

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>
22	1	11/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Gallup Pre-Election Survey. Three pages of handwritten notes attached. 5 pgs.
22	1	11/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Phone conversation between John Davies and Gordon Strachan concerning Gallup Survey. 1 pg.
22	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Article regarding the Gallup Poll. Includes poll methods and a general election report. Handwritten notes attached. 2 pgs.
22	1	10/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Interesting points about the Gallup Surveys gathered from a telephone conversation with John Davies. Transcript and handwritten notes attached. 10 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
22	1	10/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Newsweek Gallup Survey. 1 pg.
22	1	10/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: An additional discussion with John Davies summarizing interesting points about the Gallup Surveys. Transcript attached. 14 pgs.
22	1	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Summary of telephone conversation with John Davies about Gallup Surveys. Transcript attached. 7 pgs.
22	1	10/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Telephon conversation with John Davies about the Gallup Polls. Transcript and handwritten notes attached. 13 pgs.
22	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Typed chart of Nixon and McGovern demographics. Handwritten data is attached. 4 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
22	1	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Dick Howard To: Gordon Strachan RE: Lou Harris Trial Heats. 2 pgs.
22	1	9/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Gordon Strachan's follow up on availability of Harris poll results. Results and handwritten notes attached. 10 pgs.
22	1	10/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Gallup Surveys. Two phone conversations with John Davies attached. 8 pgs.
22	1	9/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Gallup Survey. 1 pg.
22	1	9/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Special Gallup File. Phone conversation with John Davies and handwritten notes attached. 10 pgs.

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22	1	10/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Report on results of the trial heat analysis and Gallup Poll. 4 pgs.
22	1	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	The Gallup Poll article, "Judging from Experience Since 1930's Nixon's Wide Lead Over McGovern Could Vanish Before Election Day." 1 pg.
22	1	9/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Phone transcript between John Davies and Gordon Strachan regarding final results of Gallup Poll. Handwritten notes attached. 6 pgs.
22	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Loose papers regarding elections and McGovern. 2 pgs.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Pre-Election Survey

The Gallup Organization conducted a 3,500 person survey November 2-4, completing interviews Saturday at 12 noon. John Davies called me at 11:30 p.m. Saturday night to say that the results of the registered with leaners was 64 for the President and 36 for McGovern. Over Saturday night additional computer runs would be made to determine likely voters.

On Sunday morning at 9:15 Galsen called to ask for the Gallup results. He said Harris would show a 240 spread. I reached John Davies through his wife at Gallup. He could only talk briefly and said Dr. Gallup had been working with the likely voter figures and would publish 62 for the President and 38 for McGovern. I told Davies the Harris lead would be 27 points.

I reached John Davies at his home late Sunday night. He reviewed the system Dr. Gallup used in determining the final figure released to the press.

1) The original registered with leaners figure that corresponds with the Gallup post-Republican Convention poll (Aug 24-27) was 63-34-4. Davies allocated the undecided 2 to the President and 2 to McGovern to get 64-36.

2) Dr. Gallup on Sunday morning applied a "secret formula", used since 1948. The formula is based on eight introductory questions. Davies would not give me the exact wording but the subjects are: respondent's interest in the election; whether respondent is registered; where respondent is registered; where respondent will vote; how respondent voted in 1968 and 1964; whether respondent will vote on paper ballot or by machine; likelihood of respondent to vote in 1972.

3) From the "secret formula" applied to the eight questions, Dr. Gallup determined that 2,700 of the 2,900 sample were likely voters.

4) Dr. Gallup's turnout scale is developed from these eight questions. He then projected an 80,000,000+ turnout. Davies two weeks ago reported that this Gallup turnout projection is historically accurate.

5) Davies gave his personal projections: 62.10 for the President, giving him every state except Massachusetts and D.C.

An interesting story on Dr. Gallup from the National Observer is attached.

GS/jb

62-38

Davies  
609  
394  
8736

→ Undec

60/40 → MeG

→ Secret v. Non-secret  
Ballot.

750/750 - secret / non secret

4% undecided

- no way 8% could be undecided in this elec
- comment on issues + hedging

64-36

then turnout

Series of 8?  
about 4/1  
pref -

Int in elec  
Regs

where regis  
when vote  
vote 88  
vote 64  
paper or  
machine

likely to vote this time

- over yrs level a term scale, ? 5 + past perf screen certain out + then projec turnout 80, 000 + turnout
- the screen out sample by term out scale, then dropped fr/64-36 to 62-38

Top parts of turn safe - most  
likely to vote are Rep.  
Lowest seg's of turn  
are Demos

- Age is where you cut  
off

- Basis of past history  
series 48 - certain #  
of 78, if less certain  
way, then becomes  
a likely voter

2700 of 3500 are  
likely voters

- Harris + Gallups - best  
of both samples - Rep  
will be 63 - 37.

62 - 38 - "likely voters" 1  
per Gallups regis #/  
leaves

---

Wire: headlines - the P will likely  
receive largest pop vote  
margin of any Rep/  
or P in 80 (#71%)

States: Me & Conn Mass + DC / <sup>major</sup> R/E,  
not diss

Actual Vote for P. 62.1; only if  
comp as constant

- C61 + C64 - most sensible range.
- Dr Gallop Sr - Best Answer P to do - stay in office & don't react to any negative comments by Me G - no one for camp staff to say anything in response
- Expects Me G to drop zingers & lie - best no response
- TP in wire: the apparent recall agrees that about to be reached, neither helped nor hurt KN, consumed by camp rhetoric by Me G.

H - 61/39

Carrier removed

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - November 4, 1972

S - Hi, John.

D - Hi, Gordon, how are you?

S - Good - and yourself?

D - I couldn't quite get to you last night, I'm sorry, but I had a birthday party for my one year old and I couldn't even move.

S - Understand. No problem at all. What does the schedule look like?

D - It looks like right now as a matter the data is beginning to come in and we have about 500 of the 4,000 total that are in so far and they'll be key punching all day until about 6 o'clock tonight and then we'll have to have time for the computer tabulation and won't be sitting down over the figure until about 10:30 or 11 o'clock. Which means that probably some time between 1 and 5 I'll be able to call you. If that's ok with you.

S - Definitely.

D - If you don't mind being roused out of the sack.

S - Not at all on this one.

D - I'm big on doing that especially for guys I like. OK, let me have your number, Gordon, so that I ...

S - Let's see - we might go out this evening.

D - Why don't you give me a couple.

S - OK. This one is the one you just called. 202-456-1414. Now that's the White House and I'll instruct the operators to find me and I have a pageboy and everything, so they'll locate me. The direct line at home is 202-456-2691. OK?

D - OK, very good. Well you'll hear from me some time - and if it's early I'll give you a call as early as possible.

S - I'd appreciate that very much.

D - Very fine, Gordon.

S - Look forward to hearing from you.

D - OK.

S - Thanks a lot. Bye.

# GALLUP POLL

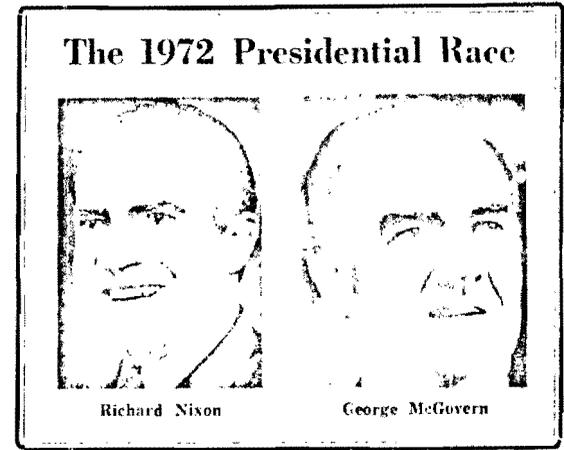
ELECTION REPORT--FOR RELEASE  MONDAY, NOV. 6, 1972

## NOTE TO EDITORS:

The lead for this final election report will reach you by wire (DPR collect) Sunday afternoon, November 5. The lead will give final national percentages, based on interviewing conducted up to Saturday noon, November 4, and will include suggested headline copy.

If you fail to receive wire copy by 6:00 p.m. Sunday, EST, or have any questions, telephone any of the following numbers:

- Area Code (609) 924-9600
- Area Code (609) 394-8736
- Area Code (609) 466-1216



Interviewing in today's final pre-election survey was conducted between Thursday, November 2 and noon on Saturday, November 4. Interviewers telephoned their results to the Princeton headquarters of the Gallup Poll.

For the Gallup Poll's final pre-election survey analysis, about 3,500 voters were interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected election precincts across the nation.

It is important to bear in mind that survey results reflect the division of preferences only at the time of the interviewing and are not a prediction. Events subsequent to the completion of interviewing at noon Saturday could obviously affect the vote registered at the polls on election day.

### Trend Since Conventions

In late April and early May, following his victories in the Wisconsin and Massachusetts primaries, McGovern trailed President Nixon by the margin of only 39 to 39 per cent, with 12 per cent undecided.

Nixon subsequently gained strength during the bitterly fought Democratic primary campaign in California and lost McGovern 56 to 37 per cent on the eve of the Democratic convention in mid-July. McGovern lost strength following this convention and the Eagleton incident. The GOP convention gave Nixon a boost, while McGovern's

strength remained about the same. Through mid-October, however, McGovern did narrow the gap somewhat.

The data through mid-October are based on registered voters. The latest and final figure is based upon those registered voters who are most likely to vote using a series of questions designed to identify those respondents with the highest likelihood of voting.

Here is the trend among registered voters prior to final survey, with interviewing dates:

Trend Since Start of Primaries	Nixon McG.		Other,
	%	%	%
Oct. 13-18 . . .	59	36	5
Sept. 29-Oct. 9 . . .	60	34	6
Sept. 27-25 . . .	61	33	6
Aug. 26-27 . . .	61	30	6
-- GOP Convention --			
Aug. 5-12 . . . . .	57	37	12
-- Eagleton Incident --			
July 14-17 . . . . .	56	37	7
June 16-19 . . . . .	53	37	10
May 26-29 . . . . .	53	34	13
April 28-May 1 . . . . .	49	39	12

### Race Has Been Closer In Terms of Issues

During the campaign, Gallup Poll issue barometers have pointed to a closer election than that indicated by the candidate preference questions.

While Nixon held a wide 59 to 36 per cent lead in a mid-October survey,

the same survey showed the GOP leading the Democratic party by the smaller ratio of 55 to 45 per cent as the party perceived as better able to deal with the problem uppermost in the mind of the individual voter.

Further evidence is seen in the fact that the GOP held a 54 to 46 per cent margin in the same survey on the hardly perennial of "peace and prosperity" which has been key issues in virtually every presidential campaign of this century.

The upturn in the economy during recent months has contributed to McGovern's problems. When voters in a recent survey were asked whether they are better off or worse off financially than they were a year ago, 31 per cent said better off, compared to 17 per cent who said worse off. The rest said either that their situation was the same, or were undecided. Even among Democratic voters, more said they were better off now than a year ago than said they were worse off.

### Third Party Candidates

By inheriting the lion's share of the Wallace vote, President Nixon has an advantage in the presidential race which he did not have in the 1968 contest when he ran against Gov. George Wallace and Sen. Hubert Humphrey.

The vote for minor parties this year is only about one per cent, with John G. Schmitz, head of the American Party,

replacing the recuperating Wallace, receiving the largest percentage of this vote.

### Democratic Defection At Record High

Democratic defection during this year's campaign has been at a record high, with the proportion of Democrats favoring Nixon ranging between 30 and 40 per cent. One of McGovern's chief liabilities with voters has been his "credibility." A nationwide Gallup survey conducted during the campaign, for example, found voters by the ratio of 5-to-2 saying Nixon is more "sincere" and "believable" than McGovern.

### Popular Vote Not Electoral Vote

It is important to bear in mind that the current survey findings refer to the popular vote, not the electoral vote. To report the electoral vote, it would be necessary to conduct individual and full-scale surveys in each of the 50 states of the union.

### Election Survey Methods

The interviewing areas used in the survey constitute a probability sample of election precincts. Selection of households and respondents within households is not left to the discretion of interviewers but is controlled by a procedure designed to provide an objective, systematic choice of respondents.

Some error is inherent in all sample

surveys. No measuring instrument dealing with human behavior is perfect. Although the problems that arise in every election seem to be similar to those that have been faced in other elections, each contest involves variables and problems of measurement unique to it. And it is suggested, therefore, that a margin of error of 3 to 4 percentage points be taken into account in interpreting Gallup Poll findings.

### Problem of Turnout

One of the continuing problems in election polling is that of turnout. If every adult in the nation voted one of the serious sources of polling error would be eliminated. Actually less than two-thirds of those of voting age take the trouble to vote in a presidential election. To identify those voters who are most likely to go to the polls, the Gallup Poll makes use of a battery of screening questions. These questions are designed to measure such factors as interest in the election, whether or not a person is registered to vote, and most importantly the likelihood of his voting.

### Undecided Voter

Another problem faced by polltakers in election surveys is the undecided voter.

Final figures are always reported by the Gallup Poll after having allocated

the undecided vote on an objective basis.

If this step is not taken, the reader has no clear way of judging how close a particular poll has come in estimating the vote.

To obtain a realistic expression of voter preferences, the Gallup Poll makes use of a "secret ballot" technique which permits voters to mark their own preferences on a paper ballot.

### Interpreting Poll Findings

To interpret poll findings properly, readers need to take account of the accuracy of the polling organization throughout its history.

The average deviation, that is, the average amount by which final Gallup Poll figures have differed from the elections beginning with 1936 has been 2.5 percentage points. The average deviation for 11 national elections since 1968 has been 1.6 percentage points. The largest deviation was registered in 1950 when the poll correctly pointed to Roosevelt's victory but missed the mark by 6.8 percentage points. The smallest deviation came in the presidential race four years ago. The deviation was less than 1 percentage point, actually 0.5.

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Davies

Data in - 500 of 4000

- Key punching til 6 p
- Wmpata tal
- 10:30 - 11 on figure
- Between 1 and 5 p.

Scrub CBS everywhere  
~~Radio Specs - off - not~~

- L - on post election survey,  
providing concurrence fr/cm.
- need Questionnaire

Deliverance

Buy NBC at 8:30 on  
condition that 9-9:30  
not for pol  
Hold ABC  
if sell 9-9:30 pol.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

⑤  
Special  
Gallup



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

S

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies tonight developed several interesting points:

1) The Gallup Survey Release for Thursday, November 2 will be on the blue collar worker. The headline will be: "Blue Collar Worker - Key to McGovern's Problems". The survey will show that the Democratic nominee will receive a smaller percentage of their vote than at any time since 1956. Still McGovern's rise of 6% in the trial heat poll is attributable to the drop in the President's support among manual workers.

2) The Protestant working man favors the President more than Catholic workers. Similarly, the skilled workers favor the President by a ratio of 5 to 3.

3) Gallup may not have another release before the final trial heat due Monday, November 6. If Davies wins the internal argument at Gallup, the Sunday release will be on the Ethnic Voter who are strongly supporting the President.

4) The special Gallup Survey on the Vietnam negotiations interviewed only 100 people. Davies' conclusions are: The Democrats already for McGovern believe the agreement was a political ploy; those supporting the President are overjoyed; there will be little shift in the vote either for the President or against McGovern; any McGovern "gimmick" on the issue won't "stick"; there will be a substantial increase in the President's popularity after the election; the negotiations may diminish the President's voters' apathy.

