still up for grabs. One pollster said, "You can't do that any more than you could work for Ford and General Motors. It just seems unnatural to me."

Feedback

Oliver A. Quayle III takes confidential polls for many leading Democratic politicians. He also takes polls for *Harper's* magazine, which owns Quayle's polling company outright and which, in turn, is owned by the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.

"We bounce things off Ollie," said William S. Blair, the *Harper's* publisher. "In other words, here's a guy who wants to do a piece about a particular politician. We might send the writer up to talk to Quayle. Obviously, Ollie knows a hell of a lot about individual politicians in this country."

Techniques

The late Elmo Roper, a pioneer pollster, said that the polling business sat on a three-legged stool: sampling, interviewing and interpretation.

This base has remained constant since Roper began polling in the mid-1930s. But the kind of information that sophisticated politicians are seeking and the kind of techniques that pollsters are using to obtain it for them have changed profoundly.

A Midwestern Senator said, "Quite frankly, the trial heats and the stock question about approval is probably the least valuable, so far as I'm concerned, because there isn't a thing you can do with that kind of information." (The Senator, who is up for reelection in 1972, will be polling heavily, but he does not want his constituents to know about it because "it weakens my posture.")

Utility: William Hamilton, now polling for Muskie, said that private polls can tell candidates what issues are important enough to change voting decisions; whether these issues can be welded into a campaign theme; and how the over-all political climate, including the other candidates in a race, will affect the outcome.

(Pollster Tully Plesser said his polls revealed that a referendum on liquor-by-the-drink was a major factor in the senatorial contest in Texas in 1970, because of the voters who were attracted to the polls by the liquor issue.)

Interest groups who are seeking to affect the outcome of an election may take polls that elicit complex data.

"COPE can buy 10 surveys and deliver them to the candidates," said pollster John Kraft. "It gives them a certain control over the campaign." The Committee on Political Education, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO, has been taking polls since 1958. (For a report on COPE, see Vol. 2, No. 37, p. 1963.)

Similarly, the American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC), through its state organizations, spent more than \$400,000 to poll for Republicans between the 1968 and 1970 elections. Vincent P. Barabba, chairman of Decision Making Information Inc., a California-based AMPAC pollster, said: "Those guys (AMPAC) have done as much to improve the systematic analysis of the political process as any organization in existence today." (For a report on

AMPAC, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 1659.)

In Barabba's view, "A critical ability of a good (polling) firm is to have experience in overcoming the hesitancy on the part of some campaign managers to really make use of this information. If you accept a campaign as an economic concept—that is, you are going to attempt to allocate limited resources in the most efficient way—then this information is crucial."

Costs and timing: Thomas W. Benham, vice president of Opinion Research and its liaison man with the White House, said: "If you're running a campaign where you're going to spend \$500,000, you better put 10 per cent aside for polling research, because it can make the other 90 per cent twice or three times more efficient..."

"You might want to do a 'base study' early in the campaign year. This could be an interview that lasts 45 minutes to an hour and it's a big, expensive undertaking. But, from that, we can do selective studies. We can check on changing issues.

"And then we can do a small-scale telephone effort, re-interviewing certain people (a technique known as panelback), to see if they have changed their minds. You can develop a sophisticated tool and it can still have good economy to it."

Costs of seemingly comparable surveys can vary as much as 30 per cent, depending on the procedures, the overhead and the profit margin.

Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates commonly budget \$30,000 for polling research over the course of a campaign. One statewide poll in a big state may cost \$10,000 to \$15,000; a survey of a congressional district can cost up to \$10,000. (The techniques of conducting both polls are essentially the same; the only major saving is in travel.)

"People are beginning to see that this kind of data is much more valuable if you can establish a trend," said Tector of Detroit's Market Opinion Research. This, of course, entails multiple interviews; in the field, interviewers are paid \$2 an hour or more, plus expenses.

DMU's Barabba said: "The difficulty you have in measuring costs between companies is knowing whether you're measuring apples and apples or apples and oranges. There are a lot of ways to cut costs in this kind of research. Unfortunately, there is a direct

The Rise of the Polls: Bloopers Amid Improving Aim

Although political polls are commonplace today, the use of scientific surveying techniques is less than 40 years old. Yet, in one way or another, polls have been part of the campaign scene for nearly 150 years.

Straw polls: In 1824, reporters for the *Harrisburg Pennsylvanian* walked the streets of Wilmington, Del., asking people whom they preferred as their Presidential candidate. In that first recorded United States newspaper poll, the *Pennsylvanian* found Andrew Jackson running well ahead of John Quincy Adams. (Although Jackson won a popular plurality, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which picked Adams.)

Newspapers took straw polls throughout the rest of the 1800s. The *Farm Journal* became the first national magazine to take one—in 1912. By 1928, newspapers and magazines were conducting six nationwide and 79 state and local straw polls.

By far the most prominent of the magazine straw polls was that of the *Literary Digest*, which began polling in 1916. The *Digest's* streak of correct Presidential predictions remained unbroken until 1936, when the magazine reported that Alfred M. Landon would win 59.1 per cent of the popular vote and 370 of 531 electoral votes. Actually, Franklin D. Roosevelt won 60.2 per cent of the popular vote and 523 electoral votes.

George H. Gallup, a pioneer scientific pollster, publicly predicted at the time that the *Digest* would fall on its face; he was meanwhile accurately predicting the results.

As Gallup noted, the *Digest* mailed its more than 10 million sample ballots solely to car owners and telephone subscribers—two groups at the time heavily weighted with high-income people who tended to vote Republican—and still did. The 2,376,523 respondents to the *Digest* poll tended to be the wealthiest and best-educated subgroup in the sample, which biased the results still further. Furthermore, the *Digest* failed to take into account six million new voters, five million of whom voted for Roose-

velt. The poll results helped drive the *Literary Digest* out of business as public confidence in the magazine sagged.

Scientific polls: The first scientific poll—based on a representative sample of the population—was taken in July 1935, when *Fortune* reported on public reaction to Roosevelt and his New Deal programs.

The poll was taken by three partners, Paul T. Cherington, Elmo B. Roper Jr. and Richardson K. Wood. They had been conducting private market research and were looking for a dramatic way to prove the degree of accuracy that could be obtained through scientific sampling. The idea was especially attractive to Roper who, according to his son, Burns W. Roper, was fascinated by politics and "always wanted to be a United States Senator."

Gallup's scientific sampling also was published in 1935, when a group of newspapers agreed to syndicate his findings in a Sunday column. Archibald M. Crossley entered the business in 1936, at the behest of King Features.

For many years, Roper, Gallup and Crossley were "the big three" of the polling business; most of the pollsters active today got their start in their organizations.

The three men also were great friends who bet on which of the three would come closest to predicting the outcome of a Presidential election. Roper won in 1936, 1940 and 1944, each time collecting a case of Scotch from Gallup and Crossley.

Although Roosevelt used private polls informally to discern the public mood, the first major private political poll was taken by Roper for Jacob K. Javits in 1946 when Javits was running on the Liberal Party and Republican lines for a House seat from upper Manhattan. Disaster: For a time, the pollsters' success in predicting election results gave them oracular status. But the bubble burst in 1948.

In that year, all the major polls picked Thomas E. Dewey to defeat Harry S. Truman by a landslide. Roper stopped polling in mid-September, certain that Dewey would win.

After the election, the Social Science Research Council, a private group, named a committee to inquire into the pollsters' methods.

The panel found that the sampling method they used was a valid one, but that the pollsters, in their overconfidence, ignored both undecided voters and others who had switched from Dewey to Truman late in the campaign. They had also underestimated the turnout; this made Dewey look better than he should have.

Through post-election polling, the committee found that one voter in seven decided how he would cast his ballot during the last two weeks of the campaign and that 75 per cent of this group voted for Truman. Controversy: In 1968, a dispute arose shortly before the Republican National Convention that many pollsters now feel damaged public trust in the business.

At the time, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York was basing much of his campaign for the Presidential nomination on the ground that polls showed he would be a stronger candidate than Mr. Nixon when pitted against the eventual Democratic nominee.

Rockefeller and Nixon aides were circulating private polls with conflicting results on various "trial heats." Then a Gallup Poll, taken July 19-21, showed Mr. Nixon as the stronger candidate. Three days later on July 30, a Harris Survey was published, with data collected July 25-29, which showed Rockefeller more likely to defeat Hubert H. Humphrey or Eugene J. McCarthy.

On Aug. 1, George H. Gallup Jr. and Louis Harris issued an unprecedented joint statement that Rockefeller had "now moved to an open lead" over the two Democrats. The statement was widely interpreted as a public retraction by the Gallup organization, but none of the principals has discussed the incident publicly.

When the campaign got under way, the pollsters accurately measured the Humphrey surge in October and the decline in support for George C. Wallace, the third-party candidate.

—Ann Northrop

relationship between costs and quality."

The product: John Kraft, who has 18 years' experience working for both Democratic and Republican candidates, said he normally prepares a written report, about 40 pages in length, of which three-fourths is interpretation. "I'll also supply the (computer) printouts when I'm asked to, but I've had only two such requests."

Kraft, like most other pollsters, prefers to discuss results and their meaning with the candidate and his staff. "In many cases, it's best to talk it out," he said.

Unfavorable reports can bring complications.

Tecter recalled: "I had one guy several years ago who had been working hard for two or three months and got a bad poll and just sat in a hotel room and drank for about four days. We couldn't move him; he was in shock because the poll still showed him 10-15 points behind. He eventually won. . . . Now, we talk a lot about how to buy bad ones on people before we do it. It's a very tricky thing."

Developments: Most pollsters interviewed by *National Journal* said they recently have started making more exhaustive studies of sub-groups and analyzing the response to various issues. "There's particular interest in the young voters in '72," Quayle said.

Quayle also reported that he is asking more media-related questions. "It's the sort of question I don't like to ask, because I don't think people really know how they get their information. I'm amazed at how little the television people know sometimes (about the makeup of their audiences) in a given market. But we're learning to work better together."

ORC's Benham said his firm had been able to shorten substantially the time period from "problem to data" by using more telephone interviews. "We've also learned how to weigh them better."

William M. Longman, president of Central Surveys Inc., said in a telephone interview from Shenandoah, Iowa, that his firm now was able to provide overnight results to political clients through arrangements for the use of computers at the interview sites.

Robert K. McMillan of Chilton Research Services, a proponent of telephone interviewing, said: "In a day, you can do here what it would take you four weeks to do if you had to

mail out questionnaires (to interviewers). I also think we get higher cooperation rates around the country than is possible in face-to-face interviews. In some areas, you can't get people to go in at all."

Cleavage: Telephone survey research for politicians has mushroomed with the widespread use of bulk-rate long-distance (WATS) lines and computerized random generation of telephone numbers. But some members of the political polling fraternity remain opposed to telephone surveys.

