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<td>22</td>
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<td>11/4/1972</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Phone conversation between John Davies and Gordon Strachan concerning Gallup Survey. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Article regarding the Gallup Poll. Includes poll methods and a general election report. Handwritten notes attached. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>10/30/1972</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>Typed chart of Nixon and McGovern demographics. Handwritten data is attached. 4 pgs.</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From: Dick Howard To: Gordon Strachan RE: Lou Harris Trial Heats. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>Gordon Strachan's follow up on availability of Harris poll results. Results and handwritten notes attached. 10 pgs.</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Gallup Surveys. Two phone conversations with John Davies attached. 8 pgs.</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Special Gallup File. Phone conversation with John Davies and handwritten notes attached. 10 pgs.</td>
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<td>Loose papers regarding elections and McGovern. 2 pgs.</td>
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MEMORANDUM FOR: R. R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: Gallup Pre-Election Survey

November 6, 1972

The Gallup Organization conducted a 2,000 person survey November 3-4, completing interviews Saturday at 12 noon. John Davis called me at 11:30 p.m. Saturday night to say that the results of the registered with losers 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 Gelson called to ask for the Gallup results. He said Harris would show a 20 spread. I reached John Davis through his wife at Gallup. We could only talk briefly and said Dr. Gallup had been working with the likely voter figures and would publish 63 for the President and 38 for McGovern. I told Davis the Harris lead would be 27 points.

I reached John Davis 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 losers figure that corresponds with the Gallup post-Republican Convention poll (Aug 24-27) was 63-36-4. Davis 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. Davis 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 3,700 of the 3,960 sample were likely voters.

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

5) Davis 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.
Davies
62-38
609
394
8736

62-38
→ Under
60/40 > McG

→ Secret v. Non-Secret
Ballot
750/750 - Secret / Non-Secret
4% undecided

- No way 6% could
  be undecided in this ele
- Comment on issues &
  hedging

64-36

Series of 8 3
opposed to
pre-

Out in ele
Neg. Regs
Where Regs
Where vote
vote 68
vote 64
 Papa on
machine

Hardly to vote Citizens
- oversize level a turn scale .75 +
past perf screen certain cut +
then projec turnout
60,000 + turnout
- the screen out sample dry turn out
scale then dropped to 64-36
  to 62-38
Top part of town safe - most like to vote Rep. or Demo.

- Key is where you cut off.

- Basis of past history since '48 - 60% of those who vote, if keep certain lead then becomes a likely voter.
- 2/3 of 3,500 are likely voters.

- Harris & Gallup polls - best of both samples. - Pregis will be close - 37, 62 - 35. "Likely voters" do not include regis.

Wire: Headlines - the P will likely receive largest part vote margin of any Rep. in '80 (71%)


Actual vote for P. 62.1, only 1 camp as constant
in writing: be different be different to be Hall & Co. {Hall & Co.}

expect the boss to drop everything

directors, managers, etc.

to do — stay in office &

come to everything

in crisis.

2-05-342-2686
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 rousted 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.
The lead for this final election report will reach you by wire (DPR collect) Sunday afternoon, November 5th. The lead will give final national percentages based on interviewing conducted up to Sunday, November 4th, 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

In interpreting today's final public opinion survey, was conducted between Tuesday, November 1 and noon on Saturday, November 4th. Interpreters noted their results in the presence of the President, the Secretaries of the Gallup Poll's field stations. At press time Wednesday could obtain the results of the final Sunday, with interviewing conducted up to the

GALLUP POLL
ELECTION REPORT--FOR RELEASE ON MONDAY, NOV. 6, 1972

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Davies

Data in -500 of 4000
Key punching till 6 p.m.
Computer till -10:30-11 on average
- Between 1 and 5 p.m.

Scrubs <Radio_specs> everywhere
Radio specs - off - not

- on post election survey
  - providing concurrency f/k/m.
  - need questionnaires

Deliverence

Buy NBC at 8:30 or
- not for poli
Hold ABC

(if sell) 9-9:30 pm.
October 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
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 1968. 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 synopsize 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 don't 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.


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
Dear [Name],

I hope this note finds you well. I'm just writing to update you on our recent trip to kindly city.

Sun - July 15th - arrived early

It was a nice afternoon.

The heat before my arrival.

Guess I'm always curious.

In oldened

Picture - July 16th

Flowers - July 15th

I have been feeling a little off

And as I reflect

It's been a grand run on 

3600 miles

So glad I get to see you again.

Go ahead and move on

To the next part.

Good luck!
No turnout story. But will have figs for S.
-Sat, early day.

VN poll inconclusive
- only 100 people
- the Dems + for M & a
  poll play
- R & Reps overjoyed
- little shift
  1) not going to sign Halt
  2) any McG gimmick
     won't stick
- increase P overall pop.