A transcript of the conversation is attached.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - Monday, October 30, 1972

- D - Can you hang on for one moment while I get out from under a barrage of children here and I'll go downstairs.
- S - No problem.
- D - Gordon?
- S - Yes.
- D - OK. We just sent that release out for Thursday. Let's see, I've got it right here in front of me - it's very long, but the headline reads: "Blue Collar Workers -- Key to McGovern's Problems but His Best Hope for Tuesday". Of course that will be published in time for the Election. And it starts out by "The nation's blue collar workers representing 40% of the electorate are largely responsible for the fact that Senator McGovern trails Nixon by the current wide margin of 59-36, but the blue collar group also represents McGovern's best hope for narrowing the gap in the final days of the campaign." Now I'll sort of synopsise the rest of it. At this late stage in the race McGovern, as we say it, is receiving a smaller percentage of the vote with Manual Workers than any other Democratic candidate since 1936. Only in '56 did they fail to give the Democratic candidate a majority. Let's see - we talk about the fluidity of the blue collar vote - the fact that it's just about the only group can come back to McGovern if any of them are going to come back. We say that the fact that he has narrowed the gap slightly by six points since the start of the campaign has been largely due to his winning back Manual Workers. We found that in the late-August survey, Nixon held 63-28 lead over McGovern among Manual Workers - that's 63-28. And the latest survey his lead is 49-44. However, it is important to note and we make note of that here, that while Manual Workers as a whole favor Nixon, certain important population segments within this group favor McGovern. There is a major difference, for example, between skilled and unskilled workers. Of course each group is about half of the Manual Worker total so it divides pretty evenly and gives us a pretty good sample base. That sample base, incidentally, is 3,870 registered Manual Workers.
- S - Big one.
- D - Right. So out of a total of 4,855. Skilled workers are 5 to 3 on Nixon's side. Skilled workers meaning electricians, plumbers, mechanics and so on, and we explained that the fact many of the people in this group are in the higher income brackets and in fact they are now included in the affluent society. We found

- D - also that almost 4 in 10 skilled workers have a yearly income of more than \$10,000 which is interesting in itself.
- S - Sure.
- D - Unskilled workers, on the other hand, prefer McGovern over Nixon by a fairly wide margin - that's 51-41. Skilled workers are 60-34-6 for Nixon, unskilled 51-41-8.
- S - Did you find any particular issues that appeal to the Manual Workers - is it economic issues, or patriotism or surrender in Vietnam or any?
- D - No, we didn't go into that. But we're getting into some pretty interesting things here. We're getting some ethnic business here. A very interesting fact that membership in labor unions has little influence on their preferences. Those that belong to unions are no more in favor of McGovern than non-union workers, which I think is very surprising.
- S - So that's the Thursday release?
- D - Right. There's some more in here, too. If you have the time?
- S - Sure.
- D - Protestant manual workers lean heavily to Nixon, whereas Catholics are about evenly divided between the two Presidential candidates among the labor union, I mean the blue collar group. Here's the most interesting part of it. Looking at ethnic background, Nixon holds a wide lead over McGovern among those manual workers who trace their ancestry to the old immigrant groups - United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland), Germany, Austria, and so on. Among this group, Nixon's lead is particularly pronounced among the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, if you may, and I'll give you those figures. The old immigrant groups Nixon 69, McGovern 26. The WASP types 72-25, and the Irish 58-34. The recent immigrant groups, however, are inclined (the Italians, the Middle-Eastern Europeans) 49-44 for McGovern. However, Italians are 51-41 for Nixon out of that group, which is rather interesting.
- S - Sure.
- D - Here's another interesting finding in this. The trial heat difference rather markedly by section of the country in which Manual Workers reside. Nixon holds the lead over McGovern in the East, Midwest, and South, but in the Western region of the country, California, and so on, McGovern is preferred over Nixon among this group by a margin of 48-43%. That about summarizes the 1,000 word report.
- S - That's fantastic. So that's the Thursday release? Did you decide what you're going to do for Sunday?

- D - I'm pushing hard for overall ethnic - you know, nationwide. That and the Manual Worker. The reason we stuck that into the manual worker story was that it was our feeling that the key ethnic vote really comes among the blue collar working classes. You know, it's different to be or to have an "o" at your name and live in Shaker Heights than it is to live in the Chambersburg section of Trenton. It's all a matter of what you do and what your lifestyle is and where you live and we figures we'd key this to the working class segment of the ethnic population.
- S - I see. That could be an interesting - what's the alternative if you don't go for that one for Sunday?
- D - The alternative? Nothing. If we don't go with that one, which I'm fighting hard for, I fought against putting the ethnics into this story, but I lost the battle and consequently, by losing the battle I may have lost a good Sunday report. Frankly, I wanted to give you this, but I don't frankly think it means a hell of a lot.
- S - Yeah. There's not a lot you can do at this point.
- D - No.
- S - So this may be the only release - this Thursday one and then Monday for the trial heat.
- D - Could be. Just found out this morning - there won't be any turnout story.
- S - No turnout story?
- D - No. We'll have a turnout figure that I'll be able to give you, but we're not going to put in report form because the newspapers just don't pick it up, so it's just a waste of time and money and energy. So we said the hell with it.
- S - Yeah, we'd be very interested in that figure.
- D - I'll probably have that early. Probably early in the day on Saturday. What I probably should do with you is you give me a series of numbers where I can get you at various times of the day on Saturday, Saturday night, and early Sunday morning.
- S - OK.
- D - Because I dont want you calling. We'll be up to our elbows in people.
- S - Absolutely.

S - We're in so far, it's a shame to blow it now.

D - I was interested to see the Dwight Chapin business this morning.

S - Oh yeah they're rehashing the same old crap. Really makes me sick

D - What's his reaction, or haven't you seen him?

S - Oh I see him quite a lot. He's just sick of it. He can't wait until after the Election and get after the facts.

D - You think it will stop.

S - Well, they'll stop re-printing crap and then Dwight can come out and express his views. Which he's very anxious to do.

D - And you too I would imagine?

S - Exactly. Very discouraging to have just sit and let the crap get thrown at you. But anyhow.

D - That's about all I can tell you, Gordon.

S - Did you get any results from that Vietnam thing you were doing?

D - Yah. It's really inconclusive. Didn't prove a thing. I don't know whether it's because we only interviewed a hundred people. What it showed basically was that the Democrats and those supporting McGovern all call it a political ploy and the Republicans supporting Nixon are all overjoyed that the war is about to be over. And there wasn't much shift which is interesting. I think summing up what I gather from the report was that 1) it's not going to significantly help the President in terms of votes, but then again any monkey business that McGovern wants to put on it, that it's a political gimmickry or anything like that, isn't going to work either. So in other words, it's not going to help and it's not going to hurt.

S - That is interesting.

D - It will probably serve to increase the President's overall popularity. I think if we were to take a poll, which we will be, our questionnaire is going out the day after the Election, we'll have a Presidential popularity reading on that, I'm sure, we'll probably find that the President will be riding a rather huge crest of popularity. I would think that. But it isn't going to translate into switching votes or increased support. It may - what it may do - and there's no evidence of this - but I have a feeling that it might - it may diminish somewhat the apathy that might have existed in the Republican worker ranks. In other words, it might give Republican workers a hell of an incentive to get out there and do the job. It's exciting and it's a culmination of a long policy and it's - it might stir up rather than deflate their energies.

S - I hope that's the case.

D - One might think that after this Republican workers might say well now I know it's over. Where we've got it in the bag, let's sit down. But what I think what it's done is that it has excited people, particularly Republicans, but the Republicans the ones that I've spoken to are terribly fired up about this. They now resent more and more the McGovern tactics.

S - That's right. Sort of a vindication of the policy.

D - Right. So it may keep this - that action to a minimum. That's the only thing that bothers me about the election.

S - That's interesting. OK. Anything else of note?

D - I can't think of anything.

S - All right.

D - What's going on down there.

S - Oh, not much. Wish it were over.

D - Bet you do.

S - I'm really looking forward to it being over. And have more time to relax and talk and be a little bit more open about some things. Well ... Looking forward to it.

D - OK, Gordon. Keep in touch.

S - I will indeed. You'll give me a call then.

D - Right. Let's put it this way. Suppose - why don't you make sure you get in touch with me at some point early evening on Friday.

S - OK.

D - And I will then be able to give you our game plan and exactly the time that it will be operating and so on.

S - Excellent.

D - OK?

S - Very good.

D - Very good, sir.

S - Thanks a lot.

D - Bye

Gallup -

\* sent release for Thurs -

Long -

Blue Collar Worker -

Key to Me G probs

- smaller % of vote of manual workers - only in 56, but to give a maj.

- as only grp that has consent to 6% rise

3800 rep's - manual workers

5 to 3 favor Nixon on skilled side - Higher one brackets

membership in Unions has no effect.

\* Protes man who favor R.N.

- Ethnic - wide lead over Me G in old immig grps.

- Recent immig grps, Italian - 51/41 - R.N. (other from Me G.)

- T & Heat differs by country

q. M U & Co - R.N. favored best Me G preferred.

Sun - pushing - overall Ethnic

not just manual work

- Key ethnic vote among blue collar ethnic vote

- may pass on Sun.

TR

Sched

No turnout story, but will  
have figured for S.  
- Sat, early day.

UN poll inconclusive  
- only 100 people  
- the Dems + for McGa  
- RN + Reps <sup>pol play</sup> overjoyed

- little shift  
① not going to signal help  
② any McGa gimmick  
won't stick  
- increase P overall pop.

Day after elec - P pop -  
crest of pop  
- But no switch in votes  
- may diminish apathy  
- give Rep workers incentive

Early Fri Evening

ⓕ  
Special  
Gallup

Gallup

1) Field to Peace

2) Not

- Telephone survey right now

- limited interviews

- not to be reported

- not too conclusive

- 200 people

Expected tomorrow night

then evening have results

3) No release sched this wk

4) Meet tomorrow afternoon

5) No new surveys

11/2 - 4 :

End 11 a Sat morning

begin 11/2 evening

- no FUs

11/5 - results off

Sun 4 am -

Write wire to newspaper

Sim touch Thurs or Fri

- Any corruption?

5

Thur.

most accurate  
over last 10 yrs.

Sun - Turnout

Mon - Final results - no break

Thur - Regional analysis on  
Ethnic

Tues → boilerplate on Gallup.  
figures flipped - pass  
on Catholic

Hubbell's Thesis.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Newsweek Gallup Survey

Gallup personally interviewed 2540 registered, likely voters on October 20-22. The results will be published in Monday's NEWSWEEK. The trial heat results for the six state survey are 57-38-4-1. The individual state results are:

California	16	55-39-3-3
Illinois	24	60-36-4
Michigan	25	59-34-6-1
New York	17	56-39-5
Ohio	29	61-32-7
Pennsylvania	19	57-38-4-1

cc: Larry Higby

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

(F)  
Special  
Gallup

October 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S  
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies developed several interesting items:

1. Gallup is conducting a telephone survey on the impact of the Vietnam settlement. Davies says it will not be published. However, Davies will give me the results late Monday, October 30.
2. Davies is meeting on Sunday, October 29 with George Gallup, Sr. to decide on the release schedule for the next ten days. Davies expects an analysis of the manual-worker vote for the President which dropped precipitously in the last survey. Also, Gallup will probably release an ethnic study which will show the President's strong support.
3. The final trial heat survey will be conducted Thursday, November 2 through Saturday November 4. The survey will be the key precincts version with 3,000 interviews. The results will be released Monday, November 6. Davies will call me Sunday when the results come off the computer.
4. The Sunday, November 5 story will probably be on turnout, which historically is Gallup's most accurate survey.

5. There will not be any more releases on personalities and handling of the issues, nor will there be any further Gallup releases on Defense or amnesty.

6. Davies is convinced the corruption issue is a dry well for McGovern. The first place its effect would appear would be among the Democrats supporting the President but the President's support is firm among 33% of the Democrats.

7. Davies doubts the Lubbell thesis that the Vietnam settlement will insure to McGovern's benefit because now Democrats can vote on the economic issues. The real thing that bothers people about McGovern is his "wild insane economic programs".

8. McGovern has not been able to turn the corner and generate any momentum. He is stuck around 40%.

9. Davies will be doing election night analyses of key precincts in New Jersey and will contact me with his impressions. He believes the President is strong in New Jersey and will carry it with only a slightly smaller majority than the nation as a whole.

A transcript is attached.

Attachment

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - October 28, 1972

S - John?

D - Yes?

S - Gordon.

D - Hi, Gordon, how are you?

S - OK, yourself?

D - Not too bad.

S - Free for a few minutes?

D - Sure thing.

S - What's coming up?

D - Not too much.

S - Really?

D - No, everything is pretty quiet. We're doing the telephone survey - I guess it's going right now, as a matter of fact - just a very limited number of interviews to find out what the impact of this settlement business is going to be. Not going to be reported anywhere, but just for our own information, but I'd be happy to give you the results of that. It's not going to be terribly conclusive because of the small sample - we're interviewing about 150-200 people for a national sample so there will be some indication

S - Great. When do you expect that back?

D - Tomorrow night.

S - Good. Yes, I'd be very interested.

D - I probably won't know results until Monday evening, but most of the interviewing will be completed tomorrow night by 11 o'clock or so at night.

S - I see. By Monday night you'll have the results. Good.

D - Other than that we haven't decided on a release schedule for this week. We may do a regional analyses and the manual worker, ethnic vote analysis that I talked to you about earlier. I really don't know anything at this point. We're meeting tomorrow afternoon at Gallup, Sr.'s place and that's when the decision will be made.

- S - I see. Based on the previous interviewing materials?
- D - Right. Nothing new. There will be nothing new until the final precinct sample.
- S - I see. Now, the final sample that you're going to do, is it November 2 through 4?
- D - Now let me get that straight. I don't have a calendar in front of me.
- S - I think that was what was mentioned ...
- D - The interviewing will end about 11 or 12 o'clock in the morning on Saturday.
- S - Saturday morning, huh?
- D - And will have begun Thursday evening.
- S - So it will be the 2nd through ...
- D - Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Don't anticipate follow-ups of any kind.
- S - I see. So then you'd get the results off the computer maybe some time on Sunday?
- D - Well, there'll have to be off on Sunday because -- I will know what the final figure will be about 4 o'clock in the morning on Sunday morning.
- S - Sunday at 4 a.m.?
- D - Yes, 4 a.m. We'll be there from noon, I guess, on Saturday until 4 or 5. I'll probably stay right on through until noon because I have to write the final wire to the newspapers.
- S - I see. What will be the best system for us getting together that day?
- D - I'd say the best way to do it would be for me to - now let's see - I'll know more about my time schedule. If I come home from the office at 3:30 or 4 o'clock or whatever. I'll probably be up again at 8 and perhaps that will be the best time for me to call you. Because I'll have the figure in hand at that point. But I won't have the text of the report. Now if you could wait until 1:30 in the afternoon I could just simply call you and read the wire.