Charles W. Roll Jr., president of Political Surveys and Analysis Inc. (PS&A), which has done most of the polling commissioned by Nelson Rockefeller, said: "If I were buying surveys for a political campaign that I felt was terribly important, and there was enough money, I wouldn't touch a telephone survey. I have reason to believe (from Rockefeller campaigns) that some people are far less critical of individuals when asked about them over the phone, and that, of course, creates a different result."

"If I were involved in a Presidential campaign, I would throw the telephone away, unless there was an extremely urgent time factor involved."

(Roll is an employee of George H. Gallup, who bought PS&A from its founder, Archibald M. Crossley, in 1970; PS&A uses Gallup's sampling, interviewing and tabulating facilities, which are based solely on field interviews.)

DMI's Barabba said: "You can get more about a person at the door than on the telephone. The telephone's great strength is that you get wider distribution of your sample and interview clusters."

Don M. Muchmore, chairman of Opinion Research of California, who has done comparative studies of telephone and field interview polls, said the field work produces superior results and should be used, except in high-urgency polls of national scope. "With no eye-to-eye contact, there's no trust," Muchmore said.

Sample methods: Political pollsters also divide over whether to use quota or probability samples. *(For a discussion of sample error, see statistical box.)*

Quayle said: "Nobody does probability samples, strictly speaking. And if you did, it would be obscene, because you'd be charging a guy an arm and a leg for a greater degree of accuracy than he needs. . . .

"None of the private pollsters do complete probability sampling because of the prohibitive expense. (Quayle noted that this was not the case for the Gallup Poll and the Harris Survey, "because their necks are on the line.")

"You pick up a point to a point-and-a-half of margin with probability samples. I've done them when I've had to, when I knew I was in a different ball game."

John Kraft and his wife, Fran Farrell Kraft, who is also a well-known pollster, agreed with Quayle. "There is no significant difference in the result," Kraft said.

Several pollsters disagreed, however. One was PS&A's Roll, who said: "The respectability of quota samples went out in 1948, with the Truman-Devey election. You don't know what your sample error is. Luck is with them. But it's certainly not enough to hang your hat on, I would think."

ORC's Benham said his firm used only probability samples. However, he said: "In many situations, you can use the best scientific probability sample or a mediocre quota sample and get the same results—because there's no critical element that would make an essential difference."

Assessment

Pollsters and politicians coexist uneasily, needing each other and yet aware of each other's limitations.

Both are victims of a vicious circle in politics: the degree of media exposure affects poll results; poll results affect the amount of campaign funds that can be raised; campaign funds affect media exposure.

Drawer syndrome: Muchmore thinks campaign managers, more than candidates, are responsible for poor relationships. "We give them a battle plan, and many times they don't want to use it because they have a feeling it's going to go a different way. Sometimes they're right; sometimes they're wrong. But, more often, they're wrong."

Another Californian, Vincent Barabba, said: "We see an awful lot of what we refer to as the right-hand drawer syndrome. You give a guy a survey—you make a fancy presentation—and he says, 'Gee, that's great!' And he opens up the right-hand drawer of his desk and puts it in there, and that's the last time it's used."

"Then, if someone asks what are

you basing all those decisions on, he opens up the drawer and says, 'Well, we got a survey.'

MOR's Teeter believes the worst is over. "Two or three years ago," he said, "we had a real problem with guys who were using it for the first time and thought they had just bought themselves magic buttons. With some people, it became a narcotic. If they didn't know what to do, they had another poll taken."

Getting more: From the client's side, a Democratic Senator said privately: "I don't know of anyone around here who is having polling done and who wouldn't like to get more than he's getting out of it. But I know it's simply a matter of dollars. They have a product to sell; they have costs."

If finances are often a central problem to the pollster, they are even more of one to the politician. A Republican Senator from the Northeast said: "There isn't any question that I couldn't solve if I wanted to spend \$25,000 for a survey."

But the difficulties range beyond insufficient funds. A campaign manager who has worked with pollsters for many years said privately:

"I think there's room in this business for someone who really wants to drive it wide open. He could drive all these guys out. For example, why not add an entire demographic package with sample electoral analysis and priority ranking of states, congressional districts and counties, with cross-data by issues. It's possible with computer analysis. That's a service I could really use."

In 1968, the National Republican Congressional (Campaign) Committee and its Senate counterpart bought a \$400,000 survey through Datamatics Inc., a subsidiary of Spencer-Roberts and Associates, a California-based campaign consulting firm. Datamatics is now dissolved; at the time, it was headed by Vincent Borabba.

Neither the House nor the Senate committee is scheduling any polling projects for 1972. Paul A. Theis, director of public relations for the House

group, said: "We got committed to doing the (1968) thing without assessing as much as we should have in advance." (For a report on the House and Senate GOP campaign committees, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 2100.)

Pressure points: In a profession linked closely to the academic community, but with no entry standards, salesmanship remains a persistent problem. "It's the gut problem in the business," said Albert H. Cantril, a Washington-based polling consultant. Cantril is the author, with Charles Roll, of *Hopes and Fears of the American People* (Universe Books, 1971), which is based on Gallup research.

Said Cantril: "The only way you can seek new business is to tear down the other guy's methods and try to show politicians that they are not getting anything too useful. There are no teaching materials you can use unless you break the confidence of a private (political) client."

Political pollsters also are encountering fresh problems in seeking to assemble valid public opinion data. An executive at Chilton Research Services in Philadelphia said: "There's no use kidding anybody; the cooperative rate is decreasing every year. It used to be 20 years ago if we got a 3-per cent refusal rate we were concerned about it; today, they are running 10 and 12 per cent."

"It's all part of the misuse of research techniques. People today are just more suspicious. You know, a salesman calling up and saying he's making a survey and the next thing he's knocking at your door."

Dangers: Private polls can cause complications in campaigns that are not always readily apparent. For example, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., received a poll from Tull, Plesser in 1968 that showed Javits leading his Democratic opponent, Paul O'Dwyer, 48-16.

Javits' advisers were hesitant about releasing the poll, despite the strong lead, for fear it would not be believed and would raise a "credibility issue." Yet another consideration was fear that it would be harder to raise money

if potential backers thought Javits could not lose.

The poll was nevertheless "leaked" to *The New York Times* for its "hand-wagon" effect and because it showed Javits to be the strongest Republican politician in New York state at the time.

The release of the poll led to a charge by O'Dwyer that it was a deliberate attempt to influence the *New York Daily News* Poll, which was scheduled to commence canvassing just after the GOP poll was released.

While the Javits "leak" was a deliberate one, candidates often insist that a pollster report directly to them in an effort to control access to private polls on the campaign staff.

Pollsters and politicians are coming increasingly to agree that there is a limit to what surveys can accomplish. MOR's Teeter said: "You can't go and say to some guy, 'Look, if you go out and take this stand, you'll increase your support 4 per cent.' That's crazy."

Progress: If political pollsters are still searching for a firmer foundation, there are nevertheless signs of progress.

Quayle said: "A couple of years ago, everybody was trying to get into the act. And that's not happening anymore. A lot of commercial firms—the guys who were researching soap and so forth—began to dabble in politics, looking at it as a new market. But you've got to know something about politics in this business. It's an art as well as a science."

Roll believes that what is needed is better liaison between the campaign and the pollsters—"politically sensitive men inside the campaign organization who are at the same time highly sophisticated about the use of polling techniques."

"It's a funny business," another well-known pollster said. "When you get all this stuff done, the candidates look at it and if it doesn't really agree with them, they're very suspicious. But if it agrees with them, it's the best poll in America."

By W. E. Timmons, 10/13/71

September 3, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WET*
SUBJECT: '72 Democratic Convention

I think it important to start a national publicity campaign to show that the Democrats still owe \$750,000 from their '68 Chicago Convention. Perhaps our friends at the Tribune could do a series of stories on this deficit and later have one of the national news magazines pick the story up.

The IRS is apparently checking the records of the First National Bank of Chicago regarding Convention liabilities as part of an investigation into tax matters on Matthew J. Danaher, Clerk of the Cook County Circuit Court.

Also, the Tribune could repeat comments by potential Democratic candidates at the time of the recent announcement of Miami Beach. You'll recall in the Washington Post most all criticized Chicago for '68 troubles. I would think a build-up of publicity on the DNC Chicago debt plus current attitudes of national Democratic leaders would help estrange Illinois from our opposition.

What think?

cc: H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WET*

SUBJECT: '72 Convention

To assist in planning the coordinated activities of the White House staff and Nixon campaign effort I need some decisions regarding involvement of the President's staff.

1. SIZE OF CONTINGENT: Estimate that there will be 25 male staff and 25 secretaries (total 50) from White House staff.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

2. TRANSPORTATION: White House staff will be responsible for their own travel at non campaign expense to and from San Diego. However, the campaign organization will be responsible for ground transportation in the convention city. (This assumes no White House cars or military drivers for other than the President and his immediate party when he personally participates).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

3. FOOD SERVICE: White House staff will use mess facility for campaign staff which, along with the hotel rooms, will be paid for by the campaign organization. Meals outside the mess are the personal responsibility of the individual staffer.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

4. COMMUNICATIONS: The White House Communications Agency will provide telephone, walkie talkie and pageboy service in San Diego for White House staff. Unlike automobiles this service is not highly visible and can be justified on basis of President's need to communicate with his staff. A White House PBX and Campaign Switchboard will be coordinated to permit interchange of calls.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

5. SAN CLEMENTE: Those delegates, politicians and staff who receive invitations to visit with the President at the Western White House will be shuttled by military helicopter from a central contact point in San Diego.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

Bob, this is not meant to be binding but to serve as a planning guide for convention activities.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 12812-2, 6-102
By William E. Timmons, date 8/14/71

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WT*

SUBJECT: '72 Convention

To assist in my preliminary planning for the National Convention, I've drawn up a rough list of those White House staff whom the President may wish to attend the San Diego event. Will you please review the list, make changes as appropriate, and let me know? I recognize this approved list will be tentative and should be used only as a guideline. There are obviously a number of staffers I haven't included but who would probably want to attend the event.

This is important not only to room assignments but will bear on planning for chartered aircraft, ground transportation requirements, Convention tickets, office equipment, food service arrangements, etc.