Day after election - P pop -
- great of pop
- but no switch in votes
- may diminish apathy
- give Rep worlds incentive

Early Fri Evening
Gallup

1) Field = Peace
2) Not
   Telephone survey neg Action weekly
   Limited interviews
   Not to be reported
   Not too conclusive
   200 people
   Expected to announce next week
   Men evening, ladies results
3) No release next week this AM
4) Meet tomorrow afternoon
5) No new survey

11/2 - 4 :
End 11 AM Sat morning
Begin 11/2 evening
No FO's

11/5 - Results off
Sun 4 AM
Write wire to newspaper

Sin touch. Thrus or Fri

Any concern?
Seen - Turnout
Mon - Final results - no break

Thur - Regional analysis on Éthnie
      - Boilerplate on Gallep.
Tues » Figure flipped - pass on Catholiè

Hubbell's Thesis.
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 \(\frac{16}{16}\) 55-39-3-3
- Illinois \(\frac{19}{19}\) 60-36-4
- Michigan \(\frac{26}{26}\) 59-34-6-1
- New York \(\frac{17}{17}\) 56-39-5
- Ohio \(\frac{29}{29}\) 61-32-7
- Pennsylvania \(\frac{19}{19}\) 57-38-4-1

cc: Larry Higby
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.
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 all 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.

go

D - It's going to/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
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys

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

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;

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.
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 ...


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.
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 trial 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 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 occurrences, 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 indication 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 a lot of feedback 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 a lot of other people. But for some reason or another, the 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 a lot 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 you'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 too close to it and we can't look at it objectively. So, I really 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 a lot 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 a lot of spread - for example, Channel 6 News in Philadelphia last night, the ABC affiliate, made a big point at the end of the Revenuse 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.
Add Davies re VA Settlement
59-36-5 Oct 13-18
Nov 2, 3, 4
Put out 3 more Talk Heat

1. Dem figure - up to 33 statistically insignif
but Addens

2. 49/45 - Manual workers
68/32 - early in campaign / New a Target Gap
Law & Order
Counter huge labor drives
Push
Amnesty
War issue
Leadership getting to them

3. Nothing on rumors - or settlement
Next index - 1-2 wks
May of people doubt an end to war by end
of yr - surprised workers
(6) Public regards last minute
for pot decision as
political + works ag
the
- LBJ the pot went the
4 days to close
- just a pot play
- very careful to presentation,
utilization of 4 yrs
of struggle, dockmen
- last elec 68, Better
- day after elec.

(5) Dcily underdog cand must
close gap if he does
in last 2 ws
- many of labor inc, elec
goals just begin thinking
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- not enough time
- gave 14 mil votes + Mc 6
for $100 - Dem didn't take it.
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**Nixon-Mc** | **Verne Demographics**

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NS = Not Sure
TO: Gordon Strachan
FROM: Dick Howard
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September 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FOLLOW UP
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

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.
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### 1972 NIXON-HUMPHREY TRIAL HEAT

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### Notes

- The table above represents a snapshot of the 1972 U.S. presidential election, showing how various demographic groups voted for Nixon-Humphrey.
- The data includes categories such as sex, race, education, occupation, age, religion, politics, region, income, and community size.
- The voting preferences are indicated by the numbers, with higher numbers typically representing a higher percentage of votes for Humphrey.
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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.
<table>
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**N.O.**
- going same as nate vote split, Mcg, not getting more, N.O.
- Gal - less N.O. Det/ Pers whereas ORC higher N.O. Det/ Wright
- whereas, ORC higher N.O. Det/ Wright
Only Regis.  Voters

Only Regis.  Voters

Total secret ballot

Total secret ballot

In sample test

In sample test

Vote the N-O.

Vote the N-O.

Sched - Release for Sun 10/14

Sched - Release for Sun 10/14

New Results

New Results

This Is The result - Erich is leading

This Is The result - Erich is leading

in all groups except blacks + jews

in all groups except blacks + jews

Demogs

Demogs

Exit Polling Dates

Exit Polling Dates

John Kel Davis

John Kel Davis

Sun Oct 8

Sun Oct 8

Leave today

Leave today

Ag 24-27 Watergate is for Public

Ag 24-27 Watergate is for Public

Response + on Coverup

Response + on Coverup

Issue -

Issue -

Act of McG. Cutting on

Act of McG. Cutting on

Coverage - 3 1/2

Coverage - 3 1/2

Only 1/2 of all voters

Only 1/2 of all voters

Regret Watergate in

Regret Watergate in

October
op - not a strong reason for voting for McG
- UN
52% - heard of cree
29% - indie some know of cree
8 in 10 - not a strong vote
3 to 1 - no 1 for McG
McG will win by Dennis Lack
October 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALEMANN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
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.
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.
D - 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.
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.
Date:

TO:

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

File: in Special Gallup File
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 64-50-6 August 28-27
How are you doing?

G: Good!

Did you get our message?

G: No.

Well you should have.

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

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

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

Absolutely no figures.

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?

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

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?

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?

D: 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?

D: 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?

D: Right.

G: When do you think you will know?

D: 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.

D: 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.
Don't bother calling and talking to anybody else.

G: No, I don't.

Because, there is a problem.

G: I understand.

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 --

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.

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

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

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.

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 jugglar -- 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........
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

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.