- S - I - Actually what we'd really be interested in would be the figures rather than the text of the wire. I would like to hear the text of the wire later in the day, but even if you have those figures say at 3 or 4 in the morning, don't hesitate to call me.
- D - OK. Where should I call you?
- S - Well, why don't I give you my direct line at home.
- D - Well, let's save that until Thursday as soon - the 2nd or the 3rd because I really don't know what my schedule is going to be and when the figure will be available, but if you would like, I will on the way home or something I'll stop at a gas station and give you a call.
- S - That would work out fine.
- D - OK.
- S - That will work out very well. We can arrange that, I guess, Thursday or Friday. Excellent.
- D - I wanted to tell you somethat that's not terribly important. I was going to send you the clipping just for laughs. I had to speak at a neighborhood parochial school here - intercity parochial school students, all Catholics of course, 6th, 7th, and 8th grades - I took - it was a debate between Nixon and McGovern and I was Nixon and another fellow took - another officeholder here who is a Democrat - took McGovern's position and we debated all the points and they had a rally and screaming and hollering and stamping and so on and when it was all over the results turned out 124 for the President, 60 for McGovern and 2 undecided. And what I thought was very significant about that was that obviously those, that age group sort of parrot their parents and if that's indicative of what the Catholic center-city vote is likely to be this time, it strengthens and re-enforces what we've shown all along about Catholics. And I think it's a very important finding. Every one of those little things mean something and I know this very district where these kids live - Humphrey carried it 3 to 1 in 1968.
- S - Well, we've talked many times over the last few months about the movement of the Catholics. I - Are you going to do some of the analysis of the previous surveys on the Catholics before the Election, do you think?
- D - I should certainly hope so, but I really don't know. Our schedule is pretty well locked up now. We're going to have - let's see - we only have 5 more reports. One will be the final, one will be a turnout story - that will be on the Sunday before the Election no doubt -
- S - Sunday would be the turnout, huh?

D - Right.

S - And then Monday, of course, is the ...

D - Monday is the final - no breakdowns at all - just the national figure.

S - Right.

D - Boy, believe me, it's hard enough coming to that.

S - I can imagine.

D - The Thursday before might be - it could be a regional analysis, it could be the ethnic vote, or it could be one of our ~~ball plate~~ boiler plate election articles we do every election year on how the Gallup poll operates. We sort of have that go all over the country before our figures come out so people can somewhat understand it.

S - Yeah, establish your position and how you do it.

D - So Gordon between now and then there just ain't going to be much.

S - You've got a release Saturday so you might have one on Tuesday, I mean you have a release tomorrow.

D - Right.

S - So your fourth one will be some time on Tuesday presumably.

D - Right.

S - Well one on the Catholics should be interesting.

D - It sure would but you see our figures are flip flop so much that we just don't know what to do with it and my recommendation to Gallup was to kill it.

S - To pass on the Catholic vote.

D - Yeah, because I don't want to get into trouble on that. You know, if one figures shows 55-45 Nixon and the next figures show 55-45 McGovern and then back again. There's something wrong because people don't change that way.

S - Sure

D - It's obviously the sample.

S - Have you gotten any things on personalities or the handling of the issues or which issues people view as important or anything you may be releasing?

D - Nothing that we haven't already reported. I doubt that anything more will be done on that. Now there's always a possibility

- D - that we may conduct a full-scale 500 or 1,000 interviews telephone survey. If these issues continue to be breaking news like this. I don't know. I can't promise you that.
- S - Like the Vietnam one, you mean?
- D - Yah.
- S - I see. Any more...
- D - Our big pitch, excuse me, our big pitch on the telephone survey that is going on now is whether the public regards the peace effort as an election year gimmick , , ,
- S - Our discussion of last weekend about your post-election survey was a factor in the decision I assure you. Things just rushed at us. So you don't think there's anything more on any of the other issues that are breaking other than Vietnam?
- D - I would doubt it.
- S - Any more stuff on amnesty or defense.
- D - No, we don't have another thing.
- S - Nothing on corruption or any of that.
- D - Nope. The well is dry.
- S - The well is dry.
- D - And how well it is.
- S - Yes, indeed. It's incredible. Really incredible.
- D - Well, you know you can get yourself hung-up on issues before this close.
- S - Yeah, yeah.
- D - We'd rather take the time in developing the final precinct methodology to the point where we know it's solid and just ride with that. There'll be issue questions on that precinct sample.
- S - I see. That's going to be your key precinct sample rather than your standard nationwide sample of 300, right?
- D - This will be our second precinct sample. The first one was in early October.
- S - Right. That's the large one - the 3,000. So the figures are really accurate.

D - Well, they should be accurate within 2 or 3 percentage points.

S - Gee that's great.

D - And the most interesting part about it is that we measure shifts from the two precinct samples. We throw out all the others.

S - I see, I see.

D - That's how the figure is devised. South, non-South, voting turnouts, shifts and so on.

S - Would your voter turnout release on Sunday - it wouldn't be based on that precinct sample would it?

D - No, but it's going to be based on the last two or three. And it will predict, if you may, what the turnout will be. Of course, those turnout stories that we've had for the last ten years - ten elections now have been the most accurate predictions we've ever made.

S - Really?

D - Oh yeah.

S - What's your guess this time? High turnout or low turnout?

D - Couldn't say.

S - Couldn't say.

D - Based on the apathy that has been shown in the campaign among the people - that could serve to lower the turnout. But then again too we have new voters and that could balance out. I would say if I were to guess it would probably be about the same -

S - I see. But you'll get figures on that turnout story when?

D - About Thursday.

S - Thursday. Good. One last one. We talked last week at some length about Sindlinger and your views about him. Yesterday Lubell who is a little more respected pollster said ...

D - He's a nut ...

S - Well reportedly said that these new peace things may go over to McGovern's benefit because many Democrats who were concerned about his sellout or surrender policy in Vietnam now don't have that issue facing them and therefore they'll come to vote for McGovern on the economic issues.

- D - (Noise)
- S - Don't agree with that, huh?
- D - No. Did he base it on anything?
- S - No. Just feel or something. He gave a speech and he got quite a bit of news play.
- D - No way that would happen. Well you see the people aren't, as we pointed out in our reports over the past month and a half, the people are not that emotionally charged up about Vietnam issue and the real thing that is bothering the voters of America today is George McGovern's promise for every aspect of American life and his "wild, insane economic programs" they won't go back to him because of the economy because that is what the voters regard as McGovern's biggest liability. They lump welfare and so on into the economic program and hell I don't see any - I would discount that entirely.
- S - Very interesting. Have you seen any changes at all on the effect of the Watergate or the corruption issues?
- D - Well they said something about a Gordon Strachan and we had a lot people who would like to know ...
- S - He's really put a lot - McGovern's put a lot of time and effort into that - a nationwide speech and the Washington Post has it every single day.
- D - I think probably the most that will get him is a sore throat.
- S - You think so? No registration in the public?
- D - I would think Gordon now this is just between us. What were the latest figures - you tell me - I've forgotten.
- S - 59-36.
- D - All right. 59-36. I would be willing bet that the final figure would be 59-41 - two way.
- S - Really? That's incredible.
- D - Because I think that McGovern has not been able to turn the corner. The momentum - he has not been able to generate any momentum whatsoever and that would have been the only thing I think - excuse me for a second - and that was the key to it. If you were to poll a Humphrey and reverse the trend, he had to do it a couple of weeks ago because it's too late now. You know momentum takes a little while to build and it would be awfully dangerous to predict that in the last three days of the campaign given no major crisis in the country that McGovern could all of a sudden

reverse 12 or 15 percentage points which has got to be 40 million votes. 30 million voters. You know 30 million voters are not swayed like that.

S - You don't think he can sway them on this corruption thing?

D - Nope.

S - That's really interesting. The story has gotten more and more outlandish.

D - Let's put it this way, Gordon. Look at the last three figures. There's been no change. There's been some. If the corruption issue were hitting home. If that issue were hitting home - excuse me, I'm trying to wrestle kids too at the same time -

S - I understand.

D - It would have hit home and would have shown up in the Democratic defection column. I mean Democrats who were voting Nixon certainly would have listened to McGovern's plea on corruption and they would have been the first ones to react to it and that defection figure has gone from 40 to 37 to 32 to 33.

S - So it's basically locked on about 1/3.

D - Locked on a 1/3. I would have expected it to come down from 40 and I would expect it will probably come down to maybe to 29 or 27 or maybe even 25 before the campaign is over. But that's not going to be enough.

S - Listen on another subject, John. I'm going to be here of course on Election night as we are watching the returns come in and so forth and I've been asked if I could talk to you to set up some arrangement where we could get your analysis and comments and so forth. The arrangement would be exactly the same as we have now and I would deliver it directly ...

D - There is a problem. I don't know how I'm going to handle this. Because I'm going to be the national anchor man on WHWH news in Princeton and I'll be giving the voter analysis over the radio and I'm hooked in from 8 until midnight or later.

S - 8 until midnight doing that commentary.

D - I'm signed up and I just can't get out of that.

S - I understand.

D - The only thing I can say is there may be a break in the action and they always break for news for 15 minutes and I could give you a call maybe at 9 or 10 o'clock.

- S - Well, as your schedule get more developed and we talk toward the end of the week, why don't we see if we can set something like that up. Because I have been asked to talk to you and get your personal assessment and views as we start watching the election results come in and is that radio thing you're going to do be going nationally or will it just be local in the Princeton area?
- D - Well, they're going to have another hook-up with certain other local stations - it's going to be big New Jersey wide.
- S - I'd like to figure out some way where we can get your views that evening.
- D - Well, I don't think - Gordon - my views will be terribly important at that time. And I'll tell you why. It's damn dangerous to look at the

- D - ..... But it's going to be significant in that the districts have been selected because of various factors in the past. One, that they are heavily Jewish or heavily Catholic or upper income, heavily Republican, blue collar working man district and so on. So, there will be trends of that nature but I just.....if I were you I would watch CBS news and get the prediction at 9:00.
- G - Oh yea, well we're going to that of course.
- D - I mean get it at 9:00 because it will be over then.
- G - Yea.
- D - I figure it'll be over at 8:20.
- G - Yea. Well we realize that. I mean, we're going to be doing that too but this might work out well if you are looking at New Jersey because that's a terribly interesting state to us. Especially in light of the way we watch it so carefully like in 1968.
- D - It's going to<sup>go</sup>/58-42; that's my bet.
- G - Really.
- D - Yea.
- G - That's amazing. Just amazing.
- D - Slightly less than the nation.
- G - That'll really be outstanding if we can do that.
- D - It's been my personal prediction that McGovern will not carry a state.
- G - Any state?
- D - Right.
- G - Even Massachusetts?
- D - Right.
- G - Kennedy's going to really work for him the last two weeks.
- D - Well.
- G - You sound awful **bush**.... It's good to talk to you.
- D - You know I just react to the figures that I see and we follow state polls -- Texas, California, Minnesota, Iowa. The trends are very clear, I think.

G - Yea, right.

D - Based on history it's going to take, I don't know a real catastrophe to change things. The President's going to have to be found in a motel room or something. I don't mean to be crass but that's the way I look at it.

Laughter and talking

G - But none of these state surveys are showing any move on this corruption thing either.

D - No.

G - That's amazing. Pleasant information because we're thinking that as the charges got more outlandish, they might finally be taking hold. I guess not.

D - Oh, I'm glad I am talking to you today. If you're contemplating sending any more campaign materials -- make sure they're sent to my house. Dr. Gallup got them last time and then ....

G - You lost them.

D - No, I didn't lose them but there were a lot of questions about it.

G - Well, I have a huge box sitting right in front of me -- which is two feet by three feet and it has everything ever done in this campaign. Everything from wallets to buttons to set up displays to literature. Absolutely everything.

D - That's magnificent.

G - Ok, we'll make arrangements for that.

D - I'm trying to think of one more point that we talked about earlier. Oh, this ethnic vote. That I think is going to be a definite story. Now when it's going to be -- I'm not exactly sure but I know Alec Gallup is working on it. About 8000 interviews which is....

G - That would be great. That's a pretty good story for us though isn't it.

D - Oh yes, but what it does more than anything. It's really the first time that minorities have been isolated.

G - Yea.

D - In terms of voting behavior and I think it would be a terribly significant story, in fact, I'm looking at the possibility of perhaps doing a book on the ethnic vote.

G - If you do that talk to us because we have some campaign materials assembled because as you know we targeted tremendous amounts of appeal to the peripheral urban ethnic,

D - I've seen the Irish for Nixon, the Polish for Nixon.

G - Well, listen it goes much, much beyond that-demographic maps and the whole thing. So we should really talk about that if you're serious.

D - Ok, why don't you call me Monday evening.

G - I'll do that.

D - Here.

G - Ok, very good.

D - Thanks alot.

G - Bye

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

V.P.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S  
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies tonight developed several interesting items. To summarize:

- 26 /
- 1) The next Gallup Trial Heat Release will appear Thursday, October 26. The final figures are 59-36-5, based on October 13-18 polling dates. The last Gallup poll was 60-34-6 based on September 29-October 9 polling dates; 23
- 2) Davies confirmed that the only other trial heat poll before the election will be conducted November 2-4 for release on November 6;
- 3) The President's support among Democrats has moved from 32% to 33%, a statistically insignificant change except that it indicates the President's support among Democrats has not begun to drop;
- 4) Manual Workers are not any longer supporting the President as they were. Early in the campaign the President led 68-32. Now the lead is down to 49-45. Davies speculates that the labor leaders are beginning to increase the pressure and that the best issues to hold manual workers to the President are law and order, amnesty, and Vietnam;
- 5) Although Gallup has done no recent polling on the Vietnam settlement rumors, a poll conducted in September indicated that the people do not expect an end to the war before the end of the year;

6) Davies warns against a settlement before the election because the public regards last minute foreign policy decisions as so political as to work against the President. Davies cites the Gallup post-1968 election survey which showed that the public objected to LBJ's bombing halt 4 days before the election. The effect of the public's objection did not appear in four days and Humphrey benefitted. Davies recommends that if a settlement is reached that it be explained as the culmination of four years of struggle, well-documented;

7) Although an underdog candidate usually begins closing the gap in the last two weeks, it is Gallup's opinion that McGovern cannot now close a gap this wide; and

8) Davies is prepared to bet the President will win 58-42.

A transcript is attached.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - October 23, 1972

① Special  
Follow-up  
✓

D - Yes?

S - Gordon.

D - Hi, Gordon, how are you doing?

S - Good - yourself?

D - OK - you caught me just at the best time.

S - Perfect.

D - Let me collect my thoughts here. It's 59-36-5.

S - 59-36-5 - and those dates were

D - October 13-18.

S - October 13-18. And you're not going to go into the field again before November 2?

D - That's correct. We'll be in the field - right - not until November 2. Actually, I was just checking into this on the strength of your comments yesterday and we've actually put out 3 more trial heat figures than we would normally do in a campaign - and that's not by design it just happened that way.

S - Now this one is going to be released on Thursday?

D - Thursday, correct. Interestingly, the Democratic figure is - the statistic is insignificant - but it's up a point to 33. It doesn't mean anything except that it's holding on.

S - Yeah - right.

D - The other significant finding was that Manual Workers are now at 49-45. It's getting perilously close to having that group go back over to McGovern.

S - So that Manual Workers have shifted back down?

D - Right. From a wide 68-32 early in the campaign all the way down

49-45 now. So that's a target group if there's ever been one.

S - Yeah - get them back.

D - Not necessarily get them back but just hold them where they are.