I have not included rooms set aside for the President and Vice President, their families and friends.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRESIDENTIAL FLOOR

	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Room</u>	<u>WHCA Phones</u>	<u>Authorized Secretary</u>	<u>Secretary's Room</u>
1.	Bull	1/2	X	No	-
2.	Chapin	1	X	Yes	1/2
3.	Haldeman	1	X	Yes	1/2
4.	Higby	1/2	X	No	-
5.	Hughes	1	X	No	-
6.	Tkach	1	X	No	-
7.	Woods	1	X	Yes	1/2
8.	Ziegler	1	X	No	-
9.	Butterfield	1	X	Yes	1/2
10.	Secret Service	1	X	No	-
11.	Office	1	X	-	-
12.	Office	1	X	-	-
13.	Valet	1	X	-	-

TOTAL PERSONNEL: 13 (9 staff & 4 secretaries)
TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED: 14
TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 13

PRESIDENTIAL FLOOR (VICE PRESIDENT'S WING)

	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Room</u>	<u>WHCA Phone</u>	<u>Authorized Secretary</u>	<u>Secretary's Room</u>
1.	Sohmer	1	X	Yes	1/2
2.	Goodearle	1	X	Yes	1/2
3.	Keene	1	X	No	-
4.	Guard	1	X	No	-
5.	Malatasta	1	X	No	-
6.	Gold	1	X	Yes	1/2
7.	Thompson	1	X	Yes	1/2
8.	Military Aide	1	X	No	-
9.	Doctor	1	X	No	-
10.	Secret Service	1	X	No	-
11.	Office	1	X	-	-
12.	Office	1	X	-	-

TOTAL PERSONNEL: 13 (9 staff & 4 secretaries)
TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED: 14
TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 12

FIRST WHITE HOUSE FLOOR

	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Room</u>	<u>WHCA Phones</u>	<u>Authorized Secretary</u>	<u>Secretary's Room</u>
1.	Colson	1	X	Yes	1/2
2.	Dent	1	X	Yes	1/2
3.	Ehrlichman	1	X	Yes	1/2
4.	Finch	1	X	Yes	1/2
5.	Flanigan	1	X	Yes	1/2
6.	Garment	1	X	Yes	1/2
7.	Johnson	1	X	Yes	1/2
8.	Kissinger	1	X	Yes	1/2
9.	Klein	1	X	Yes	1/2
10.	MacGregor	1	X	Yes	1/2
11.	Peterson	1	X	Yes	1/2
12.	Rumsfeld	1	X	Yes	1/2
13.	Price	1	X	Yes	1/2
14.	Shultz	1	X	Yes	1/2
15.	Stuart	1	X	Yes	1/2
16.	Winchester	1	X	No	-
17.	Cole	1	X	Yes	1/2
18.	Morgan	1	X	No	-
19.	Whitaker	1	X	No	-
20.	Harper	1	X	No	-
21.	Dean	1	X	No	-
22.	Malek	1	X	No	-
23.	Weinberger	1	X	No	-
24.	Carlucci	1	X	No	-
25.	Office	1	X	-	-
26.	Office	1	X	-	-
27.	Office	1	X	-	-
28.	Office	1	X	-	-

TOTAL PERSONNEL: 40 (24 staff & 16 secretaries)

TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED: 36

TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 28

SECOND WHITE HOUSE FLOOR

	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Room</u>	<u>WHCA Phones</u>	<u>Authorized Secretary</u>	<u>Secretary's Room</u>
1.	Buchanan	1	X	Yes	1/2
2.	Goode	1/2	X	No	-
3.	Shumway	1/2	X	No	-
4.	Snyder	1/2	X	No	-
5.	Moore	1	X	Yes	1/2
6.	Safire	1	X	Yes	1/2
7.	Scali	1	X	Yes	1/2
8.	Howard	1/2	X	No	-
9.	Barker	1	X	Yes	1/2

SECOND WHITE HOUSE FLOOR (continued)

	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Room</u>	<u>WHCA Phones</u>	<u>Authorized Secretary</u>	<u>Secretary's Room</u>
10.	Costello	1	X	Yes	1/2
11.	Khachigian	1/2	X	No	-
12.	Huebner	1/2	X	No	-
13.	Ball	1	X	Yes	1/2
14.	Elbourne	1/2	X	No	-
15.	Warren	1	X	Yes	1/2
16.	Whelihan	1/2	X	No	-
17.	Bell	1/2	X	No	-
18.	Cashen	1/2	X	No	-
19.	Andrews	1/2	X	No	-
20.	Atkins	1	X	No	-
21.	Walker	1	X	Yes	1/2
22.	Millspaugh	1/2	X	No	-
23.	Strachan	1/2	X	No	-
24.	Kehrli	1/2	X	No	-
25.	Grassmuck	1/2	X	No	-
26.	Hendricks	1/2	X	No	-
27.	Brown	1	X	No	-
28.	Huntsman	1	X	No	-
29.	Hullin	1/2	X	No	-
30.	Patterson	1/2	X	No	-
31.	Kingsley	1/2	X	No	-
32.	Cheney	1/2	X	No	-
33.	Adams (1st lady)	1/2	X	No	-
34.	Schmid (" ")	1/2	X	No	-
35.	Office	1	X	-	-
36.	Office	1	X	-	-
37.	Office	1	X	-	-
38.	Office	1	X	-	-

TOTAL PERSONNEL: 43 (34 staff & 9 secretaries)
 TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED: 31
 TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 27

GRAND TOTALS:
 PERSONNEL: 109 (76 staff & 33 secretaries)
 ROOMS: 95 (including 12 offices and 2 secret service rooms)
 WHCA PHONES: 80

Each of three floors will have four White House offices (two per wing).

In each office there will be:

	<u>TOTAL</u>
Three IBM Typewriters	36
Three Secretarial Desks & Chairs	36
White House Phone	12
Three IBM Dictating machines & Transcribers	36
Usual office supplies	-
Locator Board to sign out (one per wing)	6
8 am - 8 pm Volunteers (not President's floor)	16
Xerox machine (one per wing)	6
Mimeograph machine (one per wing)	6

In addition to regular staff & secretaries it appears 17 additional rooms should be blocked off for use by White House service personnel. It is anticipated that since they will be performing their duties, the Federal government should pay for their rooms and meals as well as furnishing transportation.

<u>Service Staff</u>	<u>Rooms</u>
1. Telephone Operator	1/2
2. Telephone Operator	1/2
3. Telephone Operator	1/2
4. Telephone Operator	1/2
5. Telephone Operator	1/2
6. Telephone Operator	1/2
7. Telephone Operator	1/2
8. Telephone Operator	1/2
9. Telephone Operator	1/2
10. Telephone Operator	1/2
11. WHCA staff	1/2
12. WHCA staff	1/2
13. WHCA staff	1/2
14. WHCA staff	1/2
15. WHCA staff	1/2
16. WHCA staff	1/2
17. Military	1/2
18. Military	1/2
19. Military	1/2
20. Military	1/2
21. Military (VP)	1/2
22. Military (VP)	1/2
23. Military (VP)	1/2
24. Military (VP)	1/2
25. Secret Service	1/2
26. Secret Service	1/2
27. Secret Service	1/2
28. Secret Service	1/2

	<u>Service Staff</u>	<u>Rooms</u>
29.	Secret Service	1/2
30.	Secret Service	1/2
31.	Secret Service (VP)	1/2
32.	Secret Service (VP)	1/2
33.	Secret Service (VP)	1/2
34.	Secret Service (VP)	1/2

TOTAL SERVICE PERSONNEL: 34
 TOTAL ROOMS: 17
 TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 17 (one per room)

NOTE: Nearby military housing can be made available as sleeping quarters for additional service staff in town performing official duties.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~Sloans, K, Washburn, Dugan,
Nunn, GS, JSM, Sloan~~

~~- ① JSM + HF want out of
admin part of their
comm - Hank Buec -
keeping books for comp~~

~~- ② Change Acs to Com for RFP~~

~~③ Sloan - Has not decided~~

Nixon
Fin
Aim

~~or committed to top job
- will meet light & spend time~~

~~② after 68, used RNC
after converted payroll
- open: who RNC run
own shop or we
use again.~~

~~③ sell 66 - must have
control over RNC finances~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Stans

- ④ RNC is not to have their own fundraising operation
- ⑤ Stans / Bugan / Ryan / Sloan meet next week to review the how specs done
- ⑥ Don't move on RNC until after convention
- ⑦ after mtg then move on Milbank etc under Stans

No turnover until after mtg (Wed - 5 PM attend Stans)
Sloan report to Stans - 1 copy
no JM aware.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS → K - after Mulcahy
to bring up
\$140,000 → Cts to date
including 35,000
advanced by
K + repaid now
from cash

Glens - needs 3 budgets

- JSM Budge
- Fle m Budge ←
- Fin Budge

① all staffing up for Nov.
- black, youth, women etc
TUE working on office space etc

Com Lee Suit

- Subpoened Gleason
68 records + 70
records

- Plans held + destroyed
Contrib records

Judge refused to permit
~~deposition~~ 5th on deposit

Com Lee - 5-6 lawyers full time
Gleason concurred.

Change to

JSM
to check
AG

Comm for Re-Elect P
+
Fin Com for Re-Elect P

Chair
Chair

4 sources

① K - 100 A

② Neen - G/100

③ Per Mill

④ Unookie &

Sloan - job to hammer
on pledges

K → Mill w/ list of ~~names~~
names + crossoff list
- Sloan sees Mill ~~directly~~

Sloan → doesn't cover Neen's
group w/ Mill.

But Mill → AG re Neen → Win Rock

RN above - mill + G/100 - are
keeping the funds raised

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

RNC - 2 mil deficit
for 71 - but Denver
may cover.

~~By Oct Nov - a complete
schedule of events
1. ...
2. ...~~

~~11 S - ...
- 60 9m - ...~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~MS - waiting for P.
G → DC re/K all +
for MS party.~~

~~RNE
Zme~~

Datsun

Roger Ways

Service manager

pin bond

Mountain's memo

on RNC

- accty - ReOde

Hugh/haing

stands
"smaller"
merged

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY



To :

From: Joseph E. Casson

- ① Dent - Tom Evans
+ Kenzig meet
today at 3
re H decision
of any RNC
contact agencies
- ②

August 19, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DELIVERED TO THE
ADMINISTRATIVE
L.O. 100-100-100-100
By *CH*, *3/24/82*

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER
SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE

The following comes from a reliable source, who knows New Hampshire.

Lane Dwinell will be an excellent choice to look after the President's activities in New Hampshire. Mrs. Dwinell plays an important role in the state.

Lyle Herson, one of five counsellors to the Governor, is a fine young person, but should be ruled out as number 1 representative of the President in the state, because he comes from the northern part of the state where there are very few votes. He should be part of the New Hampshire group, however.

John Bridges, son of Senator Styles Bridges, would be a good selection to serve on the committee, but should not head it up, as it would revive old wounds.

cc: H. R. Haldeman ✓

CONFIDENTIAL

August 16, 1971

*H need
not see
due to
H note
on 8/13
Pol not
memo that
P + Peterson
OK*

Memorandum

To: Bob Haldeman

From: Charlie *McWhorter*

Re: Governor Walter Peterson of New Hampshire

You will recall that when Pete McCloskey opened his headquarters in New Hampshire he received a courtesy call from Governor Walter Peterson and Stewart Lamprey. At the time, Governor Peterson made some remarks which indicated that his visit to the headquarters was something more than a mere courtesy call. This was confirmed again to me by Marty Plissner of CBS News who checked with some sources in New Hampshire.

