

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>
14	19	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races. 10 pgs.
14	19	9/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Presidential Letters and Watches for Rockefeller and Seconders. 1 pg.
14	19	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Evans and Novak Column on Teeter's Jewish Voters Memorandum. 1 pg.
14	19	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Jewish Voters. Original newspaper article from the Washington Post attached titled, "Nixon's Jewish Vote Flap." 4 pgs.

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14	19	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	By: George Gallup RE: The Gallup Poll, Nixon Widens Lead Over McGovern in Latest Test. 3 pgs.
14	19	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Evans and Novak Columnn on Teeter's Jewish Voters Memorandum. Copy of article attached. 2 pgs.
14	19	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Jewish Voters. 3 pgs.

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM : GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT : 1972 U.S. Senate Races

This memorandum briefly describes the status of the 33 U.S. Senate races. The attachment describes each race with the current estimation of the chances for victory by Clark MacGregor (CM), Harry Dent (D), Fred Malek (FM), Bill Timmons (BT), and Robert Marik (RM), along with Bob Tetter (T). The comments by MacGregor, Dent, Timmons, Tetter, and Malek's Field Operation are given below for the 18 swing states:

Alabama

Dent believes Blount could win because of the straight party ticket voting. Also, a black is entering the race. This will pull votes from Sparkman.

Tetter says Blount is moving up in the polls and is now within 10-15%, up substantially from the Wave II polls.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists Alabama as 5th in its 6 priority races (Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama, and Montana). In each of these races they will give the Republican candidate \$70 - 75,000. Dent says they are asking 1701 for an additional \$500,000 to distribute between September 15 and 30.

Georgia

Dent says Fletcher Thompson is coming up but would have had a better chance against Gambrell. Maddox's blast at McGovern helped the President and Thompson. The President's coattails and personal identification with Thompson would be very helpful.

Teeter indicates there are no polls available. He knows Thompson personally and characterizes him as an "opportunist" and "free spirit".

MacGregor and Malek concur in this assessment of Thompson (opportunist). They urge money and organizational support for Thompson.

Timmons says Thompson is a long shot but possible.

Idaho

Dent says the race is closer than previously believed. The President could really help with personal identification.

MacGregor and Malek say there are still party wounds from the tough primary. Teeter concurs. All indicate McClure needs money and organizational help.

Timmons believes McClure should win.

Kentucky

Dent urges more Presidential identification with Nunn, who should win.

Teeter reports Nunn is moving up in recent polls.

MacGregor says the field organization is good, but Malek says Nunn needs money. There is some question about a possible commitment of money made by Mitchell to get Nunn to run.

Timmons says Nunn is a winner.

Louisiana

Dent reports that the Republican candidate, Ben Teledano, could have a chance in the three-and possibly four-way race. Bennett Johnson is the conservative Democratic candidate. Ex-Governor McKeithan, who is running as an Independent will split the Democratic vote. McKeithan is also urging a black to run to pull votes from Johnston.

Maine

Tester urges a non-political trip by the President to show his support of Smith as a national figure. She needs no money.

Michigan

Dent believes this is very close though he sees Griffin with a slight edge.

Tester says the polls have had Griffin ahead and behind twice in the last year. Busing may fade some by November. Tester urges Administration assistance in the form of grants or projects, especially in the Detroit tri-county area.

MacGregor says Griffin needs money and Administration assistance.

Malik indicates that all telephone and door-to-door canvassing is done jointly by the President and Griffin's campaign organization.

Montana

Dent says Hibbard has a better chance than previously thought. The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Montana listed 6th. A Presidential sweep could pull Hibbard in.

Tester says there are no polls available. Mitchell is well liked in Montana.

Malik says Hibbard is a poor candidate with a poor organization.

New Mexico

Dent gives Domenici a 50/50 chance.

Tester says Domenici needs money.

Malik reports that neither the President's nor Domenici's organizations are very strong. Domenici needs money and organizational support.

Timmons says Domenici has a good chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists New Mexico 2nd in its list of 6 top priority seats.

North Carolina

Dent says Helms has a 50/50 chance but badly needs identification with the President.

Tester's month old data indicates Helms is behind in spite of the President's huge lead.

MacGregor and Maiek indicate Helms needs money but organizational help more.

Timmons believes Helms is a good possibility.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has North Carolina fourth.

Oklahoma

Dent says Bartlett really needs identification with the President. Bellmon's gratuitous slap at Bartlett recently didn't help.