S - Sure - what...

D - Because if you hold them where they are, there won't be any problem.

S - Yeah. What appeal to them?

D - Well, the law and order issue - you've got to counteract one thing and that is the huge appeal among or the huge push among labor union leaderships to pull these boys back into the column again. Against some of the issues that they stand firmly in favor, such as the crime and lawlessness, the amnesty, the war issues and so on. It's one going against the other and I think probably the reason for the shift is that the leadership of the unions are getting to these guys - more than anything I don't think the vote is terribly hard but I think it's nevertheless a problem for your organization, particularly if the race gets any closer - which you won't know about from us until November.

S - Right on the crunch.

D - Right.

S - Have you picked up anything on the Vietnam settlement rumors?

D - No.

S - The public's attitude or any previous...

D - Nothing that can be measured, unfortunately.

S - Nothing from your previous surveys that would indicate what the people would think about a settlement or anything?

D - Well we found - I can't recall the figure, it's going to be in this next index which will be out in about a week or two - I can't remember the figure but I think the majority of the people don't think that the war will be over or that there will be a significant end to the fighting by election time. By the end of this year I should say. So if there is a ceasefire I would think that this will surprise a great deal of Americans and work very favorably. The only thing that worries me and I know we caught wind of it in the 1968 campaign was what the public regarded - obviously the Nixon policy now has been and it started 4 years ago and it's just moving along the way it was designed to move along but the public regards these last minute major, particularly foreign policy decisions and events, as political. It can work against a candidate and this happened in 1968 although it wasn't enough time to show it - when Johnson came out and announced a halt in the bombing and so on. It made it look very much as though the Vietnam War was being ground down all of a sudden and this worked to Humphrey's benefit initially, but we caught wind of it after the election that it was just a political ploy and if they had known about it, they wouldn't have gone for it. But it's something you can't fight that - I mean, if it's happening, it's happening. But I'd be careful how it's presented. It should be presented in a sense that this is a culmination of four long, hard years of struggling in this area and here is the documentation of that fact. Point out that January 1, 1969 and all the way through. Otherwise, it's going to look like a political move and while it may not hurt the

President, it may not help him, which it should.

S - Yeah, that's very interesting. You picked that up in post-election surveys, huh?

D - Post-election, 1968. We go out the day after an election. Actually the questionnaire goes out well as a matter of fact as soon as the final figures are available. We send the questionnaire and we ask why they voted for the candidate that they did, do they have any second thoughts now, if so what and why and so on. You obtain a great deal of data that way. It's all - you know hind-sight is all 20-20, but it's still ...

S - Sure. Very useful - post-election surveys. Anything else that's new.

D - I'm just trying to think what else was in that ... no, I don't think that there was anything that was terribly significant other than the figures that I've given you. We documented the fact that generally the underdog candidate in the last 8 elections - the time that he closes the gap, if he does, is in the last two weeks of the campaign. This is the critical period and Dr. Gallup's view of that today - not for publication but just for our own edification - that many of the lower income, lower educated groups in the country just begin getting interested in the election at that point in time and prior to that they haven't paid much attention to it and there's a lot of pressure put on them at the local level as we talked about so that's about the gist of that as we see it.

S - Do you think he has enough time in the last two weeks?

D - No. Just to give you an idea. I made a private bet the other night where I gave the person I was going against - I gave him 14 million and McGovern - I bet him \$100.

S - Jesus. What's that on a percentage - 14 million votes?

D - Be about 58-42 - landslide. And he didn't take it and he's a Democrat - so - I don't know. I don't know what that means. I think he knows better, I guess. Gordon, I win it and I'll buy you a drink with it some time next year.

S - Listen - after the election we can buy ourselves a couple of things.

D - Right.

S - We'll have a good time.

D - So that's about it.

S - Well I sure appreciate it.

D - I'll be in New York all day tomorrow, but we may have something developing issue-wise come Wednesday or Thursday. So don't hesitate to call me in the evening.

S - I sure will.

D - OK Gordon.

S - Thank you, John.

D - Right, Bye.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Ⓟ  
Special  
Gallup



October 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S  
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies today developed several interesting items. To summarize:

- 1) The next Gallup trial heat release is scheduled for Thursday, October 26. The polling dates were Oct 14-15. A standard 1500 sample was used and the results will be within one or two points of 60-34-6, the figures released on October 15 based on the Sep 29- Oct 9 Gallup Poll;
- 2) The next Gallup trial heat field survey is scheduled to be conducted November 2, 3 and 4. The results are scheduled to be reported November 6, the Monday before the election. (Bob Teeter has obtained conflicting information - that Gallup is in the field this weekend - Oct 21-22 and will have results on Tuesday, Oct. 24).
- 3) There will be more Gallup issue releases than originally planned. Because Gallup is using the regular 1500 sample there will not be the demographic releases based on the Oct 14-15 survey. Instead, Gallup will consolidate three surveys and release information on particular ethnic groups, such as Irish, Italian, Middle Europeans, etc.
- 4) Dr. Gallup Sr's theory is that the issue questions - which political party is better able to handle peace and prosperity - lead the trail heat figures. This showed Dr. Gallup in 1968 that Humphrey was moving up. However, in 1972 the only movement is in our favor;

- 5) Davies believes the Connally 30 minute was "one of the most devastating political shows that I have seen in a long time." He thinks that it covered all bases and that we do not need to do anything on the economy. The only change Davies would suggest is re-emphasize that Connally is a Democrat at the end. This will help hold the 32% Democrats who have left McGovern for the President. Many Democrats are under pressure to return to the fold, but as long as they believe that they have company they will stay with the President.
- 6) Davies thinks the Connally speech should be run in segments. He thinks we should avoid the sarcasm of the Democrats for Nixon attack spots because it will look like the President is nit-picking and kicking the guy when he is down.
- 7) He could not say whether the President was holding his position with Catholics because the samples are too small to permit statistically significant comparisons.
- 8) He believes the Frank Rizzo contact is excellent because of the positive effect on Italians everywhere. However, he thinks the Revenue Sharing Signing Ceremony was a dud;
- 9) Davies believes the President should spend more time in controlled TV situations to prevent the news shows from using uncomplimentary material from stump events. He cites the TV news film of the President jerking Agnew around to get him on camera.
- 10) Although he recognizes the political fact that it would be wrong to debate McGovern, Davies suggests that it be considered because the President would cream McGovern and the people want debates.

A transcript of the conversation is attached.

CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - OCTOBER 21, 1972

G: Hello, John?

D: Hi, Gordon, how are you?

G: Good, before the ball game gets really started I thought I might talk for a minute - do you have a minute?

D: Sure.

G: Do you know when you guys are going to be in the field next?

D: The survey that was conducted last weekend will be reported probably Thursday. It looks like there is no change in the figures, apparently.

G: Really?

D: Yeah, we've got a final figure but you know if there is a change it's only going to be a point or two.

G: Gees, that's amazing!

D: Did you see the College -

G: Yes, I did.

D: That was amazing.

G: It really is. It's just really holding up there. Delightful for us. But, do you think that will be reported Thursday-huh?

D: Thursday, and at the latest Sunday -- I can't see it going to Sunday, frankly.

G: Yeah, because it is - that was over the weekend of the 14th and 15th?

D: Right.

G: Just the two days?

D: Right -a regular size sample this time.

G: Oh, rather than the large one - are you going to report some more information from the large one?

D: Ah...I would doubt it frankly Gordon, um...let's see, I'm just looking at the calendar here -- let's see 14th and 15th, ah...I guess the next survey that we will have in the field will be, let me just get myself oriented here. 2,3, and 4 of November.

- G: That late huh? Nothing between the 14th and 15th and the 2,3, and 4, huh?
- D: Right.
- G: Then you'll report that when, the Sunday before election?
- D: Monday.
- G: Monday, before election - and those will be the only two huh?
- D: The way I see it know, yes - there could be something special thrown in but I would doubt it.
- G: Huh! That's interesting. What are you going to release in the meantime - demographics or some more issue stuff?
- D: Probably more issue stuff. We're going to stay away from the demographics on the small sample basis.
- G: Yeah.
- D: Of course, we'll be ah.... with the figure remaining so constant, what we are really thinking of doing, is combining about 4500 interviews of registered voters, and reporting the ethnic groups, Irish, the Anglo-Saxon types and so on.
- G: Oh - fascinating!
- D: We've never done that before and I think the reason we haven't is because the figures have always changed so much and there was too much shift between the groups but know we can very safely do this - break it out by the British, Irish and then Italians, oh, Middle Europeans, Czechs, and Hungarian descent and so on. And do that within major city areas and taking maybe 15 of the major cities in the country and doing it that way.
- G: If you are running those handling of the issue questions - remember that you mentioned that Dr. Gallup, Sr. uses to sort of sense any movement. Any indication at all of any movement.
- D: Yeah - to your favor.
- G: At our favor, huh? And that's again in the most recent one, huh?
- D: Hmm, hmmm-Yup.
- G: Did you happen to see his economic speech last night?
- D: Yes.
- G: What did you think of it?

- D: I think it sounded as though I had talked to him after I had talked to you.
- G: Laughing (both of them)  
He's got to get well on that issue.
- D: Well, I think if I were he, that's what I would be doing. It wasn't terribly inspiring I didn't think. One of the most devastating political shows that I have seen a long time was that Democrats for Nixon last night around 7:30 or so.
- G: What did you think of that?
- D: God almighty - that was unbelievable. John Connally - he is tremendous.
- G: Should we run that more or should we try to do something on the economic area?
- D: I think that covers all bases - you know, it makes the President a leader. You know, and you choose between a leader and a sayer. I had a group of people in last night and it just happened to be on. I didn't even know it was going to be on and, well we were in stitches about the whole thing it was so well done and so devastating and so believable. Which is the key part of it - you know it's not like - you know I wish that they had changed the ending of it - if I had put my public relations 2¢ worth in there, well if I had the opportunity - I would have ended it on a different note.
- G: Like what note?
- D: Well, have Connally himself say at the end that after this 1/2 hour, I just want everybody to remember that I am a Democrat. Because it ended sort of - it left you hanging. Of course that's the key - if your side can hang on to that Democratic defection group.
- G: That ~~dirty~~ 2% that you keep reporting to us. Do you think that that type of speech, that type of appeal, holds them to us?
- D: Very much so. Because you see, we know in talking to Democrats that there is a great deal of willingness early in a campaign for a Democrat to say he's voting for the other side - or even for a Republican to say he is voting for the other side. And all he needs is comfort in the fact that's he's not the only one or else he'll go back. Because there is too much pressure put on him at the local level - he's got his committee man and his ward leaders and his chairman and all those people who are driving him crazy trying to bring him back to the fold again - but as long as he believes that he's got company then he's alright - That's why I think that this John Connally speech is a terrific one.

- G: Right - That appeal - that's our issues that hold them....
- D: You know what one guy said last night - a pretty learned fellow - he said after seeing that 1/2 an hour, I think we are looking at the Republican candidate for President in 1976.
- G: Laughing - that's four years away but he is a powerful speaker.
- D: The one thing that impressed me about him was that he sounds very much like Lyndon Johnson.
- G: Yeah, well Texans talk alike, I guess. On stuff that we should do towards the end, do you think more Democrats for Nixon stuff should be run, like that Welfare Spot. If you noticed, McGovern mentioned that last night in his speech - remember that Welfare TV Spot that you mentioned last week with the guy sitting up on the rooftop - or should more positive stuff be run - like some 60 second spots that have been done on China and Youth and so forth? What's your feeling on that?
- D: I'll tell you - I'm not in your business but if I had my way and if I were leading the public relations campaign for the President, I would break that John Connally speech up into about 20 segments. Keep firing that. I would lay off some of the sarcasm of the girder thing - I mean I think that that hit home in the beginning and too much of that could hurt. Because, it looks like the President is nit-picking and he sort of going after - kicking the guy when he is down.
- G: I see.
- D: I would stress the positive - the Russia Trips - what did Connally say last night? There was one line in there that I thought was absolutely fantastic when he said that the President was pre-eminent or was it...
- G: Pre-eminent foreign policy leader of our times.
- D: Yeah in the World today - that's the kind of thing that will keep people on the President's side.
- G: Keep the Democrats that we've got, huh?
- D: I think so - as long as he keeps saying it.

CHANGING TAPE

- G: Well, you have to explain the facts - it just isn't profitable to come out and raise the level of debate by, you know, explaining just what the situation is. Especially since Dwight has been so much of a behind-the-scenes type guy - not really available.
- D: What has Dwight been doing recently?

- G: Well, he does an awful lot of the planning for the trips - alot of the thoughts of where the President is going to go - the schedule things, the funny thing about it is that at the time of these terrible occurences, Chapin was over in China for about three months and then he got back and spent a month and went over to Russia. Well - in any event.
- D: Putting in 7 days a week these days?
- G: Oh yeah! 17 days left. But any how, we'll bear up - anything else of note?
- D: Well, let me see - I can't think of anything - we're hoping to get the National figures out, at least the National figure, the Thursday or Friday or Sunday - something in that number. There's alot of work that goes into that - we just don't take it off the computer and let it fly. There's alot of sample checking and very frankly - if the sample is off in some respects we don't let it go and we get criticized for that.
- G: Well, you have to do that if you are going to maintain your position - you just plain have to be careful. No indicattion then that there will be any substantial change at all.
- D: No, none whatsoever.
- G: Good.
- D: Which I think is rather unusual. You know, it's not to be expected. You would think that at least part of the water would have to return to its own level, but there is none of that taking place whatsoever and to me it's amazing.
- G: Are we still holding on Catholics? I know there was an awful lot of movement on the Catholics.
- D: It's hard to say, Gordon, because of the sample size - it's hard to say whether that's holding on our not.
- G: Yeah - nothing out of that 2600 sample that would indicate that huh?
- D: No, because the only thing that we would be comparing that to would be the other figures which would be based on smaller samples.
- G: I see.
- D: And you know, we don't really know which one to believe. Even with the larger sample the Catholic base is not that large.
- G: right - that's very hard to ticket.

- D: I think this Frank Rizzo contact is another very excellent thing - I've been getting alot of feed-back from my city - we have a rather huge Italian population here and my guess is that Trenton, particularly, this is not important to you but it's only one small city but - the Trenton which has a huge Catholic and particularly Italian population will probably come very close to getting Nixon a better majority this time - which will be the first time in modern election history that that's ever happened. And, I think that that is all because of the President's continued stand opposing bussing, amnesty and so on and these people are very emotional people as you know. And I think Frank Rizzo helps - I think every time people in the Trenton's of America see Frank Rizzo on television with the President, as galling as it may sound to people who live in well-to-do neighborhoods and don't like Frank Rizzo, I think in the long run you are making points with that.
- G: Yeah, especially in a setting like a Revenue-Sharing Signing session, you know?
- D: Somehow or another, I didn't think that that came off.
- G: Really? Well, maybe it was too substantive to come over on TV.
- D: As a matter of fact, since we are talking very honestly, I think it was almost a dud. And I am directly affected by Revenue-Sharing - ell, it's going to mean \$2 million to my budget - you know, \$1.9 million this year and of course, I am terribly excited about it and so are alot of other people. But for some reason or another, ther presentation of it just left something to be desired. I don't think it was the President or the Vice President or Rizzo or anybody else who put the damper on it but there was just something missing that I can't put my finger on. It should have been a hell of alot bigger.
- G: Yeah - well, it is one of our big Domestic accomplishments.
- D: It's a tremendous accomplishment I think.
- G: Cause we really turned things around on that. And that was the theme of the President's radio address today.
- D: Do you agree with me on that or not?
- G: Well I'm afraid I am too close to it that's why I sort of like talking to you because your're sort of an objective independent observer - you know, we sit around and we chase around and do all these things but then we get to close to it and we can't look at it objectively. So, Ireally appreciate your comments on that. We're going to make a couple of more trips, I'd sure appreciate

your reaction to those. We are going to New York on Monday and will make a couple of more trips and your comments would be very much appreciated.

