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<td>From Gordon Strachan to Bob Marik. RE: The environmental issue as reported on by Ruckelshaus. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: The President's performance in New Hampshire with both Ashbrook and McCloskey running. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Gordon Strachan to G. Allan Walker, Jr. RE: Mr. Walker's offer to utilize his &quot;N&quot; pin to designate Nixon supporters in the 1972 election. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: The recent article in the National Journal entitled, &quot;Teachers and Politics&quot;, in which it hints that the National Education Association is preparing to have influence in the 1972 election. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Larry Higby and Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: The need to increase the number of campus polls, and establish trial heats. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Newey T. Trelegan to Herbert Klein. RE: Cambell &amp; Trelegan Inc., and its development of a computer based telephone polling machine that can place from sixty to a thousand calls at once. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Wisconsin Statewide Study that asks such questions as: Which of the following issues is the single most important problem facing the United States, and what are the important accomplishments/failures of the Nixon Administration? 25 pgs.</td>
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December 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MARIK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Ruckelshaus

Another interesting story on Muskie and the environmental issue is the recent report that "Ruckelshaus is very loyal to RN but Muskie would keep him on." If this is really Muskie's position or he could be pushed to it, this would make the environment a much less potent issue for him. Just a thought.

GDPmJeb Magruder
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEE MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Ashbrook Announcement

GOP Chairman Andrews of Ohio apparently did not receive the "line" on how the President will do in the New Hampshire primary with both Ashbrook and McCloskey in the race. If you or Harry Flemming will be contacting him soon, would you let me know?

Thank you.
Administratively Confidential

December 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Cabinet/Sub-Cabinet Meeting

I trust your Sub-Cabinet meeting went well. How was John Scali's performance?

The reason for the inquiry is Lyn Nofsiger's suggestion to Bob Haldeman that someone "warn Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet that the time has come to make sure they do not make decisions that could be helpful to Democrats or hurt Republicans". (Original memorandum attached.)

Nofsiger doesn't need an answer but you may want to use his suggestion in your meetings with Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet members.
PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN
FROM LYN NOFZIGER

Two or three things have happened in the last week or so to make it clear to me that cabinet and sub-cabinet officers are more than ever in position to make decisions that in an election year would be politically harmful.

I urge that steps be taken to warn cabinet and sub-cabinet that the time has come to make sure that they do not make decisions that could be helpful to Democrats or hurtful to Republicans. This year, more than the past three, we should make sure that major announcements and decisions are made public by Republicans. I think the appropriate White House staff members should also be forewarned. My suggestion, of course, is that any cautioning be done orally--and frequently.

Burn this.

-Gifford, grantsmanship
-Scali, cabinet + cabinet mtg
December 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:       JEB NAGRUDER
FROM:                  GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT:               Questions

Attached are several interesting questions about
Muskie's stands on certain issues. If you think they would
be useful would you let me know the responses?

Thank you.

GS: 1m
QUESTIONS FOR SENATOR MUSKIE:

Senator, you are known as "Mr. Clean" in the Senate but I have read stories that you supported actions that resulted in polluting a once-clear trout stream in your own State of Maine. Can you explain this apparent contradiction?

***

Senator, I understand you are pushing hard to build an oil refinery on the Coast of Maine even though this may mean land and air pollution. I also understand that it is possible that tankers bringing in the oil could pollute the water. Could you explain this?

***

Senator, you are supposed to be a close friend of Fred Vahising, the man who is polluting Prestile Stream in your State of Maine. Could you tell us how much you have received from him in the way of campaign contributions?

***

Senator Muskie, you have protested against President Nixon's use of television. Can you tell me why you never protested during the Kennedy and Johnson years?

***

Senator Muskie, you have never made your position clear on busing. Can you say if you favor busing for the purpose of eliminating de facto segregation?
QUESTIONS FOR SENATOR MUSKIE

Senator Muskie, there is a story going around that you have called the young men who have gone to Canada to avoid the draft patriots. Is this true?

***
MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MARIK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Muskie Issues

December 29, 1971

In the attached Muskie Weekly Summary from the RNC, the point is made that "(s)everal authorities were critical of the Muskies water pollution bill which calls for zero pollution by 1985".

It would be interesting to know what authorities, since many believe this will be one of Muskie's biggest issues.

GS:lm
Agriculture

- Claiming the President has "turned his back" on farmers, Muskie called for anti-trust legislation to prevent big business from taking over agriculture. (p. 398)

Health Care

- Muskie outlined a 3-point program to improve health care. (p. 398)

Delaware

- A campaign organization has been set up, headed by Hoge T. Sutherland. (p. 400)

Massachusetts

- Some Kennedy supporters appear to be joining the Muskie camp. (p. 400)

Senator Thomas McIntyre (D -- N. H.)