Tester urges a Presidential visit because Bartlett needs the identification and the President is so far ahead there is little risk.

Maiek reports Bartlett has real organizational problems.

Timmons says Bartlett has a fighting chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Oklahoma 3rd.

Oregon

Dent says Hatfield should win because McCall is still staying out.

Tester says the race is very close because Hatfield's approval rating is so low (35% by Republicans). McCall is very popular (65% by Republicans) and should be encouraged to help Hatfield.

Maiek says Hatfield has no money problems but the IWO and Hatfield organizations are not helping each other to the degree that they should.

Timmons says Hatfield will win.

Rhode Island

Dent says this is our best chance for a Democratic seat, but he wonders whether Chafee will vote with the President.

Teeter says the race is closer than most believe, and Chafee's lead is the "softest" in the country.

Malik says money is not a problem but needs organizational help. Chafee has been "playing anti-Nixon games" so far.

Timmons says Chafee is a winner.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Rhode Island at the top of their list of six.

South Dakota

Dent believes this should be our #1 defensive battle. Hirsch is coming on strong and would totally support the President. Abouresk is identified closely with McGovern.

Teeter says Hirsch was way behind but since Abouresk is so close to McGovern, Hirsch has a chance.

Malik urges money for Hirsch but no Presidential visit.

Timmons says Hirsch is a sure loser.

Texas

Dent says this should be our #2 defensive battle.

Teeter believes Tower will win, because the President is so strong.

Malik says money is no problem and the organizational problems are resolving themselves. 1701 and Tower are working their telephone campaigns together.

Virginia

Dent says Scott could only win if the President won by a landslide. Even Harry Byrd doesn't like Scott. Scott would vote with the President if elected.

Malek urges some money for organizational help but suggests that Scott be kept off the road and that there be no Presidential visit. The possibility of sending Cliff White into Virginia was raised.

Timmens says Virginia is a long shot.

To summarize, the President should visit Texas and Oklahoma. In the other states, money and behind the scenes organizational help should be given.

GS:pm

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Alabama	Blount (R) Sparkman (D)			D	RM, FM CM, T	
Alaska	Stevens (R) Guess (D)	RM, CM, T	D, FM			
Arkansas	Babbitt (R) McClellan (D)					T, D, RM FM, CM
Colorado	Allott (R) (Democrat Primary 9/12)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
Delaware	Boggs (R) Biden (D)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
Georgia	Thompson (R) Nunn (D)				RM, CM, FM, D, T	
Idaho	McClure (R) Davis (D)		D, BT		RM, CM, FM, T	
Illinois	Percy (R) Pucinski (D)	RM, CM, FM, T	D			
Iowa	Miller (R) Clark (D)	T, RM, CM, FM, D				

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Kansas	Pearson (R) Tetzlaff (D)	T, CM, FM D	RM			
Kentucky	Nunn (R) Huddleston (D)	BT	RM, D	CM, FM	T	
Louisiana	Toledano (R) Johnston (D) McKeithan (I)			D	RM, CM FM	T
Maine	Smith (R) Hathaway (D)	FM, BT, D	T, RM, CM			
Mass.	Brooke (R) (Democratic Primary 9/19)	T, CM, FM RM, D, BT				
Michigan	Griffin (R) Kelley (D)			T, RM, CM, FM D		
Minnesota	Hansen (R) Mondale (D)				D	T, CM, FM, RM BT
Mississippi	Carmichael (R) Eastland (D)					RM, FM, CM, T, D
Montana	Hibbard (R) Metcalf (D)			D	T, RM, CM, FM	
Nebraska	Curtis (R) Carpenter (D)	T, RM, CM D	FM			

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
N.H.	(Republican Primary 9/12) McIntyre (D)			FM	T, RM, CM	D
N.J.	Case (R) Krebs (D)	T, CM, FM, RM, D, BT				
New Mexico	Domenici (R) Daniels (D)			RM, D, BT	T, CM, FM	
N. C.	Helms (R) Galifianakis (D)			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
Oklahoma	Bartlett (R) Edmondson (D)			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
Oregon	Hatfield (R) Morse (D)	BT	RM, CM, FM	T, D		
Rhode Island	Chafee (R) Pell (D)	BT	T, RM, CM, FM, D			
S. Carolina	Thurmond (R) Ziegler (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				
S. Dakota	Hirsch (R) Abourezk (D)			T, CM, FM	RM, D	
Tennessee	Baker (R) Blanton (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Texas	Tower (R) Sanders (D)		T	CM, FM, RM, D		
Virginia	Scott (R) Spong (D)				T, RM, CM, FM D, BT	
W. Virginia	Leonard (R) Randolph (D)					T, RM, CM, FM D
Wyoming	Hansen (R) Vinich (D)	T, FM, CM, D	RM			