In order to get more information about this situation I had Bill Treat, a long standing friend of the President and a former state GOP official, contact Governor Peterson direct to take a reading of this situation. Treat called me this morning to say that he had talked with the Governor at some length this morning; that there is no question but what the Governor feels a little unhappy about the lack of two-way liaison with the Administration. He has cooperated with various White House requests to issue statements in support of the President's position, including one this morning in support of the President's economic initiatives announced last night on television. However, the Governor is a little disturbed that the White House apparently gives so much attention to Bill Loeb. Some three or four months ago Bill Loeb and his wife attended a White House dinner which Loeb enjoys publicizing whenever he has a chance which is quite frequent. In the front page editorial which Loeb ran in his paper on the day of the President's recent trip to New Hampshire, Loeb again referred to his White House visit in announcing that he would support almost anyone other than President Nixon next year as a result of his disagreement on a number of key issues including Red China. The Governor also mentioned that Herb Klein had visited Loeb in New Hampshire but had not been in touch with the Governor's office.

In summary, I would recommend that at some early opportunity Governor Peterson and his wife be included in a White House affair and that occasion be used to smooth his feathers a little bit. Peterson has not decided to run for a third term but he obviously will have the bitter opposition of Bill Loeb if he tries to do so. That primary, incidentally, is in September and not on the March 7 Presidential primary.

cc: Harry S. Flemming

STATE ASSIGNMENTS

MAINE

GOP State Chairman Moreshead is a good friend of the '68 RN Chairman Ned Harding, thus he recommends Harding to give continuity for the RN people and a close working relationship with State GOP Chairmen.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Lane Dwinell on board as overall chairman. We will work up suggestions for co-chairmen representing liberal and conservative elements. Dwinell suggests and I agree that we get a younger type to head the "beauty contest" part of the primary.

VERMONT

1968 RN Chairman Doug Cairns wants very much to go again. You will remember he did a particularly good job in their convention. One thing to look out for in Vermont is a primary scheduled in Randolph, Vermont (population about 500) on March 7th, the same day as New Hampshire's. McCloskey is making an effort to score Vermont in this one for the national publicity value.

MASSACHUSETTS

I am still checking on Massachusetts, but a number of people have recommended State Senate Minority Leader John Parker. He was a RN supporter, pre-convention in '68. In addition he seems to enjoy the confidence of Richardson, Volpe and Brooke. Don Whitehead has finished the scenario you requested and I am having lunch with him on Tuesday to go over it.

CONNECTICUT

We should work with Governor Meskill and Senator Weicker to come up with the right person. In doing so, Meskill counts more than Weicker, as he controls the state party machinery.

RHODE ISLAND

The party people would like us to put together a slate of RN people and run them unpledged in the primary. McCloskey is about 90% sure to go into Rhode Island with his own slate. George Vetter would like to be the state chairman. I need to check this out with John Chaffee and Herb DeSimone as they are likely to be on the ballot at the same time.

NEW YORK

Problem seems to center on how one can pull the diverse elements together. Strategy on how to handle the conservative Republican hassle on electors should be worked out in advance of decision on who will head campaign. You know far more on this one than I ever will.

NEW JERSEY

We have a number of recommendations of prominent business leaders in the state as possible chairmen. RGK has suggested that Governor Cahill might be a strong choice. He is apparently quite popular. Lee Nunn is sounding out Senator Case on his feelings on the Presidential race in 1972. In any event, we should hold up until after November's legislative races.

DELAWARE

I have no real input on Delaware at this time.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bill Scranton seems to be the closest thing to a common denominator in Pennsylvania. Nunn reports the business community is nearly unanimous on him. I can report the same from the politicals. None-the-less, I worry about this idea. Scranton probably won't put much time into it and could be difficult to handle. An alternative might be to use Scott and Schweiker as co-chairmen and then obtain a good, young executive director to run the campaign.

MARYLAND

The suggestion of Mathias and Seall as co-chairmen remains the best I've heard. Lacking a better idea, perhaps we should try and convince the Vice President on this. GOP Chairman Lankler suggested State Senator Ed Thomas from Frederick as the executive director. I tried this on Art Sohmer and while he wasn't wild on the idea, he felt that he could do the job.

WEST VIRGINIA

There are several competent, young state legislators who could do a fine job of protecting our interests. Unfortunately there is probably little else for us in the state.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

I suggest we get someone like Perk McGuire who can weld together a good delegation and raise some money. Another suggestion would be to get an able, young black or a woman. Recognizing the political realities, this may be a logical place to broaden the range of our state chairmen.

VIRGINIA

The secret here is to get someone who will be excepted by both Governor Holton and Senator Byrd. Lawrence Lewis of Richmond, who headed our '68 Citizens effort, should be acceptable to both, although he is not a worker. The state party will co-operate 100% once we get past the Governor's ego. In any event, we should hold up until after the Virginia race for Lt. Gov. this fall.

KENTUCKY

I again suggest that we wait until after the fall elections.

TENNESSEE

Everyone I have talked to feels we ought to concentrate on finding a good executive director. He, in turn, would put together a large bipartisan committee to front his operation.

NORTH CAROLINA

Several candidates for State Chairman have been recommended including Charles Crutchfield, Charlotte Radio and TV owner, Mel Broughton, former Democratic candidate for Governor and lawyer, and our '68 Citizens Chairman Willis Smith, Jr. Smith and Broughton would be the strongest of the three.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Harry Dent advises that we wait until their intra-party disputes settle down before making our move in South Carolina.

GEORGIA

The party is so divided and of limited ability that I suggest we go into the Atlanta business community and build a truly Citizens approach for the November campaign. This will necessitate finding someone within the party to put together a good slate of delegates for the convention, to serve as a liaison with the party, and the Citizens group during the fall campaign.

FLORIDA

You have the key to the general election campaign. I am working up some recommendations on the primary to fully utilize the party for a broader effort in the fall.

ALABAMA

Frank Parsons of Birmingham, who narrowly lost a bid for National President of the Jaycees, might be a fine choice for our Citizens chairman. He serves on the desegregation committee and is apparently a good man. Dick Bennett, State GOP Chairman, is coming up to see me in the next week or so and I will get his ideas.

MISSISSIPPI

Clarke Reed would like to put together a group of prominent business leaders to front our campaign and then use the party machinery to do the day-to-day work. Lt. Gov. Charles Sullivan is running for Governor as a Nixon man and will probably win. We should wait for the outcome of this race before making our move, as he could be very helpful.

LOUISIANA

Louisiana elects a governor on February 1, 1972. The Republicans are trying to mount a strong campaign. I suggest we wait until that is over and then work with our '68 Nixon Chairman, Charlton Lyons, to come up with the best man.

ARKANSAS

A rather intense battle has gone on between former Governor Rockefeller and State Chairman Charles Bernard, over control of the party. Both sides have requested we hold off until they can patch up their quarrel. This is a reasonable request. Bernard is pushing Odell Pollard, his predecessor, but I don't think too much of this idea.

OHIO

I gather that Lee Nunn and you have worked out an arrangement for Ray Bliss to head up our campaign in Ohio.

MICHIGAN

I have no specific recommendation other than he should be someone who can work with the Governor, the State GOP and the conservatives. He should not be any of the above specifically.

INDIANA

The first step should be to get the State Chairman, John Snyder, National Committeeman Keith Bulen, and Lt. Gov. Foltz, to sit down and agree to agree. Our '68 Chairman, Orvis Beers, won't work as he has lost out in the factional wars. Someone with his '68 qualifications would probably do the trick.

ILLINOIS

Tom Houser has agreed to head up our campaign in the state.

WISCONSIN

John MacIver will head the campaign. He has successfully pulled in the top business types and should have a first class effort there.

MINNESOTA

I have no recommendation at this time. McCloskey is making some effort in the state under the anti-war banner. He has some support among liberal anti-Nixon Republicans.

IOWA

A bitter battle will be fought between Governor Robert Ray and Lt. Gov. Jepson for the GOP nomination for Governor. We should steer clear of this and find someone who will not get involved. I have recommendations of prominent businessmen from the party people.

MISSOURI

The party people are strongly urging that we use Larry Roos, County Executive in St. Louis County. As you will recall, he was part of the Rockefeller operation in 1968 and has never been very close to the President. He does, however, have some resources to put in the campaign such as staff and finance contacts. There do not seem to be many other choices unless we use a businessman.

KANSAS

I have no suggestions on Kansas.

NEBRASKA

George Cook is set as our Chairman for 1972. He plans to operate in a manner similar to four years ago. Your friend, Bob Kutak, is very impressive and wants to help. I think he would make a good finance chairman for us.

SOUTH DAKOTA

National Committeeman Jack Gibson and State Chairman Charles Howard recommend that we use former Congressmen E. Y. Berry and Ben Reifel as our co-chairmen. They would use former AA to Senator Mundt, W. E. "Obie" O'Brien as the operator. I'm not sure we shouldn't just go ahead with O'Brien and forget the cosmetic approach with the Congressmen.

NORTH DAKOTA

I have had a couple of discussions with State Chairman Ben Clayburgh but have nothing concrete. I suggest that we approach Senator Milt Young for his ideas, as his nose is a little out of joint and this might make him feel more a part of the team.

MONTANA

I have no good suggestions at this time.

WYOMING

I have talked to State Chairman Dave Kennedy and will be talking to Governor Hathaway. I need to chat with Senator Hansen as well.

COLORADO

Bob Flanigan, GOP State Chairman, recommends we use Governor Love as our state chairman and then use one of several bright young faces as the executive director. This isn't a bad idea considering Love's popularity in the state.

OKLAHOMA

There is considerable feuding going on in the state GOP organization. I have asked all sides for suggestions and perhaps we can find someone who gets along with all.

TEXAS

The State Party is weak and has even weaker leadership at the top. In addition they are preoccupied with John Tower's race. My suggestion is that we build a strong Republican, Independent, Democrat Citizens organization with the help of Secretary Connally.

NEW MEXICO

I have had several suggestions, but have no good names at this time.

ARIZONA

State Chairman Henry Rosenzweig is recommending Jim O'Connor, a Democrat, lawyer, and close friend of Herb Kalmbach. I haven't had a chance to talk with Kleindienst about this as yet.

CALIFORNIA

You have been handling the delicate negotiations here.

NEVADA

Bob Mardian says that Paul Laxalt would accept the job as State Chairman. I don't think we can improve on that.

UTAH

I have no recommendations at this time.

IDAHO

Lt. Gov. Jack Murphy was our man in Idaho in 1968 and State Chairman Roland Wilbur suggests we use him again. Mardian is not very high on Murphy.

OREGON

Wendell Wyatt is on board as our state chairman. We will tie in the 1968 Nixon people so that we have the broadest possible base.