- Has endorsed Muskie. (p. 400)

Governor John Gilligan

- Reportedly will shift his position and endorse Muskie. (p. 400)

Polls

- Muskie again leads other contenders in the Harris Survey, but trails the President in Gallup and California. (p. 401)

Christian Science Monitor

- Survey indicates leaders in 22 states support Muskie or are leaning toward him. (p. 401)

Voting Scores

- Muskie has voted on only 59 percent of this year's roll call votes. (p. 402)
MUSKIE WEEKLY SUMMARY
PAGE 398
DECEMBER 13 - 19, 1971

TRAVEL

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<td>Speech -- Ileitis and Colitis</td>
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<td>December 16</td>
<td>New Hampshire and Massachusetts</td>
<td>Campaigning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 17</td>
<td>Kansas City, Missouri</td>
<td>Speech -- National Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 18 - 21</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>Campaigning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Muskie postponed a December 17 meeting with Philadelphia Mayor-elect Frank Rizzo, when a scheduled television appearance in that city was cancelled. Aides say the meeting will be held in January.

ON THE ISSUES

Domestic Affairs

Agriculture

In a speech in Kansas City, Muskie called for new antitrust legislation designed to prevent big business from monopolizing American agriculture.

Muskie also said the President "has turned his back on the American farmer" and called for a stronger system of collective bargaining for farmers.

AP, UPI
December 17, 1971

Health Care

Calling the nation's health services a "system of medical neglect," Muskie proposed a 3-point program to remedy the problem:

1) Federal incentives should be used to persuade medical schools to expand enrollments.
2) The nation should shift from a system dependent on individual doctors to one built on the concept of a health group composed of all medical professions.
Health Care (continued)

3) Federal bonuses should be used to encourage doctors to work in central cities and rural areas, and the use of paramedics should be expanded.

Speech -- Ileitis and Colitis Federation
New York Times
December 16, 1971

Pollution

Several authorities were critical of the Muskie water pollution bill, which calls for zero-pollution by 1985.

EPA head William Ruckelshaus said the environment issue is a "tempting bauble for any aspiring politician," and added that the goal was impossible to reach.

UPI
December 17, 1971

The man expected to be Philadelphia's new Water Commissioner, Carmen Guarino, told reporters if the Muskie bill becomes law, there will be another increase in that city's water rates. In July, the average water bill was raised 45 percent. Guarino said the bill "doesn't make sense."

Philadelphia Inquirer
December 14, 1971

Foreign Policy

Dollar Devaluation

Muskie indicated he would support the President's efforts to devalue the dollar to achieve more favorable exchange rates.

AP
December 14, 1971

Latin America

A statement released by Muskie said the Administration's policy makes it appear "the United States has become blind and indifferent" towards Latin America.
Latin America (continued)

Muskie added the Alliance for Progress was "discarded...with no good substitute in sight." The Senator called for a new policy, "reconstructed from the shambles the Nixon administration has made of the Alliance."

(Muskie did not propose a more specific alternative.)

Undated Press Release

STAFF AND ORGANIZATION

Delaware

Hoge T. Sutherland, a DuPont Company attorney, will head up the Muskie drive in Delaware. He announced plans to set up headquarters in Wilmington, Kent, Sussex, and Newcastle Counties.

Massachusetts

K. Dun Gifford, former legislative assistant to Ted Kennedy, has joined the Massachusetts' Muskie steering committee.

House Speaker David Bartley was co-host for a Muskie breakfast in Boston. He indicated this does not represent an irrevocable commitment to Muskie. This is significant because Bartley has long been identified as a strong Kennedy supporter.

Michigan

Sander Levin, unsuccessful '70 gubernatorial candidate, will head the campaign in Michigan. This move places him out of contention for the senatorial contest.

New Hampshire

Senator Thomas McIntyre has endorsed Muskie. He will not actively campaign for Muskie because he is in a close race for reelection.

Ohio

Governor John Gilligan, reportedly uncomfortable in a favorite son
Ohio (continued)

role, is expected to endorse Muskie. There have been reports he will announce his support on December 22.

Wisconsin

Thirty state legislators have endorsed Muskie.

U. S. Representatives David Obey and Henry Reuss endorsed Muskie.

Harris Survey -- Presidential Preference

Muskie has regained his lead in the Harris Survey among the Democratic contenders. Muskie leads Kennedy by one percentage point (22 percent -- 21 percent). The poll was conducted between October 28 and November 12.

