

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>
9	6	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	"Memorandum for Action" written by Higby mandating a call to Buchanan RE: an upcoming speech by the vice president. 1 pg.
9	6	6/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Buchanan RE: Home Testing Institute political polls. 1 pg.
9	6	6/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Letter	From Higby to Donald Bowman RE: sending UCLA materials to Haldeman. 1 pg.
9	6	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Chapin RE: RN's mother's farm in Indiana. 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>
9	6	6/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Letter	From Higby and his wife to Cole RE: a letter wishing for Cole's quick recovery. The letter is addressed to the Bethesda Hospital in Maryland. 1 pg.
9	6	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Flanigan RE: a draft memorandum to be sent to Haldeman and the Attorney General. 1 pg.
9	6	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Magruder and Higby to Haldeman and the Attorney General RE: political polls for the 1972 campaign. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 3 pgs.
9	6	6/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to "Follow-Up" RE: the Haldemans' income tax. 1 pg.
9	6	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: a recent Harris Poll. 1 pg.

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9	6	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby and Magruder to Mitchell and Haldeman RE: polling in the election of 1972. 5 pgs.
9	6	6/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan and Higby to Haldeman RE: political polls in Alabama and Indiana. 7 pgs.
9	6	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: call from Reardon at the Labor Department involving "Berta." 1 pg.
9	6	6/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: cabin assignments for a weekend at Camp David. 1 pg.
9	6	6/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldmean RE: follow-up on the plan to hold statewide polls in Alabama and Indiana. 1 pg.

MEMORANDUM FOR ACTION

Call Buchanan and give him the 75% and 74% figures and ask him to work up something for the Vice President regarding these two questions. The Vice President and the President discussed the results of these two questions and the Vice President should use them in a speech he is giving to the YRs on Friday.

LH
June 23, 1971

LH:kb

June 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BUCHANAN
FROM: LARRY HIGBY
SUBJECT: Home Testing Institute
Political Polls

You forwarded the summary of the Home Testing Institute Poll which showed substantial erosion of 1968 Nixon voters. This poll was Home Testing Institutes first political poll and its results should be considered in light of the following:

- 1) Home Testing Institute has 100,000 panel members who respond to mail requests for analysis of products. The selection of the panel members aims at a representative cross section, but difficulties develop in acquiring people who are motivated and at reachable addresses;
- 2) Panel members are located in cities in order to have access to products to be tested;
- 3) The questions themselves are faulty because no alternatives are offered.

True, all of these points are procedural but are useful in determining the weight to be given the conclusions. However, assure our influence in their political polling, the contacts at the Home Testing Institute will be increased.

GS:elr

Chen

June 3, 1971

Dear Don:

Thanks for your note of May 26. It would be most helpful if you could see that copies of the UCLA materials are sent to Bob at his office - West Wing, White House.

Many thanks and best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Higby
Administrative Assistant
to H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Donald M. Bowman
UCLA Alumni and
Development Center
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, California
90024

LH:pm

127
June 25, 1971

Money

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob indicated that he probably already mentioned this to you, but in case it is not underway, he needs the details and the report with regard to the President's Mother's farm in Indiana.

Apparently the Governor is considering buying it, but the President would like to purchase it, if possible. We need to know the whole situation surrounding the farm; is it possible to purchase it, how big is it, what would the cost be, etc.

Will you please check this out and get a report into Bob by Monday.

Thank you.

LH:kb

X

June 21, 1971

Dear Ken:

I know you have a pressure job, but this is ridiculous. Dolores' and my thoughts are with you. Get well quick.

Larry and Dolores

Mr. Kenneth Cole
Bethesda Hospital
Bethesda, Maryland

(Please charge to 229-0680 Lawrence M. Higby's home telephone number.)

LH:kb

June 28, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: PETER FLANIGAN
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: Draft Memorandum to the
Attorney General and
H. R. Haldeman

Regarding the draft memorandum to the Attorney General and Haldeman that Jeb Magruder has apparently given you a copy of -- This is just a note to let you know that I do not concur in the recommendation as indicated on page 3. To the contrary. I agree completely with you that now is not the time to move the polling operation under the Citizen's Committee.

