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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From L. Higby to GS. RE: Message that reads, &quot;Find out when to get the report to H by.&quot; 1 pg.</td>
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<td>8/3/1971</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: National Journal Article on Polls--Andrew Glass. The last paragraph is noted as being disapproved by Haldeman. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From W.E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: '72 Convention, and the 1,800 seats needing to be allocated. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: The coordinated activities of the White House Staff and Nixon campaign for the '72 Convention. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: A rough list of White House staff members who may be attending the '72 Convention. 6 pgs.</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Murray Chotiner to John Mitchell. RE: The possibility of using Lane Dwinell as the person to look after the President's activities in New Hampshire. 1 pg</td>
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<td>From Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman. RE: Governor Walter Peterson of New Hampshire. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>A list of “State Assignments” that indicates what each state can do to contribute to the national election in '72. 8 pgs.</td>
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<td>Handwritten note from Rita to Jeb that reads: &quot;John okayed everything as proposed. I will come in full time in January…” 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Gordon Strachan to Follow Up. RE: A check-in with Magruder concerning the description of the $350,000 RNC research project. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>An expected attendance list of &quot;The Philadelphia Society&quot; in their national meeting held in Chicago. 3 pgs.</td>
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Dr. Derge called me this morning at 11:30 a.m. to report that he had just received a call from Andrew Glass of the National Journal who told Derge's secretary that he was doing an article for the Journal on polls and would therefore like to talk with Dr. Derge. Dr. Derge refused to talk to him but called me to advise of the fact that Glass had tried to reach him.

Andrew Glass called me at 1:10 p.m. and I, too, did not take the call.

A check with Ed Harper indicates that he knows Andrew Glass but had not received a call from him recently. Apparently Andrew Glass recently did an article for the National Journal on revenue sharing and gave the Administration a very rough going over. Harper reports that Andrew Glass breached an agreement with Jamie McLane on revenue sharing as he was not to directly quote Mr. McLane.

Checks with Ken Cole's office and John Campbell's office indicate that they have not received calls from Andrew Glass. Neither you nor Mr. Haldeman have received calls.

A check with Tom Benham, however, indicates that he talked with Andrew Glass about a week ago for 15-20 minutes. The story Benham gives me is that Andrew Glass called him in the regular course of his calls to Gallup and Harris, etc., about political polling. Benham reports that he reviewed his involvement in past campaigns but he emphasizes that he did not disclose Dr. Derge's name nor mine. According to Benham, the National Journal article will be out in one week. Bruce says our only contact at National Journal is Bonafede and that requests to him go through Ziegler's office.

Should I have Ziegler's office/Contact Mr. Bonafede about
Andrew Glass' article?
To: AS
From: L. Higby

Find out where to get their plane report to be by 5:00 P.M.
we didn't do any WH policy
Dent - no, have referred to today, holding that WH did refer to RM
Evans - he just returned call. Miller & CL - did not return call; CWC type of stuff; not all names knows little
Magruder -
Maxine -
Serge -
Ronald O'Neill

Grace -
- doesn't know of an Glass
- Deceptive WH info - guess: Glass is 1701, RMC (Shih) 4.6
- not mentioned

No paper left only 5 of 6 vendors.
- Market Facts
- No mention of Flor
"Peter Flor of" - then changed to City
From the White House to small-town America, the political pollsters are once more on the prowl.

A National Journal survey of political pollsters and their clients reveals that the business—which, like politics itself, is as much an art as a science—is deeply rooted in the campaign process. It revealed also that many candidates still are reluctant to see public opinion polls for what they really are: heavily weighted indicators of public opinion.

Like people who never walk under bidders even though they say they are not superstitious, candidates go on buying the polls. With the approach of the 1972 national elections, spending on public opinion polls likely to match or exceed 1968 levels.


The estimate, based on 1,600 polls which cost an average of $5,000, is conservative, one comprehensive state poll cost $13,000.

Up by bottom: The White House receives a steady stream of public opinion survey results. Some of them are commissioned, directly or indirectly, by the White House itself; others result from "playbacking"—adding questions to polls already commissioned by Republican candidates to or polls taken for other purposes.

A campaign task force working in secrecy, currently is seeking to define polling needs for Mr. Nixon's 1972 campaign.

In addition, the President requests and receives regular "calibrating" polls that are commissioned for him by friends and advisers, mainly in the business world. Similar polls were taken on a regular basis for Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

But the political polling profession does not subsist alone on surveys taken by the White House or by the President's Democratic rival.

Robert Teeter, the White House liaison man for Detroit-based Market Opinion Research, a Republican-oriented polling firm, said: "Out of the big changes we're seeing is the key down in which polling is used. It used to be that there were a few sophisticated铺asemental and senatorial campaigns using it. Now, almost all of them are in it. Many Congressmen use it. And it pops up in state legislatures and in city races."

Olive A. Quayle III, who has taken polls for most of the Democrats now in the Senate, said: "It's now almost SOP. It's fair to say that we're interested in what people think, in the best way to find out. People who have never polled before are polling now. It's part of the game."

The "new breed:" A veteran Democratic campaign manager believes the pollsters' growth is based on a new breed of politician. As he put it: "You're finding more people running for political office with less political experience than ever before. So they really don't have an intuitive base of how well they'll do. They don't have the knowledge of their state that a guy who has been in politics a long time has. But they know enough that they need to know. So the pollsters are all selling."

At its higher range, the polling profession remains a tight-knit group. It divides, almost equally, into those who poll only for Republicans, those who poll only for Democrats and those who poll for both.

But, as pollster Michael Ravanow said: "...we're all one club."

Nixon

In seeking the Presidency in 1968, Richard Nixon spent about $500,000 for the trend, most costly and most complex polling project in campaign history. Although there is no real battle for the nomination in sight, the Nixon White House has budgeted $300,000 for poll-research for the 1972 campaign.

Organisation: In the White House itself, the gathering of real information is supervised by H. R. Haldeman, the President's chief of staff, who has a background in advertising and market research. (For a report on Haldeman, see Nov. 19, p. 51.)

A campaign planing beyond the White House gates is being handled...
Gallup and Harris: The Published National Polls

The chart at top right traces President Nixon's shifts in popularity, as measured by the Gallup Poll. On each occasion, some 1,500 persons, the normal national sample, responded to the question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?"

The bottom chart covers the same time period and traces the trend in trial heats between Mr. Nixon and Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, as measured by the Harris Survey. (Gov. George C. Wallace, D-Ala., was included in the trial heats; his support ranged from 9 to 13 per cent.)

Data about the lines show the dates of the surveys. Parallel gray bands show the maximum extent of sample error.

George H. Gallup and Louis Harris respectively head the only polling organizations that regularly publish political survey results on a national scale. Both Gallup and Harris maintain extensive private polling operations, which account for the bulk of their revenues. They do not accept political clients.

The Gallup Poll, first published in 1935, now is syndicated and goes twice a week to some 100 U.S. newspaper clients. The Gallup Opinion Index, a 32-page booklet that is published monthly, offers detailed breakdowns of Gallup polling data. It has about 1,000 subscribers.

The Harris Survey, syndicated by the Chicago Tribune, goes to 125 U.S. newspaper clients. The Harris column first appeared in 1954 and is produced every week to subscribers. Harris also polls for Time, Inc. He plans to publish a hardback, 300-page Harris Survey Yearbook, which will carry data on which his column is based.

The normal lag between interview and publication in newsmagazines for both Harris and Gallup is two to three weeks.

In forecasting Presidential elections, both Gallup and Harris strive to minimize the undecided vote in their interpretations and to base their predictions upon estimates of voter turnout on election day. The two pollsters, however, employ differing methods in dealing with undecided voters and non-voters. The variations in their techniques, along with sample error, account for the spread between their estimates.

The Gallup Poll samples all adults of voting age and then exclude likely minorities. The Harris Survey does not interview people who say they are not registered and excludes them from its sample. A further exclusion of unlikely voters is made later.

The Harris interviews normally last 90 minutes. Persons are asked for their Presidential preference three times in the course of the interview: a direct question at the start, a secret "bullet box" question near the close and another direct question at the close. The Gallup Poll asks one secret "bullet box" question each in the interval.

The Gallup Poll is prepared in Princeton, N.J., by the American Institute of Public Opinion, a firm headed by Gallup.

The Harris Survey is prepared in New York by Louis Harris and Associates Inc. The Harris firm was bought in 1950 by Dowdall, Fisk and Bennett Inc., a stock brokerage firm which is publicly owned. The sale was for 30,000 shares of voting common stock, worth about $500,000 at current market prices.
The President and his top staff also have access to other private polls, conducted for Republican senatorial or gubernatorial candidates as well as by political pressure groups strictly to the Nixon Administration. These polls are supplied without charge, the Clinton surveys are undertaken by the Republican National Committee.

A pollster who disclosed to be quoted by name said, "A lot of the (White House) work that was done in the past three years was done by individual candidates who were doing it as an accommodation."

The White House intends to repay some of these favors during the 1972 campaign. A Presidential aide, speaking for "further," said: "When Nixon is ready to go into an area, an offer for a 'piggyback' (poll) will be made. I think in almost every case, it will be the Nixon White House that will offer it down rather than it being offered up to the President."

Campaign firms: The White House scheduled a series of meetings Aug. 9-11 to review the capabilities of more than a half-dozen Republican-oriented polling firms. "All of them were approached with the idea of contributing to the campaign as a sole or prime contractor," said a White House political aide. "But it's not inconceivable that a firm will decide 'I don't want any one person to know everything, so I'm going to parcel it out and these people can just like it.'"

Another White House official said: "(the Nixon campaign is) being organized on a priority basis and therefore the need for national pollsters is minimized." The emphasis, he said, will be on discerning those states where there is no 'opportunity' and concentrating on the big electoral states "which will either win or lose the election for us."

Each of the polling concerns which made presentations to the White House was screened in advance by the White House campaign committees.

Campbell-Opinion Studies Inc., handling both Nixon and Brezhnev in New York City, the White House's political polling assignments have ranged from Nesh, Wis.; J. P. Fricke's successful campaign in Tennessee last year to John V. Lydon's uphill attempt against Sen. Goldwater in New York in 1969.

Chilton Research Services, which conducted the Republican National Committee's 1972 poll in Michigan, also handled the mechanics of an intelligence effort in 1968 for Mr. Nixon mounted by Joseph Rothacker, who has since retired as a political pollster consultant.


Market Opinion Research of Detroit, which advised George Romney early in 1968 to settle his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. The company has done some presidential polling, after Mr. Nixon's selection as candidate.

Preferential Research Inc. of Princeton, N.J., which handled the 1966 and 1968 Nixon campaigns, as well as the 1964 Presidential campaign of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz. (OCR's billings from political clients in 1968 amounted to $60,000-$430,000 from the Nixon campaigns.)

Final House, although a regular White House visitor, did not attend the presentation sessions, which were held in the offices of the "Citizens" group, one black from the White House. Dege is known to be a strong patron of OCR.

Split verdict: A decision on the allocation of poll resources for the campaign is expected to be submitted to the President for his review and consideration in the next few weeks. Whether or not a prime polling contractor is chosen, a White House official said: "The polling arrangements for the 1972 campaign may not emerge in a clear-cut fashion, though the President will have a say in it." The official said: "Knowing the President, he never puts all his marbles in one basket.... He will want additional head-to-head and specialization polling."

"He never even tells anybody about it. But you always have somebody on the side who will do it, weather each clearer simpler after a Presidential night on television.... That's just Nixon. All of us are used to that. There's always an offer."

Another White House official who will be involved in the campaign, speaking privately, said, that in all probability, some of the more sensitive polling results will go to the Presidential Special, but that internal White House, without being consulted, in the White House campaign."

There are some things like, how does Aynor affect the ticket—that might be asked that even Mitchell won't get the official word. Mr. Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Aynor as...
In an interview with National Journal, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., reflected upon the role that polls played in his unsuccessful 1968 presidential campaign and in his 1970 Senate campaign.

In 1968, we were so damned short of money that we didn't use polls as much as I think we should have. Had we used them a little better, I think I might have been a little more effective.

Which is another way of saying, if you're not just looking at how popular you are as a candidate, but rather are using the polls to base your public attitudes on public issues, I think you can become a more effective candidate. You at least have the means of getting one.

The polls can also show your areas of weakness. It gives you time, if you take their early analysis, to repair those areas if it's at all possible. It also shows you areas of strength that you can be sure of, and areas that you need to buttress and maintain.

It takes time to do polling that's effective. If we had the time and the money, we would have been much better off, particularly where it counts in the issues.

For example, I knew that in '68 we had some good polls on the law-and-order issue, but we didn't have the depth of understanding on its intensity. Even though I worked at it, I didn't start early enough. I also think we might have been able to improve a little the analyses and the juxtapositions.

It's still a question of what you ask for. And what you ask for is often more determined not only by what you want but what you can afford.

In order to use polls really effectively, you need to take a series of polls in-depth.