Gallup Poll -- Trial Heats

In a poll conducted November 19 - 22, Muskie trails the President by three percentage points in the latest trial heat. (RMN - 44 percent, Muskie - 41 percent, Wallace - 10 percent)

California Poll -- Trial Heats

In a series of surveys conducted in November, Muskie trails the President by two percentage points in a three-way race with Wallace. (RMN - 42 percent, ESM - 40 percent)

In a four-way race (including McCarthy), Muskie trails the President by seven percentage points. (37 percent - 30 percent) In a four-way race (with Lindsay), Muskie trailed by eight points.(39 percent - 31 percent)

Christian Science Monitor -- Democratic Leaders

Reporters for the Monitor found that top Democrats in 22 states are either now behind Muskie or leaning in his direction. Those states included Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, New York, New Hampshire, North Dakota, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah,
Christian Science Monitor (continued)

Vermont, Virginia and Wisconsin.

Christian Science Monitor
December 13, 1971

Nebraska Poll

Muskie and Kennedy are sharing the lead (16 percent) as the presidential preference of Nebraska registered Democrats. The poll was conducted during the first week in December.

Omaha World Herald
December 14, 1971

Voting Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roll Call Votes</th>
<th>Muskie Votes</th>
<th>Vote Participation Score*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct.-Nov.</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.-Nov.</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presidential Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roll Call Votes</th>
<th>Muskie Votes</th>
<th>Presidential Support Score **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct.-Nov.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.-Nov.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports

* % of roll calls in which Senator Muskie voted "yea" or "nay."
** % of roll calls on which Senator Muskie voted in agreement with the President.
December 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGNADER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Dent Issues Meeting/December 22

I thought the December 22 issues meeting was the best yet to be held. Harlow, Haig, Cole, Harper, and Garment all had excellent suggestions. It would be a shame to lose these ideas. Weren't you going to prepare minutes for the Attorney General with a carbon copy for Mr. Haldeman?
Bryce Harlow believes P will speak out as Chief on mile budget before March ahead of R4 (and Log) + Fla.

ASC candid assessment on way down

Harlow - Lando w/ BT secured + don't drift into 21st nation.
- primarily a response to Concord (G) since gent populace can't be pushed further right by left. All SENS Sent - P has across the whole fly leadership of Rep party.

Harlow - can't get a lecture on charity / a prostitute, Dems will be that pressed to use this to aid Reps - but prob. will be in undermining the Rep party workers.

Hary - can't be too bully on focusing on some gays rather argue P
- realigning Western world thru summity
- good Def budget - no focus long for cutting
- if P goes to Moscow + Peeling - play on accomp after
Mr. Gordon Straham  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.  

Dear Gordon:  

As you know, during the 1968 campaign, the small Nixon "N" that was worn by many Nixon supporters became very popular.  

Recognizing that few presidents have been as closely identified with flag and country as President Nixon, I have attempted to design a pin that would be attractive, unique and yet appropriate. Hopefully, it would be an effective campaign pin and further establish this "identity".

If you agree that the enclosed pin achieves these objectives, I will have a limited number manufactured at my expense for distribution among my key New Hampshire people.

Sincerely,  

G. Allan Walker, Jr.  

GAW:ku

G. S. please bring this to the attention
December 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: New Hampshire/Allan Walker

Allan Walker is a pleasant, competent fellow and a personal friend. Unfortunately, as the attached letter indicates, he misunderstands the lines of responsibility for the Campaign. In terms of getting a specific answer to Walker, that should come from you or Peter Dailey I would guess.

More important, however, is the problem of the lines of authority. I would imagine that you and Harry Flemming would have convinced your people in the field that decisions concerning the Campaign flow from the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President, not the White House.

A copy of my letter to Allan Walker is attached.

GS:lm
December 28, 1971

Dear Allan:

Thanks for sending the lapel "E" pin and the flag. I will enjoy wearing them proudly.

However, in terms of approval for the design for campaign use, the person who has the responsibility for approval is Jeb Negroder. I have referred your letter to him, but naturally kept the pin and flag.

I trust you had a pleasant Christmas. We all look forward to quite a year.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Gorden Strachan

Mr. G. Allan Walker, Jr.
Executive Director
New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President
New Hampshire Highway Hotel
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

GS:lm
December 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Ed McDaniell

You and I have discussed Ed McDaniell and his usefulness to the Campaign in the context of "direct" or "ask" Magruder to use him. Jack Caulfield concurs with several on the White House Staff that this man is good. I trust he will receive more than pro forma consideration.

cc: Jack Caulfield

GS:1m
TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JOHN J. CAULFIELD
SUBJECT: ED MC DANIEL

For your information.
 SUBJECT: ED MC DANIEL - T.V. AND AUDIO FEEDS FOR '72 SURROGATE CANDIDATES

Be advised that Ed Mc Daniel has been asked to pro forma submit a bid and proposal for T.V. and Audio feeds for '72 surrogate candidates in connection with Campaign '72. He has been in touch with DeVan Shumway of the White House staff in this regard. Ed believes the decision will be made from 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue.