- D: Well, I don't know what they are worth - I don't know, I get to see alot of different people and I don't know I sort of try to think public relations wise and I'm watching the tube and so on and I had a feeling that the President should be spending more time on TV and less time in the street. That's only - I think the President is tremendous on the television set and he can't get to enough people in the streets and the damn press is so, you know if you watch the local - I don't know how much local coverage you have been wise to but - stations such as Philadelphia and New York, because McGovern is the underdog - they are giving McGovern a hell of alot of spread - for example, Channel 6 News in Philadelphia last night, the ABC affiliate, made a big point at the end of the Revenue Sharing where the President was tugging at the Vice President's collar trying to get him to turn around for the cameras - they sort of made a joke of it and the whole presentation ended on sort of sour note because of that - you know, the announcer said something like "There was only one thing that went wrong yesterday and that was that the President had to jerk Agnew around to get him on the camera.
- G: What a cheap shot!
- D: Yeah and that's the kind of thing that you are getting.
- G: Huh! So you think more formal settings where that sort of thing can't happen.
- D: Right.
- G: You don't think the President runs the risk of being over-exposed on TV? Anything in the polls that would indicate that people are getting tired of him on TV.
- D: No, I couldn't say anything about that but you know, I would but it is a dangerous thing to even try it - but I would think that this year more than any year for Nixon to debate McGovern, even though it's a very poor political ploy when you are running so far ahead - you are really giving ammunition to your enemy - I think this is going to be McGovern's you know, last weak kick, that the President - and I am only quoting him - that the President was clobbered by Kennedy in 1960 and he knows exactly what I would do to him if I got before the cameras again and I have a feeling that 1) the President would come out tremendous in a debate such as that and 2) as we all know and you all know particularly, there is more to the next four years than this election. So the President is going to want to make a.....

CHanging Tape

- D. And a damn shame we haven't because I would bet if we said, you know, would you like to see a debate between McGovern and Nixon on television I would bet that 80% of them would say yes.
- G. Huh.
- D. I would also like to ask -- but it's too late, of course -- right now before the debate who do you think would come out ahead. And I think that Nixon would, you know,..... the people feel today that Nixon would clobber this guy, McGovern, and would love to see it.
- G. Right.
- D. You see here you have McGovern in one corner of the United States and Nixon at the other corner of the United States and no chance for them to get together. McGovern is hammering at this 1960 debate business.
- G. Yea. Of course, through brilliant staff work, McGovern sent a telegram which he had hoped to address, planned on addressing, to the President demanding a debate but instead he sent it to Clark MacGregor. You know, just a mistake on his part. Clark MacGregor, of course, accepted. Laughter.
- D. Laughter. Isn't that great.
- G. What a way to go. Well, what else is there of note.
- D. Not too much. You know I don't want to get in ..... Don't listen to me.
- G. Really?
- D. I don't know, you know, I just see these things through my own eyes. Don't take my words as any.
- G. Oh yea, but you're independent and looking at polling data and a sensitive political observers. We get awfully isolated in here.
- D. I'll bet you do. What's the atmosphere like there.
- G. Well, we just would very much like to see the election this Tuesday instead of two Tuesdays away. Just like to get it over and have the mudslinging stop.
- D. Get back to work.
- G. And get back to work. I sort of view it as -- I'm anxious to have it but wish it would come and go.

- D. Do you plan to stay on for the next four years.
- G. I really don't know. I've been away from the law for a couple of years now and I really don't know what I'm going to do. I haven't had a lot of time to think about it yet. After the election, though, I'll figure out what I'm going to do. So, the first thing I'm going to do is get a pretty detailed description of what the facts were on all these incredible charges. Anyhow we'll see how that goes.
- D. OK, Gordon, why don't you give me a ring on Monday.
- G. All right, I'll do that.
- D. Get something then in terms of figures.
- G. Very good.
- D. Why don't you call me about six o'clock at night.
- G. OK, I'll call you at your home Monday evening.
- D. Very fine.
- G. Thanks alot, John. Bye, now.
- D. Bye.

Asa Davies re VN Settlement

59-36-5

Oct 13-18  
Thurs release

Nov 2, 3, 4

Put out 3 more TIL Heat

① Dem figure - up to 33  
statistically insignif  
but Alders

② 49/45 - Manual workers  
68/32 - early in  
campaign

New a  
Target Grp

Law + Order  
Counter huge labor ldrs  
push

Amnesty

War Issue

Leadership getting to them

③ Nothing on rumors - or settlement  
- Next Index - 1-2 wks  
Maj of people doubt an  
end to war by end  
of yr - surprise US + world already

④ Public regards last minute  
for pol decisions as  
politics + works ag/  
the p.

- LBJ too pol but the  
4 days so close

- just a pol ploy  
- very careful presentation,  
illumination of 4 yrs  
of struggle, document

- Post elec '68' surveys  
- day after elec.

⑤ Gently underdog cond, must  
close gap if he does  
in last 2 wks.

- many of lower inc, edelec  
grps just begin thinking  
of elec in last 2 wks

- Not enough time

\* gave 14 mil votes + McG  
for \$100 - Dem didn't take it.

58 / 42

NIXON-Mc VERN DEMOGRAPHICS

	<del>H-8/2-3</del>	<del>H-8/28-9/1</del>	<del>V/3-9/5-16</del>	<del>H-9/10/21</del>	<del>G-9/22-25</del>	<del>D-9/29-10/1</del>	<del>O-10/1-9</del>	<del>H-8/2-3</del>	<del>H-8/28-9/1</del>	<del>W-3-9/5-16</del>	<del>H-9/19/21</del>	<del>G-9/22/25</del>	<del>O-9/29-10/1</del>	<del>O-10/1-8</del>	<del>H-8/2-3</del>	<del>H-8/28-9/1</del>	<del>W-3-9/5-16</del>	<del>H-9/19/21</del>	<del>V-9/22-25</del>	<del>O-9/29-10/1</del>	<del>O-10/1-8</del>
NATIONAL	57	63	62	59	61	59	59	34	29	32	31	33	28	25	9	8	6	10	6	13	16
SEX																					
Male	58	63	61	58	58	65	62	33	29	33	32	36	25	24	9	8	6	10	6	10	14
Female	56	63	64	59	58	53	56	35	29	31	30	30	32	27	9	8	6	11	6	15	17
AGE																					
18-24		47	52	44	52	55	49		47	44	50	46	40	41		6	4	6	2	5	10
25-49	58	59		50	64	63	60	34	34		41	29	22	24	8	7		9	6	15	16
50+	59	65	61	61	62	57	61	28	26	29	25	31	30	20	13	9	10	14	7	13	19
EDUCATION																					
8th grade	52	56	56	52	51	56	53	36	36	38	34	41	29	25	12	8	7	14	8	15	22
High School	58	66	67	60	65	61	61	31	26	26	29	30	24	25	11	8	7	11	5	15	14
College	58	63	66	59	61	63	62	37	31	32	33	35	30	27	5	6	3	8	4	7	11
UNION	49	56	56	55	52	58	55	40	34	39	34	42	31	28	11	10	5	11	6	11	17
RACE																					
White	62	67	67	64	67	64	63	29	25	26	26	28	25	21	11	8	7	10	5	11	16
Black	16	22	25	13	10	24	31	77	67	74	75	82	52	53	7	11	2	12	8	24	16
RELIGION																					
Catholic	55	62	63	58	52	52	61	33	27	31	31	40	37	22	12	11	6	11	8	11	17
Protestant	68	74	66	71	70	66	64	24	20	29	20	26	20	22	8	6	5	9	4	14	14
Jewish	46	49	32	37		32	32	44	43	56	39		51	37	10	8	15	24		17	31
INCOME																					
Under \$5,000	52	56	58	53		44	47	39	36	35	37		44	32	9	8	8	10		12	21
\$5-9,999	55	58	59	54	V	64	58	35	32	35	33	V	23	28	10	10	6	13	V	13	14
\$10-14,000	58	70	65	64				31	23	29	27				11	7	6	9			
\$15,000+	65	71	72	66		67	75	30	24	25	27		28	13	5	5	4	7		5	12
POLITICS																					
Republican	87	93		89	95	91	90	10	5		7	4	4	3	3	2		4	1	5	7
Democrat	38	43		41	32	37	42	53	47		48	61	47	41	9	10		11	7	16	17
REGION																					
East	58	60	61	56		52	57	33	34	30	34		36	26	9	6	9	10		12	17
Midwest	53	64	58	53		58	55	36	29	38	34		30	29	11	7	4	13		12	16
South	65	70	67	70	70	69	67	27	19	27	22	24	17	20	8	11	7	8	6	14	13
West	55	58	60	59		54	57	39	34	35	32		33	25	6	8	4	9		13	18



	0 9/29-10/1	0 10/6-8
Total	59-28-13	59-25-16
Mex	65-25-10	62-24-14
Women	53-32-15	56-27-17
18-24	55-40-5	49-41-10
25-49	63-22-15	60-24-16
50+	57-30-13	61-20-19
Sp	56-29-15	53-25-22
h p	61-24-15	61-25-14
Call	63-30-7	62-27-11
Unign	58-31-11	55-28-17
White	64-25-11	63-21-16
Black	24-52-24	31-53-16
Orth	52-37-11	61-22-17
Prot	66-20-14	64-22-14
few	32-51-17	32-37-31
5,000	44-44-12	47-32-21
5-9,999	64-23-13	58-28-14
10-14,999		
+15	67-28-5	75-13-12
Rep	91-4-5	90-3-7
Dem	37-47-16	42-41-17
E	52-36-12	57-26-17
M	58-30-12	55-29-16
S	69-17-14	67-20-13
W	54-33-13	57-25-18

HARRIS SURVEY  
September 22, 1972

*Harris*

	8/2 - 8/3		W <sup>3</sup> ORC 8/29-8/31			8/28 - 9/1			9/19 - 9/21		
	N	McG	N	McG	U	N	McG	NS	N	McG	NS
Nationwide	57	34	63	28	9	63	29	8	59	31	10
East	58	33	58	33	9	60	34	6	56	34	10
Midwest	53	36	63	27	10	64	29	7	53	34	13
South	65	27	67	24	9	70	19	11	70	22	8
West	55	39	61	28	11	58	34	8	59	32	9
Deep South	68	26				68	20	12	71	19	10
Border States	62	29				69	22	9	66	26	8
Cities	50	42				53	39	8	43	44	13
Suburbs	57	33				68	25	7	64	26	10
Towns	62	31				67	24	9	66	26	8
Rural	62	28				68	24	8	68	22	10
18-24 year olds			61	37	2	47	47	6	44	50	6
25-49 year olds						59	34	7	50	41	9
18-29 year olds	53	43	57	36	7	52	42	6	47	45	8
30-49 year olds	58	34	64	26	10	68	25	7	63	29	8
50+	59	28	64	24	12	65	26	9	61	25	14
8th Grade	52	36	51	29	20	56	36	8	52	34	14
High School	58	31	68	25	7	66	26	8	60	29	11
College	58	37	68	26	6	63	31	6	59	33	8
Union	49	40	59	28	13	56	34	10	55	34	11
Men	58	33	65	28	7	63	29	8	58	32	10
Women	56	35	62	26	12	63	29	8	59	30	11
White	62	29	68	23	9	67	25	8	64	26	10
Black	16	77	24	61	15	22	67	11	13	75	12
Under \$5,000	52	39	51	41	8	56	36	8	53	37	10
\$5,000-\$9,900	55	35				58	32	10	54	33	13
\$10,000-\$14,900	58	31	65	25	10	70	23	7	64	27	9
\$15,000+	65	30	71	24	5	71	24	5	66	27	7
Republicans	87	10	96	2	2	93	5	2	89	7	4
Democrats	38	53	41	48	11	43	47	10	41	48	11
Independents	60	25	68	22	10	68	22	10	66	26	12
White Catholics	55	33	60	26	14	62	27	11	58	31	11
WASP	68	24	70	22	8	74	20	6	71	20	9
Jewish	46	44	37	54	9	49	43	8	37	39	24
Irish						59	31	10	54	33	13
Italian						65	25	10	52	31	17

N -- Nixon  
McG -- McGovern  
NS -- Not Sure

---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*P*

9/22/72

*Howis*

TO: Gordon Strachan

FROM: Dick Howard

Lou Harris  
 Trial Heats  
 9/1/72

	<u>Nixon-Agnew</u>	<u>McGovern-Shriver</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Total Voters	64	31	5
East	60	36	4
Midwest	63	32	5
South	71	21	8
West	57	38	5
Deep South	75	17	8
Border States	68	25	7
Cities	53	42	5
Suburbs	69	26	5
Towns	67	26	7
Rural	68	27	5
18-29 yr. olds	51	45	4
30-49 yr. olds	68	27	5
50+	66	27	7
8th grade	57	37	6
High School	65	29	6
College	63	33	4
Union	56	38	6
Men	62	32	6
Women	64	32	4
White	69	26	3
Under \$5,000	56	38	6
\$5,000-\$9,900	58	36	6
\$10,000-\$14,900	71	24	5
\$15,000+	71	25	4
Republicans	94	5	1
Democrats	43	51	6
Independents	72	23	5
Voting Nixon	98	2	-
Voting McGovern	1	97	2
White Catholic	63	29	8
WASP	75	21	4
Jewish	44	54	-
Irish	65	29	6
Italian	65	26	9
Alienated	57	37	6
Conservative	69	27	4
Middle Road	59	34	7
Liberal	35	61	4
Black	23	70	7

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H  
70  
9/22

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

S

Check with Dick Howard on Friday, September 22 regarding the availability of the Harris results from the poll conducted September 19-21. Also check on the Harris demographic from the last Harris release of 63-29.