September 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Presidential Letters and
Watches for Rockefeller
and Seconders

The Presidential letters to Governor Rockefeller and the Seconders are in the courier departing Washington today at 2:00 p.m. Price reviewed the revised texts with Roland Elliott this morning. Three versions for the Republican, democrats and escorts were approved. Price personally made some changes to the Rockefeller letter. The watches to accompany the letters are also in the courier. The President's signature has been affixed to 9 of the letters. A review of the files indicates that the President usually initials letter to Rockefeller, Buckley and Hickel. The others bear the President's standard signature. Marje Acker has been alerted that this package of materials will arrive today. After her final review, the letters and watches will be sent out today from San Clemente.

The delay in the dispatch of the letters and watches to Rockefeller and the Seconders is my fault. I had been working with Bill Timmons and Stan Anderson preparing an overall Convention thank-you proposal covering Volunteers, Pages, YVP's, Presidential certificates, etc. This proposal is in today's courier. I did not separate and expedite the letters and watches to Rockefeller and the Seconders as I should have in light of your explicit instructions last Saturday. I sincerely regret not explaining these facts to you last night.

Concerning your direction that I call all recipients by 10:00 a.m. PDT, to advise them that the letters and watches were signed and sent from San Clemente, calls have been placed by the White House operators. If I cannot reach the principal, I will advise his office or assistant. The pretext of the call is to check addresses for the material that is being sent today.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Evans and Novak Column on
Teeter's Jewish Voters
Memorandum

The September 1 Washington Post carries an Evans and Novak column, which describes the campaign organization debate over Bob Teeter's August 8 memorandum to you on Jewish Voters.

A review of our records indicates you sent the memorandum to no one and the only copy besides the attached original is in my Teeter file.

Discussion with Fred Malek and Jeb Magruder indicates that Malek sent copies to Max Fisher and Larry Goldberg. Malek urged them to treat the memorandum as strictly confidential. Malek grilled Goldberg this morning and has reached the preliminary conclusion that he did not leak the information.

Magruder believes that Max Fisher discussed the memorandum with Rita Hauser, who leaked it to Evans and Novak. Teeter, who discussed the conclusions with Fisher when Fisher called asking questions, believes Fisher is the source.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
 SUBJECT: Jewish Voters

The purpose of this memo is to summarize the Wave II data on Jewish voters. As the Jewish population does not give us a statistically significant sample of Jews in most of the states, we grouped the Jews from the priority states and paid special attention to New York and California where there is the largest concentration of Jews.

While the President has increased his support among Jewish voters since January, he is not running significantly better with them than the expected vote for a Republican presidential candidate. Using normal vote projections, the President is running 8% ahead of normal Republican vote in New York and California with all voters but only even with the normal vote in New York, and Nixon is behind the normal vote in California with Jewish voters. This is in contrast to almost every other demographic group. The President is running well ahead of normal vote projections for almost all of the other demographic groups in New York and California.

Jewish Voters Only

	Normal Rep. Vote	Wave II						Wave I		
		Nix.	McG	Und.	Nix.	Hump.	Und.	Nix.	Mus.	Und.
New York	30%	27%	63%	10%	26%	60%	14%	12%	82%	6%
California	30	18	79	4	29	64	7	13	66	22

The Jewish vote appears to be largely a function of party affiliation and past voting behavior. In terms of past voting behavior, only 7% of the Jews are behavioral Republicans, and 31% are ticket-splitters, while 62% are Democrats. Moreover, McGovern's nomination does not appear to have had a major affect on the Jewish vote. There are very small differences between the Jewish support for both McGovern and Humphrey.

The data also shows a fairly consistent pattern across demographic Jewish subgroups. Nixon does slightly better with older Jews than younger Jews; however, the margins are much more consistent than the total of all voters. The same pattern is true with income. Nixon is only somewhat better off with higher income Jews than with lower incomes.

In general, Nixon has a low approval rating on the way he handles the job of being President.

	<u>Job Approval Rating</u>			
	<u>Jewish Voters</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>California</u>	<u>New York</u>
Approve	41%	58%	51%	53%
Disapprove	36	30	36	35

In comparison to their handling of issues, Jewish voters give the President much lower ratings on most issues than the ratings given to McGovern.