Please let the record show that this is the case.

Thank you.

LH:kb

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By B. Guynn NARS, Date 3-23-82

DRAFT

CONFIDENTIAL

June 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
LARRY HIGBY

SUBJECT: POLLING PLAN

*Larry -
You and I
should, of course,
and in any
recommendation you see
not agree that
control should be
reserved for the
the C.A.C.
Peter if
should be
an important
group
Pete*

Considerable attention is currently being devoted to planning for polling in the 1972 campaign. The White House survey activities will very soon begin to point to the campaign, the Citizens Committee has established a planning group, several vendors and consultants have submitted proposals, and the need for a sound, well-coordinated program has been recognized by all parties concerned.

At the present time, Mr. Haldeman and his staff conduct polls for Presidential strategy and the Domestic Council conducts polls for issue strategy. It will be mandatory for a successful campaign that pertinent information from all sources be made available to appropriate parts of the campaign organization on a need-to-know basis.

Current Proposals

In November, Dr. David Derge submitted a comprehensive plan (Tab A). It has not been updated since that time. Peter Flanigan, Jeb Magruder and Bob Marik of the planning group had arranged to meet with Derge last week, but that was delayed by the tragic death of his wife.

Recently, Benham of ORC submitted detailed suggestions on target state and issue polling (Tab B). The proposals thus far lean toward the basic research plan of 1968. Some variations are offered on the "wave studies" (updated large field interviews), the "Instant Research" capability, and issue studies. The current ORC-telephone system for "Instant Research" could be altered slightly to fit campaign trends and still be able to deliver the information required. The Citizens Committee planning group will seek to develop other alternatives as well, so that advances in the state-of-the-art since 1968 will not be ignored in the final decision process.

A preliminary survey has been completed to identify the six most qualified polling vendors for use in the 1972 campaign (Tab C). Comprehensive proposals will be solicited from each of the six, both to identify alternative polling techniques and to have a sound basis for making the final selection.

Domestic Council Issue Studies

The Domestic Council's current Issue Study will be completed by the first week in June. The data will be able to be analyzed by geographical region and urban/suburban/rural populations, but it will not be divisible into target states. As we move closer to the campaign year, it will be increasingly important to have a data base and trend information by target state. According to Ken Cole, two and perhaps three more in-depth studies are planned. These could be tuned to correspond with the Derge and Benham recommendations (November 1971, and May 1972). We would suggest that the November study cover the same basic areas that the current study is examining, to assure adequate trend information, but be designed to allow interpretation by target states. Additional issues that develop this summer and fall could also be included. The thrust of the May study, however, should be to particularly emphasize the key issues and swing voters in the battleground states. This information would be developed from the previous two studies. The latter two studies would then become the benchmarks to set guidelines for the campaign.

Survey of National Attitudes

A separate recommendation has been submitted concerning a national survey to determine the basic attitudes and concerns of the voting public. If approved, the survey would be completed by September 1, 1971, and would provide the basic assumptions for formulating campaign strategy.

Trends of Voter Attitudes

The wave studies could be done as they were in 1968. The theory was that after field interviewing a large initial sample, certain individuals would be re-interviewed in a three wave series to assess the effect of statements and actions during the campaign. These wave studies concentrated on the key states. Other techniques for tracking voter attitudes over time may be evaluated during the planning phase in 1971.

The wave studies were supplemented by nationwide daily telephone surveys during the last six weeks of the campaign. Four-day updates based on the 1000 telephone samples flowed into campaign headquarters to reflect instant reactions. These telephone surveys could be the concluding series of the 12-20 "instant research" surveys mentioned earlier.

Battleground States

In the battleground states, we will be particularly interested in identifying and communicating with the ambivalent voters. The Citizens Committee is evaluating the use of census data and past voting patterns to locate important concentrations of these voters. A highly targeted polling program might then be used to supplement Domestic Council findings on the issues

and attitudes that will most strongly determine their votes. Those findings would be the basis for campaign issue strategy as well as individual contacts through mail, telephone or personal visits by local campaign workers. Variations on this technique have been used effectively in several state elections, notably Reagan in 1970 in San Francisco County, with DMF as the vendor.