WASHINGTON

Former National Committeeman Bob Timm and State Chairman Earl Davenport have suggested that we use Luke Williams, a conservative businessman from Spokane, who has good relations with the money people and Governor Evans.

ALASKA

Edith Holm, National Committeewoman and the person Mardian has the most confidence in, says Bob Ward, former Secretary of State, would be the strongest person to head our campaign. Holm, herself, wouldn't be bad and it would give us a woman chairman.

HAWAII

Bill Quinn, former Governor and now President of the Dole Pineapple organization, would probably be our best bet. I haven't talked with Senator Fong as yet and that base should be touched.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

August 26, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
SUBJECT: POLLING ARTICLE BY ANDREW GLASS
IN THE NATIONAL JOURNAL - 8/14/71

Mr. Glass has done a comprehensive job of surveying the entire field of polling for the '72 campaign, for Democrats as well as Republicans. The article reflects substantial inside information about our own polling plans. For example, you, Gordon Strachan, Ed DeBolt and I are mentioned by name as being involved in shaping the campaign research effort. Reference is made to the polling vendor meetings which we held on August 9 and 10.

You will recall that after I contacted each of the six vendors under consideration for the August 9-10 meetings, I sent a letter of confirmation which included an enumeration of several aspects of polling in which we were particularly interested. Information copies of that letter, as well as the schedule of meetings for both days, were sent to Peter Flanigan, Gordon Strachan, Ed DeBolt and Bill Low of the RNC, and yourself. There was some concern that these communications had been leaked to Mr. Glass. However, several omissions in the National Journal article strongly suggest the contrary:

1) The article states that the meetings were scheduled during August 9-11, whereas they were actually scheduled only on August 9 and 10.

2) The article listed five vendors who were invited. The sixth, Market Facts, was not mentioned.

3) Peter Flanigan was not mentioned in the article. Although the letter did not mention him by name, he was discussed in the telephone conversations with the vendors, because the meetings were originally scheduled to be held in his office.

4) My name was grossly misspelled.

The article makes reference to such sources as "Administration spokesman," "aide to the President," a "Presidential aide," "another White House official" and "GOP official," as well as to Harry Dent by name. There is no evidence that Mr. Glass found any source of information in the campaign organization. When he called here he was told that you were the only authorized spokesman for the Citizens Committee, and although he attempted to contact others of us, the calls were not returned. I understand also that Ed DeBolt, Gordon Strachan and Dave Derge were contacted during the preparation of this article but similarly did not return the telephone calls.

This leak, whatever the source, was not as harmful as it might have been. We will attempt to further tighten our security to prevent similar instances in the future.

Political Report/Pollsters prowl nation as candidates use opinion surveys to plan '72 campaign

by Andrew J. Glass

8/14/71 1693
 NATIONAL JOURNAL
 © CPR 1971

From the White House to small-town America, the political pollsters are once more on the prowl.

A *National Journal* survey of political pollsters and their clients reveals that the business—which, like politics itself, is as much an art as a science—is deeply rooted in the campaign process. It revealed also that many candidates still are reluctant to say publicly how heavily they rely on polls.

Like people who never walk under ladders even though they say they are not superstitious, candidates go on buying the polls. With the approach of the 1972 national elections, spending for political surveys is likely to match or exceed 1968 levels.

In his book, *Financing the 1968 Election* (D.C. Heath and Company, 1971), Herbert E. Alexander estimated that spending for public opinion polls for all candidates at all levels in 1968 came to \$6 million.

The estimate, based on 1,200 polls which cost an average of \$5,000, is conservative; one comprehensive statewide poll can cost \$15,000.

Top to bottom: The White House receives a steady stream of public opinion survey results. Some of them are commissioned, directly or indirectly, by the White House itself; others result from "piggybacking"—adding questions to polls already commissioned by Republican candidates or to polls taken for other purposes.

A campaign task force, working in

secrecy, currently is seeking to define polling needs for Mr. Nixon's 1972 campaign.

In addition, the President requests and receives regular "weathervane" polls that are commissioned for him by friends and admirers, mainly in the business world. Similar polls were taken on a regular basis for Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

But the political polling profession does not subsist alone on surveys taken by the White House or by the President's Democratic rivals.

Robert Teeter, the White House liaison man for Detroit-based Market Opinion Research, a Republican-oriented polling firm, said: "One of the big changes we're seeing is the level down to which polling is used."

"It used to be that there were a few sophisticated gubernatorial and senatorial campaigns using it. Now, almost all of them are in it. Many Congressmen use it. And it pops up in state legislatures and in city races."

Oliver A. Quayle III, who has taken polls for most of the Democrats now in the Senate, said: "It's now almost SOP. If you're interested in what people think, this is the best way to find out. People who have never polled before are polling now. It's standard procedure."

The "new breed": A veteran Democratic campaign manager believes the pollsters' growth is based in part on a new breed of politician. As he put it:

"You're finding more people running for political office with less political experience than ever before. So they really don't have an intuitive base of how well they'll do. They don't have the knowledge of their state that a guy who has been in politics a long time has. But they know enough that they need to know. So the pollsters are all selling."

At its higher rungs, the polling profession remains a tight-knit group. It divides, almost equally, into those who poll only for Republicans, those who poll only for Democrats and those who poll for both.

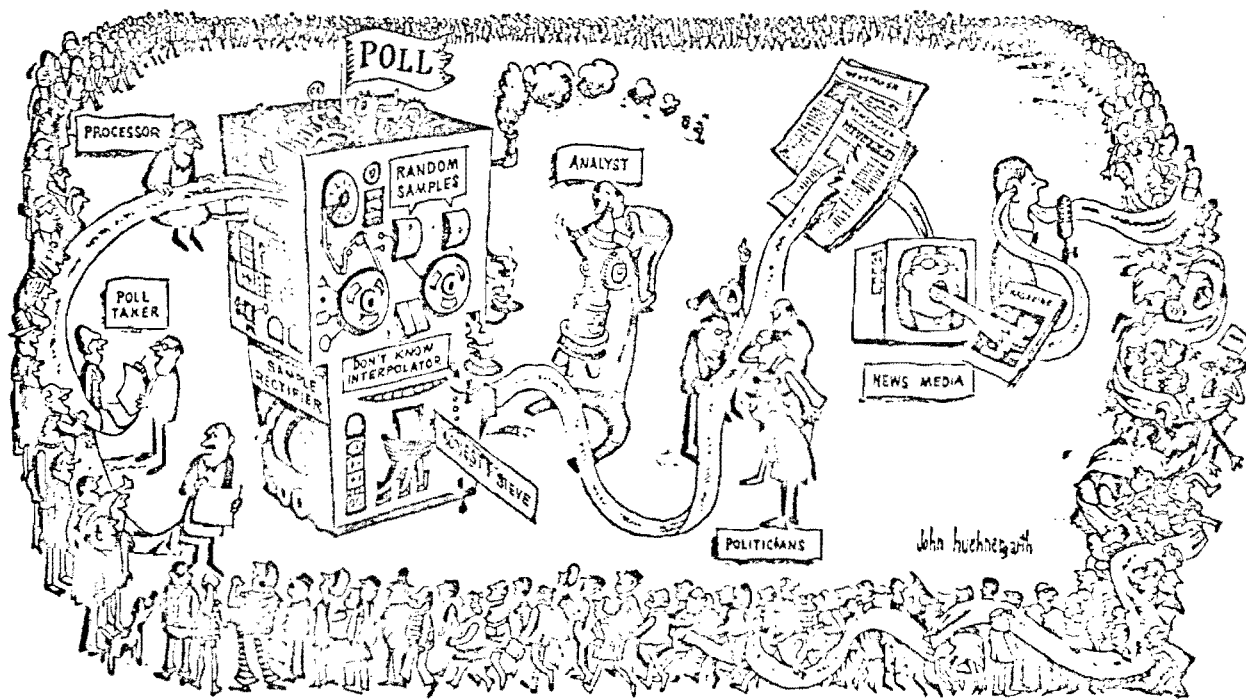
But, as pollster Michael Rowan said, "we're all one club."

Nixon

In seeking the Presidency in 1968, Richard Nixon spent about \$500,000 for the longest, most costly and most complex polling project in campaign history. Although there is no real battle for the nomination in sight, the Nixon White House has budgeted \$500,000 for polling research for the 1972 campaign.

Organization: In the White House itself, the gathering of poll information is supervised by H. R. Haldeman, the President's chief of staff, who has a background in advertising and market research. (*For a report on Haldeman, see No. 10, p. 513.*)

Campaign planning beyond the White House gates is being handled



by Citizens for the Reelection of the President, which is, in effect, a White House political task force; by the Republican National Committee; and by Attorney General John N. Mitchell.

A coordinating committee is shaping the campaign research effort, which will rely heavily on public opinion surveys.

The committee includes Jeb S. Magruder, who has been detached from the office of Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch, to manage the "Citizens" operation; Robert Marrick, Magruder's associate in the "Citizens" office; Gordon Strachan, a personal staff assistant to Haldeman, and Edward S. DeBolt, the RNC's deputy chairman for research and political organization.

The Nixon campaign steering committee also is utilizing an outside consultant on polling techniques—David R. Derge, 42, a political scientist and executive vice president of the University of Indiana in Bloomington.

Magruder is the key polling planner. As Harry S. Dent, special counsel to the President for political affairs, put it: "In this shop, Jeb is the guy who's the polling man."

Magruder declined to comment for publication on polling or on any other aspect of White House campaign planning. One official, who asked to be identified only as an Administration spokesman, said: "We don't want to get into even what we're *thinking* about doing. . . . They (the Democrats) know something is going on. Let them find out by working for it."

White House polls: Mr. Nixon has had access to a steady stream of private polling information since he took office. These polls have kept the President abreast of domestic political moods and furnished him with insights into changing trends on such questions as the public attitude toward admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

An almost continuous polling effort for the White House has been conducted, in secrecy, by Chilton Research Services, of Philadelphia, a division of Chilton Co. An aide to the President said, "The outside pollster (John H. Kofron, Chilton's senior vice president) consults almost always directly with Haldeman, although on a nonsensitive matter he may talk with Strachan or Higby." (Lawrence M. Higby is Haldeman's administrative assistant.)

The President and his top staff also have access to other private polls, conducted for Republican senatorial or gubernatorial candidates as well as by political pressure groups friendly to the Nixon Administration. These polls are supplied without charge; the Chilton surveys are underwritten by the Republican National Committee.

A pollster who declined to be quoted by name said, "A lot of the (White House) work that was done in the past three years was done by individual candidates who were doing it as an accommodation."

The White House intends to repay some of these favors during the 1972 campaign. A Presidential aide, speaking for "background," said: "When Nixon is ready to go into an area, an offer for a 'piggyback' (poll) will be made. I think in almost every case, it will be the Nixon White House that will offer it down rather than its being offered up (to the President)."

Campaign firms: The White House scheduled a series of meetings Aug. 9-11 to review the capabilities of more than a half-dozen Republican-oriented polling firms.