	<u>Jewish Ratings in New York</u>			
	<u>Nixon</u>		<u>McGovern</u>	
	<u>Pos.</u>	<u>Neg.</u>	<u>Pos.</u>	<u>Neg.</u>
Drugs	24%	74%	51%	19%
Taxes	32	67	56	22
Health Care	46	53	63	13
Vietnam	41	59	63	17
Unemployment	22	77	57	18
Race	34	66	61	18
Foreign Policy	67	32	53	26
National Defense	61	34	55	22
Crime	24	75	54	22
Inflation	24	74	52	25
Environment	29	69	63	14
Bussing	36	57	55	17
General Unrest	24	74	59	18
Welfare	29	70	60	19

The only issues on which Nixon exceeds McGovern are national defense and foreign policy. Apparently, this is related to the President's position on Israel. The only other issues where the President is equal to McGovern are Vietnam and health care. On all other issues, McGovern has a sizeable edge.

Conclusions

The data leads us to several conclusions:

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Check Treaty

1. The general notion that the President is making great inroads over McGovern with Jewish voters is borne out by the data at this time.
2. The belief that McGovern is an anathema to Jewish voters is apparently not true. In fact McGovern actually has slightly more committed votes in both New York and California than Humphrey.
3. It is clear that the support of the President and the reasons for this support on the part of Jewish leaders has not been effectively communicated to the rank and file. If we are going to make any inroads with Jewish voters we will have to make the differences between McGovern's and the President's positions on Israel much better known. I would think that we should make the maximum possible use of Senator Javits and Dr. Kissinger in this regard.
4. Under the circumstances of having a set of low issue ratings relative to McGovern and low approval ratings, large increases in the President's support may be difficult. The only issues where we have an advantage are foreign policy and national defense. If these can be related to Israel we may be able to improve our standing. On Vietnam and health care we are equal to McGovern and these issues may also be of some use to us. No other issues hold such a promise, and our advertising and media to Jewish voters should be limited to those issues where we have the edge.
5. One of the problems in increasing the President's support among Jews is that it should be kept in mind that the great majority of Jewish voters consider themselves liberals and see the President as a conservative.

h?

(Wire story sent Monday, August 28 -- for your file)

THE GALLUP POLL

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday, Aug. 30, 1972

Note to Editors: This timely report is being sent you by wire in order to significantly decrease the time between completion of interviewing and publishing of the results. This takes the place of the release regularly scheduled for Thursday.

NIXON WIDENS LEAD OVER

McGOVERN IN LATEST TEST

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 29 -- President Richard Nixon has increased an already-wide lead over his Democratic opponent Sen. George McGovern in the latest Gallup "trial heat," conducted over this last weekend. The results of this latest survey are Nixon 64%, McGovern 30%, Undecided 6%. In the previous survey, conducted August 5-12, the figures were Nixon 57%, McGovern 31%, Undecided 12%.

The Nixon lead over McGovern is virtually the same as the lead President Lyndon Johnson held over his GOP opponent, Barry Goldwater, at a comparable point in the 1964 campaign (65-29%, 6% Undecided). The latest survey was conducted Aug. 26 and 27, two days after the close of the Republican National Convention. Results are based on in-person interviews with 1148 registered voters out of a total sample of 1467 adults.

Following is the question asked: "If the presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for -- McGovern, the Democrat or Nixon, the Republican?"

Many Favor Coalition Government

ONLY MINORITY OF PUBLIC WOULD INSIST ON GOVERNMENT RUN BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 2 — Only a minority of the American public would insist on a government run solely by representatives of the South Vietnamese people.

Six out of ten Americans say they would like to see either a coalition government take over in South Vietnam after U.S. troops are withdrawn, or feel that it would not make much difference what the composition of the government is in that country.

At the same time, however, a majority of the public feel that military aid should be continued to the South Vietnamese even after the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Gallup surveys have consistently shown the Vietnam war to be the number one concern of the American people with a large majority in favor of bringing all our troops home by the end of the year.

Type of Government Sought by Voters

Little difference is found among the various population groups on the question dealing with the composition of the government in South Vietnam, with McGovern supporters and Nixon sup-

porters holding closely comparable views.

Even among the under 30 group, who have been particularly vocal on the Vietnam issue, views closely parallel those for the nation as a whole.

Military Aid

Support for continued military aid to South Vietnam is also held by similar proportions in every population group, including persons under 30 years of age and among McGovern supporters.