Within the next few weeks, a specific proposal will be made to test the concept in Delaware, in conjunction with the RNC. Delaware was chosen because it is small but contains representative urban, suburban and rural areas. That test, if approved, would identify the ambivalent voters, using past voting data, detailed by county or precinct, and early Fourth County (demographic) data from the 1970 census. A baseline opinion survey in several selected precincts would determine voter attitudes toward the President and toward public issues. Half of the precincts would be held as control groups. In the other half, through various forms of direct communication, an effort will be made to create attitudes more favorable to the Administration. A subsequent poll would evaluate how successful the efforts had been. All of this experience would be extremely useful in drawing up detailed operating plans for the campaign.

Recommendation

Concentrate the polling responsibility for the key states in the Citizens for the Re-election of the President. This would include the November 1971 and May 1972 issues polls, the wave studies and the final six week daily telephone surveys. The Citizens Committee would have a polling consultant by October 1, in time to participate in the design of the November survey. Initially the consultant would report to Magruder/Flanigan, but eventually he would report to the Campaign Strategy Committee. The White House could, or course, use the consultant independently of the Citizens Committee for control of the "instant research" aspect, but could feed the non-Presidential trend material to the Strategy Committee

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

June 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW-UP

FROM:

L. HIGBY

Follow-up in checking with Rearden over at Labor
to see whether Haldemans need to file social security
and income tax for Verda.

278
June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

Chuck Colson called to report that the Harris Poll shows the following:

Positive	Negative	
50	48	
47	50	Late April
46	53	Early April
41	56	March

Harris indicated he will write it as the Presidents best since last October.

He also indicated that the Muskie-Nixon horserace will show Nixon ahead, although he does not have these figures yet.

HK
LH:pm

June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN W. MITCHELL
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER
L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Polling -- '72 Campaign

While activities are taking place on several fronts with regard to polling in the '72 Campaign, it is clear to us that no complete and comprehensive program is yet underway. Basically today, four separate or somewhat detached polling operations are in existence:

1. The White House -- The White House has been conducting polling for the last two years for the President and has stockpiled a significant amount of information primarily from telephone polls but also from some field polls. In addition, it has been talking to Dave Berge and Opinion Research Corporation about possible polling plans for 1972 -- both plans have now been submitted. While they update slightly the '68 plan, they basically recommended the activities we had during that time.
2. Domestic Council -- The Domestic Council is now starting to do polling on its own on Domestic Issues. It did a Domestic Issues poll two months ago and is nearing completion of a final draft for a second poll on Family problems.
3. The Republican National Committee -- The National Committee has been exploring several polling alternatives and research proposals.

Somewhat in conjunction with the Citizen's Committee it is currently conducting a forty thousand dollar study in Delaware. In addition, at the request of the White House it worked with Dave Derge on a vendor's survey that determined the five most suitable pollsters for the '72 Campaign.

4. Citizen's Committee -- While it has directly sponsored no polls, it has joined with the RNC at looking at the potential results of the Delaware Study as a basis for proposing some new polling techniques for '72.

It is clear to us the first priority or need with regard to setting up our '72 polling operation is to establish some mechanism that can function as a focal point and clearing house for all polling operations now going on and as a repository for additional information that will be coming in probably independently from key states, etc., as we approach the Campaign.

It is our understanding that in discussions between Mr. Haldeman and the Attorney General -- general agreement has been reached that a three-man polling strategy board should be set up consisting of Haldeman, Mitchell and Flanigan. We recommend that this group be instituted immediately and that under it be established a working group (a modified version of the task force) to undertake the necessary tasks of control and coordination of all the various things that are being done and to produce an agreed upon plan for '72.

The working group would be Chaired by Peter Flanigan and have as its members Bob Marik and Jeb Magruder of the Citizen's Committee, Ed Harper, Ken Cole of the Domestic Council, Gordon Strachan and Larry Higby of the White House, and Ed Debolt of the RNC. This group would be charged with doing the following things in the order listed below:

- a. Coordinate all polling activities now and in the future.
- b. Develop a preliminary polling plan for 1972.
- c. Select a pollster.
- d. Devise an overall polling plan based on the selection of a final pollster, that includes coordinating the various elements of polling available.
- e. Select a consultant.
- f. Decide whether or not a simulation project is worth pursuing for 1972.

