

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
 Contested Materials Collection
 Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 42 | 6 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten notes. 1 pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: The President. From: H. R. Haldeman. RE: Voter turnout. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | The American political report. Pre-election survey. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Bruce Kehrli. From: William E. Timmons. RE: House Races. 10pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 5/11/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Gordon Strachan. From: L. Higby. RE: Prepare talking papers for Haldeman. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Gallup Pre-election survey. With newspapers attached; Western Union is Upset About Nixon 'Telegram'. And article from National observer. 6pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Gallup Pre-election survey. With Newspaper articles attached. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Status GOTV. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Voting numbers by state. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Malek's canvassing report. 1pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Final canvassing results. Results attached. 17pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Malek's canvassing report. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Final canvassing results. With results attached. 15pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Letter | To: Bob (?) From: (?) RE: Mistake on the statistics. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. Through: Jeb S. Magruder. From: L. Robert Morgan. RE: Canvass/Telephone Sheets. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Jeb S. Magruder. From: Clark MacGregor. RE: Campaign windup report. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 9/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Jock Whitney. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: California endorsements. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/31/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: Presidential endorsements. With draft endorsement attached. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Campaign Reading. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Canvassing Results. With results attached. 18pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 6 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Report on "Get out the vote". With report attached. 9pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/31/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: John Enrichman. From: John C. Whitaker. RE: Post-election thoughts. 3pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/31/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newsletter | Second Evan-Novak Political Forum schedule. 8pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Paul R. Jones. RE: "Black Blitz" 3 Newspaper articles attached. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Talking paper for political meeting. RE: Senator Harry Byrd and Campaign advertising. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Clark MacGregor. RE: Effortd to notify the field about the President's address. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Thurmond re-election campaign. With orignial memo from Harry Dent attached. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Gordon. From: Pat McKee. RE: Copy of Presidential telephone calls memo. 1pg. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/30/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. Through: Dwight L. Chapin. From: Stephen Bull. RE: Presidential Telephone calls. 4pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/31/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Presidential approval. With original memo attached. 5pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/25/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Electoral vote forecast as of 10/25/1972. 1pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 42 | 6 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Gordon Strachan. From: L. Higby. RE: Teeter possible update on election analysis. 2pgs. |
| 42 | 6 | 10/27/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | To: Larry Higby. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Benham's most recent election predictions. With report attached. 4pgs. |

LBJ plural in '64
 # voted
 # " for LBJ

System of # on 11/7

| | | |
|--------|------|-----|
| 44, | 025, | 652 |
| 27, | 374, | 291 |
| | 980, | 680 |
| | 69, | 536 |
| <hr/> | | |
| \$2450 | | 659 |

~~\$2,500~~ = 94% of X

~~64,274,000~~

~~412, 257, 912~~
~~27, 498, 347~~

 69, 735, 259

44, 257, 912
 27, 498, 347

 1,000,000
~~72, 736, 259~~
72, 428 = 94%

October 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: H.R. HALDEMAN
SUBJECT: Voter Turnout

The following are figures for voter turnout based on the percentage of registered voters who voted in Presidential elections going back to 1932.

The statistic that is usually quoted to describe turnout is the percentage of the voting age adult population (not necessarily registered) who voted. These figures are included in parentheses.

| | | | | <i>Registered</i> | <i>Eligible</i> |
|------|-----|-------|------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1932 | * | (53%) | 1952 | 80.1% | (62.6%) |
| 1936 | * | (57%) | 1956 | 77.2% | (60.1%) |
| 1940 | * | (59%) | 1960 | 81.8% | (64.0%) |
| 1944 | * | (54%) | 1964 | 82.9% | (62.9%) |
| 1948 | 74% | (52%) | 1968 | 79.8% | (61.8%) |

*These figures are now being researched and should be available later today.