The man or the firm that does that kind of polling has to be very sophisticated in terms of the kind of questions which give honest, objective answers. You've got to be careful. You don't set up questions that you yourself want to get answers to. So you really have to deal with professionals in this business that have a great professional reputation at stake.

In 1970, we used polling very effectively. I started early. In fact we had one of our early polls in mid-months before I even declared. We took it simply to see what the reactions might be and what the issues might be.

In other words, I wanted to know myself. Did I have political strength and where did I have it?

Then, we also had in that first (Oliver A.) Quotix poll a number of issues that we wanted to get a response to.

One of the things that I found in the polls, for example, that always intrigued me was the tremendous support we had among young people—running as high as 80 per cent support within this group. I didn't believe at first I could have so much support in the 21-25-year-old group, but it became obvious afterwards that I did.

I noticed that when we'd go into neighborhoods where there were many young married couples, how well we would do with them. In the election, the young married couples stuck with us, so the polls verified themselves.

Also, you would think in a state like mine, in Minnesota, that the agricultural and economic issues might be paramount.

But we found that there were other issues that were much more overriding than merely the economic issue. I like the law-and-order issue, for example. And we seized on that information.

So, I'm a great believer in the use of polls as a tool—providing that you're willing to spend the money to get a first-class job. You must not deal with amateurs in this business.

I think John Kerns used polls very effectively. When he put a poll that was a plus for him, he used it to build further support.

I think this can be done today. If a county chairman sees you're ahead in the polls, he tends to say, "Well, he got 'em." It's not a question of whether he likes you or not. It builds a fund of support. It creates a psychological atmosphere.

Actually, the public polls can be most important of all.

If they're credible to you, or if they show you with a lead—even if you're not ahead—if the trend seems to be contrary to your way, then it has a tendency to build its own momentum.

It's really almost better that spot announcements-commercial in television. It's a kind of political advertising in its own right.

As Humphrey noted in connection with his 1968 campaign, "an important test of a Presidential campaign is the depth and breadth of its research...which, in large degree, affects public opinion,..." The Senator as we have commissions are now polls to test the appeal of his candidacy for President in 1972.

Hubert H. Humphrey

A Candidate Looks at His Polls
his Vice Presidential runner in 1968 was influenced by ORC polls which showed him running better alone than with any possible "mate" in the Republican Party. Mr. Nixon decided to bypass better-known personalities for Agnew, who was then Governor of Maryland.

Utility. Although White House officials seek to dam up polls on their polling efforts, they say privately that polling information, while plentiful, does not play a critical role in White House political decision making.

"Nixon has never had much use for polls," a personal friend of the President said. "He only pays attention when they happen to agree with his own feelings. And he likes situations where the polls do not put him under pressure, such as his Agnew decision of 1968."

A GOP official agreed with this assessment and added: "Most of these people in the White House staffs just look at the head-to-head results—at just two numbers. It's very sad. Most of them just flip to the last page (of the polling report) to see, in summary, how we are doing."

Democrats

Of Mr. Nixon's potential Democratic opponents in 1962, only the current front-runner, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine, is now engaged in polling research. Most of the other Democratic Presidential hopefuls have so far given little or no thought to commissioining public opinion surveys for their campaigns.

Muskie: "People have been waiting around for our polls before moving," and Anna Navarro: "We're using the technique now, but the question is how to present what people want to see."

An initial round of telephone interviewing polling for Muskie was completed in late July by Mathematica Research Associates, Inc., Westfield, N.J. The data was handled by William Ryan, now a Democrat in the House, who has worked steadily with the Democrats in the South. Before joining the Muskie team in January, Miss Navarro worked for Hamilton.

Media—While it is unusual to have a pollster on a campaign staff, Miss Navarro said she felt the arrangements benefited the Senator. "I am not for polls as such, in the sense that the person who runs "knock down theories and presents conclusions.""

In that capacity, Miss Navarro has

Establishing the Tolerances

Pollsters commonly encounter skeptical members of campaign teams who suggest that by interviewing more people—or perhaps another set of people—the pollster would have produced different results.

George H. Gallup, founder of the Gallup Poll and now semi-retired, has an answer for these skeptics: "The next time you go to the doctor for a test, why not have him test all your blood?"

Gallup says that "no major poll in the history of this country ever went wrong because too few people were reached." But, he says, many have gone astray because of the way those persons were selected.

Samples: Some political pollsters, including Gallup, interview people in randomly chosen clusters, with the result known as a probability sample. For his nationwide poll, Gallup conducts about five interviews in each of 120 voting precincts, chosen on a random basis.

Others use a quota sample, a less costly technique in which people are chosen to be interviewed on the basis of specific characteristics in the same proportion as they appear in the population or whatever "universe" the pollster is studying. If 12 per cent of the "universe" is Negro, for example, a quota sample would include 12 Negroes in every 100 people interviewed.

Gallup and other published pollsters abandoned quota samples after 1948 when polls taken that way indicated that Thomas E. Dewey would defeat Harry S. Truman in the Presidential race.

Errors: A probability sample permits the pollster to measure sample error—the maximum extent to which the survey results may differ from a survey of the entire population. Quota samples do not permit statistical measurement of error.

The tables below indicate the range of error for samples of various sizes. Statistically, the error will be no larger than the figures in the tables 95 per cent of the time. As the figures indicate, the size of the sample must be increased as much as four times to cut the margin of error in half. Table I shows the maximum error—plus minus—in probability samples of varying sizes and division. The larger the sample, the smaller the error the more evenly people divide. The table shows the most likely difference by which the survey results may differ from a survey of the entire population. Quota samples do not permit statistical measurement of error.

Table I shows the number of percentage points to be discounted in reporting differences in polls. Table II is used for percentages near 50. Thus, if 50 per cent of those interviewed in 1969 and 40 per cent in 1971 responded in the same way to a question, Table III can be consulted to determine whether the difference is statistically meaningful.

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Table II: Tolerances near 20, 50

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Table III: Percentages near 50

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SOURCES: Paul L. Fein, president of the Gallup Organization.
The Ethical Dilemma: Politicians vs. Pollsters

In the spring 1963 issue of Public Opinion Quarterly, Louis Harris wrote: "The politician who is knowledgeable about politics will inevitably be invited to sit on strategy panels ... He will more and more be in a position of recommending, when and how many polls should be conducted for his client, rather than simply waiting for the political power-source to call him and ask the right question." Harris was writing from experience. In October 1939, he was one of nine men who met with John F. Kennedy to plan Kennedy's 1960 Presidential campaign. Harris went on to take polls for the Democratic National Committee until he retired from the newspaper column in 1963.

Yet, a deep involvement with a candidate's fortunes raises an ethical dilemma for some pollsters, especially those who consider themselves social scientists, seeking to discover what motivates people, rather than campaign consultants, seeking to get their candidate elected.

One pollster, Martin Field, noted in a 1963 speech before his colleagues that "there is an implicit pressure to use the polling research for other than purely objective fact-gathering and to substitute financial backers, is encouraging not workers, to bolster the confidence of its candidate, to freeze out potential opponents and to support existing ones."

In this climate, Field said, a major problem can and has been "the selection of certain individuals and groups to create a misleading impression."

Thus, "there are lack to a common "backdrop" and lack of the opposition to fill them or to steer them in a direction that will help the client." A AAPOR, In an effort to minimize unethical conduct, the American Association for Public Opinion Research, founded in 1947, has set standards for reporting poll results. An AAPOR code of ethics, adopted in 1968, calls upon members to maintain their independence of their funders. In 1948, AAPOR, which included both commercial and academic members, issued a standard "which news media can utilize when reporting poll results." Each of these news reports, AAPOR said, should include:

- The identity of the survey's sponsor;
- A description of the sample, including its size;
- An indication of the allowance that should be made for sample error;
- A report on which results, if any, are based on only parts of the total sample (for example, some poll results may represent interviews only with those persons who are likely to vote);
- A statement of technique—whether the interviewing was done in person, by telephone, by mail or on street corners;
- A statement on the timing of the interviews, putting them in context with relevant events. The AAPOR code applies both to polls which are prepared for publication and to polls taken for a private client whose results subsequently are published.

AAPOR members elect a standards committee, which is charged with investigating complaints of misuse of polls. It is currently studying allegations of irregularities in published polls taken during the Democratic national primaries in Philadelphia earlier this year.

No individual ever has been cited by the standards committee for misconduct, although the purely occasional has met with pollsters whose conduct was no matter less suspect. A AAPOR's powers to commit the board, an executive council, is empowered to warn by a citizenship or to expel members, but it has never done so. Sidney Holter, Jr., a member of the AAPOR council and former chairman of its standards committee, said: "The mood of the organization is that anything that they're in a position to be much tougher."

Irving Cope, executive vice president of the Gallup Organization and also a former chairman of the AAPOR standards committee, wrote in Polls, Television and the New Politics of Mass Publishing (1970) that the 1968 code should demand "the inclination of many pollsters to make blanket statements as to 'what the polls are showing' while encouraging the releasing of what poll results using which methods and (obtaining) what results."

NCPD: In April 1968, George H. Gallup invited some 25 pollsters to attend an organizational meeting in Santa Barbara, Calif., on the eve of the annual AAPOR conference. The sees led to formation of the National Council on Public Polls, which at present has 16 member organizations. NCPD dues are $100 a year for membership. The group's current president is Robert T. Brown, director of the Bureau of Social Research, Washington, D.C. Its truccons are three pollsters—Gallup, Harris and Archibald M. Cromey—and Richard M. Scannion, director of the Election Research Center of the Governmental Affairs Institute.

As of now, Brown said, there is no evidence that a hard-boiled effect, indeed, has poll, influences the result of elections.

The group will issue a quarterly newsletter, setting this fall, aimed at journalists and other users of polls. As yet another way of moving more sophisticated evaluations, NCPD plans to sponsor seminars for Social aides, political managers and newsmen, at which pollster techniques will be analyzed.

Legislation: There have been a few attempts to enact laws to regulate pollsters, but no has succeeded.

Rep. Lucille N. Nedzi, D-Mich., is sponsor of a Truth-in-Polling Act (H.R. 5103), which has been referred to the House Administration Committee.

The provisions of the Nedzi bill parallel those of the AAPOR and NCPD code. In one respect, the bill goes further by requiring public filing of the percentage of interviews in the sample that were completed and the percentage of persons in the sample who refused to be interviewed.

In March 1969, a bill aimed at restraining control of the publication of any prediction poll passed both houses of a Texas legislature. It was vetoed by Democratic Gov. W. W. Caruthers. It was vetoed by Democratic Gov. W. W. Caruthers.
been working closely with Robert D. Squier, 36, head of Communications Co. of Washington, D.C., and Mas-
kie’s media consultant. (For a report on Squier and the role of political media consultants, see Vol. 2, No. 40, p. 2128.)

"Squier is involved in the whole process," Miss Navarro said. "We work as a team and talk about what his data needs are. Polling is moving more toward a media orientation because polls are getting their information through the press.

Meanwhile, she said, "The Senator is always briefing us for information." Mask is planning to receive indepth surveys from five or six primary states by January 1972. In addition, Mask requires polling research on such po-

tical questions as how closely would be affiliate himself with Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, a controversial figure who had been a source of dele-
gate support in Illinois.

Telephones - The Hamilton firm uses a "hit system," seeking to reach only persons who intend to vote in selected W. Davenport surveys. In upholding the telephone-based technique, Hamilton and Miss

Navarro explain how their attempt to keep the simple unbiased and to est-

ablish a pool of representative public-
hit system. The telephones also call for a few persons who answer the field

questions in a manner comparable to that of the public at large.

For the "Mailer" calls, numbers are

drawn from telephone books in each area to be surveyed and a dia-

logic script is put together to create a

mail-in telephone follow-up. In all, Hamilton said, the firm makes about 5,000

calls per week. The firm has also

The firm then interviews call-back

times of its 200 interviews. For each 200 interviews, the firm knows how many

people will answer the phone. They also employ a self-mailing "verification notice," which most people ask for after being

given a telephone number by the caller.

The verification notice is sent to parl.

tionals - in general, pollsters for Demo-

crats could not have their research taken seriously, and the Markle-

ted pictures have elected entourage from

established pollsters. They worry, in

private, at what will happen if it has been polluted who will not, and that the

distance in a Missouri Presidential campaign.

"Since when did a 24-year-old kid know something?" said a veteran poll-

ster who works mostly for Democrats, referring to Miss Navarro. "I couldn't handle a Presidential campaign when I was 24. I think it's silly."

Another pollster remarked private-

ly, "Basing a major campaign on this type of information in a primary fight is a terribly risky thing to do, because if Muskie falls on his feet in Florida, he's not going to get up again. If they are going to have a research program like that, how are they going to run the country?"