Even among persons who favor a coalition government, the weight of opinion is 5-to-4 in favor of sending military aid after U.S. troops are withdrawn. Among those who want a government run solely by the South Vietnamese, opinion is 2-to-1 in favor of continuing to send military supplies.

The table below shows the relationship between views on the two questions:

	<i>Should Continue Aid</i> %	<i>Should Cut off Aid</i> %	<i>No Opin.</i> %
Favor govt. run by S. Vietnamese	64	31	5
Favor coalition . . .	52	41	7
Makes no difference	40	50	10

Many Favor Coalition Government

ONLY MINORITY OF PUBLIC WOULD INSIST ON GOVERNMENT RUN BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE

Here is the first question asked in the survey:

After U.S. forces leave Vietnam, what kind of government would you like to see take over there — 1) one run by the South Vietnamese, 2) one run by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, 3) a coalition government consisting of representatives of both sides — or doesn't it make much difference to you?

Here are the national results:

Coalition government	40%
Run by South Vietnamese	29
Doesn't make much difference	21
Run by Vietcong/ North Vietnamese	1
No opinion	9
	—
	100%

Here is the next question asked:

After the withdrawal of U.S. troops, do you think the U.S. should continue to send military aid to South Vietnam, or do you think the U.S. should cut off all military aid?

Should continue aid	51%
Should cut off	39
No opinion	10
	—
	100%

The survey is based on in-person interviews with 1465 adults, 18 and older, interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period August 4-5.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Evans and Novak Column on
Teeter's Jewish Voters
Memorandum

The September 1 Washington Post carries an Evans and Novak column, which describes the campaign organization debate over Bob Teeter's August 8 memorandum to you on Jewish Voters.

A review of our records indicates you sent the memorandum to no one and the only copy besides the attached original is in my Teeter file.

Discussion with Fred Malek and Jeb Magruder indicates that Malek sent copies to Max Fisher and Larry Goldberg. Malek urged them to treat the memorandum as strictly confidential. Malek grilled Goldberg this morning and has reached the preliminary conclusion that he did not leak the information.

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GS/jb
att.



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Nixon's Jewish Vote Flap



THE WEEK BEFORE the Republican National Convention, top Nixon political operative Fred Malek fired off a nail-biting memorandum calling for new tactics with Jewish voters—setting off an internal debate revealing much about President Nixon's campaign organization.

Malek, operating head of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, was worried by three-month-old polls showing California and New York Jews just as liberal and Democratic as ever. So Malek recommended greater emphasis on Mr. Nixon's Israeli policy and greater use politically of the President's foreign policy adviser, Dr. Henry Kissinger.

The Nixon lieutenants who long have been plotting a better share of the Jewish vote were stunned. In heated staff conferences, they argued that political novice Malek failed to recognize the rightward drift of lower-income Jews. Moreover, a forthcoming campaign mailing to Jews disregards Malek's strictures.

Considering Mr. Nixon's monumental lead over Sen. George McGovern, such antics may not matter. Nevertheless, the flap over the

Jewish vote is another sign that, behind the facade of split-second efficiency, the Nixon campaign is overrun by amateur masterminding and loose organization.

THE FLAP BEGAN with an Aug. 8 memorandum to White House major domo H. R. (Bob) Haldeman from Detroit-based pollster Robert M. Teeter, analyzing the important Jewish vote in New York and California. Teeter's interviews in June showed that whereas Mr. Nixon against McGovern was running 8 per cent above the normal Republican presidential vote in those two states among all voters, his standing with Jewish voters was only normal in New York (27 per cent) and below normal in California (18 per cent). New York Jewish voters rated McGovern above the President on all issues except national defense and foreign policy.

Teeter's gloomy conclusion: "The Jewish vote appears to be largely a function of party affiliation and past voting behavior . . . moreover, McGovern's nomination does not appear to have had a major effect on the Jewish vote."

Jewish voting experts in the Nixon campaign complained that Teeter, though a respected pollster and analyst, had misread the Jewish vote. But Malek, the 35-year-old self-made millionaire and erstwhile White House efficiency expert, was deeply alarmed.

On Aug. 15, Malek sent off Teeter's findings (marked "confidential") to the campaign's top Jewish vote experts—retired Detroit industrialist Max Fisher and Providence business executive Lawrence Goldberg—with his own conclusions and instructions to keep the bad news quiet ("This information is for your own use and analysis and it cannot be shared with any other persons").