While I am reluctant to inject myself into this area, I have done so because of Ed's proven competence in this field, his 1960 and 1968 performance, and his strong loyalty to the President.

I am not sure that those persons presently in decision making position are similarly aware. Hence this note to you for whatever action you deem advisable.
December 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Youth Registration/California

Last night Ken Rietz indicated that no youth activities or registration drives were under way in California because the Campaign leadership questions had not been resolved in that state.

In a memorandum for the President received on December 23, the following statement by Jamie McLane is made: "A selective registration drive by the Party is under way now in San Diego in the 100 largest precincts."

You may want to have Rietz and McLane meet and discuss this apparent inconsistency.

Just a thought.

cc: Charles W. Colson
December 22, 1971

JEB MAGRUDER
GORDON STRACHAN
Teachers and Politics

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

In the most recent issue of National Journal, there is an article entitled "Teachers and Politics" in which it was suggested that the National Education Association is preparing to move into power politics in the 1972 election. They are talking about having a political action committee similar to labor's. However, one's immediate reaction of impending disaster should be modified by the fact that the NEA's membership list splits right down the middle politically - 40% Republican, 40% Democratic, and 20% independent. It might be worth our while to take the 40% Republican (higher than the national average) and use this group to our advantage. If you think this idea has some merit, we should talk about it and figure out what sort of recommendation we should get together to get approval, and pick one man responsible if that approval is granted.

Just a thought.
December 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Youth Speaking Corps

I know you worked on this project when you were here on the staff, but the possibility of having a youth speaking corps has recently been re-raised in connection with your plans with Ken Rietz for capturing the youth vote. Would you advise me of your plans?

Also, on page eight of your weekly report, polls from the University of Houston, Baylor, and Springwood High School indicate that Lindsay leads all other contenders for the Democratic nomination. Wouldn't it be valuable to get this sort of information out?

Just a thought.

GS:kkk:GS:dg
December 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Citizens Committee Report

In going back through task force reports, in the Citizens' proposal prepared for the Attorney General, I noticed that all the references are to Businessman for Nixon, Lawyers for Nixon, Doctors for Nixon, etc. The primary purpose of Bob's suggestion that you accept "Re-Elect our President" was to emphasize the "President". Everything you do, including the naming of Citizens' groups, should do the same -- that is, emphasize the "President", not "Nixon" alone.

Would you cover this with all your people and advise me.

Thank you.

GS:dg
December 18, 1971

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

We need to start cranking up the business of campus polls and encouraging them and begin building a program whereby we gradually increase the number of campus polls that we release.

For example, the President went to the University of Miami while in Key Biscayne last time and discovered they had held a trial heat poll there and that he won over all candidates. (Something I doubt the Campaign Committee is aware of.)

What we need to do here is start picking those campuses, large campuses, that we can win like the University of Miami and begin to organize trial heats on campus and build a program of releasing those trial heats.

On those campuses where we can't win, rather than doing trial heats, we should just do a general question about who do you want to see elected to the Presidency. This way we will still come out strong because of the large number of Democratic candidates and the feel at this time.

Will you please let us know what is happening on this program by January 3rd.

LH:kb
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Telephone Capability

Herb Klein sent Bob Haldeman the attached material regarding campaign telephone capability and as you can see, he is asking Bob whether or not he should pursue this man's offer. This obviously falls within your campaign structure, probably under Bob Marik. Would you determine whether you want to check this man's offer and advise Herb Klein?
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 13

Do you want me to pursue?

HGK
Dear Mr. Trelegan:

Thank you for your letter of November 24. I do appreciate your courtesy in calling to my attention the capability of the computer telephone polling and promotional system which you have developed. While I can think of no immediate use to which my office might put it, I will certainly keep in mind its availability and capability.

Thank you again for writing.

With best wishes for the holidays and coming year,

Sincerely,

Herbert G. Klein
Director of Communications
to the Executive Branch

Mr. Newey T. Trelegan
Vice President
Campbell and Trelegan, Inc.
24 Crescent Street
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154
November 24, 1971

Mr. Herbert Allen  
Director of Communications  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Allen:

Campbell & Tragen Inc. has designed a computer-based telephone polling and promotional device which has the capability of placing from sixty to a thousand simultaneous telephone calls either locally, regionally, or nationally, or any mix thereof, putting forth a message and/or taking in information. For example, even the President's own voice could be used asking the opinion of the recipients of the call on various issues. That opinion could be recorded; in one instance, in the form of an instant national poll by topic or personality and in the other instance, to precipitate further communication with that individual in the form of a machine-generated but personal appearing letter.