Taffet Pleases

Robert Fetter

Anna Navarro

"My own horseback judgment is that our supporters ought to be able to tell us what's on the minds of people. Also, people are much more nationally oriented; you don't have the kind of Balkanization on issues that you used to have." Hart nevertheless said that the Mc-

Govern forces probably would poll in Wisconsin and Oregon "to find out what issues predominate." There, Hart said, "I think that would be worth the effort. But that's January or Febru-

ary."
A 1972 campaign manual prepared by Lawrence F. O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, states: "There is no campaign expense which should be approached with more care and investigation than the selection of a pollster."

"Each pollster develops and refines his own particular methodology. Each will take a different view of the candidate's needs and devise a sample approach to meet those needs." O'Brien advises candidates who plan to take polls to solicit proposals from at least three professional organizations.

Another campaign handbook, The Political Pollster, by Don Nimmo (Prentice Hall Inc., 1970), notes that many polling firms are primarily engaged in market research and undertake political polls only in election years. An article by O'Brien advises that "The cost of doing a political poll is roughly the same as any other poll in the field of public opinion research on a regional or national basis."

On the other hand, Nimmo says, there are firms that take a greater interest in their political than their commercial clients. "These firms provide the clients with a written proposal, prepared in consultation with sampling statisticians in complicated cases, which outlines what the pollster intends to do, how, and at what cost." Listed below are the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of 74 U.S. firms engaged in political public opinion research on a regional or national basis. The list excludes part-time consultants and firms primarily engaged in campaign management. The name and title of each firm's principal officer are included.

**Directory of Major Political Public Opinion Polling Firms**

- **American Institute of Public Opinion;** Dr. George H. Gallup (chairman), 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-3010.
- **Analytical Research Institute Inc.;** Irving Gillman (president), 104 S. Division St., Pekinville, N.Y. 10066; (914) 735-5855.
- **Harriet Andrews Research Services Inc.;** Marian Andrews (director), 4007 Falls Road, Baltimore, Md. 21211; (301) 659-6363.
- **Arizona Institute for Research;** Marian Lupi (field director), 1201 East Almeda, Tucson, Ariz. 85701; (602) 674-3800.
- **Aber and Sawyer Co. Inc.;** Solution Dirks (president), One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 754-0790.
- **Bordy and Hachschke Inc.;** Robert L. Hatcher (president), 457 Waverly St., Palo Alto, Calif. 94301; (415) 267-1004.
- **Brown and Borch (president), New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 547-7081.
- **Field Research Corp.;** Marvin D. Field (research director), 135 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif. 94104; (415) 392-5766.
- **First Research Co.;** David Kaiser (president), 143 N. Buena Vista Dr., Miami, Fla. 33132; (305) 371-3851.
- **John H. Friend Inc.;** John H. Friend (president), 261 N. Jenkins St., Mobile, Ala. 36601; (205) 435-3795.
- **Louis Harris and Associates Inc.;** Louis Harris (president), One Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020; (212) 240-7414.
- **Martin Marcum, 1490 Hotel Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Okla. 73108; (405) 236-0933.
- **Sidney Holland and Associates Inc.;** Sidney Holland Jr. (president), 259 Mainland Ave., Edgewater, Md. 21231; (301) 465-3555.
Opinion Firms in the United States

(010) 374-0605


National Analysis Inc.: Peter R. Vosnes (chairman); 1015 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107; (232) 527-8109.

National Opinion Research Center: Norman M. Earle (chairman); University of Chicago; 6030 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637; (312) 649-5620.

Opinion Research Corp.: Joseph C. Bevis (chairman); North Hawaiian St., Princeton, N.J. 08546; (609) 924-5900.

Opinion Research Laboratory: Gay E. Rainbird (president); 2108 North Pacific, Seattle, Wash. 98103; (206) 562-9321.

Opinion Research of California: Don M. Muchmore (chairman); 5200 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90024; (213) 444-5715.

Political Surveys and Analysis Inc.: Clark W. Roll Jr. (president); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5610.

Political Affairs Analysis Inc.: Joseph Napolitan (president); Michael Rowan (executive vice-president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-6031.

The Public Pulse Worldwide Inc. (subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.): Oscar B. Fallow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 694-0139.

Public Opinion Research: Gerald D. Hush (president); 1400 Connecticut Ave. NW., Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 293-1631.

Oliver A. Orsini III and Co.: Howard Orsini (chairman); 149 Water Street, Boston, Mass. 02109; (617) 684-7600.

Public Opinion Associates: Robert W. Simmons (president); 135 Boston St., Boston, Mass. 02109; (617) 684-7600.

Surveys and Research Services Inc.: Dorothy D. Descomps (president); 2400 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139; (617) 492-2953.

Survey Research Institute: Richard B. Stone (president); 1141 North Central Expressway; Dallas, Tex. 75231; (214) 691-6978.

Surveys and Research Corp.: Libby Erhman (executive vice-president); 2101 N. W. St., Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-1935.

Wallace Farmer: Richard J. Parmann (research director); 1417 Laclede Ave., Des Moines, lowa 50309; (515) 274-6161.

Joe B. Williwaw Research: Joe B. Willock; 10 N. Market St., Baltimore, Md. 21202.

Daniel Yankelovich Inc.: Daniel Yankelovich (president); 575 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7500.

* Member of the National Council on Public Polls.

- Data are always published in full.

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The late Elmo Roper, a poorly financed politician, said that the polling business sat on a three-legged stool: sampling, interviewing and interpretation.

This base has remained constant since Roper began polling in the mid-1990s. But the kind of information that sophisticated politicians are seeking and the kind of techniques that politicians are using to obtain it for them has changed profoundly.

A Midwestern senator said, "Quite frankly, the trial heats and the stock question about approval is probably the least valuable, so far as I'm concerned, because there isn't a thing you can do with that kind of information."

(The senator, who is up for re-election in 1972, will be polling heavily, but he does not want his constituents to know about it because "it weakens my posture.")

"Utility," William Hamilton, now polling for Mississippi, said that private polls can tell candidates what issues are important enough to change voting decision; whether these issues can be melded into a campaign theme, and how the overall political climate, including the other candidates in a race, will affect the outcome.

(Pollster Tolly Plesser has his polls revealed that a 45% hypothetical in-home-study was a major factor in the canvass contact in Texas in 1970, because of the voters who were attracted to the polls by the liquid income.)

Instructed groups who are seeking to affect the outcome of an election may take polls that reflect complex data.

"COPE can buy in bulk and do whatever they want to do;" said politician John Jethro. "It gives them a decision center over the campaign." The Committee on Political Education, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO, has been taking polls since 1959. For a report on COPE, see Vol. 2, No. 27, p. 1663.

Similarly, the American Medical Political Action Committee, AFSCME, through its state organizations, spent more than $170,000 to test for prospective candidates in the state, and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the PAC pollster, said: "Those test results of AMAPAC I have done as test to prove the systematic analysis of the political process as an organization in exercise today." (For a report on AMAPAC, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 1699.)

In Barbra's view, "A critical ability of a good (polling) firm is to have experience in overcoming the hesitancy on the part of some campaign managers to really make use this information. If you accept a campaign as an economic concept—that is, you are going in attempt to allocate limited resources in the most efficient way—not this information is crucial."

Costs and timing: Thomas W. Berg, vice president of Opinion, Inc., and campaign manager for the White House, said: "If you're running a campaign where you're going to spend $500,000, you better put 10 percent aside for polling research, because it can make the other 90 percent twice or three times more effective."

"You might want to do a base study early in the campaign year."

This could be an interview that lasts 45 minutes to an hour and it's a big, expensive undertaking. But, front, that we can do selective studies. We can check on changing issues.

"And then, we can do a small-scale telephone effort, re-interviewing certain people (a technique known as panelback to see if they have changed their minds. You can develop a sophisticated tool and it can still have good economy to it."

Costs of seemingly comparable surveys can vary as much as 50 percent, depending on whether you use an overhead and the profit margin.

"Sensitivities and subcultural candidates commonly budget $30,000 for polling research over the course of a campaign. One statewide poll in a big state may cost $10,000 to $15,000; a survey of a single-constituency district can cost up to $10,000."

In the process of conducting both polls, are essentially the same; the only major savings is in travel.

"People are beginning to see that this kind of data is much more valuable if you can establish a trend," said Tocen of Detroit's Market Opinion Research. This, of course, entails multiple interviews in the field, interviewers—are paid $2 an hour or more, plus expenses. PMR's Brights said: "The difficulty you have in interviewing two between companies is knowing whether you're measuring apples and apples or apples and oranges. There are a lot of ways to get costs in this kind of research. Unfortunately, there is a direct

Feedback

Olive A. Gr Probe III take confidential polls for many leading Democratic politicians. He also takes polls for Harper's magazine, which uses Opinion's polling company outlooks and advice, in turn, is crowed by the Mississippi Star and the Post-Dispatch.

"We bounce things off Olive," said William B. Bliss, the Harper's pollster. "In other words, heres a guy who wants to do a piece about a particular politician. We might send the writer to talk to Olive. Olive knows a hell of a lot about embedded pollsters in this country."

Techniques
The Rise of the Polls: Bloopers Amid Improving Aim

Although political polls are commonplace today, the use of scientific surveying techniques is less than 40 years old. Yet, in one way or another, polls have been part of the campaign scene for nearly 150 years.

Straw polls: In 1834, reporters for the Hartford Courant walked the streets of Washington, D.C., asking people whom they preferred as their Presidential candidate. In that first recorded United States newspaper poll, the Pennsylvania Independent found Andrew Jackson running well ahead of John Quincy Adams. (Although Jackson won a popular plurality, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which picked Adams.)

Newspapers took straw polls throughout the rest of the 1800s. The Farm Journal became the first national magazine to take one—in 1912. By 1928, newspapers and magazines were conducting not statewide and state and local straw polls.

For the first prominent of the magazine straw polls was that of the Literary Digest, which began polling in 1916. The Digest's list of correct Presidential primaries remained unbroken until 1936, when the magazine reported that Alfred M. Landon would win 59.4 percent of the popular vote and 370 of 531 electoral votes. Actually, Franklin D. Roosevelt won 60.7 percent of the popular vote and 523 electoral votes.

George H. Gallup, a pioneer in public opinion polling, was at the time that the Digest would report that 10 percent of the public would fall on its feet; he was simultaneously actually predicting the results.

As Gallup noted, the Digest mailed its more than 10 million sample ballots to car owners and telephone subscribers—two groups the tenets neglected with high-income people who tended to vote Republican—and self-didactic. The 2,370,525 respondents to the Digest poll failed to be the wellbeing and non-idealistic subgroup in the sample, which misled the results still further. Former United States Senator and Dolittle of a list set all of them viral with a poll.

The Digest's poll results helped drive the Literary Digest out of business as public confidence in the magazine sagged.

Scientific polls: The first scientific polls—based on a representative sample of the population—was taken in July 1935, when Fortune reported on public reaction to Roosevelt and his New Deal programs.

The poll was taken by three reporters, Paul F. Chatering, Elmo H. Roper Jr. and Richardson K. Wood. They had been conducting private market research and were looking for a dramatic way to prove the degree of accuracy that could be obtained through scientific sampling. The idea was especially attractive to Roper who, according to his son, Burns W. Roper, was fascinated by politics and "always wanted to be a United States Senator.

Gallup's scientific sampling also was published in 1935, when a group of editors agreed to ridicule his findings in a Sunday column. Archibald M. Crossley entered the business in 1936, at the behest of King Features.

For many years, Roper, Gallup, Crossley and WORSY were "the key three" of the polling business, most of the pollsters active today got their start in their organizations.

The three men also were great friends who sat on which of the three would come closest to predicting the outcome of a Presidential election. Roper won in 1936, 1940 and 1944, each time collecting a sum of Social from Gallup and Crossley.

Although Roper used private polls internally to chart the public mood, the first major private public poll was taken by Roper for Jacob J.avis in 1936 when Davis was running on the Liberal Party and Republican lines for a House seat from upper Manhattan. Despite a fiasco; the pollsters' success in predicting election results caused them some 20-inch status. But the bubble burst in 1941.

After the election, the Social Science Research Council, a private group, named a committee to inquire into the pollsters' methods.

The panel found that the sampling method they used was a valid one, but that the publicists, in their overconfidence, ignored both undecided voters and others who had switched from Dewey to Truman late in the campaign. They had also underestimated the turnout, which made Dewey look better than he should have.

Through post-election polling, the committee found that one voter in seven decided how he would cast his ballot during the last two weeks of the campaign and that 75 percent of this group voted for Truman.

Controversy: In 1968, a dispute arose shortly before the Republican National Convention that many pollsters now feel damaged public trust in the business.

At the time, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York was buying much of his campaign for the Presidential nomination on the ground that polls showed he would be a stronger candidate than Mr. Nixon, when pitted against the eventual Democratic nominee.

Rockefeller and Nixon aides were circulating private polls with conflicting results on various "trial heats." Then a Gallup Poll, taken just 19.21., showed Mr. Nixon as the stronger candidate. Three days later on July 30, a Harris Survey was published, with data collected July 25-29, which showed Rockefeller more likely to defeat Hubert Humphrey or Eugene J. McCarthy. On Aug. 1, George H. Gallup Jr. and Louis Harris issued an unprecedented joint statement that Rockefeller had "now moved to an upper level" over the two Democrats. The statement was widely interpreted as a public rebuff by the Gallup organization, but none of the principals has discussed the incident publicly.