1972

NIXON-McGOVERN TRIAL HEAT

	(H) AUG 2-3	(G) JUL 19-20	(T) JUN 16-26 N	(G) MAY 26-29	(H) AUG 2-3	(G) JUL 19-20	(T) JUN 16-26 M	(G) MAY 26-29	(H) AUG 2-3	(G) JUL 19-20	(T) JUN 16-26 N	(G) MAY 26-29
NATIONAL	57	54	52	53	34	27	32	34	9	19	16	13
SEX												
Male	58	56	56	52	33	25	47	35	9	19	16	13
Female	56	52	47	53	35	29	36	33	9	19	17	14
RACE												
White	62	59	56	56	29	22	28	31	9	19	16	13
Non-white	16	16	24	29	77	66	65	56	7	18	11	15
EDUCATION												
College	58	56	52	57	37	30	37	36	5	14	11	7
High School	58	57	56	54	31	24	31	32	11	19	13	14
Grade School	52	47	48	45	36	29	29	36	12	24	23	19
OCCUPATION												
Prof. & Bus.				59				33				8
White Collar				54				32				14
Farmers				71				27				2
Manual				45				38				17
AGE												
18-20 yrs	>53	50	*42	58	>43	38	50	39	>4	12	8	3
21-29 yrs		43	*46	41		39	40	48		18	14	11
30-49 yrs		58	*59	56		34	23	30		8	20	15
50 & over		59	*57	53		28	23	32		13	20	11
RELIGION												
Protestant	**68	59	57	60	24	23	28	28	8	18	15	12
Catholic	55	50	48	46	33	28	34	41	12	22	18	13
Jewish	46	49	25	X	44	40	46	X	10	11	29	X
POLITICS												
Republican	87	92	85	85	10	2	8	7	3	6	7	8
Democrat	38	32	34	34	53	49	48	52	9	19	18	14
Independent	60	57	60	42	25	20	23	44	15	23	17	14
REGION												
East	58	58	51	53	33	28	36	37	9	14	13	10
Midwest	53	54	47	50	36	24	36	34	11	22	17	16
South	65	53	58	56	27	26	24	30	8	21	18	14
West	55	50	46	54	39	34	37	33	6	16	17	13
INCOME												
\$15,000 & over	65	64	60	58	30	24	30	33	5	12	10	9
\$10,000-\$14,999	58		53	56	31		31	30	11		16	14
\$ 7,000-\$ 9,999	>55	>59	>52	44	35	24	38	39	10	17	10	17
\$ 5,000-\$ 6,999				56				30				14
\$ 3,000-\$ 4,999	52	36	48	50	39	37	28	38	9	27	24	12
Under \$3,000				47				38				15
COMMUNITY SIZE												
1,000,000 & over	50			47	42			41	8			12
500,000-999,999	>57			52	>33			35	>10			13
50,000-499,999				50				38				12
2,500- 49,999	62			56	31			29	7			15
Under 2,500, Rural	62			59	28			27	10			14
Union	49	51	43		40	31	40		11	18	17	
Non-Union		55	58			26	27			19	15	

1972  
NIXON-HUMPHREY TRIAL HEAT

	(T) JUN 16-24	(G) MAY 24-31	(H) MAY 9-10	(T) JAN 3-30	(T) JUN 16-24	(G) MAY 24-31	(H) MAY 9-10	(T) JAN 3-30	(T) JUN 16-24	(G) MAY 24-31	(H) MAY 9-10	(T) JAN 3-30
<b>NATIONAL</b>	58	52	50	54	31	32	42	40	11	16	8	6
<b>SEX</b>												
Male	60	52		54	28	31		38	12	17		8
Female	55	52		53	34	33		42	11	15		5
<b>RACE</b>												
White	63	56		57	26	27		36	11	17		7
Non-White	23	18	9	5	70	70	87	92	7	12	4	3
<b>EDUCATION</b>												
College	60	63		58	29	26		37	11	11		5
High School	61	53		56	28	31		37	11	16		7
Grade School	53	38	43	46	34	41	48	46	13	21	9	8
<b>OCCUPATION</b>												
Prof. & Bus.		63				24				13		
White Collar		55				28				17		
Farmers		68				27				5		
Manual		42				38				20		
<b>AGE</b>												
18-20 yrs	*52	57	>51	*56	33	29	>44	39	15	14	>5	5
21-29 yrs	*63	54		*52	29	22		44	8	24		4
30-49 yrs	*61	53		*53	31	33		43	8	14		4
50 & over		50		*52		31		38		19		10
<b>RELIGION</b>												
Protestant	64	57		61	27	28		33	9	15		6
Catholic	51	47		51	36	37		42	13	16		7
Jewish	25	X		13	53	X		80	22	X		7
<b>POLITICS</b>												
Republican	89	89		92	6	4		5	5	7		3
Democrat	37	29	28	30	50	55	63	62	13	16	9	8
Independent	67	57	55	64	22	20	34	23	11	23	11	13
<b>REGION</b>												
East	57	52		50	28	35		45	15	13		5
Midwest	55	49		54	33	31		41	12	20		5
South	63	55		55	29	31		34	8	14		11
West	53	53		55	34	28		41	13	19		4
<b>INCOME</b>												
\$15,000 & over	64	62	53	57	29	26	40	39	7	12	7	4
\$10,000-\$14,999	61	55		59	29	31		36	10	14		5
\$ 7,000-\$ 9,999	52	46		52	38	31		43	10	23		5
\$ 5,000-\$ 6,999	48	49		46	28	32		43	24	19		11
\$ 3,000-\$ 4,999	48	46		46	28	41		43	24	13		11
Under \$3,000		44				36				20		
<b>COMMUNITY SIZE</b>												
1,000,000 & over		47				37				16		
500,000-999,999		50				39				11		
50,000-499,999		49				32				19		
2,500- 49,999		59				24				17		
Under 2,500, Rural		55				29				16		
Union	52			44	38			50	10			6
Non-Union	62			58	26			35	12			7

1972

NIXON-MCGOVERN TRIAL HEAT

	(O) JUN 19-20	(N) JUN 16-26	(O) JUN 19-20	(T) JUN 16-26	(O) JUN 19-20	(T) JUN 16-26
		N		M		N.O.
NATIONAL	54	52	27	32	19	16
SEX						
Male	56	56	25	28	19	16
Female	52	47	29	36	19	17
RACE						
White	59	56	22	28	19	16
Non-White	16	24	66	65	18	11
EDUCATION						
College	56	52	30	37	14	11
High School	57	56	24	31	19	13
Grade School	47	48	29	29	24	23
UNION	51	43	31	40	18	17
NON-UNION	55	58	26	27	19	15
AGE						
18-24 yrs	43	42	40	50	17	8
25-34 yrs	43	46	39	40	18	14
35-49 yrs	57	59	23	26	20	15
50 & over	57	57	23	32	20	11
RELIGION						
Protestant	59	57	23	28	18	15
Catholic	50	48	28	34	22	18
Jewish	49	25	40	46	11	29
INCOME						
\$15,000 & over	64	60	24	30	12	10
\$10,000-\$14,999	> 59	53	> 24	31	> 17	16
\$ 5,000-\$ 9,999		46		39		15
Under \$5,000	36	43	37	32	27	25
REGION						
East	58	51	28	36	14	13
Midwest	54	47	24	36	22	17
South	53	58	26	24	21	18
West	50	46	34	37	16	17
POLITICS						
Republican	92	85	2	8	6	7
Democrat	32	34	49	48	19	18
Independent	57	60	20	23	23	17

1972  
NIXON-HUMPHREY TRIAL HEAT

	<del>(T) JUN 14-24</del>	N <del>(T) JAN 3-20</del>	<del>(T) JUN 14-24</del>	H <del>(T) JUN 3-20</del>	<del>(T) JUN 14-24</del>	N.O. <del>(T) JAN 3-20</del>
NATIONAL	58	54	31	40	11	6
AGE						
18-24 yrs	52	56	33	39	15	5
25-34 yrs	63	52	29	44	8	4
35-44 yrs	61	53	31	43	8	4
45-54 yrs	51	51	34	43	15	6
55-64 yrs	57	52	35	38	8	10
65 years +	62	59	21	31	17	10
EDUCATION						
Less than High School	53	46	34	46	13	8
High School Graduate	61	56	28	37	11	7
College	60	58	29	37	11	5
RELIGION						
Catholic	51	51	36	42	13	7
Protestant	64	61	27	33	9	6
Jewish	25	13	53	80	22	7
RACE						
White	63	57	26	36	11	7
Black	23	5	70	92	7	2
UNION	52	44	38	50	10	6
NON-UNION	62	58	26	35	12	7
INCOME						
Under \$5,000	48	46	28	43	24	11
\$5,000-9,999	52	52	38	43	10	5
\$10,000-\$14,999	61	59	29	36	10	5
\$15,000+	64	57	29	39	7	4
SEX						
Male	60	54	28	38	12	8
Female	55	53	34	42	11	5
POLITICS						
Republican	89	92	6	5	5	3
Democrat	37	30	50	62	13	8
Independent	67	64	22	23	11	13
REGION						
East	57	50	28	45	15	5
Midwest	55	54	33	41	12	5
South	63	55	29	34	8	11
West	53	55	34	41	13	4

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS ON ATTACHED DEMOGRAPHICS

AGE

1. > The Harris Survey includes 18-29 year olds in its first age group;
2. The Teeter Second Wave Poll uses a different age breakdown:
  - (a) The Second Wave 18-24 year olds are grouped with the 18-20 year olds;
  - (b) The Second Wave 25-34 year olds are grouped with the 21-29 year olds;
  - (c) The Second Wave 35-44 year olds are grouped with the 30-49 year olds; and
  - (d) The Second Wave 55-64 year olds are grouped with the 50 & over category.

RELIGION

1. \*\* The Harris Survey tests only "White Protestants".
2. The "X" denotes that Gallup does not analyze a Jewish vote.

COMMUNITY SIZE

- |           |   |                    |
|-----------|---|--------------------|
| Cities    | = | 1,000,000 & over   |
| > Suburbs | = | 50,000 - 999,999   |
| Towns     | = | 2,500 - 49,999     |
| Rural     | = | Under 2,500, Rural |

INCOME

- > ORC's second income group is \$5,000-\$14,999.
- \* Both Harris and Teeter's second income group is \$5,000-\$9,999.

Gallup - ~~Sept 29~~  
 Sep 23-24 w/learners

	Gal			ORC		
	n	McG	?	n	McG	?
E	58(60)	38(40)	4	54(60)	36(40)	10
MU	60(63)	35(37)	5	54(64)	30(36)	16
SU	70(75)	24(25)	6	67(78)	19(22)	14
W	57(61)	37(39)	6	51(61)	33(39)	16

n.o. taking - out by  
 allocation - not learn

Gal - less n.o. def pers  
 whereas ORC higher  
 n.o. def where

n.o. going same as  
 nat'l vote split, McG  
 not getting more n.o.

Davies

Tul Heats  
hearings  
Regis.

only Regis. Voters  
total secret ballot  
1/2 sample secret  
ballot - test to  
force the N.O.

Sched - Release  
- 3000 interviews  
- confirm  
well for Sun 10/14  
New Results / Oct 1-6 - special elect print  
survey.

This ~~Inter~~ result - Fri - Nixon leads  
all press except blacks + few  
Sun story

Demog's

Exact polling dates

John Davie  
Rel Sun Oct 8  
leave today

ag 24-27 Watergate ds + Public  
response + on corrup  
issue -

all me G cutting on  
corrup - 39%  
only 1/2 of all voters  
regog Watergate &  
beiber

op - not strong reason  
for voting for McG  
- UN

52% - heard of name

29% - indie some know  
of name

8 in 10 - not a strong

3 to 1 - no / vote  
for McG

McG will win here  
Dennis lack

ag 24-27

G-Derry 9/22-25  
McG  
P-ORC

	n	McG
nat	61	33
Reg	95	4
Rem	32 <del>(40)</del>	61
In	67	25
Catch	52	40
Prot	70	26
hal In		
Fams	52	42
18-29	52	46
30-49	65	29
50+	62	31
Wh	67	28
Bl	10	82
br	61	35
H S	65	30
Gr Sc	<del>64</del> 51	41
Prof	68	29
cler	62	32
man	57	35
wh		
men	58	36
wom	64	30
so	70	24
non so	<del>69</del> 59	36

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

A check again this morning with John Davies at Gallup disclosed some new information. The Gallup Release for Thursday or Friday, October 12 or 13 will be "Which Candidate can best handle the following problems better? - Vietnam, crime, holding down prices". Although Davies wouldn't give me the figures, he said, "I know that Nixon won on all scores".

He confirmed that the trial heat release for Sunday, October 15 would be 60-35-5, but hedged on "final weighting" and the exact polling dates. The 3,000 sample may have included both the October 1-6 key precinct survey as well as the usual weekend survey, October 7-8.

Davies has spoken directly with Dr. George Gallup, Sr., about giving me advance information. Davies indicated he had approval but again emphasized the problem of confidentiality, noting the fact that I obtained advance information on last Sunday's Gallup "Corruption" release.

Davies will be in Washington Friday discussing government polling at GSA. A hold on all Gallup polling in government has been established by Bill Gifford in personal discussion with Cabinet officers and Agency heads. I have invited Davies to my office Friday and plan on explaining to him in no uncertain terms the value of our continued communication.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - Tuesday, October 10, 1972

S - Hello, John, how are you?

D - OK, how are you doing?

S - Good. Can you talk a minute?

D - Sure can.

S - Uh - you said you might have a chance to check the actual computer sheets on the matter we discussed.

D - Nothing changed yet.

S - So, we're still at 60-33?

D - So far. Right.

S - Do you know the exact polling dates yet - you mentioned it might shift from just over the weekend.

L The exact polling dates would have been - you know I still can't give you that, Gordon.

S - OK.

D - I'm not sure of it yet. I'll check those points out. I won't know anything, as it turns out, until tomorrow morning first thing.

S - OK.

D - Cause they're working on some other projects and we're not going to need it until tomorrow morning. So -

S - OK. Very good.

D - If you can give me a ring earlier tomorrow morning around 9:30 or so because I may be out of here by 10:30.

S - OK - I'll do that. One other thing - have you noticed any of the demographics on the Catholics or the Jews...

D - I haven't seen any demographics yet.

S - OK. Because Harris you know notes today that the Blacks are the only group that's moving and so we're wondering if that is supported in your data also.

D - Not yet.

S - All right. Anything else of note?

D - I can't think of anything.

S - And we're going to go on that Thursday release on "Who can best handle"?

D - Right.

S - Do you have those figures by any chance?

D - Those figures will be available this afternoon. You can get those by calling George.

S - OK. I'll do that.

D - I won't be here this afternoon.

S - OK. I'll call him.

D - OK. About 3 o'clock I would suggest.

S - I'll try it then.

D - Very fine.

S - Thanks a lot.

D - OK.

S - Bye, John.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - Monday, October 9, 1972

S - John, how are you?  
D - How are you?  
S - Good.  
D - Gordon, you know what I forgot to do?  
S - What?  
D - I forgot to memorize those damn figures.  
S - Uh, oh.  
D - Wait a minute. Hold it. I caught him at about 5:30. Oh God.  
60-35-5.  
S - And that's from over the weekend?  
D - Right. Hang on just for one second.  
S - Yeah. That was just the two days over the weekend?  
D - Right.  
S - So you're not going to release that  
D - 'til Sunday.  
S - Until Sunday.  
D - Right.  
S - You're aware of what Gallup says tomorrow - I mean Harris tomorrow?  
D - Yeah. - He was on ABC News tonight.  
S - Oh good. An advance - 60-33.  
D - Yeah.  
S - Good.  
D - Very comparable. Should be encouraging for he and we.  
S - Right.  
D - For thee and we.

S - And you're going to release it Sunday, huh?

D - Right.

S - And that's the 7th and 8th for interviewing dates, huh?

D - Gordon, that's a ticklish matter. I don't really know.

S - All right.

D - I would say that it took a little bit longer this one. Because it's a sample of about 3,000.

S - Oh?

D - A couple of samples which is going to enable us to report individual regions. I think it's going to be interesting. But we don't have that yet and I doubt really that we'll have that until after Sunday. WE'll probably start poking into that on Monday or so next week.