I would be very pleased to discuss this technique with you at any time. The system could be modified to your specific requirements and could be operational within 120 days.

Sincerely,

Henry T. Tragen  
Vice President

NW/usa
December 13, 1971

HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

GORDON STRACHAN
Primary States Poll

MEMORANDUM FOR:
FROM:
SUBJECT:

Bob Teeter sent three copies of the final questionnaire for the New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin poll. Bob Haldeman asked that I forward to you your copy.
Hello, I'm Mrs. _____ from Market Opinion Research, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in Wisconsin.

1. Are you now registered to vote here in Wisconsin?
   2 Yes
   1 No

(IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW.Beginning with QUESTION 2)

(IF "NO", ASK:)

   a. Do you intend to register so you will be able to vote in the 1972 Presidential election?
      2 Yes
      1 No

(IF "NO", TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

(IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW)

2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time?
   ____________________________________________

3. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States? (CIRCLE JUST ONE ABOVE)
   ____________________________________________

4. Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction today or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?
   39-2 Right direction
      1 Wrong track
      0 Don't know

   a. Why do you feel that way? (PROSE) ____________________________________________

   b. Any other reasons?

5. Overall, do you think the United States as a nation is better off or worse off than it was three or four years ago?
   64-3 Better off
      1 Worse off
      2 About the same
      0 Don't know

   a. Why do you say that? (PROSE) ____________________________________________
6. Now, I'm going to mention several problems and issues to you and using this scale card (1-14 as CL 1-40 as 0), I'd like you to rate how important of a problem each one is to you. (15-27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment/Pollution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National defense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing of school children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General unrest in the country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?

   20-2 Approve
   1 Disapprove
   0 Don't know

   a. Why do you say that? (PROBE)

8. What do you think are the most important accomplishments of the Nixon Administration?

9. What do you think are the major failures of the Nixon Administration?

10. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?

   65-2 Approve
   1 Disapprove
   0 Don't know

11. Do you feel that President Nixon's plan for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam brings our troops back too fast, too slow, or just about right?

   66-3 Too fast
   1 Too slow
   2 About right
   0 Don't know

12. Do you think that the United States should withdraw all its troops regardless of whether or not the Vietnamese release our Prisoners of War or that we should keep some troops in Vietnam until all our Prisoners of War are released?

   67-2 Yes, withdraw all regardless of POW
   1 Keep some troops there
   0 Don't know
13. As you probably know, we have had a continuing problem with inflation and unemployment recently. Do you think business, government, labor, or the consumers is most responsible for this problem?
   68-3 Business
   4 Government
   2 Labor
   1 Consumers
   0 Don't know

14. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
   69-2 Approve
   1 Disapprove
   0 Don't know

15. A proposal has been made to shift the major cost of public education from the property tax to the sales tax -- this would have the effect of lowering the property taxes and increasing prices. Would you be for or against this proposal?
   70-2 For
   1 Against
   0 Don't know

16. Are you in favor or not in favor of racially integrated public schools?
   71-2 In favor
   1 Not in favor
   0 Don't know

(IF "IN FAVOR", ASK:) a. Are you in favor or not in favor of bussing public school students to achieve racially integrated public schools?
   72-2 In favor
   1 Not in favor
   0 Don't know

17. If the federal court ruled that our school district had to bus students to get racial balance in the schools, would you be willing to have your child bussed if the bus ride took the following length of time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Bus Ride</th>
<th>Willing</th>
<th>Willing</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 minute school bus ride</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 minute school bus ride</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 minute school bus ride</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 minute school bus ride</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

76-80 BLK
18. There has been a lot of talk about ecology and the environment lately. When you think about ecology and the environmental problems, what specific problems come to mind? (ASK OPEN ENDED - DO NOT PROMPT RESPONSE)

19. We have had a serious problem with drugs and narcotics in our country during the last few years. What do you think should be done to solve this problem? (PROBE)

20. Who do you think is most to blame for this problem? (ASK OPEN ENDED - DO NOT PROMPT RESPONSE)

21. Who do you think should be most responsible for solving this problem -- Federal government, State government, Local government, Schools, Parents?