When the campaign cut under way, the pollsters accurately predicted the Humphrey surge in October and the decline in support for the Rockefeller-Wallace, the third-party candidate.

—Ann Northrup
The product: John Kraft, who has 18 years' experience working for both Democratic and Republican candidates, said he normally prepares a written report, about 20 pages in length, of which three-fifths is interpretation. "I'll also supply the (computer) printouts when I'm asked to, but I've had only two such requests."

Kraft, like most other pollsters, prefers to do the telephone interviews personally, meeting with the candidate and his staff. "In most cases, it's best to talk it out," he said.

Unfavorable reports can bring complications.

Teeter recalled: "I had one two years ago who had been working hard for two or three months and got a bad poll and just sat in a hotel room and drank for about four days. We couldn't make him: he was in shock because the poll still showed him 10-15 points behind. He eventually won. . . . Now, we talk a lot about how to keep bad news off people when we do it. It's a very tricky thing."

Developments: Most pollsters interviewed by National Journal said they recently have started making more exhaustive studies of sub-groups and are advising the response to various issues. "There's particular interest in the young voters," Teeter said.

Quickly, he added that he is asking more math-related questions. "It's the sort of question I don't like to ask, because I don't think people really know how they get their information. I'm amazed at how little the television news people know sometimes about the breakdown of their audiences in a given market. But we're learning to work better together."

ORC's Benham said his firm had been able to shorten substantially the time period from "problem to data" by using more telephone interviews. "We've also learned how to weight them better."

William M. Emerson, president of Central Surveys Inc., in a telephone interview from St. Petersburg, Fla., that his firm now was able to provide more reliable results to political clients by taking advantage of the use of computers at the interviewing sites.

Robert K. McMillan of Unstan Research Services, a proprietor of telephone interviewing, said: "In a day, you can do here what it would take you four weeks to do if you had to mail out questionnaires to interviewees. I also think we get higher cooperation rates around the country than is possible in face-to-face interviews. In some areas, you can't get people to go in at all."

Cheserow: Telephone survey research for politicians has mushroomed with the widespread use of bulk-rate long-distance (WATS) lines and computerized random generation of telephone numbers. But some members of the political polling fraternity remain opposed to telephone surveys.

Charles W. Roll Jr., president of Political Surveys and Analysis Inc. (PS&A), which has done most of the polling commissioned by Nelson Rockefeller, said: "If I were buying surveys for a political campaign that I felt was terribly important, and there was enough money, I wouldn't touch a telephone survey. I have reason to believe (from Rockefeller campaigns) that some people are far too critical of individuals, when asked about them over the phone, and that, of course, creates a different result."

"If we were involved in a Presidential campaign, I would throw the telephone away, unless there was an extremely urgent time factor involved."

(Staff is employee of George H. Gallup, who founded PS&A from its founder, Archibald M. Cranes, in 1970. PS&A uses Gallup's sampling, interviewing and tabulating facilities, which are based solely on field interviews.)

PS&A's Barbara said: "You can put more about a person at the door than on the telephone. The telephone's greatest strength is that you get wider distribution of your sample and interviewees."

Dore M. Machinist, chairman of Opinion Research of California, who has done computerized studies of telephone and field interview polls, and the field work produces superior results and should be used, except in high-IEnumerable polls of national scope. With no computer contact, there's a lot wrong."

Poll data usable:

Sample methods: Political pollsters also divide their time between to quota as probability samples. Of a discussion of sample error, see statistical assumptions.

Quickly said: "Nothing does probability samples, strictly speaking. And if you did, it would be deceiving, because you'd be cheaper at an arm and a leg for a great degree of accuracy than he needs."

"None of the private pollsters do complete probability sampling because of the prohibitive expense."

(Quickly noted that this was not the case for the Gallup Poll and the Harris Survey, 'because their necks are on the line').

"You pick up a point to a point-and-a-half of margin with probability samples. I've done them when I've had to, when I knew I was in a different ball game."

John Kraft and his wife, Fran Eckell Kraft, who is also a well-known pollster, agreed with Quickly. "There is no significant difference in the result," Kraft said.

Several pollsters disagreed, however. One was PS&A's Roll, who said: "The repetitiveness of quota samples went out in 1948, with the Truman-Hays election. You don't know what your sample error is. Luck is with them. But it's certainly not enough to hang your hat on, I would think."

ORC's Benham said his firm used only probability samples. However, he said: "In more situations, you can use the best scientific probability sample or a mediocre quota sample and get the same results because there's no critical element that would make an essential difference."

Assessment:

Pollsters and politicians exert almost equally, reading each other and yet aware of each other's limitations.

Both are victims of a vicious circle in politics: the degree of media exposure affects poll results; poll results affect the amount of campaign funds that can be raised; campaign funds affect the degree of media exposure. Some political pollsters believe that the media is in an industry of its own, receiving special treatment from the political candidates and organizations.

Another California, Virgil Barabba, said: "We've an awful lot of what we refer to as the neighborhood syndrome. You give a poll a curve--you make a fancy presentation--and he says, 'Well, that's great.' And he opens up the right-hand drawer of his desk and puts it in there, and that's the last time it's used.

"Then, if someone asks what are
you basing all those decisions on, he opens up the drawer and says, 'Well, we got a sur-

MOR's Teeter believes the worst is over. "Two or three years you," he said, "we had a real problem with guys who were using it for the first time and thought they had just bought themselves magic buttons. With some people, it became a magic. If they didn't know what to do, they had another poll taken."

Getting more: From the client's side, a Democratic Senato said privately: "I don't know of anyone around here who is having putting done and who wouldn't like to get more than he's getting out of it. But I know it's simply a matter of dollars. They have a product to sell, they have costs."

If finances are a central problem to the politician, they are even more of one to the politician. A Republican Senator from the Northeast said: "There isn't any question that I couldn't solve if I wanted to spend $25,000 for a survey."

But the difficulties range beyond insufficienried funds. A campaign manager who has worked with politicians for many years said privately: "It is, in truth, a real problem in the business for someone who really wants to drive it wide open. He could drive all these guys out. For example, when all a large firm is looking to make a decision and come to an agreement, the problem may not be a lack of the necessary data, but rather the inability to analyze the data properly."

In 1968, the National Republican Congressional (Campaign) Committee and its Senate counterpart bought a $200,000 series through Dynamics Inc., a subsidiary of Spencer-Roberts and Associates, a Callahan-based campaign consulting firm. Dynamics is now defunct; at the time, it was headed by Vincent Butzbach.

Neither the House nor the Senate committee is scheduling any polling projects for 1972. Paul A. Ticle, director of public relations for the House group, said: "We got committed to doing the 1968 thing without assessing as much as we should have in advance."

(For a report on the House and Senate GOP campaign committees, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 2003.)

Pressure points: In a profession linked closely to the corporate community, but with no codes of standards, salesmanship remains a persistent problem. "It's the put problem in the business," said Albert H. Cann, a Washington-based polling consultant. Cann, an author, with Charles Roll, of Hope and Fears of the American People (Universe Books, 1971), which is based on Gallup research.

"The only way you can seek new business is to beat down the other guy's methods and try to show politicians that they are not getting anything too useful. There are no teaching materials you can use unless you break the confidence of a private (political) client."

Political pollsters also are encountering fresh problems in seeking to assemble valid public opinion data. An executive at Chisolm Research Services in Philadelphia said: "There's no use kidding anybody, the cooperation rate is decreasing every year. It used to be 20 years ago if we got a 3-per cent re-
fusal rate we were concerned about it; today, they are running 10 and 12 per cent."

"It's all part of the range of research techniques. People today are just more sophisticated. You know, a salesman calling up and saying he's making a survey and the next thing he's knocking on your door."

Douches Burke polls can cause complications in campaigns that are not always readily apparent. For example, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., received a poll from Jeff Pless in 1968 that showed Javits gaining his Democratic opponent, Paul O'Dwyer, 45-16. Javits' advisors were worried about releasing the poll, despite the strong lead, for fear it could not be believed and would raise a "credibility issue." Yet another consideration was fear that it would be harder to raise money if potential backers thought Javits could not lose.

The poll was nevertheless "kicked" to the New York Times for its "hand-waft" effect and because it showed Javits to be the strongest Republican politician in New York state at the time.

The release of the poll led to a charge by O'Dwyer that it was a delib-

erate attempt to influence the New York Daily News Poll, which was scheduled to commence canvassing just after the GOP poll was released.

While the Javits "kick" was a deliber-

ate one, candidates often insist that a pollster report directly to them in an effort to control access to private polls on the campaign staff.

Pollsters and politicians are coming increasingly to agree that there is a limit to what surveys can accomplish. MOR's Teeter said: "You can't go out and say to some guy, 'Look, if you go and take this stand, you'll increase your support 4 per cent.' That's crazy."

Progress: If political pollsters are still searching for a better foundation, there are nevertheless signs of prog-

ress.

O'Dwyer said: "A couple of years ago, everybody was trying to get into the act. And that's not happening any-

more. A lot of commercial firms—the guys who were recording stuff and so forth—began to dabble in politics, looking at it as a new market. But you've got to know something about politics in this business. It's an art as well as a science."

Teeter believes that what is needed is a better fusion between the campaign and the pollsters—politically sensi-
tive men inside the campaign organiza-
tion who are at the same time highly sophisticated about the use of polling techniques. "It's a funny business," another well-known pollster said. "When you put all this stuff done, the candidates look at it and if it doesn't really agree with them, they're very suspicious. But if it agrees with them, it's the best poll in America."
September 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: '72 Democratic Convention

I think it important to start a national publicity campaign to show that the Democrats still owe $750,000 from their '68 Chicago Convention. Perhaps our friends at the Tribune could do a series of stories on this deficit and later have one of the national news magazines pick the story up.

The IRS is apparently checking the records of the First National Bank of Chicago regarding Convention liabilities as part of an investigation into tax matters on Matthew J. Danaher, Clerk of the Cook County Circuit Court.

Also, the Tribune could repeat comments by potential Democratic candidates at the time of the recent announcement of Miami Beach. You'll recall in the Washington Post most all criticized Chicago for '68 troubles. I would think a build-up of publicity on the DNC Chicago debt plus current attitudes of national Democratic leaders would help estrange Illinois from our opposition.

What think?

cc: H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: W. E. Timmons
SUBJECT: '72 Convention

For tentative planning purposes, I will ask the RNC for 1,800 Convention hall seats to be allocated as follows:

I. BOXES & PREFERRED SEATING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President's Family &amp; special friends</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>President's Regular friends</td>
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<tr>
<td>President's Senior staff &amp; Wives</td>
<td>50 (boxes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice President, his family &amp; special friends</td>
<td>30 (boxes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice President's Regular friends</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice President's senior staff &amp; wives</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet Officers/ Agency Heads &amp; Wives</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Administration officials &amp; wives</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Ambassadors &amp; wives</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal campaign staff &amp; wives</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign big givers &amp; wives</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

Preferred Subtotal: 940 (180 boxes)

II. GALLERY SEATING*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
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<td>President's Senior staff's friends</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet Officers/Agency Heads' friends</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House, Campaign &amp; Administration staff</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego Nixon Host Committee</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon Youth</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gallery Subtotal: 860

GRAND TOTAL: 1,800

*Seats to be located at best camera angle from networks anchor booths.

NOTE: We plan to have "fillers" available to take prime seats should assigned ticket holders fail to show for one of the evening conventions sessions.

Do you anticipate this will satisfy the President's personal requirements? How about other categories?

YES ___ NO ___ OTHER: _______________________

(End of Document)
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: '72 Convention

To assist in planning the coordinated activities of the White House staff and Nixon campaign effort I need some decisions regarding involvement of the President's staff.

1. SIZE OF CONTINGENT: Estimate that there will be 25 male staff and 25 secretaries (total 50) from White House staff.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

2. TRANSPORTATION: White House staff will be responsible for their own travel at non campaign expense to and from San Diego. However, the campaign organization will be responsible for ground transportation in the convention city. (This assumes no White House cars or military drivers for other than the President and his immediate party when he personally participates).

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

3. FOOD SERVICE: White House staff will use mess facility for campaign staff which, along with the hotel rooms, will be paid for by the campaign organization. Meals outside the mess are the personal responsibility of the individual staffer.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

4. COMMUNICATIONS: The White House Communications Agency will provide telephone, walkie talkie and pageboy service in San Diego for White House staff. Unlike automobiles this service is not highly visible and can be justified on basis of President's need to communicate with his staff. A White House PBX and Campaign Switchboard will be coordinated to permit interchange of calls.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE
5. SAN CLEMENTE: Those delegates, politicians and staff who receive invitations to visit with the President at the Western White House will be shuttled by military helicopter from a central contact point in San Diego.