S - All right. Any idea what the release is going to be for Thursday?

D - Uh - we were going to sent it out today. It's based on a series of questions "Which of the candidates can handle the following problems better?" - Vietnam, crime, keeping prices down and so on. And although I can't relate the figures to you because I don't remember them, I know that Nixon won on all scores.

S - Good, good. That's good news. Anything else of interest?

D - Not that I can think of. No. If I had known you were going to call tonight, I would have brought me book of sheets home. That's why I don't want to relate anything on those figures because I really don't know - I have an idea what they are - but I don't want to put you on the wrong ...

S - Well is that figure of 60-35 pretty close?

D - 60-35 is on the button.

S - OK.

D - Now it's subject to a final weighting. If anything, it will change it a point. I don't know where it would change, but it could be 61-35-6 or whatever - I don't know. I think I've won a small battle in the office for you guys.

S - Good.

D - I damn near got fired doing it. I just sat down. I chatted with Dr. Gallup the other day and Alec who is the real protagonist. Never talk to Alec.

S - OK.

D - You call the office and Alec answers the phone tell him that you're Mortimer Snerd from Albuquerque and hang up.

S - Right.

D - Because he doesn't want to talk to anybody.

S - Yeah - except the Washington Post.

D - Well, that was sort of a follow up on a study. That I don't think he objects to much. But he's very much opposed to giving information out to the two parties. But I just pointed out to Dr. Gallup that - you know, look - if we mail a release out on Wednesday, that damn thing is in the hands of 161 newspapers and probably 500 individuals by Friday. Excuse me, Gordon. Now I said that if they wanted to find those figures out there are anyone of 100 people they could get it from. There's no problem. And I pointed out the fact that you guys had been very fair about it. And I won Dr. Gallup over to my

side and that's all I really all I had to do.

S - Well, that's great. Fantastic.

D - But he said to me, please tell them to keep up the good work.

S - Yeah. Well, we'll protect the confidence.

D - Well, what we're afraid of is that some kind of an expose, you know, by that jerk Anderson or something like that. Then we're in hot water. And you know, it doesn't look too good for you either.

S - Oh no, oh no. We're both realizing the risk.

D - We're not trying to give you information that is confidential or to help you out in anyway - although I trembled the other day when I picked up the New York Times and saw the President's statement on the corruption charge. You know - the day before I had given you those figures. I would ...

S - Had I read that statement I too would have trembled. But it was in response to a question.

D - Right.

S - You know. The reporter just asked him that.

D - I thought the roof was going to come caving in on you. ... in the next day.

S - No, they just asked.

D - Everything seems fine as long as there is no mess up and I'm sure there won't be.

S - Good. Ok. No we'll protect the confident. Keep me posted.

D - I'll be in Washington on Friday the 13th.

S - Hey, why don't you stop in?

D - Well, if I get a chance Gordon. I'll be over at the General Services Administration and also at the American Psychiatric Association at the Mayflower. I'd like to but I just don't know what my schedule is going to be. These meetings tend to go on and on indefinitely.

S - Well, if you find the time, please stop in. There are quite a few things to go over.

D - Very fine.

S - Good.

D - Keep up the interest in some questions and so on. Particularly post-Election questions because those kind of ideas help us.

S - OK. We'll do that. We'll work on something.

D - Ok, sir.

S - Very good, John.

D - If you want to give me a call tomorrow I can verify those - 9 o'clock or so.

S - OK, I'll do that.

D - OK.

S - Thanks, John, Bye.

D - Bye, bye.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1972  
12:50 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

The final Gallup figures for release Sunday, October 1, are 61-33-6, based on the September 23-24 interviews. The wire to the newspapers will be sent in about one hour.

64-30-6

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

TO:

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

File  
Special Gallup  
File

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1972 ✓

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S  
SUBJECT: Gallup Survey

Discussion with John Davies at 11:00 a.m. today disclosed that the Gallup figures for Sunday, October 1, based on the September 23 - 24 interview, will be "very close to 60-34-6". These rough figures are based on 1000 unweighted interviews. Fifteen hundred interviews will be tabulated. Davies said "McGovern has narrowed the gap ever so slightly". The change probably will "fall within sampling error".

The "final figures" will be obtained later this afternoon.

*Last Gallup Poll*

*64-30-6*

*August 28-27*

September 30, 1972

D How are your doing?

G: Good!

D Did you get our message?

G: No.

D Well you should have.

G: Nope, hasn't come yet. - what is it?

D Well, didn't my girl call you yesterday or the day before?

G: Yea, but she just said that you.....

D Absolutely no figures.

G: Hmnnnnnn.....

D And I checked as late as, oh, I guess 8:00 last night with Alec Gallup, who was in one of the offices during the week and still nothing yet and they are supposed to be wired today. Looks like there is a problem. They didn't get enough ballots in and I guess it's going to be delayed.

G: But, will they send those figures out for tomorrow?

D If they can get them done in time but I don't think they are going to.

G: Huh!!!

D We've got to wait for the full sample to come in and, a, there was a little bit of a problem apparently, I don't know that much about it. I was in the office late yesterday afternoon and they didn't have anything then - I called last night and still nothing, so I don't know. Everybody is bugging me too - the New York Times, the Washington Post - see we've got this thing scheduled for Sunday and they are going crazy. crazier than you people maybe.

G: Really?

D The only thing I can tell you at this point, and I hesitate

to do so, as I hesitated to do for the New York Times, even though they are a client paper, is that it would appear that the final figures are likely to show that McGovern has now begot ever so slightly and hardly within sampling error. In other words, the figure is going to show a slight lessening of the gap, probably.

G: A-Huh - you mean below sampling error?

0 No - within, you see that's the problem. In other words, when we report the figure, it is likely to be something like - 60-34 - something like that.

G: Something close to that - huh?

0 Something close to that, yea - that was based on about 1000 interviews, so, as you know in the past, these things are subject to change.

G: Yea, but a - you were going to try to get a total of 1500 interviews, right?

0 Right.

G: When do you think you will know?

0 You know Gordon, to tell you the truth, I haven't even been around there and I have absolutely no idea, I would assume that Alec would call me as soon as there is a figure available - and what I probably will do is, I'll probably scoot up to the office around 12:00 and see what the story is then--I'll tell you what, I'll be here most of the later part of the afternoon, you know 2-3 to 4, why don't you, I mean don't hesitate to give me a ring any point in that time and I'll tell you, if I get it ahead of that period, I will call you.

G: Okay, good. Come through the general White House number cause I've left instructions for them to find me any place since on Saturdays we sort of wander around - so.

0 Let me get a piece of paper -- you know, we had a very interesting trip around the country - confirmed everything we had found before - no question in our minds that the President is extremely strong, particularly with these Democrats that are shifting over - doesn't see to be much likelihood that a hell of a lot of them are going to move

in the opposite direction, which should be comforting to you.

G: You don't think they are going to move back-huh?

D: Not too many of them - we found some that indicated a possibility that they could change-that McGovern -- just apparently to most people said too much and has gotten himself in hot water and should he change would be to equivocate on his part - it's not good politics.

G: So you think that the committed vote is a little higher than that poll that you showed last time.

D: Well what that was Gordon was the whole dimension of the people who simply said, I am not yet certain how I am going to vote. What we did, was we took the people who said they could change and we questioned 40-50-60 of them, all the way from Maine to Georgia and we found very few, who after extensive questioning, indicated that there is a likelihood that they will go back.

G: What else is of note?

D: Not a blessed thing.

G: Really? You are going to come out weekly now, aren't you? With trial heat results?

D: We should be coming out even more than weekly, I would say.

G: Are you going to try to do the interviewing over weekends?

D: The interviewing, will probably be done on Fridays and Saturdays for the most part. You got me in sort of a ticklish position here cause I really don't know that much. I've been away now for a full week and we didn't want to keep close touch with the office as far as figures and schedules were concerned cause we wanted to be sort of neutral about what we were doing. So, the best I can do is, I can get this schedule set in my mind by Monday morning and I will give you a call then.

G: Although if you are going to be out of the office, should I --

D: If you can't get me in the office, always arrange to call me at home.

0 Don't bother calling and talking to anybody else.

G: No, I don't.

0 Because, there is a problem.

G: I understand.

0 Alec Gallup has now gotten into this thing and just between us, he is a stickler for secrecy. He's afraid to tell even his wife, which I think is absolutely, totally ridiculous.

G: Well, we maintain the confidentiality - we've never breached it and so we --

0 Our problem Gordon is a little different - we're getting a ton of flack from the McGovern-Shriver side - they are releasing all kinds of crazy rumors and you know so what's happening is that everytime McGovern and his 16 year-old pollster Caddell come out with a new rumor, this just hardens everybodys attitudes in the office. So, I don't know. Let me get your number again.

G: 202/ 456-1414 and the operators have been instructed to locate me any place- pageboy or whatever, to take your call. So call me please.

0 Fine! I'll call you probably about 2:00

G: If you think there will be something close to 60-34

0 Well, that's the way it looked at that time - these were unweighted, straight off the computer and I never like to go with them - but that's as close as I can tell you at this point. It could in fact go back to what it was - so who knows? That's why I don't like to give it to you.

G: I understand that but don't ever hesitate to call me and keep me posted on it because as you can imagine, the interest around here is pretty tremendous - if I can say that I have been in touch with Davies -- there are alot of things at stake by the way.

0 I don't know what you mean.

G: Well, there are alot of things at stake in terms of continued contact with you and so forth - because obviously I am trying to

hold the lid on here and say, listen the system has been one of extreme confidentiality --

**D** Just as long as you keep banging that home -- one slip and I'll get a knife put to my juglar -- and very honestly, and between the two of us -- I have been told not to call you.

G: No, I expected that.

But, I am somewhat more partisan than the rest. You've got to stick with me if you catch me at the office sometime and I turn you off like a wet sponge - don't hesitate to call me back because there is a reason for it ----

G: I understand.

Okay, Gordon.....

More conversation with  
John Davies

September 30, 1972

The present figure is 61-33-6.

G: Great!

Which is 28 points good compared to 34. Now there is one thing I can't track down for you but I will give it to you and the only reason I can't track it down is because I can't find anybody but the spread in the wire says "Industrial North is 23 Points." Now I don't know how Industrial North should be defined but I'll probably know in an hour or two.

G: Okay, give me a call if you find out anything else.

I know when we were toying with doing this we thought about just isolating the interviews in the largest cities in the North, including Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, Boston and so on, and I'm 99% sure that that is what it is. Just for safety's sake, I will let you know.

G: Okay, very good, but the final figures that are going to be wired to the correspondents are 61-33-6 nationwide.

They are being wired in about an hour.

G: Great! Thanks an awful lot John.

Okay Gordon - you'll hear from me later.

More conversation with  
John Davies

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no figures - sp last night.  
a problem

- me G has narrowed gap ever so slightly  
= ~~below~~ w/in <sup>2</sup> samples

60 - 34 \* close to it  
on 1000 interviews

- try to get 1500
- To office at 12n.
- call bet 2, 3, 4.

Pers conferimed

- extremely strong among Dem's.
- more than weekly w/
- dates Fri + Sat.

IMPORTANT

Note to Editors:

Because of the great interest as to whether the gap between McGovern and Nixon in the poll findings is beginning to close, the lead for the Sunday release -- with our latest national results -- will be telegraphed to you Saturday for Sunday release. It will be sent press rate collect. Complete breakdowns will follow in the next report scheduled for early next week. The results will be based upon interviewing conducted through Monday, September 25.

pay - with Western Un.  
 - air on Telex machine.  
 - Ziegler - person West Un man. Oddie Snyder?  
 Ziegler + Farber office pre-clear w/ West Un. in EOB.

2250

\* \* \* \* \*

(Pick up after lead)

The trend in voter preference is revealed by trial heat results covering the last six months. McGovern's strongest showing occurred in late April and early May, following his victories in the Wisconsin and Massachusetts primaries. At that point he trailed President Nixon by only ten points. Following the Eagleton affair, however, the gap between the two candidates widened as the record of Gallup Poll findings indicates:

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%
September 22-25			
August 26-27	64	30	6
August 5-12	57	31	12
July 28-31	57	32	11
July 14-17	56	37	7
June 16-19	53	37	10
May 26-29	53	34	13
April 28 - May 1	49	39	12

The biggest surprise to date in the presidential contest has been Nixon's strength among young voters. Early in the race McGovern strategists counted on winning a large majority of the vote of the nation's 25 million prospective new voters. In fact, some estimates of this majority were as high as 10 million votes — enough to overcome the lead of most candidates in presidential campaigns.

The enthusiasm for McGovern on the college campuses of the nation -- so marked in the early months of 1972 -- has faded considerably; and the vote of those who have never attended college has favored Nixon.

In a special survey of the 18 to 24 year-olds, conducted for Newsweek by the Gallup Organization, it was found that 59% of those who did not attend college had not bothered to register as of late August; while in the case of those who were enrolled in college or had attended college, 71% were registered.

In the Newsweek study of 18-24 year-olds, re-interviews conducted during the middle of September revealed that McGovern had not been able to register any gains in this group during the first two weeks of September. Nixon's lead over McGovern among likely young voters in late August was 50% to 46%, as compared with 52% to 43% in mid-September.

Young voters who have attended college are more likely to favor McGovern than those who have not attended college, dividing their vote between the two candidates: 48% for Nixon, and 48% for McGovern. Among those who have not attended college, Nixon holds a lead of 54% to 42% for McGovern.

The strong showing of Nixon nationally among new voters results from his strength in the South, where he leads by the one-sided vote of 70% to 29%. In the East and Midwest, however, McGovern holds a five to four lead over Nixon. In the West the two candidates are tied with 48% each among the new voter group.

Attitudes regarding the handling of the Vietnam war accounts chiefly for the large number of young voters who favor Nixon. In the Newsweek study Nixon scores as well as McGovern as the candidate who can better handle the Vietnam war. The war has been the dominant issue among young voters for the past few years, and, in fact, has been the chief source of campus disturbances and the alienation of young people.

# More Voters See McGovern Than Nixon With 'Credibility Gap'

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 27 — Although McGovern's party strategists have sought to make political capital by ascribing a credibility gap to Nixon, the President is seen as "more sincere and believable" than McGovern by a 6-to-2 margin with the nation's voters.

Even among McGovern's own party members, many see Nixon as the more "sincere and believable" of the two candidates.

In the case of young voters, 18-29 years on whom McGovern has pinned his hopes, Nixon wins by a sizable margin on this issue.

A young Pennsylvania attorney had this to say about McGovern: "I'm a Democrat, but I find it difficult to support McGovern. He started out like a knight on a white charger but he has since succumbed to the disease which afflicts most politicians -- backing down on personal convictions to gain votes."

On the other hand, a middle-aged housewife commented: "Nixon has not lived up to anything he ever said -- so I might as well take a chance on the other guy."

A student at an eastern college commented: "McGovern changes his opinion so much he is constantly contradict-

ing himself on every campaign issue -- he is trying to be something for everybody."

One who thinks McGovern is more sincere and believable than Nixon is a 29-year old architect from Atlanta, Ga.: "McGovern has demonstrated that he is not about to be dictated to by the power brokers. He says what he believes and I trust in him."