22. Now, I would like to read you some opinions people have expressed on a number of different issues. After I read each opinion statement, I'd like to have you tell me the answer on this card which best expresses your personal feelings about that particular opinion (HAND AGREE-DISAGREE CARD). Here's the first statement:

I think we should spend what ever we have to on our military capability to stay ahead of the Russians even if it means we have to spend less on domestic programs. 5 4 3 2 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>As a result of the President's new economic policy, I feel more confident about my future than I did last year.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>I think that the treatment of blacks in our country has improved under the Nixon Administration during the past three years.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I think that, in trying to achieve equal opportunities for all racial minority groups, we are going too fast.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>I think the Federal government should give financial aid to parochial schools if the money is not used for any religious purposes.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>I think the Federal government should be responsible for providing complete health care services for everyone in our country.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>I'd gladly pay more taxes or slightly higher prices if I knew that money would go to reduce pollution and help clean up our environment.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>It's a mistake for President Nixon to visit Communist China.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>School children should be bussed out of their neighborhoods if it is necessary to achieve racial balance in the schools.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>In the long run the President's new economic policies and the wage/price freeze will benefit the working man.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>The only way to stop the rising crime rate is to have more police and tougher law enforcement.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Keeping our economy strong is more important than worrying about pollution.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>I think that keeping our military capability stronger than the Russians increases our chances for peace in the long run.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Question 22 Continued)

14. I think that the government should give some financial aid to parochial schools so that all the parochial school students aren't dunned into our public school systems?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. Now, I'd like you to think about Richard Nixon for a moment, not only as the President but as an individual. What two or three words do you think best describe Richard Nixon as a person?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

24. With regard to President Nixon's accomplishments up to now, would you say he is -- better than most of our Presidents, about average, or not as good as most of our Presidents?

- 3 Better than most of our Presidents
- 2 About average
- 1 Not as good as most of our Presidents
- 0 Don't know

25. Which of the following statements on this card (HAND CARD FOR Q. 25) best describes how you feel about the information the Nixon administration gives the public?

- 3 Always frank and truthful with the public
- 2 Tries to make things seen more favorable than they really are
- 1 Holds back or slants information that would make the Administration look bad
- 0 Don't know

26. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?

- 3 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 1 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE)__________________________________________________________________________

27. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Edmund Muskie?

__________________________________________________________________________

28. How much do you feel you know about Edmund Muskie and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

- 3 Great deal
- 2 Fair amount
- 1 Very little
- 0 Don't know
29. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Robert Humphrey?

30. How much do you feel you know about Robert Humphrey and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

   53-3 Great deal
   2 Fair amount
   1 Very little
   0 Don't know

31. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of George Wallace?

32. How much do you feel you know about George Wallace and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

   66-3 Great deal
   2 Fair amount
   1 Very little
   0 Don't know

33. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Edward Kennedy?

34. How much do you feel you know about Edward Kennedy and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

   79-3 Great deal
   2 Fair amount
   1 Very little
   0 Don't know

35. Now, I'd like to mention several of the problems and issues we discussed earlier to you and as I mention each one, I'd like you to rate President Nixon on how well he is handling each one? (HAND ABILITY CARD) (ROTATE)

   a. Inflation
   b. Racial problems
   c. Taxes
   d. Unemployment
   e. Vietnam
   f. Environment
   g. Education
   h. Crime
   i. National defense
   j. Health care
   k. Drugs
   l. Bussing
   m. General unrest in the country

   Q. 35 Q. 36
   1-14 as C1
   15-27 Alpha
   28-1 M
   2 K
   Alpha 28-41
33. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate Edmund Huskie on his ability to handle each one. (RECORD IN LEFT-HAND COLUMN)

37. Here is a list of the issues we just discussed (HAND ISSUE CARD). When you decide how to vote for President next year, which one of these issues will be most important to you?

38. In which one of these areas do you think President Nixon has done his best job?

39. In which one of these areas do you think he has done his poorest job?

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

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

GO TO GREEN SCALES
36. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate Edward Kennedy on his ability to handle each one. (RECORD IN Q. 35 ON PAGE 7 IN RIGHT HAND COLUMN)

37. Here is a list of the issues we just discussed (HAND ISSUE CARD). When you decide how to vote for President next year, which one of these issues will be most important to you.

38. In which one of these areas do you think President Nixon has done his best job?

39. In which one of these areas do you think he has done his poorest job?

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

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

GO TO GREEN SCALES
42. What do you think are the most important problems facing the State of Wisconsin at the present time?

43. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing Wisconsin? (Circle best answer)

44. Overall, do you think Wisconsin as a State is better off or worse off than it was three or four years ago?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39-3 Better off</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Horse off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 About the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Pat Lucey is handling his job as Governor?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40-2 Approve</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Disapprove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46. Do you approve or disapprove of the way William Proxmire is handling his job as U.S. Senator?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>41-2 Approve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Disapprove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Gaylord Nelson is handling his job as U.S. Senator?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>42-2 Approve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Disapprove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
48. Now, I'm going to hand you seven sample general election ballots. These ballots each have one or more possible contests for some of the offices we will be voting on next year. I would like you to mark each one of the ballots just as you would if the election were being held today.

49. Now, as you probably know, there will be a Presidential Primary election here in Wisconsin next spring. Do you intend to vote in the Republican primary election for President in April of 1972?

43-2 Yes
1 No
0 Don't know

(IF "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW", SKIP TO 55 AND CONTINUE INTERVIEW)

(IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 50)

50. Would you prefer to have President Nixon run unopposed or have someone run against him in the Wisconsin Primary?

44-2 Unopposed
1 Someone else
0 Don't know

(IF "SOMEONE ELSE", ASK:)

a. Would you prefer that who ever runs against President Nixon be more liberal or more conservative than he is?

45-2 More liberal
1 More conservative
0 Don't know

51. Is there anyone in particular you would like to see run in the Republican Primary other than President Nixon?

52. Can you tell me who Pete McCloskey is?

48-2 Yes
1 No
0 Don't know

(IF "YES", ASK:)

a. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of Pete McCloskey?

b. What else? (PROSE)

c. How much do you feel you know about Pete McCloskey and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

60-3 Great deal
2 Fair amount
1 Very little
0 Don't know
53. Pete McCloskey is a Republican Congressman from California who is considered to be more liberal than Richard Nixon. If the primary election were being held today and Pete McCloskey and Richard Nixon were the candidates, would you be voting for McCloskey or Nixon?

   10-2 Nixon
   1 McCloskey
   0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE)

54. John Ashbrook is a Republican Congressman from Ohio who is considered to be more conservative than President Nixon. If the primary election were being held today and John Ashbrook, Pete McCloskey and Richard Nixon were the candidates, would you be voting for Ashbrook, McCloskey or Nixon?

   28-3 Nixon
   2 Ashbrook
   1 McCloskey
   0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE)

55. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (HARD POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

   47-1 Straight Democratic
   2 Mostly Democratic
   3 A few more Democrats than Republicans
   4 About equally for both parties
   5 A few more Republicans than Democrats
   6 Mostly Republican
   7 Straight Republican
   0 Don't know

56. Generally speaking, in politics as of today do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or what?

   48-3 Republican
   1 Democrat
   2 Independent
   0 Don't know/Neither

(IF "INDEPENDENT OR DON'T KNOW/NEITHER", ASK:

a. Which way do you lean?

   49-2 Republican
   1 Democrat
   0 Don't know

57. For whom did you vote for President in 1958?

   50-4 Nixon
   2 Humphrey
   3 Wallace
   1 Didn't vote
   0 Don't know
58. For whom did you vote for Governor in 1970?
   51-3 Olson
   2 Lucey
   1 Didn't vote
   0 Don't know

59. For whom did you vote for Senator in 1970?
   52-3 Nelson
   2 Erickson
   1 Didn't vote
   0 Don't know

Now a few questions for statistical purposes?

60. What is your occupation?
   a. (If respondent is not head of household) What is the occupation of the
      head of this household?

61. What is your approximate age? (Show Age Card)
   57-58-01 18-20 years
   02 21-24 years
   03 25-29 years
   04 30-34 years
   05 35-39 years
   06 40-44 years
   07 45-49 years
   08 50-54 years
   09 55-59 years
   10 60-64 years
   11 65 and over
   00 Refused

62. What is the last grade of school you completed?
   59-1 Grade school or less (Grades 1-8)
   2 Some high school
   3 Graduated high school (Grades 9-12)
   4 Vocational/Technical school
   5 Some college
   6 Graduated college
   7 Post graduate work
   0 Refused

63. What is your religion?
   60-1 Roman Catholic
   2 Protestant
   3 Jewish
   4 Other: (Specify)

64. (By Observation) National origin of respondent?
   61-4 White
   3 Negro
   2 Oriental
   1 Mexican-American
65. In what country was your grandfather born, that is your father's father?

62-63- 01 Austria
02 Czechoslovakia
03 Denmark
04 England
05 Estonia
06 France
07 Germany
08 Hungary
09 Ireland
10 Italy
11 Latvia
12 Mexico
13 Netherlands
14 Norway
15 Poland
16 Portugal
17 Romania
18 Russia
19 Spain
20 Sweden
21 Ukraine
22 United States
23 Yugoslavia
24 Other: (SPECIFY)________________________

66. Are you a labor union member?

64- 2 Yes
1 No

(IF "NO", ASK:)

a. Is any member of your immediate family a union member?