APPROVE ___________  DISAPPROVE ___________

Bob, this is not meant to be binding but to serve as a planning guide for convention activities.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: William E. Timmons
SUBJECT: '72 Convention

September 3, 1971

To assist in my preliminary planning for the National Convention, I've drawn up a rough list of those White House staff whom the President may wish to attend the San Diego event. Will you please review the list, make changes as appropriate, and let me know? I recognize this approved list will be tentative and should be used only as a guideline. There are obviously a number of staffers I haven't included but who would probably want to attend the event.

This is important not only to room assignments but will bear on planning for chartered aircraft, ground transportation requirements, Convention tickets, office equipment, food service arrangements, etc.

I have not included rooms set aside for the President and Vice President, their families and friends.

CONFIDENTIAL
### Presidential Floor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Room</th>
<th>WHCA Phones</th>
<th>Authorized Secretary</th>
<th>Secretary’s Room</th>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Chapin</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Haldeman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Highby</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hughes</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>6. Tkach</td>
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<td>7. Woods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Ziegler</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Butterfield</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Secret Service</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Office</td>
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<td>12. Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Valet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

**TOTAL PERSONNEL:** 13 (9 staff & 4 secretaries)  
**TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED:** 14  
**TOTAL WHCA PHONES:** 12

### Presidential Floor (Vice President's Wing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Room</th>
<th>WHCA Phone</th>
<th>Authorized Secretary</th>
<th>Secretary’s Room</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1. Sohmer</td>
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<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Goodarle</td>
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<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Keene</td>
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<td>4. Guard</td>
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<td>5. Malatasta</td>
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<td>6. Gold</td>
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<td>1/2</td>
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<td>7. Thompson</td>
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<td>8. Military Aide</td>
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<td>9. Doctor</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Office</td>
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**TOTAL PERSONNEL:** 15 (9 staff & 4 secretaries)  
**TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED:** 14  
**TOTAL WHCA PHONES:** 12
## FIRST WHITE HOUSE FLOOR

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<thead>
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<th>Staff</th>
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<td>Finch</td>
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<td>Garment</td>
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<td>Johnson</td>
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TOTAL PERSONNEL: 40 (24 staff & 16 secretaries)
TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED: 36
TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 28

## SECOND WHITE HOUSE FLOOR

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<td>Buchanan</td>
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<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goode</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shumway</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snyder</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECOND WHITE HOUSE FLOOR (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Room</th>
<th>WHCA Phones</th>
<th>Authorized</th>
<th>Secretary's Room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Costello</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Khachigian</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Huebner</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ball</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Elbourne</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Warren</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Whelihan</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Bell</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Cashen</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Andrews</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Atkins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Walker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Millspaugh</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Strachan</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Kehrli</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Grassmuch</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Hendricks</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Brown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Huntsman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Hullin</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Patterson</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Kingsley</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Cheney</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Adams (1st lady)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Schmid (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL PERSONNEL: 43 (34 staff & 9 secretaries)
TOTAL ROOMS UTILIZED: 31
TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 27

GRAND TOTALS:
PERSONNEL: 109 (76 staff & 33 secretaries)
ROOMS: 95 (including 12 offices and 2 secret service rooms)
WHCA PHONES: 80
Each of three floors will have four White House offices (two per wing).

In each office there will be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three IBM Typewriters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Secretarial Desks &amp; Chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House Phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three IBM Dictating machines &amp; Transcribers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usual office supplies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locator Board to sign out (one per wing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 am - 8 pm Volunteers (not President's floor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xerox machine (one per wing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimeograph machine (one per wing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to regular staff & secretaries it appears 17 additional rooms should be blocked off for use by White House service personnel. It is anticipated that since they will be performing their duties, the Federal government should pay for their rooms and meals as well as furnishing transportation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Staff</th>
<th>Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Telephone Operator</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. WHCA staff</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. WHCA staff</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. WHCA staff</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. WHCA staff</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. WHCA staff</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. WHCA staff</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Military</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Military</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Military</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Military</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Military (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Military (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Military (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Military (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Secret Service</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Secret Service</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Secret Service</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Secret Service</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Staff</td>
<td>Rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Secret Service</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Secret Service</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Secret Service (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Secret Service (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Secret Service (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Secret Service (VP)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL SERVICE PERSONNEL: 34  
TOTAL ROOMS: 17  
TOTAL WHCA PHONES: 17 (one per room)

NOTE: Nearby military housing can be made available as sleeping quarters for additional service staff in town performing official duties.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

-- Slans, K, Washburn, Degan, Nunn, GS, JSM, Sloan
- JSM: How about out of camera, part of check comm. / dark / Sec -
  Keeping going / copy
- JSM: Change 223 to 530
  GS: move.
  JSM: Was not decided. In committed to top but will/will continue spoken
  on.
  GS: afte 68, used RNC after Convention.
  JSM: open up, RNC run own shop. How is it going.
  GS: RNC ran.
  JSM: relatable, mutual.
  GS: how did RNC feel on?
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1. RNC is not to have their own fundraising operation.

2. Have Dugan/Allen/Sloan meet next week to recede the RNC specs.

3. Don't move on RNC until after convention.

4. After the meeting move on Milbank etc. under Sloan.

5. No turnover until after

6. Sloan reported stroke - copy.

No DM aware.
ms → K. afterMulady
to bring up

144,000 → cats to date
including 35,000
advanced by
K. repaid note
from cash

[Crossed out and struck through:]

- needs 3 budgets
  - [X] Tom Brady
  - Flex [X]
  - Fix [X]

[Underlined and crossed out:]

Call staffing up for KS.
- Backing up [X]
- Working on office space [X]
Com Care Syst
- Subpoenaed Gleason
  68 records + 70
  records
- Sanitized & destroyed
  control records
Judge refused to
hear 5th or 6th
Com Care - 5-6
years bailout
Gleason combined

Charge to
Comm for Re-Election
$1     $0.50
Fin Comm for Re-Election
$1
U Sources
1. K - 100
2. Nunn - 0 - 100
3. Anson
4. K

Sloan - job to Nunn
on pledges

K to Mill at last of names + cross off list
Sloan to Nunn & Nunn to Mill
K to Mill
AG to Nunn & Mill

Anson - Mill to Bill &
checking the funds raised
RNC - 2 mil deficit
Ann 71 - Out Dec. 71
May cover

By Oct 71 - a complete
job is a stake of credits

① put the 1 mil in
② put the 1 mil in

In essence, this means:
-Go Term next
Daleva
Roger Hays
Service Manager
Jim Lund
Mount theres names
on RNC
- acrey - Roballe
H ight/balb
Dent-Torkerson met with Secretary of Defense on Monday to discuss 3-agency contingency and to have 3-agency contingency agencies contact agencies.
MEMORANDUM FOR:  JOHN MITCHELL  
FROM:  MURRAY CHOTINER  
SUBJECT:  NEW HAMPSHIRE

The following comes from a reliable source, who knows New Hampshire.

Lane Dwinell will be an excellent choice to look after the President's activities in New Hampshire. Mrs. Dwinell plays an important role in the state.

Lyle Herson, one of five counsellors to the Governor, is a fine young person, but should be ruled out as number 1 representative of the President in the state, because he comes from the northern part of the state where there are very few votes. He should be part of the New Hampshire group, however.

John Bridges, son of Senator Styles Bridges, would be a good selection to serve on the committee, but should not head it up, as it would revive old wounds.

cc:  H. R. Haldeman
Memorandum

To:  Bob Haldeman

From: Charlie K раплер

Re: Governor Walter Peterson of New Hampshire

You will recall that when Pete McCloskey opened his headquarters in New Hampshire he received a courtesy call from Governor Walter Peterson and Stewart Lamprey. At the time, Governor Peterson made some remarks which indicated that his visit to the headquarters was something more than a mere courtesy call. This was confirmed again to me by Marty Plissner of CBS News who checked with some sources in New Hampshire.

In order to get more information about this situation I had Bill Treat, a long standing friend of the President and a former state GOP official, contact Governor Peterson direct to take a reading of this situation. Treat called me this morning to say that he had talked with the Governor at some length this morning; that there is no question but what the Governor feels a little unhappy about the lack of two-way liaison with the Administration. He has cooperated with various White House requests to issue statements in support of the President's position, including one this morning in support of the President's economic initiatives announced last night on television. However, the Governor is a little disturbed that the White House apparently gives so much attention to Bill Loeb. Some three or four months ago Bill Loeb and his wife attended a White House dinner which Loeb enjoys publicizing whenever he has a chance which is quite frequent. In the front page editorial which Loeb ran in his paper on the day of the President's recent trip to New Hampshire, Loeb again referred to his White House visit in announcing that he would support almost anyone other than President Nixon next year as a result of his disagreement on a number of key issues including Red China. The Governor also mentioned that Herb Klein had visited Loeb in New Hampshire but had not been in touch with the Governor's office.

In summary, I would recommend that at some early opportunity Governor Peterson and his wife be included in a White House affair and that occasion be used to smooth his feathers a little bit. Peterson has not decided to run for a third term but he obviously will have the bitter opposition of Bill Loeb if he tries to do so. That primary, incidentally, is in September and not on the March 7 Presidential primary.

cc: Harry S. Flemming
MAINE

GOP State Chairman Moreshead is a good friend of the '68 RN Chairman Ned Harding, thus he recommends Harding to give continuity for the RN people and a close working relationship with State GOP Chairmen.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Lane Dwinell on board as overall chairman. We will work up suggestions for co-chairmen representing liberal and conservative elements. Dwinell suggests and I agree that we get a younger type to head the "beauty contest" part of the primary.

VERMONT

1968 RN Chairman Doug Cairns wants very much to go again. You will remember he did a particularly good job in their convention. One thing to look out for in Vermont is a primary scheduled in Randolph, Vermont (population about 500) on March 7th, the same day as New Hampshire's. McCloskey is making an effort to score Vermont in this one for the national publicity value.

MASSACHUSETTS

I am still checking on Massachusetts, but a number of people have recommended State Senate Minority Leader John Parker. He was a RN supporter, pre-convention in '68. In addition he seems to enjoy the confidence of Richardson, Volpe and Brooke. Don Whitehead has finished the scenario you requested and I am having lunch with him on Tuesday to go over it.

CONNECTICUT

We should work with Governor Meskill and Senator Weicker to come up with the right person. In doing so, Meskill counts more than Weicker, as he controls the state party machinery.
RHODE ISLAND

The party people would like us to put together a slate of RN people and run them unpledged in the primary. McCloskey is about 90% sure to go into Rhode Island with his own slate. George Vetter would like to be the state chairman. I need to check this out with John Chaffee and Herb De Simone as they are likely to be on the ballot at the same time.

NEW YORK

Problem seems to center on how one can pull the diverse elements together. Strategy on how to handle the conservative Republican hassle on electors should be worked out in advance of decision on who will head campaign. You know far more on this one than I ever will.

NEW JERSEY

We have a number of recommendations of prominent business leaders in the state as possible chairmen. RGK has suggested that Governor Cahill might be a strong choice. He is apparently quite popular. Lee Nunn is sounding out Senator Case on his feelings on the Presidential race in 1972. In any event, we should hold up until after November's legislative races.

DELaware

I have no real input on Delaware at this time.

PENNsylvANIA

Bill Scranton seems to be the closest thing to a common denominator in Pennsylvania. Nunn reports the business community is nearly unanimous on him. I can report the same from the politicaIs. None-the less, I worry about this idea. Scranton probably won't put much time into it and could be difficult to handle. An alternative might be to use Scott and Schweiker as co-chairmen and then obtain a good, young executive director to run the campaign.

MARYLAND

The suggestion of Mathias and Beall as co-chairmen remains the best I've heard. Lacking a better idea, perhaps we should try and convince the Vice President on this. GOP Chairman Tinkler suggested State Senator Ed Thomas from Frederick as the executive director. I tried this on Art Schmer and while he wasn't wild on the idea, he felt that he could do the job.
WEST VIRGINIA

There are several competent, young state legislators who could do a fine job of protecting our interests. Unfortunately there is probably little else for us in the state.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

I suggest we get someone like Perk McGuire who can weld together a good delegation and raise some money. Another suggestion would be to get an able, young black or a woman. Recognizing the political realities, this may be a logical place to broaden the range of our state chairmen.

VIRGINIA

The secret here is to get someone who will be excepted by both Governor Holton and Senator Byrd. Lawrence Lewis of Richmond, who headed our '68 Citizens effort, should be acceptable to both, although he is not a worker. The state party will co-operate 100% once we get past the Governor's ego. In any event, we should hold up until after the Virginia race for Lt. Gov. this fall.

KENTUCKY

I again suggest that we wait until after the fall elections.

TENNESSEE

Everyone I have talked to feels we ought to concentrate on finding a good executive director. He, in turn, would put together a large bipartisan committee to front his operation.