"All of them were approached with the idea of contributing to the campaign as a sole or prime contractor," said a White House political aide. "But it's not inconceivable that Haldeman will decide 'I don't want any one person to know everything, so I'm going to parcel it out and these people can just like it.' He's like that."

Another White House official noted that "the Nixon campaign is being organized on a priority basis and therefore the need for national pollsters is minimized." The emphasis, he said, will be on disregarding those states where there is "no opportunity" and concentrating on the big electoral states "which will either win or lose the election for us."

Each of the polling concerns which made presentations to the White House was screened in advance by Haldeman. The group includes:

- Cambridge Opinion Studies Inc., headed by Tully Plessner and based in New York City. Plessner's political polling assignments have ranged from Sen. W. E. Brock's successful campaign in Tennessee last year to John V. Lindsay's uphill mayoral campaign in New York in 1969.

- Chilton Research Services, which conducts its surveys by telephone from Philadelphia. Chilton also handled the mechanics of an intelligence effort in

1968 for Mr. Nixon mounted by Joseph Bachelder, who has since retired as a political polling consultant.

- Decision Making Information Inc., based in Santa Ana and Los Angeles, which polled in 1970 for both Gov. Ronald Reagan, R-Calif., and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, R-N.Y.

- Market Opinion Research of Detroit, which advised George Romney early in 1968 to scuttle his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. The company has done some weathervane polling after Mr. Nixon's television appearances.

- Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J., which handled the 1960 and 1968 Nixon campaigns, as well as the 1964 Presidential campaign of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz. (ORC's billings from political clients in 1968 amounted to \$600,000—\$450,000 from the Nixon campaign.)

David Derge, although a regular White House visitor, did not attend the presentation sessions, which were held in the offices of the "Citizens" group, one block from the White House. Derge is known to be a strong partisan of ORC.

Split verdict: A decision on the allocation of polling resources for the campaign is expected to be submitted to the President for his review and approval by the end of August.

Whether or not a prime polling contractor is chosen, a White House official said that polling arrangements for the 1972 campaign may not emerge in a clear-cut manner.

The official said: "Knowing the President, he never puts all his marbles in one basket. . . . He will want additional head-to-head and special-issue polling."

"He never even tells anybody about it. But you always have somebody on the side who will do a weathervane sampling after a (Presidential) night on television. . . . That's just Nixon. All of us get used to that. There's always an edge."

Another White House official who will be involved in the campaign, also speaking privately, said that, in all probability, some of the more sensitive polling results will go to the President directly, perhaps through Haldeman, without being circulated to the White House political staff.

"There are some things—like how does Agnew affect the ticket—that might be asked that even Mitchell won't get," the official said. (Mr. Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew as

Establishing the Tolerances

his Vice Presidential running mate in 1968 was influenced by ORC polls which showed him running better alone than with any possible "name" in the Republican Party. Mr. Nixon decided to bypass better-known personalities for Agnew, who was then Governor of Maryland.)

Utility: Although White House officials seek to dampen publicity on their polling efforts, they say privately that polling information, while in plentiful supply, does not play a critical role in White House political decision making.

"Nixon has never had much use for polls," a personal friend of the President said. "He only pays attention when they happen to agree with his gut feelings. And he likes situations where the polls do not put him under pressure, such as his Agnew decision of 1968."

A GOP official agreed with this assessment and added: "Most of those people (the White House staff) just look at the head-to-head results—at just two numbers. It's very sad. Most of them just flip to the last page (of the polling report) to see, in summary, how we are doing."

Democrats

Of Mr. Nixon's potential Democratic opponents in 1972, only the current front-runner, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine, is now engaged in polling research. Most of the other Democratic Presidential hopefuls have so far given little or no thought to commissioning public opinion surveys for their campaigns.

Muskie: "People have been waiting around for our polls before moving," said Anna Navarro, 24, the Muskie campaign's full-time polling consultant. "The question is how to project what people want to see."

An initial round of telephone-interview polling for Muskie was completed in late July by Independent Research Associates Inc., a Washington-based firm headed by William R. Hamilton, who has worked mainly for Democrats in the South. Before joining the Muskie staff in January, Miss Navarro worked for Hamilton.

Media—While it is unusual to have a pollster on a campaign staff, Miss Navarro said she felt the arrangement benefited the Senator. She saw her role as the "realist"—the person who must "knock down theories and present unpalatable news."

In that capacity, Miss Navarro has

Pollsters commonly encounter skeptical members of campaign teams who suggest that by interviewing more people—or perhaps another set of people—the pollster would have produced different results.

George H. Gallup, founder of the Gallup Poll and now semi-retired, has an answer for these skeptics: "The next time you go to the doctor for a test, why not have him test *all* your blood?"

Gallup says that "no major poll in the history of this country ever went wrong because too few people were reached." But, he says, many have gone astray because of the way those persons were selected.

Samples: Some political pollsters, including Gallup, interview people in randomly chosen clusters, using what is known as a probability sample. (For his nationwide poll, Gallup conducts about five interviews in each of 320 voting precincts, chosen on a random basis.)

Others use a quota sample, a less costly technique in which people are chosen to be interviewed on the basis of specific characteristics in the same proportion as they appear in the population or whatever "universe" the pollster is studying. If 12 per cent of the "universe" is Negro, for example, a quota sample would include 12 Negroes in every 100 people interviewed.

Gallup and other published pollsters abandoned quota samples after 1948 when polls taken that way indicated that Thomas E. Dewey would defeat Harry S Truman in the Presidential race.

Error: A probability sample permits the pollster to measure sample error—the maximum extent to which the survey results may differ from a survey of the entire population. Quota samples do not permit statistical measurement of error.

The tables below indicate the range of error for samples of various sizes. Statistically, the error will be no larger than the figures in the tables 95 per cent of the time. As the figures indicate, the size of the sample must be increased as much as four times to cut the margin of error by half.

Table I shows the maximum error—plus and minus—in probability samples of varying sizes and division. The larger the sample, the smaller the error; the more evenly people divide, the higher the possible error.

In comparing two percentage results, another question arises: How large must the difference be for it to reflect a genuine distinction, beyond the range of statistical error?

Tables II and III show the number of percentage points to be discounted in comparing differences in polls. Table II is used for percentages near 20 (or lower) and 80 (or higher); Table III is used for percentages near 50.

Thus, if 50 per cent of those interviewed in 1969 and 40 per cent in 1971 responded in the same way to a question, Table III can be consulted to determine whether the difference is statistically meaningful.

	(size of sample)						
	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200	100
Results near 10%	2	2	3	3	4	5	7
Results near 20%	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Results near 30%	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Results near 40%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 50%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 60%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 70%	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Results near 80%	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Results near 90%	2	2	3	3	4	5	7

sample	1,500	750	600	400	200
1,500	4	4	5	6	8
750	4	5	5	6	8
600	5	5	6	6	8
400	6	6	6	7	8
200	8	8	8	8	10

sample	1,500	750	600	400	200
1,500	5	5	6	7	10
750	5	6	7	7	10
600	6	7	7	7	10
400	7	7	7	8	10
200	10	10	10	10	12

SOURCE: Paul K. Perry, president of The Gallup Organization

been working closely with Robert D. Squier, 36, head of Communications Co. of Washington, D.C., and Muskie's media consultant. (For a report on Squier and the role of political media consultants, see Vol. 2, No. 40, p. 2135.)

"Squier is involved in the whole process," Miss Navarro said. "We work as a team and talk about what his data needs are. Polling is moving more toward a media orientation because people are getting their information through the tube."

Meanwhile, she said, "The Senator is always badgering us for information." Muskie plans to receive in-depth surveys from five or six primary states by January 1972. In addition, Muskie requires polling research on such political questions as how closely should he affiliate himself with Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, a controversial figure but a potential source of delegate support in Illinois.

Telephone—The Hamilton firm uses a "tight screen," seeking to reach only persons who intend to vote in selected 1972 Democratic primaries.

In upholding their telephone-based techniques, Hamilton and Miss Navarro explain how they attempt to keep the sample unbiased and to establish a good rapport during the half-hour interviews. The technique also costs about 60 per cent less than field interviews of comparable size—a major consideration in the money-short Muskie campaign.

For the Muskie polls, numbers are gleaned from telephone directories in the areas to be surveyed and several digits are changed before the call is made. This ensures that unlisted numbers will be represented in the sample. (In Los Angeles, 35 per cent of all residential telephones are unlisted; in New York, 20 per cent.)

The Hamilton interviewers call back three times if no one answers; they do not always interview the person who answers the phone. They also employ a toll-free "verification number," which most people ask for but which only a minority actually call. This keeps their rejection rate to 5 per cent.

Criticism—In general, pollsters for Democratic candidates have shunned telephone polling, and the Muskie techniques have elicited criticism from established pollsters. They wonder, in private, whether Hamilton, who has been polling since 1963, can "go the distance" in a Muskie Presidential campaign.

"Since when did a 24-year-old kid know something?" said a veteran pollster who works mainly for Democrats, referring to Miss Navarro. "I couldn't handle a Presidential campaign when I was 24. I think it's silly."

Another pollster remarked privately: "Basing a major campaign on this type of information in a primary fight is a terribly risky thing to do, because if Muskie falls on his face in Florida, he's not going to get up again. If they are going to have a research program like that, how are they going to run the country?"

"My own horseback judgment is that our supporters ought to be able to tell us what's on the minds of people. Also, people are much more nationally oriented; you don't have the kind of Balkanization on issues that you used to have."

Hart nevertheless said that the McGovern forces probably would poll in Wisconsin and Oregon "to find out what issues predominate" there. Hart said, "I think that would be worth the outlay. But that's January or February."

Bayh—Robert J. Keefe, administra-



Tully Plessler

Robert Teeter

Anna Navarro

Miss Navarro said: "It's too new, and conventional wisdom says it's no good. Yet I have a gut feeling for what I'm after; you have to know how to play with it."

After the round of open-ended telephone questioning, Miss Navarro said she is more convinced than ever that the system works well and will provide the kind of data the Senator needs.

The non-pollers: Other Democrats who are either in or at the edge of the battle for the party's Presidential nomination have not yet commissioned any private polling. The Democratic National Committee, still in debt from the 1968 campaign, has no plans to poll, but David A. Cooper, the DNC's director of research, said he is prepared to offer technical polling advice to any Democrat seeking office in 1972. (None of the Presidential hopefuls has contacted him.)

McGovern—"We've seen some private polls that other people have done," said Gary W. Hart, campaign director for Sen. George S. McGovern, of South Dakota. "The reason we're not doing it is that, first of all, it's too early and, second, it costs too much money and, thirdly, they won't tell us anything we don't already know...."

tive assistant and a top campaign planner for Sen. Birch Bayh, of Indiana, said the Senator strongly believes in taking polls, but, in light of his "low-recognition profile, there's not much point in taking them now."