Following is the question asked and the results:

*Which candidate -- Nixon or McGovern -- do you think is more sincere, believable?*

	Which Candidate More Sincere, Believable	
	Mc- Nixon Govern	No Opin.
NATIONAL	59	20
	%	%
Whites	62	17
Non-whites	24	52
Under 30	57	28
30-49 years	61	16
50 & over	57	19
Republicans	85	5
Democrats	38	37
Nixon backers	85	3
McGovern backers	6	65

As the above table indicates, non-whites are the only major population group which credits McGovern with being more sincere or believable than Nixon; they give McGovern a 2-to-1 edge over Nixon on this question.

A total of 1,534 adults, 18 and older, were interviewed in person in this survey, which was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period of August 24-27.

### The 'Charisma' Scale

Nixon not only scores better in the matter of credibility but he also tops the South Dakota senator in terms of personal popularity.

To measure the personal popularity of a candidate, the Gallup Poll employs a rating device known as the Stapel Scale.

The Stapel Scale was first employed in the election campaign of 1952 to measure the public's enthusiasm for candidates apart from party considerations and campaign issues.

This 10-point attitude scale provides a measure of candidate "charisma" and, significantly, has pointed to the winner in every presidential election of the last two decades.

Findings, up to this point in the 1972 race, indicate that President Nixon's personal popularity has remained fairly constant in the three presidential races in which he has engaged. In tests to date, Senator McGovern does appreciably better than Goldwater in 1964, but slightly less well than Humphrey in 1968.

The personal popularity of candidates in elections since 1952 is reported below. The figures represent the percentage of those interviewed who give the candidate the highest positive rating.

1972	Nixon 39.8%	McGovern 23.4
1968	Nixon 37.5%	Humphrey 28.5
1964	Johnson 48.6%	Goldwater 16.2
1960	Kennedy 41.6%	Nixon 39.7
1956	Eisenhower 56.7%	Stevenson 33.8
1952	Eisenhower 47.2%	Stevenson 37.0

Judging from Experience Since 1930's

NIXON'S WIDE LEAD OVER MCGOVERN COULD VANISH BEFORE ELECTION DAY

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 24 — Polling experience gained in presidential elections since the 1930's indicates that the present wide lead of Nixon over McGovern in the current presidential race could vanish before election day.

This is particularly true when the man trailing in the polls is the candidate of the majority party — the Democratic party. In the final weeks of a campaign many voters who have previously felt they would vote for the candidate of the opposing party have second thoughts and return to their habitual voting behavior; this is described as the "return-to-the-fold" factor. And many of the "don't knows" — those who have not made up their minds — usually return to their customary voting pattern.

Humphrey For Behind In Early September, '68

After the turnout of the Democratic convention in 1968, Hubert Humphrey started out far behind Richard Nixon. In an early September survey, Nixon held a 30-per cent lead over Humphrey. However, Humphrey made dramatic gains during October and early November, as demonstrated by the Gallup Poll, and came within one percent of winning a plurality of the popular vote.

In early September of 1948, Thomas

Dewey held a substantial lead over his Democratic rival, Harry Truman. Although the Gallup Poll reported constant gains for Truman during the ensuing weeks, polling was discontinued about three weeks before the election on the incorrect assumption that a candidate with a sizable lead late in the campaign will maintain the lead. The election figures showed Truman overtaking Dewey, having gained nine percentage points since early September.

"Return-to-Fold" Factor Operates in Many Campaigns

The "return-to-the-fold" factor operates in many presidential campaigns — in fact, it has occurred in five of the eight presidential campaigns covered by the Gallup Poll since 1930 inclusive.

The following table shows the change in the vote for the losing candidate between the beginning of the campaign in early September, as recorded in trial heats, and the actual election returns in November:

Change in Vote for Trailing Candidate Between Early Sept. & Election

- 1938 (Humphrey): — gained 10 points
- 1944 (Goldwater): — gained 8 points
- 1952 (Nixon): — gained 1 point
- 1956 (Stevenson): — lost 2 points
- 1960 (Stevenson): — gained 3 points
- 1968 (Truman): — gained 9 points
- 1948 (Dewey): — lost 2 points
- 1930 (Willkie): — no change

Wallace

19pts

700

If the "return-to-the-fold" factor were to operate this year, McGovern would stand to pick up considerable strength in the closing weeks of this year's campaign — particularly in view of this year's record Democratic defection.

'Soft Vote' of Defectors — Possible McGovern Gain?

Not only does the past trial heat history, as recorded by Gallup surveys, offer evidence that the gap between the major party candidates can close, but internal evidence from a recent survey gives further indication that this could happen in the current race.

All Democratic defectors in the survey — that is, registered voters who describe themselves as Democrats but currently prefer Nixon — were asked two questions to determine whether their choice is "hard" that is, solidly for Nixon — or "soft":

How strongly do you feel about your choice — would you say you are almost certain to vote for him, or do you think you may change your mind and vote for the other man?

Do you feel the candidate you now favor would be much better than the other man, or do you feel that it probably wouldn't make much difference one way or the other who wins?

Analysis of the results of these questions reveals that roughly half of the vote of Democrats who currently favor

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - September 23, 1972

S - John?

D - Yes.

S - Gordon Strachan.

D - Gordon, how are you?

S - Good. Sorry to bother you at home.

D - No problem. You called just in time. I was just about to leave for Maine.

S - Oh. How long are you going to be gone?

D - About a week.

S - Oh brother.

D - We're going to Maine and then Detroit and Atlanta. You know, do some interviewing.

S - Excellent.

D - Get out in the field a little bit.

S - You're in the field this weekend, aren't you?

D - Right.

S - And probable release next Sunday?

D - Uh - let's put it this way. Possible release Sunday. Most probably Tuesday or Wednesday.

S - Probable release Tuesday or Wednesday?

D - Possibly Sunday; however, I'll tell you the reason. We're not going to be wiring this one. We're going to be including the full breakdown so that it's going to take us two or three days extra to get full tabulations.

S - I see.

- D - So if they decide to go with the national figures only, it will probably be Sunday. But I don't think they will. Because we haven't in the last two or three times.
- S - So you think it might be as late as Tuesday or Wednesday.
- D - Tuesday, Wednesday or maybe even Thursday - if things should become a problem in the field. But it looks across the country that the weather is pretty good - so we're all right.
- S - OK. Listen I've been asked to deliver a rather stiff message to you in light of some of the problems that we have had. I began placing a call to you with requests which I will talk to you about on the 16th, and it's a week later before I called you at home which I was very reluctant to do - not wanting to bother you at home.
- D - I told you - don't ever hesitate to call me at home.
- S - But in light of your new involvement in government polling and if Gallup's polls are in any way accurate, we're going to be here for the next four years. And phone calls will go both ways and this is in the form of an indication that we appreciate having access to information. We have never violated the confidence of it, but we need it and we expect to receive it as soon as the information is available and I would guess that you probably have the regional tabulating completed Monday afternoon or Tuesday. I would very much like to receive a call with the information.
- D - There shouldn't be any problem with that.
- S - Good.
- D - You see the problem is that I've been out of the office. The people around the office other than myself and perhaps one or two others are extremely reluctant to talk to anyone about it.

S - I appreciate that.

D - That's why. Please don't hesitate to call me at home because we have some people who get extremely nervous and touchy about this.

S - Sure.

D - And between now and the election I'll probably not be spending much time at all in the office. However, I will be privy to anything that's going on. So that's the best bet.

S - OK. Well then I'll do that.

D - And as soon as I hear anything--of course I have been calling you when there is information. The last week has been an absolute dry period and there is absolutely nothing to tell you.

S - OK.

D - We haven't gotten anything new. It's been as a matter of fact the driest period we've had in six months because it's been the longest period between surveys. Four and a quarter weeks which is...  
Now the trial heats will be coming out every week starting now.

S - All right. Well then will you - especially if you're on the road - will you call me promptly when you have those results and I assure you that the confidence will not be violated of the information as it has not been before.

D - No problem.

S - And we would also like to be

D - To tell you the truth I never thought there was a problem ..

S - Good, good. I had hoped that was the case. I had hoped that was your conviction because we have worked very, very hard to try to consolidate things with just one person here and so forth. Well then if you'll call me Monday or Tuesday either from Maine as soon

S - as you get those results I would very much appreciate it.

D - Well that won't be before Thursday or Wednesday because if it's wired for Sunday report it will be - they won't even be final until Thursday and then they'll be wired. So the closest I could come would be most likely Thursday morning.

S - OK. Well very good. I'd appreciate a call then. One other suggestion has been made. You might want to add popularity questions to your surveys because although the popularity question would not be releasible information, it is significant to test the question of whether the President's lead over McGovern in the polls is a result of his own rise in popularity or whether McGovern's complete collapse.

D - Right.

S - And although the results might be slightly scewed and you wouldn't want to release it - still it is a valid polling question and something we've been testing and we're very interested in and would like to discuss the demographics and so forth with you.

D - Very fine. Will do.

S - All right. And if you get a chance I would sort of like to get some of the demographics from your last poll. We were very interested in that August demographics shift as we discussed the last time we talked.

D - There is no demographics for that poll, Gordon.

S - None?

D - No. Only the ones that were reported in that release which young people, college educated - I mean the young people, education and I believe occupation.

S - Very good.

D - OK?

S - OK, John. You'll call me right away then.

D - Sure thing. You'll probably be getting a call from me on Thursday morning.

S - Very good.

D - OK, Gordon.

S - Thanks a lot. Bye.

9/16

# H Complete Report on Congress Day ~~End of~~

70% -  
20% ~~McG~~  
50% McG

On offense  
w/ Gallup

S → Davies 9/16  
no return

S → Davies 9/18  
1145 -  
not there

Call in

Buss - 1 me to get calls returned

S → Davies 9/20  
1145

Phones - both ways

Demogs - never violated

S → Davies 9/21  
30

Mistake not to take P, pop

- as poll gap proves

S → Davies 9/22  
210

- who P up or McG dem  
will show R N up.

Pol Tal Paper - Mem for H

PJB argue ~~has~~ memo - pre  
Big Is

Food prices - ~~Mex attack~~ Remy + faints

Dailey re ~~McG~~ new spots

## MCGOVERN

BY BROOKS JACKSON

COLUMBUS, OHIO (AP)-TIRED OF BAD NEWS, SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN HAS ATTACKED WHAT HE TERMED "NUTTY" PUBLIC-OPINION POLLS AND "LOUSY" NEWSPAPER COLUMNISTS.

✓ THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE REJECTED MORE EMPHATICALLY THAN EVER THE FINDINGS OF RECENT POLLS SHOWING HIM FAR BEHIND PRESIDENT NIXON. "I THINK THE POLLS ARE A LOT OF RUBBISH," HE SAID TUESDAY. "I DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY CONDUCT THESE POLLS. I'VE NEVER TALKED TO AN AMERICAN WHO'S EVER BEEN POLLED, BY EITHER DR. GALLUP OR HARRIS. I THINK THEY MAKE THESE THINGS UP IN THE BACKROOMS SOMEWHERE".

AND HE DESCRIBED SOME CONSERVATIVE NEWSPAPER COLUMNISTS, WHOM HE WOUND'T NAME- AS LOUSY, BITTER, PARANOID, DESPICABLE, OBNOXIOUS PROPAGANDISTS WHO ARE CONSISTENTLY WRONG AND WHO WRITE NOTHING GOOD ABOUT ANY CANDIDATE MORE LIBERAL THAN GENGHIS KHAN.

TODAY MCGOVERN MADE TWO NEW PROPOSALS TO INCREASE SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS, FAVORING FULL BENEFITS FOR WIDOWS AND AN INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF OUTSIDE INCOME PENSIONERS MAY EARN WITHOUT REDUCING BENEFITS.

HE SPENT THE NIGHT IN THE MANSION OF OHIO GOV. JOHN GILLIGAN. SEN. EDMUND S. MUSKIE OF MAINE WAS SCHEDULED TO JOIN MCGOVERN AT APPEARANCES TODAY IN NORTHERN NEW JERSEY AND PHILADELPHIA

TUESDAY, MCGOVERN TOLD STUDENTS AND FACULTY AT CHICAGO'S LARGEST ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL THAT HE FAVORS INCOME-TAX CREDITS FOR PARENTS OF PAROCHIAL-AND PRIVATE-SCHOOL STUDENTS. AND HE DELIVERED HIS STANDARD POLITICAL TALK TO A RAIN-DAMPENED STREET CROWD IN MILWAKEE AND AIRPORT-RALLY CROWDS IN FLINT, MICH., AND COLUMBUS.

SRI030AED SEPT 20

COLUMBUS--ADD MCGOVERN (23)

"SOME OF THE COLUMNISTS ARE REALLY LOUSY," MCGOVERN SAID. "THEY'RE SO BITTER AND PARANOID ABOUT THE LIBERAL, PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY THAT THEY JUST CAN'T WRITE THE TRUTH, THEY CAN'T WRITE ANYTHING DECENT ABOUT ANY CANDIDATE WHO ISN'T SOMEBODY WHO IS TO THE RIGHT OF GENGHIS KHAN."

ALTHOUGH THE RESPONSE WAS PROMPTED BY A QUESTION ABOUT COLUMNISTS WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY AND JAMES J. KILPATRICK, MCGOVERN TOOK PAINS TO SAY HE WASN'T TALKING ABOUT THEM. HE WOULDN'T SAY WHICH COLUMNISTS HAD PROVOKED HIS IRE.

"THERE ARE JUST CERTAIN ONES THAT I FIND PARTICULARLY OBNOXIOUS," HE SAID.

THE CANDIDATE SAID HE THINKS THE AMERICAN PRESS IN GENERAL IS THE BEST IN THE WORLD AND GENERALLY TELLS THE NEWS FAIRLY. "I'M NOT TRYING TO BUTTER YOU UP. I REALLY MEAN THAT," HE SAID.

KB1035AED SEPT. 20

Levine on 8 a.m. Today news w/film report of Meany at Steelworkers Conv. where, said Levine, most think Meany made a mistake in staying neutral. Meany on film saying unions were not a political party, were not in partnership w/a pol party, and didn't own or weren't owned by a party. Levine said Meany took a gamble in attending Las Vegas conv., hoping to talk steelworkers from endorsing McG, but no one was giving odds on his success or failure.

McG would hold Pres. news conferences at least twice a month and order the Cabinet to do likewise monthly. Additionally, he'd eliminate backgrounders and open all Cabinet meetings -- except on natl. security affairs -- to the media.

AP says McG also had some "seemingly bitter" words for the national public-opinion polls. He said here "we're going to make those pollsters eat those polls before the election is over!"...ABC noted that Gallup, joining other Hill witnesses who don't see opinion polls creating a bandwagon effect for RN, expects McG will soon close the gap. He said McG could benefit significantly from disenchanted Dems who up til now opposed him as "there is always a return to the fold..." of loyal dems.

O'Brien predicted the election would be "one of the closest in history" w/Calif's 45 electoral votes the key to victory.

McG campaigners say Herb Klein used "deception and distortion" in an attempt to frighten voters by saying McG would cause the loss of 300,000 aerospace jobs in Calif.

McG charged that RN has turned his back on the UN with actions in VN, on Rhodesia, and the environment.

An interfaith network called "religious leaders for McG", of American Religious Leaders has been formed to back McG. A spokesman emphasized that participants are acting as "individual citizens," not as spokesmen for their church constituencies, and that they continue to insist that pulpits and official church channels not be used for partisan purposes.