NORTH CAROLINA

Several candidates for State Chairman have been recommended including Charles Crutchfield, Charlotte Radio and TV owner, Mel Broughton, former Democratic candidate for Governor and lawyer, and our '68 Citizens Chairman Willis Smith, Jr. Smith and Broughton would be the strongest of the three.
SOUTH CAROLINA

Harry Dent advises that we wait until their intra-party disputes settle down before making our move in South Carolina.

GEORGIA

The party is so divided and of limited ability that I suggest we go into the Atlanta business community and build a truly Citizens approach for the November campaign. This will necessitate finding someone within the party to put together a good slate of delegates for the convention, to serve as a liaison with the party, and the Citizens group during the fall campaign.

FLORIDA

You have the key to the general election campaign. I am working up some recommendations on the primary to fully utilize the party for a broader effort in the fall.

ALABAMA

Frank Parsons of Birmingham, who narrowly lost a bid for National President of the Jaycees, might be a fine choice for our Citizens chairman. He serves on the desegregation committee and is apparently a good man. Dick Bennett, State GOP Chairman, is coming up to see me in the next week or so and I will get his ideas.

MISSISSIPPI

Clarke Reed would like to put together a group of prominent business leaders to front our campaign and then use the party machinery to do the day-to-day work. Lt. Gov. Charles Sullivan is running for Governor as a Nixon man and will probably win. We should wait for the outcome of this race before making our move, as he could be very helpful.

LOUISIANA

Louisiana elects a governor on February 1, 1972. The Republicans are trying to mount a strong campaign. I suggest we wait until that is over and then work with our '68 Nixon Chairman, Charlton Lyons, to come up with the best man.
ARKANSAS

A rather intense battle has gone on between former Governor Rockefeller and State Chairman Charles Bernard, over control of the party. Both sides have requested we hold off until they can patch up their quarrel. This is a reasonable request. Bernard is pushing Odell Pollard, his predecessor, but I don't think too much of this idea.

OHIO

I gather that Lee Nunn and you have worked out an arrangement for Ray Bliss to head up our campaign in Ohio.

MICHIGAN

I have no specific recommendation other than he should be someone who can work with the Governor, the State GOP and the conservatives. He should not be any of the above specifically.

INDIANA

The first step should be to get the State Chairman, John Snyder, National Committeeman Keith Bulen, and Lt. Gov. Poltz, to sit down and agree to agree. Our '68 Chairman, Orvis Beers, won't work as he has lost out in the factional wars. Someone with his '68 qualifications would probably do the trick.

ILLINOIS

Tom Houser has agreed to head up our campaign in the state.

WISCONSIN

John MacIver will head the campaign. He has successfully pulled in the top business types and should have a first class effort there.

MINNESOTA

I have no recommendation at this time. McCloskey is making some effort in the state under the anti-war banner. He has some support among liberal anti-Nixon Republicans.
IOWA

A bitter battle will be fought between Governor Robert Ray and Lt. Gov. Jepson for the GOP nomination for Governor. We should steer clear of this and find someone who will not get involved. I have recommendations of prominent businessmen from the party people.

MISSOURI

The party people are strongly urging that we use Larry Roos, County Executive in St. Louis County. As you will recall, he was part of the Rockefeller operation in 1968 and has never been very close to the President. He does, however, have some resources to put in the campaign such as staff and finance contacts. There do not seem to be many other choices unless we use a businessman.

KANSAS

I have no suggestions on Kansas.

NEBRASKA

George Cook is set as our Chairman for 1972. He plans to operate in a manner similar to four years ago. Your friend, Bob Kutak, is very impressive and wants to help. I think he would make a good finance chairman for us.

SOUTH DAKOTA

National Committeeman Jack Gibson and State Chairman Charles Howard recommend that we use former Congressman E. Y. Berry and Ben Reifel as our co-chairmen. They would use former AA to Senator Kundt, W. E. "Obie" O'Brien as the operator. I'm not sure we shouldn't just go ahead with O'Brien and forget the cosmetic approach with the Congressmen.

NORTH DAKOTA

I have had a couple of discussions with State Chairman Ben Clayburgh but have nothing concrete. I suggest that we approach Senator Milt Young for his ideas, as his nose is a little out of joint and this might make him feel more a part of the team.
MONTANA

I have no good suggestions at this time.

WYOMING

I have talked to State Chairman Dave Kennedy and will be talking to Governor Hathaway. I need to chat with Senator Hansen as well.

COLORADO

Bob Flanigan, GOP State Chairman, recommends we use Governor Love as our state chairman and then use one of several bright young faces as the executive director. This isn't a bad idea considering Love's popularity in the state.

OKLAHOMA

There is considerable feuding going on in the state GOP organization. I have asked all sides for suggestions and perhaps we can find someone who gets along with all.

TEXAS

The State Party is weak and has even weaker leadership at the top. In addition they are preoccupied with John Tower's race. My suggestion is that we build a strong Republican, Independent, Democrat Citizens organization with the help of Secretary Connally.

NEW MEXICO

I have had several suggestions, but have no good names at this time.

ARIZONA

State Chairman Henry Rosenzweig is recommending Jim O'Connor, a Democrat, lawyer, and close friend of Herb Kalmzach. I haven't had a chance to talk with Kleindienst about this as yet.
CALIFORNIA

You have been handling the delicate negotiations here.

NEVADA

Bob Hardian says that Paul Laxalt would accept the job as State Chairman. I don't think we can improve on that.

UTAH

I have no recommendations at this time.

IDAHO

Lt. Gov. Jack Murphy was our man in Idaho in 1968 and State Chairman Roland Wilbur suggests we use him again. Hardian is not very high on Murphy.

OREGON

Wendell Wyatt is on board as our state chairman. We will tie in the 1968 Nixon people so that we have the broadest possible base.

WASHINGTON

Former National Committeeman Bob Timm and State Chairman Earl Davenport have suggested that we use Luke Williams, a conservative businessman from Spokane, who has good relations with the money people and Governor Evans.

ALASKA

Edith Holm, National Committeewoman and the person Hardian has the most confidence in, says Bob Ward, former Secretary of State, would be the strongest person to head our campaign. Holm, herself, wouldn't be bad and it would give us a woman chairman.

HAWAII

Bill Quinn, former Governor and now President of the Dole Pineapple organization, would probably be our best bet. I haven't talked with Senator Fong as yet and that base should be touched.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Pursuant to our discussion, enclosed is a copy of Andrew Glass' article on polling and the 1972 campaign which appeared in the August 14 edition of the National Journal.

Also enclosed is Bob Marik's memorandum relating to this article. As he indicates, it seems that some individuals in the Administration who knew something about our plans discussed them in detail with the author.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosures

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM FOR:  JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM:  ROBERT H. MARIK

SUBJECT:  POLLING ARTICLE BY ANDREW GLASS
IN THE NATIONAL JOURNAL - 8/14/71

Mr. Glass has done a comprehensive job of surveying the entire field of polling for the '72 campaign, for Democrats as well as Republicans. The article reflects substantial inside information about our own polling plans. For example, you, Gordon Strachan, Ed DeBolt and I are mentioned by name as being involved in shaping the campaign research effort. Reference is made to the polling vendor meetings which we held on August 9 and 10.

You will recall that after I contacted each of the six vendors under consideration for the August 9-10 meetings, I sent a letter of confirmation which included an enumeration of several aspects of polling in which we were particularly interested. Information copies of that letter, as well as the schedule of meetings for both days, were sent to Peter Flanigan, Gordon Strachan, Ed DeBolt and Bill Low of the RNC, and yourself. There was some concern that these communications had been leaked to Mr. Glass. However, several omissions in the National Journal article strongly suggest the contrary:

1) The article states that the meetings were scheduled during August 9-11, whereas they were actually scheduled only on August 9 and 10.

2) The article listed five vendors who were invited. The sixth, Market Facts, was not mentioned.

3) Peter Flanigan was not mentioned in the article. Although the letter did not mention him by name, he was discussed in the telephone conversations with the vendors, because the meetings were originally scheduled to be held in his office.
4) My name was grossly misspelled.

The article makes reference to such sources as "Administration spokesman," "aide to the President," a Presidential aide," "another White House official" and "GOP official," as well as to Harry Dent by name. There is no evidence that Mr. Glass found any source of information in the campaign organization. When he called here he was told that you were the only authorized spokesman for the Citizens Committee, and although he attempted to contact others of us, the calls were not returned. I understand also that Ed DeBolt, Gordon Strachan and Dave Derge were contacted during the preparation of this article but similarly did not return the telephone calls.

This leak, whatever the source, was not as harmful as it might have been. We will attempt to further tighten our security to prevent similar instances in the future.
Political Report/Pollsters prowl nation as candidates use opinion surveys to plan 72 campaign

by Andrew J. Glass

From the White House to small-town America, the political pollsters are once more on the prowl.

A National Journal survey of political pollsters and their clients reveals that the business—which, like politics itself, is as much an art as a science—is deeply rooted in the campaign process. It revealed also that many candidates still are reluctant to say publicly how heavily they rely on polls.

Like people who never walk under ladders even though they say they are not superstitious, candidates go on buying the polls. With the approach of the 1972 national elections, spending for political surveys is likely to match or exceed 1968 levels.

In his book, Financing the 1968 Election (D.C. Heath and Company, 1971), Herbert E. Alexander estimated that spending for public opinion polls for all candidates at all levels in 1968 came to $6 million.

The estimate, based on 1,200 polls which cost an average of $5,000, is conservative; one comprehensive statewide poll can cost $15,000.

Top to bottom: The White House receives a steady stream of public opinion survey results. Some of them are commissioned, directly or indirectly, by the White House itself; others result from "piggybacking"—adding questions to polls already commissioned by Republican candidates or to polls taken for other purposes.

A campaign task force, working in secrecy, currently is seeking to define polling needs for Mr. Nixon's 1972 campaign.

In addition, the President requests and receives regular "weather-vane" polls that are commissioned for him by friends and admirers, mainly in the business world. Similar polls were taken on a regular basis for Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

But the political polling profession does not subsist alone on surveys taken by the White House or by the President's Democratic rivals.

Robert Teeter, the White House liaison man for Detroit-based Market Opinion Research, a Republican-oriented polling firm, said: "One of the big changes we're seeing is the level down to which polling is used.

"It used to be that there were a few sophisticated gubernatorial and senatorial campaigns using it. Now, almost all of them are in it. Many Congressmen use it. And it pops up in state legislatures and in city races."

Oliver A. Quayle III, who has taken polls for most of the Democrats now in the Senate, said: "It's now almost SOP. If you're interested in what people think, this is the best way to find out. People who have never polled before are polling now. It's standard procedure."

The "new breed": A veteran Democratic campaign manager believes the pollsters' growth is based in part on a new breed of politician. As he put it: "You're finding more people running for political office with less political experience than ever before. So they really don't have an intuitive base of how well they'll do. They don't have the knowledge of their state that a guy who has been in politics a long time has. But they know enough that they need to know. So the pollsters are all selling."

At its higher rungs, the polling profession remains a tight-knit group. It divides, almost equally, into those who poll only for Republicans, those who poll only for Democrats and those who poll for both.

But, as pollster Michael Rowan said, "we're all one club."

In seeking the Presidency in 1968, Richard Nixon spent about $500,000 for the longest, most costly and most complex polling project in campaign history. Although there is no real battle for the nomination in sight, the Nixon White House has budgeted $500,000 for polling research for the 1972 campaign.

Organization: In the White House itself, the gathering of poll information is supervised by H. R. Haldeman, the President's chief of staff, who has a background in advertising and market research. (For a report on Haldeman, see No. 10, p. 513.)

Campaign planning beyond the White House gates is being handled...
by Citizens for the Reelection of the President, which is, in effect, a White House political task force; by the Republican National Committee; and by Attorney General John N. Mitchell.

A coordinating committee is shaping the campaign research effort, which will rely heavily on public opinion surveys.

The committee includes Jeb S. Magruder, who has been detached from the office of Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch, to manage the "Citizens" operation; Robert Marrick, Magruder's associate in the "Citizens" office; Gordon Strachan, a personal staff assistant to Haldeman, and Edward S. DeBolt, the RNC's deputy chairman for research and political organization.

The Nixon campaign steering committee also is utilizing an outside consultant on polling techniques—David R. Derge, 42, a political scientist and executive vice president of the University of Indiana in Bloomington.

Magruder is the key polling planner. As Harry S. Dent, special counsel to the President for political affairs, put it: "In this shop, Jeb is the guy who's the polling man."

Magruder declined to comment for publication on polling or on any other aspect of White House campaign planning. One official, who asked to be identified only as an Administration spokesman, said: "We don't want to get into even what we're thinking about doing. ... They (the Democrats) know something is going on. Let them find out by working for it."

White House polls: Mr. Nixon has had access to a steady stream of private polling information since he took office. These polls have kept the President abreast of domestic political moods and furnished him with insights into changing trends on such questions as the public attitude toward admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. An almost continuous polling effort for the White House has been conducted, in secrecy, by Chilton Research Services, of Philadelphia, a division of Chilton Co. An aide to the President said, "The outside pollster (John H. Kofron, Chilton's senior vice president) consults almost directly with Haldeman, although on a nonsensitive matter he may talk with Strachan or Higby." (Lawrence M. Higby is Haldeman's administrative assistant.)