Keefe said he had been "picking the brains" of two pollsters, John F. Kraft and Quayle, "both of whom are trying to get our business."

"When we go into (the Florida) primary situation, we will poll three or four months out," Keefe said.

Kennedy—"We have no reason to poll," said Richard C. Drayne, press secretary to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts.

"My boss reads polls rather avidly. He's pretty good at interpreting them. But we don't pull our own. There are other people who pull them for you, or maybe send you results, but we've not commissioned any. There's no point in paying \$40,000 for a poll just to see whether you were right on an issue."

Humphrey—In the 1968 Presidential campaign, Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic nominee, spent \$262,000 on polls taken by Quayle and five smaller firms.

Now that he is in the Senate, according to Jack McDonald, his press

Opinion Firms in the United States

- ident); 4000 Albemarle St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-5056.
- Institute for Motivational Research;** Ernest Dichter (president); Albany Post Road, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10520; (914) 271-4721.
- Institute of American Research;** Stephen J. Kovacik Jr. (president); 88 East Broad St. Columbus, Ohio 43215; (614) 221-2062.
- International Research Associates Inc.;** Helen S. Dinerman (chairman); 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020; (212) 581-2010.
- Gordon L. Joseph and Associates;** Gordon L. Joseph (president); 1510 Veterans Memorial Boulevard, Metairie, La. 70005; (504) 835-0635.
- John F. Kraft Inc.;** John F. Kraft (president); 30 6th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 547-7080. *
- W. H. Long Marketing Inc.;** W. H. Long (president); 122 Keeling Road East, Greensboro, N.C. 27410; (919) 292-4146.
- Louis, Bowles and Grace Inc.;** Alex Louis (chairman); 1433 Motor St., Dallas, Tex. 75207; (214) 637-4520.
- Samuel Lubell;** 3200 New Mexico Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-3230. #
- Market Facts Inc.;** David K. Hardin (president); 100 S. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60606; (312) 332-2686.
- Market Opinion Research;** Frederick P. Currier (president); 327 John R, Detroit, Mich. 48226; (313) 963-2414.
- Market Research Field Interviewing Service;** Marian R. Angeletti (director); 3015 East Thomas Road, Phoenix, Ariz. 85016; (602) 956-2500.
- Marketing Evaluations Inc.;** Jack E. Landis (president); Cy Chaikin (senior vice president); 14 Vanderventer Ave., Port Washington, N.Y. 11050; (516) 767-4540; (212) 357-7405.
- Marplan Research Inc.;** F. J. Van Bortel (president); 485 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 697-8788.
- Mid-South Opinion Surveys;** Eugene Newsom (president); 1750 Tower Building, Little Rock, Ark. 72201; (501) 374-0605.
- Joseph Napolitan Associates Inc.;** Joseph Napolitan (president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-3780.
- National Analysts Inc.;** Peter R. Vroon (chairman); 1015 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107; (215) 627-8109.
- National Opinion Research Center;** Norman M. Bradburn (director); University of Chicago, 6030 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637; (312) 684-5600. †#
- Opinion Research Corp.;** Joseph C. Bevis (chairman); North Harrison St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5900.
- Opinion Research Laboratory;** Guy E. Rainboth (president); 2108 North Pacific, Seattle, Wash. 98013; (206) 632-9274.
- Opinion Research of California;** Don M. Muchmore (chairman); 1232 Belmont Ave., Long Beach, Calif. 90804; (213) 434-5715. *
- Political Surveys and Analysis Inc.;** Charles W. Roll Jr. (president); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5670.
- Public Affairs Analysts Inc.;** Joseph Napolitan (president); Michael Rowan (executive vice president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-6024.
- The Public Pulse Worldwide Inc. (a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.);** Oscar B. Lubow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.
- Publicom Inc.;** Gerald D. Hursh (president); 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; (202) 293-1644.
- Oliver A. Quayle III and Co. Inc.;** (a wholly owned subsidiary of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.); Oliver A. Quayle III (president); 141 Parkway Rd., Bronxville, N.Y. 10708; (212) 295-0779. *
- Research Services Inc.;** John W. Emery (president); 1441 Welton St., Denver, Colo. 80202; (303) 244-8045. *
- Research Systems Inc.;** R. B. Collier (president); 1314 Burch Drive, Evansville, Ind. 47711; (812) 867-2463.
- Response Analysis Corp.;** Dr. Herbert I. Abelson (president); 1101 State Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 921-3333. *
- Responsive Research Corp.;** Peter K. Simonds (president); 7 Water St., Boston, Mass. 02109; (617) 742-3582.
- The Roper Organization Inc.;** Burns W. Roper (president); One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 679-3523.
- W. R. Simmons Associates;** W. R. Simmons (president); 235 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 986-7700.
- Sindlinger and Co. Inc.;** Albert E. Sindlinger (president); Harvard and Yale Aves., Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-8260.
- Strategy Research;** Richard W. Tobin Jr. (president); 4141 N. Miami Ave., Miami, Fla. 33127; (305) 751-2216.
- Suncoast Opinion Surveys;** Richard H. Funsch (president); P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33731; (813) 894-4560.
- Survey and Research Services Inc.;** Dorinda T. Duggan (president); 2400 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140; (617) 864-7794.
- Survey Research Sciences Inc.;** Richard R. Stone (president); 11411 North Central Expressway, Dallas, Tex. 75231; (214) 691-0578.
- Surveys and Research Corp.;** Libert Ehrman (executive vice president); 1828 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-1935.
- Wallaces Farmer;** Richard J. Pommrehn (research director); 1912 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50305; (515) 243-6181. #
- Joe B. Williams Research;** Joe B. Williams (research consultant); Elmwood, Neb. 68349; (402) 994-5395.
- Daniel Yankelovich Inc.;** Daniel Yankelovich (president); 575 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7500. *#

*—member of the National Council on Public Polls

†—non-profit and/or academic

#—results are always publicly published

—compiled by Ann Northrop

secretary, "There's no activity of any kind... He doesn't have advance men. He doesn't have money men. He doesn't have delegate people. He doesn't have pollsters."

Jackson—A no-polling report also came from the office of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, of Washington, whose supporters are gearing up for a major effort in next March's Florida primary.

S. Sterling Munro Jr., Jackson's administrative assistant, said that "When your investment is zero, your cost-benefit ratio is 100 per cent."

Sharing the burden: At a dinner meeting of Presidential candidates, called by party chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien July 14, Muskie proposed undertaking a pooled public opinion survey, utilizing a single pollster, as a means of saving campaign funds.

The Muskie plan will be studied further in staff meetings, but it was not greeted with enthusiasm.

None of the dark-horse candidates—such as Sen. Fred R. Harris, of Oklahoma, and Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, of Arkansas—are having any polling done for them, and they are not interested in paying an equal share of the cost of a joint survey—the formula that Muskie's staff regards as the most equitable.

All pollsters interviewed by *National Journal* opposed the shared-data proposal, although they did not want to say so publicly for fear of offending Muskie, whose business they believe is still up for grabs. One pollster said, "You can't do that any more than you could work for Ford and General Motors. It just seems unnatural to me."

Feedback

Oliver A. Quayle III takes confidential polls for many leading Democratic politicians. He also takes polls for *Harper's* magazine, which owns Quayle's polling company outright and which, in turn, is owned by the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.

"We bounce things off Ollie," said William S. Blair, the *Harper's* publisher. "In other words, here's a guy who wants to do a piece about a particular politician. We might send the writer up to talk to Quayle. Obviously, Ollie knows a hell of a lot about individual politicians in this country."

Techniques

The late Elmo Roper, a pioneer pollster, said that the polling business sat on a three-legged stool: sampling, interviewing and interpretation.

This base has remained constant since Roper began polling in the mid-1930s. But the kind of information that sophisticated politicians are seeking and the kind of techniques that pollsters are using to obtain it for them have changed profoundly.

A Midwestern Senator said, "Quite frankly, the trial heats and the stock question about approval is probably the least valuable, so far as I'm concerned, because there isn't a thing you can do with that kind of information." (The Senator, who is up for reelection in 1972, will be polling heavily, but he does not want his constituents to know about it because "it weakens my posture.")

Utility: William Hamilton, now polling for Muskie, said that private polls can tell candidates what issues are important enough to change voting decisions; whether these issues can be welded into a campaign theme; and how the over-all political climate, including the other candidates in a race, will affect the outcome.

(Pollster Tully Plesser said his polls revealed that a referendum on liquor-by-the-drink was a major factor in the senatorial contest in Texas in 1970, because of the voters who were attracted to the polls by the liquor issue.)

Interest groups who are seeking to affect the outcome of an election may take polls that elicit complex data.

"COPE can buy 10 surveys and deliver them to the candidates," said pollster John Kraft. "It gives them a certain control over the campaign." The Committee on Political Education, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO, has been taking polls since 1958. (For a report on COPE, see Vol. 2, No. 37, p. 1963.)

Similarly, the American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC), through its state organizations, spent more than \$400,000 to poll for Republicans between the 1968 and 1970 elections. Vincent P. Barabba, chairman of Decision Making Information Inc., a California-based AMPAC pollster, said: "Those guys (at AMPAC) have done as much to improve the systematic analysis of the political process as any organization in existence today." (For a report on

AMPAC, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 1659.)

In Barabba's view, "A critical ability of a good (polling) firm is to have experience in overcoming the hesitancy on the part of some campaign managers to *really* make use of this information. If you accept a campaign as an economic concept—that is, you are going to attempt to allocate limited resources in the most efficient way—then this information is crucial."

Costs and timing: Thomas W. Benham, vice president of Opinion Research and its liaison man with the White House, said: "If you're running a campaign where you're going to spend \$500,000, you better put 10 per cent aside for polling research, because it can make the other 90 per cent twice or three times more efficient..."

"You might want to do a 'base study' early in the campaign year. This could be an interview that lasts 45 minutes to an hour and it's a big, expensive undertaking. But, from that, we can do selective studies. We can check on changing issues.

"And then we can do a small-scale telephone effort, re-interviewing certain people (a technique known as panelback), to see if they have changed their minds. You can develop a sophisticated tool and it can still have good economy to it."

Costs of seemingly comparable surveys can vary as much as 30 per cent, depending on the procedures, the overhead and the profit margin.

Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates commonly budget \$30,000 for polling research over the course of a campaign. One statewide poll in a big state may cost \$10,000 to \$15,000; a survey of a congressional district can cost up to \$10,000. (The techniques of conducting both polls are essentially the same; the only major saving is in travel.)

"People are beginning to see that this kind of data is much more valuable if you can establish a trend," said Teeter of Detroit's Market Opinion Research. This, of course, entails multiple interviews; in the field, interviewers are paid \$2 an hour or more, plus expenses.

DMI's Barabba said: "The difficulty you have in measuring costs between companies is knowing whether you're measuring apples and apples or apples and oranges. There are a lot of ways to cut costs in this kind of research. Unfortunately, there is a direct

relationship between costs and quality."