"THE BELIEF that McGovern is anathema to Jewish voters is apparently not true," wrote Malek. "It is clear that the support of the President and the reasons for this support on the part of Jewish leaders has (sic) not been effectively communicated to the rank and file.

"If we are going to make any inroads with Jewish voters we will have to make the differences between McGovern's and the President's positions on Israel much

better known. I would think that we should make the maximum possible use of Sen. (Jacob) Javits (of New York) and Dr. Kissinger in this regard."

Mr. Nixon's Jewish experts were incensed by the memo from Malek, running a presidential campaign as his first political undertaking.

AT STAFF meetings they argued Malek had it all wrong; McGovern is very unpopular with Jews; Mr. Nixon is stronger with rank-and-file Jews than with leaders; Javits cannot influence Jewish voters and Kissinger is barred from open politicking. Lower-middle-income Jews are no longer doctrinaire liberals and, accordingly, are attracted to Mr. Nixon not only on Israel but also on busing, welfare and other race-related questions.

The present inclination at the re-election committee is to ignore Malek's memo, with next month's mass mailing to Jewish voters oblivious to Malek's recommendations. Thus, the dangers of amateurism in high places are remedied by the absence of clear lines of authority in Mr. Nixon's campaign.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 8, 1972

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 FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
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Jewish Voters Only

	Normal Rep. Vote	Wave II						Wave I		
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The Jewish vote appears to be largely a function of party affiliation and past voting behavior. In terms of past voting behavior, only 7% of the Jews are behavioral Republicans, and 31% are ticket-splitters, while 62% are Democrats. Moreover, McGovern's nomination does not appear to have had a major affect on the Jewish vote. There are very small differences between the Jewish support for both McGovern and Humphrey.

The data also shows a fairly consistent pattern across demographic Jewish subgroups. Nixon does slightly better with older Jews than younger Jews; however, the margins are much more consistent than the total of all voters. The same pattern is true with income. Nixon is only somewhat better off with higher income Jews than with lower incomes.

In general, Nixon has a low approval rating on the way he handles the job of being President.

	<u>Job Approval Rating</u>			
	<u>Jewish Voters</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>California</u>	<u>New York</u>
Approve	41%	58%	51%	53%
Disapprove	36	30	36	35

In comparison to their handling of issues, Jewish voters give the President much lower ratings on most issues than the ratings given to McGovern.

	<u>Jewish Ratings in New York</u>			
	<u>Nixon</u>		<u>McGovern</u>	
	<u>Pos.</u>	<u>Neg.</u>	<u>Pos.</u>	<u>Neg.</u>
Drugs	24%	74%	51%	19%
Taxes	32	67	56	22
Health Care	46	53	63	13
Vietnam	41	59	63	17
Unemployment	22	77	57	18
Race	34	66	61	18
Foreign Policy	67	32	53	26
National Defense	61	34	55	22
Crime	24	75	54	22
Inflation	24	74	52	25
Environment	29	69	63	14
Bussing	36	57	55	17
General Unrest	24	74	59	18
Welfare	29	70	60	19

The only issues on which Nixon exceeds McGovern are national defense and foreign policy. Apparently, this is related to the President's position on Israel. The only other issues where the President is equal to McGovern are Vietnam and health care. On all other issues, McGovern has a sizeable edge.

Conclusions

The data leads us to several conclusions:

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1. The general notion that the President is making great inroads over McGovern with Jewish voters is borne out by the data at this time.
2. The belief that McGovern is an anathema to Jewish voters is apparently not true. In fact McGovern actually has slightly more committed votes in both New York and California than Humphrey.
3. It is clear that the support of the President and the reasons for this support on the part of Jewish leaders has not been effectively communicated to the rank and file. If we are going to make any inroads with Jewish voters we will have to make the differences between McGovern's and the President's positions on Israel much better known. I would think that we should make the maximum possible use of Senator Javits and Dr. Kissinger in this regard.
4. Under the circumstances of having a set of low issue ratings relative to McGovern and low approval ratings, large increases in the President's support may be difficult. The only issues where we have an advantage are foreign policy and national defense. If these can be related to Israel we may be able to improve our standing. On Vietnam and health care we are equal to McGovern and these issues may also be of some use to us. No other issues hold such a promise, and our advertising and media to Jewish voters should be limited to those issues where we have the edge.
5. One of the problems in increasing the President's support among Jews is that it should be kept in mind that the great majority of Jewish voters consider themselves liberals and see the President as a conservative.

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