The President and his top staff also have access to other private polls, conducted for Republican senatorial or gubernatorial candidates as well as by political pressure groups friendly to the Nixon Administration. These polls are supplied without charge; the Chilton surveys are underwritten by the Republican National Committee.

A pollster who declined to be quoted by name said, "A lot of the (White House) work that was done in the past three years was done by individual candidates who were doing it as an accommodation."

The White House intends to repay some of these favors during the 1972 campaign. A Presidential aide, speaking for "background," said: "When Nixon is ready to go into an area, an offer for a 'piggyback' (poll) will be made. I think in almost every case, it will be the Nixon White House that will offer it down rather than its being offered up to (the President)."

Campaign firms: The White House scheduled a series of meetings Aug. 9-11 to review the capabilities of more than a half-dozen Republican-oriented polling firms.

"All of them were approached with the idea of contributing to the campaign as a sole or prime contractor," said a White House political aide.

"But it's not inconceivable that Haldeman will decide 'I don't want anyone to person to know everything, so I'm going to parcel it out and these people can just like it.' He's like that."

Another White House official noted that "the Nixon campaign is being organized on a priority basis and therefore the need for national pollsters is minimized." The emphasis, he said, will be on disregarding those states where there is "no opportunity" and concentrating on the big electoral states "which will either win or lose the election for us."

Each of the polling concerns which made presentations to the White House was screened in advance by the White House political staff.

The official said: "Knowing the President, he never puts all his marbles in one basket. ... He will want additional head-to-head and special-issue polling.

"He never even tells anybody about it. But you always have somebody on the side who will do a weathervane sampling after a (Presidential) night on television. ... That's just Nixon. All of us get used to that. There's always an edge."

Another White House official who will be involved in the campaign, also speaking privately, said that, in all probability, some of the more sensitive polling results will go to the President directly, perhaps through Haldeman, without being circulated to the White House political staff.

"There are some things—like how does Agnew affect the ticket—that might be asked that even Mitchell won't get," the official said. (Mr. Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew as Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who has since retired as a political polling consultant.


Market Opinion Research of Detroit, which advised George Romney early in 1968 to scuttle his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. The company has done some weathervane polling after Mr. Nixon's television appearances.

Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J., which handled the 1960 and 1968 Nixon campaigns, as well as the 1964 Presidential campaign of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz. (ORC's billings from political clients in 1968 amounted to $600,000-$450,000 from the Nixon campaign).

David Derge, although a regular White House visitor, did not attend the presentation sessions, which were held in the offices of the "Citizens" group, one block from the White House. Derge is known to be a strong partisan of ORC. Split verdict: A decision on the allocation of polling resources for the campaign is expected to be submitted to the President for his review and approval by the end of August.

Whether or not a prime polling contractor is chosen, a White House official said that polling arrangements for the 1972 campaign may not emerge in a clear-cut manner.

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Establishing the Tolerances

Pollsters commonly encounter skeptical members of campaign teams who suggest that by interviewing more people—or perhaps another set of people—the pollster would have produced different results. George H. Gallup, founder of the Gallup Poll and now semi-retired, has an answer for these skeptics: "The next time you go to the doctor for a test, why not have him test all your blood?"

Gallup says that "no major poll in the history of this country ever went wrong because too few people were reached." But, he says, many have gone astray because of the way those persons were selected.

Samples: Some political pollsters, including Gallup, interview people in randomly chosen clusters, using what is known as a probability sample. (For his nationwide poll, Gallup conducts about five interviews in each of 320 voting precincts, chosen on a random basis.)

Others use a quota sample, a less costly technique in which people are chosen to be interviewed on the basis of specific characteristics in the same proportion as they appear in the population or whatever "universe" the pollster is studying. If 12 per cent of the "universe" is Negro, for example, a quota sample would include 12 Negroes in every 100 people interviewed.

Gallup and other published pollsters abandoned quota samples after 1948 when polls taken that way indicated that Thomas E. Dewey would defeat Harry S Truman in the Presidential race.

Error: A probability sample permits the pollster to measure sample error—the maximum extent to which the survey results may differ from a survey of the entire population. Quota samples do not permit statistical measurement of error.

The tables below indicate the range of error for samples of various sizes. Statistically, the error will be no larger than the figures in the tables 95 per cent of the time. As the figures indicate, the size of the sample must be increased as much as four times to cut the margin of error by half.

In comparing two percentage results, another question arises: How large must the difference be for it to reflect a genuine distinction, beyond the range of statistical error?

Tables II and III, show the number of percentage points to be discounted in comparing differences in polls. Table II is used for percentages near 20 (or lower) and 80 (or higher); Table III is used for percentages near 50.

Thus, if 50 per cent of those interviewed in 1969 and 40 per cent in 1971 responded in the same way to a question, Table III can be consulted to determine whether the difference is statistically meaningful.

### Table I

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### Table II: Percentages near 20-80

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### Table III: Percentages near 50

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**SOURCE:** Paul K. Perry, president of The Gallup Organization
been working closely with Robert D. Squire, 36, head of Communications Co. of Washington, D.C., and Muskie's media consultant. (For a report on Squire and the role of political media consultants, see Vol. 2, No. 40, p. 2135.)

"Squire is involved in the whole process," Miss Navarro said. "We work as a team and talk about what his data needs are. Polling is moving more toward a media orientation because people are getting their information through the tube."

Meanwhile, she said, "The Senator is always badgering us for information." Muskie plans to receive in-depth surveys from five or six primary states by January 1972. In addition, Muskie requires polling research on such political questions as how closely should be affiliate himself with Chicago Mayor or Richard J. Daley, a controversial figure but a potential source of delegate support in Illinois.

Telephone—The Hamilton firm uses a "tight screen," seeking to reach only persons who intend to vote in selected 1972 Democratic primaries. In upholding their telephone-based techniques, Hamilton and Miss Navarro explain how they attempt to keep the sample unbiased and to establish a good rapport during the half-hour interviews. The technique also costs about 60 per cent less than field interviewing. The non-pollers: Other Democrats and consultants have made. This ensures that unlisted numbers will be represented in the sample. The Hamilton interviewers call back three times if no one answers; they do not always interview the person who answers the phone. The sample is gleaned from telephone directories in the areas to be surveyed and several digits are changed before the call is made. This ensures that unlisted numbers are unlisted; in Los Angeles, 35 per cent of all residential telephones are unlisted; in New York, 20 per cent.

The Hamilton interviewers call back three times if no one answers; they do not always interview the person who answers the phone. They also employ a toll-free "verification number," which most people ask for but which only a minority actually call. This keeps their rejection rate to 5 per cent.

Criticism—In general, pollsters for Democratic candidates have shunned telephone polling, and the Muskie techniques have elicited criticism from established pollsters. They wonder, in private, whether Muskie, who has been polling since 1963, can "go the distance" in a Muskie Presidential campaign.

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"Since when did a 24-year-old kid know something?" said a veteran pollster who works mainly for Democrats, referring to Miss Navarro. "I couldn't handle a Presidential campaign when I was 24. I think it's silly."

Another pollster remarked privately: "Basing a major campaign on this type of information in a primary fight is a terribly risky thing to do, because if Muskie falls on his face in Florida, he's not going to get up again. If they are going to have a research program like that, how are they going to run the country?"

"My own horseback judgment is that our supporters ought to be able to tell us what's on the minds of people. Also, people are much more nationally oriented; you don't have the kind of Balkanization on issues that you used to have."

Hart nevertheless said that the McGovern forces probably would poll in Wisconsin and Oregon "to find out what issues predominate" there. Hart said, "I think that would be worth the outlay. But that's January or February."

Bayh—Robert J. Keefe, administrative assistant and a top campaign planner for Sen. Birch Bayh, of Indiana, said the Senator strongly believes in taking polls, but, in light of his "low-recognition profile, there's not much point in taking them now."

Keefe said he had been "picking the brains" of two pollsters, John F. Kraft and Quayle, "both of whom are trying to get our business."

"When we go into the (Florida) primary situation, we will poll three or four months out," Keefe said.

Kennedy—"We have no reason to poll," said Richard C. Deane, press secretary to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts.

"My boss reads polls rather avidly. He's pretty good at interpreting them. But we don't poll our own. There are other people who pull them for you, or maybe send you results, but we've not commissioned any. There's no point in paying $40,000 for a poll just to see whether you were right on an issue."

Humphrey—In the 1968 Presidential campaign, Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic nominee, spent $526,000 on polls taken by Quayle and five smaller firms.

Now that he is in the Senate, according to Jack McDonald, his press
Opinion Firms in the United States

Identification; 4000 Alhambra St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-5056.

Institute for Motivational Research; Ernest Dirich (president); 2200 Post Road, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10520; (914) 271-4721.

Institute of American Research; Stephen J. Kovacic Jr. (president); 88 East Broad St. Columbus, Ohio 43215; (614) 221-2062.

International Research Associates Inc.; Helen S. Dinerman (chairman); 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020; (212) 581-2010.

Gordon L. Joseph and Associates; Gordon L. Joseph (president); 1510 Veterans Memorial Boulevard, Metairie, La. 70005; (504) 835-0635.

John F. Kraft Inc.; John F. Kraft (president); 30 6th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 347-7080.

W. H. Long Marketing Inc.; W. H. Long (president); 122 Keeling Road East, Greensboro, N.C. 27410; (336) 297-4146.

Louis, Bowles and Grace Inc.; Alex Louis (chairman); 1433 Motor Drive, New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7500.

Market Facts Inc.; David K. Hardin (president); 100 S. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60606; (312) 322-5666.

Market Opinion Research; Frederick P. Currier (president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-6024.

Politics and the Press; Richard Ehrman (executive vice president); 109 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 296-2414.

The Public Pulse Worldwide Inc.; a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.; Oscar B. Lubow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.

Public Opinion Inc.; Gerald D. Hursh (president); 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; (202) 293-1644.

Survey Resources Inc.; John W. Emery (president); 1441 Welton St., Denver, Colo. 80202; (303) 244-8045.

Survey Systems Inc.; R. B. Collier (president); 1314 Burch Drive, Evansville, Ind. 47711; (812) 867-2563.

Tower Building, Little Rock, Ark. 72201; (501) 374-0605.

National Analytic Inc.; Peter R. Vroon (chairman); 1015 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107; (215) 627-8109.

National Opinion Research Center; Norman M. Bradborn (director); University of Chicago, 6030 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637; (312) 684-5600.

Opinion Research Corp.; Joseph C. Bevis (chairman); North Harrison St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5900.

Opinion Research Laboratory; Guy E. Rainboth (president); 1208 North Pacific, Seattle, Wash. 98103; (206) 632-9274.

Opinion Research of California; Don M. Muchmore (chairman); 1223 Belmont Ave., Long Beach, Calif. 90804; (213) 434-5715.

Political Surveys and Analysis Inc.; Charles W. Roll Jr. (president); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5670.

Public Affairs Analyses Inc.; Joseph Napoleon (president); Michael Rowan (executive vice president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 296-6024.

The Public Pulse Worldwide Inc.; a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.; Oscar B. Lubow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.

Public Opinion Inc.; Gerald D. Hursh (president); 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; (202) 293-1644.

Oliver A. Quayle and Co. Inc.; Albert E. Sindlinger (director); Harvard and Yale Aves., Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-8260.

Survey Research Sciences Inc.; Richard R. Stone (president); 11411 North Central Expressway, Dallas, Tex. 75231; (214) 691-0578.

Surveys and Research Corp.; Lib Ehrman (executive vice president); 1838 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-1935.

Wallaces Farmer; Richard J. Pommrein (research director); 1212 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50305; (515) 243-6181.

Joe B. Williams Research; Joe B. Williams (research consultant); Elmwood, Neb. 68024; (402) 994-5393.

Daniel Yankelovich Inc.; Daniel Yankelovich (president); 575 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7300.

Response Analysis Corp.; Dr. Herbert L. Abelson (president); 1101 State Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 921-3333.

Response Research Corp.; Peter K. Simonds (president); 7 Water St., Boston, Mass. 02109; (617) 742-3582.

The Roper Organization Inc.; Burns W. Roper (president); One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 679-5232.

W. R. Simmons Associates; W. R. Simmons (president); 235 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 986-7700.

Sindlinger and Co. Inc.; Albert E. Sindlinger (director); Harvard and Yale Aves., Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-8260.

Strategy Research; Richard W. Tobin Jr. (president); 4141 N. Miami Ave., Miami, Fla. 33127; (305) 751-2216.

Suncoast Opinion Surveys; Richard H. Funsch (president); P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33731; (813) 894-4560.

Survey and Research Services Inc.; Dorinda T. Duggan (president); 2400 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140; (617) 864-7794.

Survey Research Sciences Inc.; Richard R. Stone (president); 11411 North Central Expressway, Dallas, Tex. 75231; (214) 691-0578.