This group would work at coordinating all polling activities currently underway and contribute where feasible to the formulation of any future polls. It would be clearly understood, however, that distribution of any results, including distribution to the group, would be determined by the President or the Strategy Committee.

DISCUSSION:

As mentioned, a basic polling plan has already been devised through consultation with Dave Derge and Tom Benham of ORC, but there are several approaches and pollsters that still should be explored before any final decisions are reached.

In addition, the Citizen's Committee is in the process of developing a concept of key state polling with the idea of reaching on an individual basis, exclusively the "ambivalent" voter and the Republican voter determining his preference and reaching him through direct mail, precinct work, etc. Each of the major firms that would be asked to participate in bidding for our polling contract would be asked to explore the basic plans presented and determine whether or not it is cost-effective to pursue this concept.

As a by product of discussions with individual pollsters and the eventual final selection of a pollster, we will have talked to a number of independent operators as well as polling firms. This should give us a fair sampling of the field and enable us to select a consultant or polling staff man for 1972.

SIMULATION:

While very much in everybody's mind is still a questionable practice according to explanations we have received so far; therefore, high on the list of priorities of the working group would be to determine through consultation with various experts and professionals whether or not simulation can be a profitable undertaking for the '72 Campaign.

ACTION STEPS:

In order for this activity to get underway immediately, the working group should be convened this week with Peter Flanigan as Chairman. Agreement will need to be obtained for this from the Attorney General, H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and Tom Evans or Bob Dole at the RNC. As soon as the group is set up it should undertake the following tasks:

1. Determine a basic polling plan.
2. Interview top five vendors as determined by recent RNC/Derge Vendor survey of all large firms in the country.
3. During the process of interviewing pollsters and reviewing proposals, try to
 - a. Select a consultant
 - b. Explore thoroughly and prepare a recommendation simulation.

4. Draw up a final polling plan recommendation using all coordinated resources available from the White House, Domestic Council, RNC and Citizen's Committee and costs to meet this plan.

5. Continue to review all polls before they are done to make sure that they meet if possible, parts of the plan as outlined.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the concept as outlined in this report and that we proceed immediately to initiate those action steps as outlined.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

L. Chron

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN
LARRY HIGBY

SUBJECT:

Alabama/Indiana Polls

Attached are revised suggested questionnaires for state wide polls in Alabama and Indiana. Additional emphasis has been put on state wide issues in each case. These questionnaires include suggestions by ORC, Dave Derge, and Harry Dent.

You raised the question of the price for these polls versus the number of questions on each poll, as compared to the price for national telephone polls. In response to this, ORC has offered the following explanation:

There are ten (10) questions, including trial heats, for state wide surveys because of ORC telephone line limitations. In nationwide surveys, all the lines that ORC has available may be used and the longer interview (15 questions) is possible while still meeting the deadline of a 2 day interview.

The price for a ten (10) question state wide survey of 500 interviews is between \$3,500 and \$4,000. Slight increases or decreases in the number of questions has no effect on that cost.

In summation, the optimum number of questions for a state wide 2 day poll or a nationwide 1 day poll is ten (10) questions. The optimum number for a 2 day nationwide poll is fifteen (15) questions.

LH:lm

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR ALABAMA

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?
3. How would you rate the job George Wallace is doing as Governor of Alabama - excellent, good, fair, or poor?
4. Has George Wallace done anything about the Supreme Court's bussing decision?
5. Between Richard Nixon and George Wallace, who can you count on to minimize bussing?
6. Is the Supreme Court or Richard Nixon responsible for the desegregation decision?
7. Do you believe President Nixon has handled the race question correctly?
8. Have President Nixon's Supreme Court appointments been helpful to the South?
9. Aside from the War, what do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

10. Trial Heats - with and without Wallace:

Muskie, Kennedy, Humphrey, Jackson

11. Most people believe that if George Wallace was a candidate for President of the United States in 1972 he would have little chance of being elected, yet you indicated you would vote for him. Why is that?