The product: John Kraft, who has 18 years' experience working for both Democratic and Republican candidates, said he normally prepares a written report, about 40 pages in length, of which three-fourths is interpretation. "I'll also supply the (computer) printouts when I'm asked to, but I've had only two such requests."

Kraft, like most other pollsters, prefers to discuss results and their meaning with the candidate and his staff. "In many cases, it's best to talk it out," he said.

Unfavorable reports can bring complications.

Teeter recalled: "I had one guy several years ago who had been working hard for two or three months and got a bad poll and just sat in a hotel room and drank for about four days. We couldn't move him; he was in shock because the poll still showed him 10-15 points behind. He eventually won. . . . Now, we talk a lot about how to lay bad ones on people before we do it. It's a very tricky thing."

Developments: Most pollsters interviewed by *National Journal* said they recently have started making more exhaustive studies of sub-groups and analyzing the response to various issues. "There's particular interest in the young voters in '72," Quayle said.

Quayle also reported that he is asking more media-related questions. "It's the sort of question I don't like to ask, because I don't think people really know how they get their information. I'm amazed at how little the television people know sometimes (about the makeup of their audiences) in a given market. But we're learning to work better together."

ORC's Benham said his firm had been able to shorten substantially the time period from "problem to data" by using more telephone interviews. "We've also learned how to weigh them better."

William M. Longman, president of Central Surveys Inc., said in a telephone interview from Shenandoah, Iowa, that his firm now was able to provide overnight results to political clients through arrangements for the use of computers at the interview sites.

Robert K. McMillan of Chilton Research Services, a proponent of telephone interviewing, said: "In a day, you can do here what it would take you four weeks to do if you had to

mail out questionnaires (to interviewees). I also think we get higher cooperation rates around the country than is possible in face-to-face interviews. In some areas, you can't get people to go in at all."

Cleavage: Telephone survey research for politicians has mushroomed with the widespread use of bulk-rate long-distance (WATS) lines and computerized random generation of telephone numbers. But some members of the political polling fraternity remain opposed to telephone surveys.

Charles W. Roll Jr., president of Political Surveys and Analysis Inc. (PS&A), which has done most of the polling commissioned by Nelson Rockefeller, said: "If I were buying surveys for a political campaign that I felt was terribly important, and there was enough money, I wouldn't touch a telephone survey. I have reason to believe (from Rockefeller campaigns) that some people are far less critical of individuals when asked about them over the phone, and that, of course, creates a different result."

"If I were involved in a Presidential campaign, I would throw the telephone away, unless there was an extremely urgent time factor involved."

(Roll is an employee of George H. Gallup, who bought PS&A from its founder, Archibald M. Crossley, in 1970; PS&A uses Gallup's sampling, interviewing and tabulating facilities, which are based solely on field interviews.)

DMI's Barabba said: "You can get more about a person at the door than on the telephone. The telephone's great strength is that you get wider distribution of your sample and interview clusters."

Don M. Muchmore, chairman of Opinion Research of California, who has done comparative studies of telephone and field interview polls, said the field work produces superior results and should be used, except in high-urgency polls of national scope. "With no eye-to-eye contact, there's no trust," Muchmore said.

Sample methods: Political pollsters also divide over whether to use quota or probability samples. (*For a discussion of sample error, see statistical box.*)

Quayle said: "Nobody does probability samples, strictly speaking. And if you did, it would be obscene, because you'd be charging a guy an arm and a leg for a greater degree of accuracy than he needs. . . .

"None of the private pollsters do complete probability sampling because of the prohibitive expense. (Quayle noted that this was not the case for the Gallup Poll and the Harris Survey, "because their necks are on the line.")

"You pick up a point to a point-and-a-half of margin with probability samples. I've done them when I've had to, when I knew I was in a different ball game."

John Kraft and his wife, Fran Farrell Kraft, who is also a well-known pollster, agreed with Quayle. "There is no significant difference in the result," Kraft said.

Several pollsters disagreed, however. One was PS&A's Roll, who said: "The respectability of quota samples went out in 1948, with the Truman-Dewey election. You don't know what your sample error is. Luck is with them. But it's certainly not enough to hang your hat on, I would think."

ORC's Benham said his firm used only probability samples. However, he said: "In many situations, you can use the best scientific probability sample or a mediocre quota sample and get the same results—because there's no critical element that would make an essential difference."

Assessment

Pollsters and politicians coexist uneasily, needing each other and yet aware of each other's limitations.

Both are victims of a vicious circle in politics: the degree of media exposure affects poll results; poll results affect the amount of campaign funds that can be raised; campaign funds affect media exposure.

Drawer syndrome: Muchmore thinks campaign managers, more than candidates, are responsible for poor relationships. "We give them a battle plan, and many times they don't want to use it because they have a feeling it's going to go a different way. Sometimes they're right; sometimes they're wrong. But, more often, they're wrong."

Another Californian, Vincent Barabba, said: "We see an awful lot of what we refer to as the right-hand drawer syndrome. You give a guy a survey—you make a fancy presentation—and he says, 'Gee, that's great!' And he opens up the right-hand drawer of his desk and puts it in there, and that's the last time it's used."

"Then, if someone asks what are

you basing all those decisions on, he opens up the drawer and says, 'Well, we got a survey.'"

MOR's Teeter believes the worst is over. "Two or three years ago," he said, "we had a real problem with guys who were using it for the first time and thought they had just bought themselves magic buttons. With some people, it became a narcotic. If they didn't know what to do, they had another poll taken."

Getting more: From the client's side, a Democratic Senator said privately: "I don't know of anyone around here who is having polling done and who wouldn't like to get more than he's getting out of it. But I know it's simply a matter of dollars. They have a product to sell; they have costs."

If finances are often a central problem to the pollster, they are even more of one to the politician. A Republican Senator from the Northeast said: "There isn't any question that I couldn't solve if I wanted to spend \$25,000 for a survey."

But the difficulties range beyond insufficient funds. A campaign manager who has worked with pollsters for many years said privately:

"I think there's room in this business for someone who really wants to drive it wide open. He could drive all these guys out. For example, why not add an entire demographic package with sample electoral analysis and priority ranking of states, congressional districts and counties, with cross-data by issues. It's possible with computer analysis. That's a service I could really use."

In 1968, the National Republican Congressional (Campaign) Committee and its Senate counterpart bought a \$400,000 survey through Datamatics Inc., a subsidiary of Spencer-Roberts and Associates, a California-based campaign consulting firm. Datamatics is now dissolved; at the time, it was headed by Vincent Barabba.

Neither the House nor the Senate committee is scheduling any polling projects for 1972. Paul A. Theis, director of public relations for the House

group, said: "We got committed to doing the (1968) thing without assessing as much as we should have in advance." (*For a report on the House and Senate GOP campaign committees, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 2100.*)

Pressure points: In a profession linked closely to the academic community, but with no entry standards, salesmanship remains a persistent problem. "It's the gut problem in the business," said Albert H. Cantril, a Washington-based polling consultant. Cantril is the author, with Charles Roll, of *Hopes and Fears of the American People* (Universe Books, 1971), which is based on Gallup research.

Said Cantril: "The only way you can seek new business is to tear down the other guy's methods and try to show politicians that they are not getting anything too useful. There are no teaching materials you can use unless you break the confidence of a private (political) client."

Political pollsters also are encountering fresh problems in seeking to assemble valid public opinion data. An executive at Chilton Research Services in Philadelphia said: "There's no use kidding anybody; the cooperative rate is decreasing every year. It used to be 20 years ago if we got a 3-per cent refusal rate we were concerned about it; today, they are running 10 and 12 per cent."

"It's all part of the misuse of research techniques. People today are just more suspicious. You know, a salesman calling up and saying he's making a survey and the next thing he's knocking at your door."

Dangers: Private polls can cause complications in campaigns that are not always readily apparent. For example, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., received a poll from Tully Plessner in 1968 that showed Javits leading his Democratic opponent, Paul O'Dwyer, 48-16.

Javits' advisers were hesitant about releasing the poll, despite the strong lead, for fear it would not be believed and would raise a "credibility issue." Yet another consideration was fear that it would be harder to raise money

if potential backers thought Javits could not lose.

The poll was nevertheless "leaked" to *The New York Times* for its "bandwagon" effect and because it showed Javits to be the strongest Republican politician in New York state at the time.

The release of the poll led to a charge by O'Dwyer that it was a deliberate attempt to influence the *New York Daily News* Poll, which was scheduled to commence canvassing just after the GOP poll was released.

While the Javits "leak" was a deliberate one, candidates often insist that a pollster report directly to them in an effort to control access to private polls on the campaign staff.

Pollsters and politicians are coming increasingly to agree that there is a limit to what surveys can accomplish. MOR's Teeter said: "You can't go and say to some guy, 'Look, if you go out and take this stand, you'll increase your support 4 per cent.' That's crazy."

Progress: If political pollsters are still searching for a firmer foundation, there are nevertheless signs of progress.

Quayle said: "A couple of years ago, everybody was trying to get into the act. And that's not happening anymore. A lot of commercial firms—the guys who were researching soap and so forth—began to dabble in politics, looking at it as a new market. But you've got to know something about politics in this business. It's an art as well as a science."

Roll believes that what is needed is better liaison between the campaign and the pollsters—"politically sensitive men inside the campaign organization who are at the same time highly sophisticated about the use of polling techniques."

"It's a funny business," another well-known pollster said. "When you get all this stuff done, the candidates look at it and if it doesn't really agree with them, they're very suspicious. But if it agrees with them, it's the best poll in America."

Jobs -

John okayed
everything as proposed.
I will come on full
time in January, +
up & down until
then. I'll proceed
forward having my
asst. in meanwhile -

Peta

Call me Friday.

magruder / mail

9/2
9/7
9/8

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Check with Magruder regarding complete description of the \$350,000 RNC research project.

Also, follow up with Magruder regarding the Rumsfeld spokesman resource request for an additional staff man referred to in my August 2nd memorandum to Mr. Haldeman, with his question to the side, held in my "Magruder's Projects" file.

mail 8/17 - JSM will have to go to Evans personally; it is too touchy for a mail - De Bolt job
JSM → mail + Evans 8/19
De Bolt
G → mail 9/2 - memo re De Bolt on Evans' desk → AG

JSM 9/10

- ① Call - Counsel → Timmons on Convention.
 - ② will raise Hauser w/ AG on Sat.
 - ③ Dean - report re Call + Secity.
 - ④ ap Timmons on all Convention
- AG wants clear underst
that any WH man is
OK w/ H.
- ⑤ Oct - Mus Hdtis - plant
- ⑥ Finch - Manager? possib
- Comp Man → H + P
JSM → AG

T H E P H I L A D E L P H I A S O C I E T Y

National Meeting - April 10-11, 1970 - Chicago

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