Surveys and Research Corp.; Lib Ehrman (executive vice president); 1838 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-1935.

Wallaces Farmer; Richard J. Pommrein (research director); 1212 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50305; (515) 243-6181.

Joe B. Williams Research; Joe B. Williams (research consultant); Elmwood, Neb. 68024; (402) 994-5393.

Daniel Yankelovich Inc.; Daniel Yankelovich (president); 575 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7300.

Research Services Inc.; John W. Emery (president); 1441 Welton St., Denver, Colo. 80202; (303) 244-8045.

Research Systems Inc.; R. B. Collier (president); 1314 Burch Drive, Evansville, Ind. 47711; (812) 867-2563.

- compiled by Ann Northrop
secretary, "There's no activity of any kind... He doesn't have advance men. He doesn't have money men. He doesn't have delegate people. He doesn't have pollsters."

Jackson -- A no-polling report also came from the office of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, of Washington, whose supporters are gearing up for a major effort in next March's Florida primary.

S. Sterling Munro Jr., Jackson's administrative assistant, said that "When your investment is zero, your cost-benefit ratio is 100 per cent."

Shaking the burden: At a dinner meeting of Presidential candidates, called by party chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien July 14, Muskie proposed undertaking a pooled public opinion survey, utilizing a single pollster, as a means of saving campaign funds.

The Muskie plan will be studied further in staff meetings, but it was not greeted with enthusiasm.

None of the dark-horse candidates -- such as Sen. Fred R. Harris, of Oklahoma, and Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, of Arkansas -- are having any polling done for them, and they are not interested in paying an equal share of the cost of a joint survey -- the formula that Muskie's staff regards as the most equitable.

All pollsters interviewed by National Journal opposed the shared-data proposal, although they did not want to say so publicly for fear of offending Muskie, whose business they believe is still up for grabs. One pollster said, "You can't do that any more than you could work for Ford and General Motors. It just seems unnatural to me."

Techniques

The late Elmo Roper, a pioneer pollster, said that the polling business sat on a three-legged stool: sampling, interviewing and interpretation.

This base has remained constant since Roper began polling in the mid-1930s. But the kind of information that sophisticated politicians are seeking and the kind of techniques that pollsters are using to obtain it for them has changed profoundly.

A Midwestern Senator said, "Quite frankly, the trial heats and the stock question about approval is probably the least valuable, so far as I'm concerned, because there isn't a thing you can do with that kind of information."

(Seated who is up for reelection in 1972, will be polling heavily, but he does not have his constituents to know about it because "it weakens my posture").

Utility: William Hamilton, now polling for Muskie, said that private polls can tell candidates what issues are important enough to change voting decisions; whether these issues can be welded into a campaign theme; and how the over-all political climate, including the other candidates in a race, will affect the outcome.

(Pollster Tully Plesser said his polls revealed that a referendum on liquor-by-the-drink was a major factor in the senatorial contest in Texas in 1970, because of the voters who were attracted to the polls by the liquor issue.)

Interest groups who are seeking to affect the outcome of an election may take polls that elicit complex data.

"COPE can buy 10 surveys and deliver them to the candidates," said pollster John Kraft. "It gives them a certain control over the campaign."

The Committee on Political Education, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO, has been taking polls since 1958. (For a report on COPE, see Vol. 2, No. 37, p. 1663.)

Similarly, the American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC), through its state organizations, spent more than $400,000 to poll for Republicans between the 1968 and 1970 elections. Vincent P. Barabba, chairman of Decision Making Information Inc., a California-based AMPAC pollster, said: "Those guys (at AMPAC) have done as much to improve the systematic analysis of the political process as any organization in existence today."

(feedback on AMPAC, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 1659.)

In Barabba's view, "A critical ability of a good (polling) firm is to have experience in overcoming the hesitancy on the part of some campaign managers to really make use of this information. If you accept a campaign as an economic concept -- that is, you are going to attempt to allocate limited resources in the most efficient way then this information is crucial."

Costs and timing: Thomas W. Bennett, vice president of Opinion Research and its liaison man with the White House, said: "If you're running a campaign where you're going to spend $200,000, you better put 10 per cent aside for polling research, because it can make the other 90 per cent twice or three times more efficient."

"You might want to do a 'base study' early in the campaign year. This could be an interview that lasts 45 minutes to an hour and it's a big, expensive undertaking. But, from that, we can do selective studies. We can check on changing issues.

"And then we can do a small-scale telephone effort, re-interviewing certain people (a technique known as panelback), to see if they have changed their minds. You can develop a sophisticated tool and it can still have good economy to it."

Costs of seemingly comparable surveys can vary as much as 30 per cent, depending on the procedures, the overhead and the profit margin.

Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates commonly budget $30,000 for polling research over the course of a campaign. One statewide poll in a big state may cost $10,000 to $15,000; a survey of a congressional district can cost up to $10,000. (The techniques of conducting both polls are essentially the same; the only major saving is in travel.)

"People are beginning to see that this kind of data is much more valuable if you can establish a trend," said Teeter of Detroit's Market Opinion Research. This, of course, entails multiple interviews; in the field, interviewers are paid $3 an hour or more, plus expenses.

DMC's Barabba said: "The difficulty you have in measuring costs between companies is knowing whether you're measuring apples and apples or apples and oranges. There are a lot of ways to cut costs in this kind of research. Unfortunately, there is a direct

Feedback
The product: John Kraft, who has 18 dates, said he normally prepares a (computer) printouts when I'm asked to. "In many cases, it's best to talk it out," he said.

Unfavorable reports can bring complications. "I was involved in a Presidential campaign. I felt was terribly important, and there were enough money. I wouldn't touch a telephone survey. I have reason to believe (from Rockfeller campaigns) that some people are far less critical of individuals when asked about them over the phone, and that, of course, creates a different result."

"I were buying numbers. But some members of the political polling fraternity remain op­posed to telephone surveys."

"None of the private pollsters do complete probability sampling because of the prohibitive expense. (Quayle noted that this was not the case for the Gallup Poll and the Harris Survey, "because their necks are on the line.")"

"You pick up a point to a point­and-a-half of margin with probability samples. I've done them when I've had to, when I knew I was in a different ball game."

John Kraft and his wife, Fran Farrel Kraft, who is also a well-known political pollster, agreed with Quayle. "There is no significant difference in the result."

Several pollsters disagreed, however. One was PS&A's Roll, who said: "The respectability of quota samples went out in 1948, with the Truman-Dewey election. You don't know what your sample error is. Luck is with them. But it's certainly not enough to hang your hat on, I would think."

"I would throw the telephone away, unless there was an extremely urgent time factor involved." (Roll is an employee of George H. Gallup, who bought PS&A from its founder, Archibald M. Crossley, in 1970; PS&A uses Gallup's sampling, interviewing and tabulating facilities, which are based solely on field interviews.)

"Don M. Muchmore, chairman of Opinion Research of California, who has done comparative studies of telephone and field interview polls, said: "In a day, you can do here what it would take you four weeks to do if you had to mail out questionnaires (to interview­ers). I also think we get higher cooperation rates around the country than is possible in face-to-face interviews. In some areas, you can't get people to go in at all."

"We've also learned how to weigh results and their mean­ing. I'm amazed at how little the telephone's great strength is that you get wider information. I'm amazed at how little the television people know sometimes (about the makeup of their audiences) in a given market. But we're learning to work better together."

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William M. Longman, president of Central Surveys Inc., said in a tele­phone interview from Shonandeh, Iowa, that his firm now was able to provide overnight results to political clients through arrangements for the use of computers at the interview sites. Robert K. McMillan of Chilton Re­search Services, a proponent of tele­phone interviewing, said: "In a day, you can do here what it would take you four weeks to do if you had to
you basing all these decisions on, he opens up the drawer and says, "Well, we got a survey."

MOR's Teeter believes the worst is over. "Two or three years ago," he said, "we had a real problem with guys who were using it for the first time and thought they had just bought themselves magic buttons. With some people, it became a narcotic. If they didn't know what to do, they had another poll taken."

Getting more: From the client's side, a Democratic Senator said privately: "I don't know of anyone around here who is having polling done and who wouldn't like to get more than he's getting out of it. But I know it's simply a matter of dollars. They have a product to sell; they have costs."

If finances are often a central problem to the pollster, they are even more of one to the politician. A Republican Senator from the Northeast said: "There isn't any question that I couldn't solve if I wanted to spend $25,000 for a survey."

But the difficulties range beyond insufficient funds. A campaign manager who has worked with pollsters for many years said privately:

"I think there's room in this business for someone who really wants to drive it wide open. He could drive all these guys out. For example, why not add an entire demographic package with sample electoral analysis and priority ranking of states, congressional districts and counties, with cross-data by issues. It's possible with computer analysis. That's a service I could really use." 

In 1968, the National Republican Congressional (Campaign) Committee and its Senate counterpart bought a $400,000 survey through Datamatics Inc., a subsidiary of Spencer-Roberts and Associates, a California-based campaign consulting firm. Datamatics is now dissolved; at the time, it was headed by Vincent Barabba.

Neither the House nor the Senate committee is scheduling any polling projects for 1972. Paul A. Theis, director of public relations for the House group, said: "We got committed to doing the (1968) thing without assessing as much as we should have in advance." (For a report on the House and Senate GOP campaign committees, see Vol 2, No. 31, p. 2100.)

Pressure points: In a profession linked closely to the academic community, but with no entry standards, salesmanship remains a persistent problem. "It's the gut problem in the business," said Albert H. Cantril, a Washington-based polling consultant. Cantril is the author, with Charles Roll, of Hopes and Fears of the American People (Universe Books, 1971), which is based on Gallup research. Said Cantril: "The only way you can seek new business is to tear down the other guy's methods and try to show politicians that they are not getting anything too useful. There are no teaching materials you can use unless you break the confidence of a private (political) client."

Political pollsters also are encountering fresh problems in seeking to assemble valid public opinion data. An executive at Chilton Research Services in Philadelphia said: "There's no use kidding anybody; the cooperative rate is decreasing every year. It used to be 20 years ago if we got a 3-per cent refusal rate we were concerned about it; today, they are running 10 and 12 per cent.

"It's all part of the misuse of research techniques. People today are just more suspicious. You know, a salesman calling up and saying he's making a survey and the next thing he's knocking at your door."

Dangers: Private polls can cause complications in campaigns that are not always readily apparent. For example, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., received a poll from Tully Plesser in 1968 that showed Javits leading his Democratic opponent, Paul O'Dwyer, 48-16. Javits' advisers were hesitant about releasing the poll, despite the strong lead, for fear it would not be believed and would raise a "credibility issue."

Yet another consideration was fear that it would be harder to raise money if potential backers thought Javits could not lose.

The poll was nevertheless "leaked" to The New York Times for its "bandwagon" effect and because it showed Javits to be the strongest Republican politician in New York state at the time.

The release of the poll led to a charge by O'Dwyer that it was a deliberate attempt to influence the New York Daily News Poll, which was scheduled to commence canvassing just after the GOP poll was released.

While the Javits "leak" was a deliberate one, candidates often insist that a pollster report directly to them in an effort to control access to private polls on the campaign staff.

Pollsters and politicians are coming increasingly to agree that there is a limit to what surveys can accomplish. MOR's Teeter said: "You can't go and say to some guy, 'Look, if you go out and take this stand, you'll increase your support 4 per cent.' That's crazy."

Progress: If political pollsters are still searching for a firmer foundation, there are nevertheless signs of progress. Quayle said: "A couple of years ago, everybody was trying to get into the act. And that's not happening anymore. A lot of commercial firms—the guys who were researching soap and so forth—began to dabble in politics, looking at it as a new market. But you've got to know something about politics in this business. It's an art as well as a science."

Quayle believes that what is needed is better liaison between the campaign and the pollsters—"politically sensitive men inside the campaign organization who are at the same time highly sophisticated about the use of polling techniques."

"It's a funny business," another well-known pollster said. "When you get all this stuff done, the candidates look at it and if it doesn't really agree with them, they're very suspicious. But if it agrees with them, it's the best poll in America."
Jeb -

John okayed everything as proposed. I will come on full time in January, or up a down until then. I'll proceed from there during my visit in DC while...

Dita

Call me Friday.
MEMORANDUM FOR: FOLLOW UP
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Check with Magruder regarding complete description of the $350,000 RNC research project.

Also, follow up with Magruder regarding the Rumsfeld spokesman resource request for an additional staff man referred to in my August 2nd memorandum to Mr. Haldeman, with his question to the side, held in my "Magruder's Projects" file.
JSM 9/10

1. Call - Confidential - Tommoms on Convention.
2. Will raise house w/ AG on Sat.
3. Dean - report re Call + secrecy.
   AG wants clear underst.
   that any Wt man is
   OK w/H.
5. Out - Mrs. Hoskins - plant
6. Finale - Morgan? possible
   Camp Man - H+P
   JSM -> AG
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National Meeting - April 10-11, 1970 - Chicago

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