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They are being wired in about an hour.

G: Great! Thanks an awful lot John.

Okay Gordon - you'll hear from me later.
no figures - so last night.
A problem
- MGSiS narrowed gap ever so slightly before w/ INT simplex

60 - 3.4  * dose of it

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

Pers conferenced
- Extremely strong among Dems.
- more than weekly w/
- dinner Fri + Sat.
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.

* * * * *

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

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 strategies have sought to make political capital by cultivating a credibility gap to Nixon, the President is seen as "more sincere and believable" than McGovern by a three-to-one margin with the nation's voters.

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

In the view of many voters, 18 and older, who McGovern has named as key targets, Nixon wins by a sizable margin on this issue.

A young Pennsylvania attorney had this to say about McGovern: "I'm a Democrat, but it is difficult to support McGovern. He sounds out like a leader on a white collar but he has been swallowed in the disease which afflicts many politicians -- backing down on personal convictions to gain votes."

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

A student at an eastern college commented: "McGovern changed his opinions so much he can't be considered...

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 20-to-1 edge over Nixon on this question.

A total of 1554 adults, 18 and older, were interviewed in person in this survey, which was conducted in more than 500 scientifically selected locations across the nation during the period of August 1972.

The 'Charisma' Scale

Nixon not only scored better in the matter of candiacy 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 years which he has enjoyed. In turn 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 gave the candidate the highest position rating.

1972 Nixon 59.8% - McGovern 25.4
1970 Nixon 66.5% - Humphrey 20.7
1968 Nixon 72.5% - Johnson 16.2
1964 Goldwater 49.6% - Johnson 47.2
1960 Kennedy 42.2% - Nixon 35.1
1956 Eisenhower 66.7% - Stevenson 27.0
1952 Eisenhower 63.6% - Stevenson 37.0
THE GALLUP POLL
For Release: Monday, Sept. 25, 1972
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 guides us in presidential elections since the 1930's indicates that the present wide lead of Nixon over McGovern in the present presidential race could vanish before election day.

This is particularly true when the main testing in the polls is the candidacy of the major party's presidential candidate. In the first weeks of a campaign many voters who have presumably felt they would vote for the candidate of the opposite party have second thoughts and return to their habitual voting behavior; this is described as the "winner-takes-all" factor. And many of the "don't know" - those who have not made up their minds - decline to vote in their usual pattern.

Humphrey or Nixon? In early September, 1968
After the results of the Democratic primary in 1968, Hubert Humphrey had not helped Richard Nixon. In an early September, 1968, Nixon held a 40-point lead over Humphrey. However, Humphrey made dramatic gains during Oct. 4 and early Nov. 4, as reflected by the Gallup poll and case within the period, at a point in which a plurality of the opinion vote.

In early September of 1968, Nixon

Dewey held a substantial lead over his Democratic rival, Harry Truman. Although the Gallup Poll acquired constant polls for Truman during the ensuing weeks, polling was discontinued about three weeks before the election on the increasing assumption that the contestant with a "safe lead" line of the campaign will maintain the lead. The election figures showed Truman receiving Dewey's having gained one percentage point from early September.

"Heaten-to-Fold" Factor Operates in Many Campaigns
The "heaten-to-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 1936.

The following table shows the change in six vote for the leading candidate between the beginning of the campaign in early September, as recorded in past five, and the final election returns in November.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice in Vote for Leading Candidate Between Early Sept. &amp; Election</th>
<th>1936 (Humphrey)</th>
<th>1940 (Dupuy)</th>
<th>1944 (Sovales)</th>
<th>1952 (Vonnegut)</th>
<th>1956 (McGovern)</th>
<th>1960 (Kennedy)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960 (Humphrey) - 20 points to 1936 (Dupuy)</td>
<td>1940 (Dupuy) - 19 points to 1944 (Sovales)</td>
<td>1952 (Vonnegut) - 21 points to 1956 (McGovern)</td>
<td>1960 (Kennedy) - 19 points to 1960 (Williams)</td>
<td>1960 (Kennedy) - no change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the "heaten-to-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 Votes" of Democrats - Possible McGovern Factor
Not only does the past trial heat history, as reflected 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 described themselves as Democrats but preferred Nixon -- were asked two questions to determine whether their choice is "hard" or, solidly for Nixon or "soft".

How strong 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 won't make much difference one way or the other about him?

Analysis of the results of both questions reveals that nearly 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.
3.

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 releasable 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 screwd 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.
Complete Report on Congress Day

On offense w/Gallery

- %
  - 20% McG
  - 50% McG

Call in

Pues... me to get calls returned

Phones - both ways

Demogac - never violated

Mustache - not to take 17 pop

- as poll gap narrows

- if the pop narrows, we'll show it up.

Pol Tal Paper - men for H

PJB argue for memo - pre

Big Dig

Food prices - focus attacks Rauy & factions

Dare be McG new spots
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, WHOSE NAME HE WOULD'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 MILWAUKEE AND AIRPORT-RALLY CROWDS IN FLINT, MICH., AND COLUMBUS.
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.