ALTERNATE QUESTIONS FOR ALABAMA

1. Do you believe George Wallace should run for President?
2. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate for President, and if George Wallace ran as a third party candidate, would Hubert Humphrey have a better chance to be elected?
3. Why does Wallace continue to run for President if he has no chance of winning?
4. What are some of the things you like the most about Governor Wallace?
5. If the election for Governor of Alabama were being held today, would you vote for George Wallace if he were one of the candidates?
6. In general, do you approve or disapprove of Governor Wallace's position on Civil Rights?

7. If a candidate for President of the United States was supported by Governor Wallace, would you be more likely to vote for him, more likely to vote against him, or wouldn't it make any difference?

8. Which one of these two statements is the better description of Governor Wallace - he is opposed to equal rights for all people regardless of race, or he is opposed to the federal government interfering in the affairs of a state?

9. Favorability - Wallace, Bayh, Nixon, Kennedy

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR INDIANA

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?
3. Do you approve or disapprove of the President's farm program?
4. Do you believe the Indiana Republican Party has served Indiana well?
5. Has Governor Whitcomb helped or hurt the Republican Party in Indiana?
6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Whitcomb is handling his job as Governor?
7. Which party would best serve the interests of Indiana - Democrats or Republicans?
8. If a candidate for President of the United States was supported by Governor Wallace, would you be more likely to vote for him, more likely to vote against him, or wouldn't it make any difference?
9. Favorability - Nixon, Kennedy, Wallace, Bayh, Muskie, Jackson

10. Trial Heats - with and without Wallace:

Bayh, Muskie, Humphrey, Kennedy

11. Most people believe that if George Wallace was a candidate for President of the United States in 1972 he would have little chance of being elected, yet you indicated you would vote for him. Why is that?

ALTERNATE QUESTIONS FOR INDIANA

1. Do you believe Senator Birch Bayh should run for President?

2. Why does George Wallace of Alabama continue to run for President if he has no chance of winning?

3. To which of these two should government policy give the highest priority - ending the Vietnam War or fighting unemployment?

4. Do you believe President Nixon is too Republican Party oriented?

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Dick Lugar is handling his job as Mayor of Indianapolis?

6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Republican Party has handled the government of Indiana?

7. How would you rate the job George Wallace is doing as Governor of Alabama - excellent, good, fair, or poor?

8. What are some of the things you like the most about Governor Wallace?

9. If the election for Governor of Alabama were being held today, would you vote for George Wallace if he were one of the candidates?

10. In general, do you approve or disapprove of Governor Wallace's position on Civil Rights?

11. Which one of these two statements is the better description of Governor Wallace - he is opposed to equal rights for all people regardless of race, or he is opposed to the federal government interfering in the affairs of a state?

200
June 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

Mr. Reardon at the Labor Department called me to inform me of the following with regard to Berta.

The certification has been approved and will be sent to you.

A copy of the certification will be sent to Tijuana and an additional copy to the State Department. Mr. Reardon has called people at both places to make sure that they understand the situation with regard to this matter.

Berta will be eligible for her visa in August. You will be notified when this occurs exactly and then Berta will have to go to Tijuana and return under the appropriate certification. This works out well with our other travel plans for this period I would think.

LH:lm

June 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

SUBJECT : Cabin Assignments at Camp David for Weekend

I need your approval on the following cabin assignments for Camp David this weekend.

Mr. and Mrs. Haldeman	Sycamore
Ann and Susie	Walnut
Peter and Gregg	Hawthorn

Approve
 Disapprove
 Note changes

/pm

June 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

SUBJECT:

Alabama/Indiana Polls

You requested that we do state polls for Indiana and Alabama that we could release. After reviewing various methods in our discussion last weekend, we settled on having ORC conduct the survey. They will run between \$3,500 and \$4,000 each for 500 interviews.

Since we are doing the national poll this weekend (Saturday and Sunday), ORC would either like to do these polls Thursday and Friday of this week or wait until next week.

I would recommend that we do them this week and get them out of the way.

Attached are questionnaires for your approval.

LH:lm