65- 2 Yes
1 No

67. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

66- 2 Male
1 Female

68. (SHOW INCOME CARD) Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

67- 1 0-52,999.
2 53,000-54,999
3 55,000-55,999
4 56,000-56,999
5 57,000-57,999
6 58,000-58,999
7 59,000-59,999
8 60,000 and over
0 Refused
Respondent's Name:

Respondent's Street Address:

City or Town: State: Zip:

Area Code: Telephone Number:

NOTE: We always need telephone number for validation purposes.

INTERVIEWER: Inform respondent about possible follow-up interviews, using this statement:

"This survey in which you have just taken part is a part of a nationwide experiment to gather information about people's reaction to the election, the Presidential candidates, and the campaign. Between now and the election in November, we may wish to talk to you again, but next time the interview would be much shorter. We would like to have your telephone number and perhaps conduct this interview over the telephone. As I said, it will only take a few minutes. It will undoubtedly be a couple of weeks before we would call you."

I have re-read this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring answers have been recorded in the respondent's exact words, and that all boxes and spaces requiring an "X", a number, or a letter are filled in. This bona fide interview has been obtained according to quota and all interviewing specifications.

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE: DATE: 12-9-71
If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

REPUBLICAN

PRESIDENT

[ ] Richard M. Nixon

[ ] Edmund S. Muskie

SECRET BALLOT B

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

REPUBLICAN

PRESIDENT

[ ] Richard M. Nixon

[ ] Hubert H. Humphrey

SECRET BALLOT C

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

REPUBLICAN

PRESIDENT

[ ] Richard M. Nixon

[ ] Edward M. Kennedy
If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

**REPUBLICAN**  **DEMOCRAT**  **AMERICAN INDEPENDENT**

**PRESIDENT**

[ ] Richard H. Nixon  [ ] Edmund S. Muskie  [ ] George C. Wallace

---

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

**REPUBLICAN**  **DEMOCRAT**  **AMERICAN INDEPENDENT**

**PRESIDENT**

[ ] Richard H. Nixon  [ ] Hubert H. Humphrey  [ ] George C. Wallace

---

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

**REPUBLICAN**  **DEMOCRAT**  **AMERICAN INDEPENDENT**

**PRESIDENT**

[ ] Richard H. Nixon  [ ] Edward M. Kennedy  [ ] George C. Wallace
If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

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<tr>
<th>REPUBLICAN</th>
<th>DEMOCRAT</th>
<th>AMERICAN INDEPENDENT</th>
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<tr>
<td>[ ] Richard M. Nixon</td>
<td>[ ] Edmund S. Muskie</td>
<td>[ ] George C. Wallace</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ ] Eugene J. McCarthy</td>
<td>[ ] Shirley Chisholm</td>
<td>[ ] George C. Wallace</td>
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SECRET BALLOT G
warm:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ cold
experienced:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ inexperienced
closed-minded:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ open-minded
trained:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ untrained
bold:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ timid
dishonest:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ honest
introverted:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ extroverted
safe:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ dangerous
uninformed:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ informed
mean:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ aggressive
just:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ unjust
incompetent:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ competent
frank:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ reserved
sense of humor:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ lacks humor
old-fashioned:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ up-to-date
tense:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ relaxed
tough:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ soft
liberal:________:________\______\________:________:________:________ conservative
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<td>ROBERT HUNGERFORD</td>
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Cold

Inexperienced

Open-minded

Untrained

Timid

Honest

Extroverted

Dangerous

Informed

Aggressive

Unjust

Competent

Reserved

Lacks humor

Up-to-date

Relaxed

Soft

Conservative
IMPORTANCE CARD

a. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT

b. VERY IMPORTANT

c. FAIRLY IMPORTANT

d. NOT VERY IMPORTANT

e. NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT

ABILITY CARD

a. EXTREMELY WELL

b. VERY WELL

c. FAIRLY WELL

d. NOT VERY WELL

e. NOT AT ALL WELL
ISSUE CARD

- INFLATION
- RACIAL PROBLEMS
- TAXES
- UNEMPLOYMENT
- VIETNAM
- ENVIRONMENT
- EDUCATION
- CRIME
- NATIONAL DEFENSE
- HEALTH CARE
- DRUGS
- BUSING
- GENERAL UNREST IN THE COUNTRY

CARD FOR QUESTION 25

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD MAKE THE ADMINISTRATION LOOK BAD