Kevin Phillips, Editor

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PRE-ELECTION SURVEY

The Presidency: With only the size of Richard Nixon's landslide still in doubt, top White House strategists privately are hoping for 60% of the vote. They may be right. Dwight Eisenhower got 57.4% in 1956, and RMN looks even stronger. Compared with 1956, the GOP vote may lag a bit in the North, but huge Southern and Border gains should more-than-compensate. Given McGovern's weakness, a Nixon showing of less than 56-57% would be inauspicious. Should RMN get less than 57% of the vote, APR believes he will have failed to fully mobilize U.S. anti-McGovern sentiments.

Some local polls hint at a GOP victory of surprise magnitude. One is the late October New York Daily News survey showing a 64-36% Nixon win in New York State, with RMN also becoming the first GOP candidate since Calvin Coolidge to carry New York City! Turnout is probably the key to any major upward or downward variation from the 57-58% level. As of early November, most experts and indices are predicting a relatively low turnout, perhaps only 60% of those of eligible age.

Four years ago, 73 million persons voted (62% of the eligibles). This year, with the potential electorate swollen by newly enfranchised youth, experts are estimating a turnout of 78-86 million (56-62%). Prediction is difficult (and the experts are all over the lot) because of a huge final-hour "undecided" bloc which includes many registrants unsure whether they even want to go to the polls. Anti-McGovern Democrats form the bulk of the "undecided." Many are hawks. If they stay home, it might trim the Nixon vote, but local GOP candidates would profit.

On the state-by-state basis, McGovern is in bad shape. On April 10, APR predicted a Nixon-McGovern race would see the District of Columbia as the only "safe McGovern" area, with Massachusetts leaning to the South Dakotan. That is the way it has worked out. If RMN gets 57-58% of the vote, McGovern will carry D.C. and Massachusetts. But if the Nixon vote climbs to 60%, Massachusetts (20% more Democratic than the nation in 1968) will be close. States like Wisconsin, Oregon, California and South Dakota shouldn't be tight unless RMN dips to 55% or so.

Congress: House and Senate races could be the big sleepers, and whatever happens in these contests, the result will be historic. If RMN wins by 60-61%, the GOP, on the basis of past precedents, ought to take over both Houses of Congress. Thus, should the President go this high, while the GOP fails to win Congress, it will signal a) ticket-splitting far above 1956 and 1964 levels and/or b) Administration failure to give local candidates even the usual back-up.

Several basic technical situations are bolstering the GOP. Chief among them is this: In virtually every major state, from New York and New Jer-

sey to California, the top-of-the-ticket impetus is Republican. Coincidentally, there are fewer important Senate and gubernatorial races in the big states than there have been in any presidential year in memory. There is not a single favored and popular Democratic governor or Senator (or challenger) to bring big state voters back to the Democratic line after backing RMN. On the contrary, the few statewide candidates with impetus are also Republicans: Senators Clifford Case (N.J.), Charles Percy (Ill.) and to a lesser extent Robert Griffin (Mich.) and John Tower (Texas). Strong gubernatorial candidate Kit Bond will also give the GOP slate a heavy 1-2 impetus in Missouri. In New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Florida and California, there are no gubernatorial or Senate races. Should RMN win big, the top-of-the-ticket impetus, uninterrupted by any big name Democratic incumbents, could be a potent scythe.

The House of Representatives: Forget any analyses that find a parallel in the Eisenhower landslide's failure to give the GOP the House. If the GOP wins as many Northern House seats as in 1956, they will take control. Talk about the lack of presidential coattails in congressional races is also wrong. As the chart shows, the number of Republicans elected to the House since 1948 from outside the South has varied quite closely with the party presidential vote.

Republican Share of the Northern Presidential
Vote and Northern Congressional Strength

| | 1948 | 1952 | 1956 | 1960 | 1964 | 1968 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| GOP Share of Northern Major Party Presidential Vote | 49% | 57% | 58% | 50% | 37% | 50% |
| Number of GOP Congressmen from 38 states excluding South and Kentucky | 167 | 213 | 192 | 166 | 123 | 163 |

The correlation is obvious. With 57-58% of the presidential vote, the GOP has won 192-213 of the roughly 325 Northern House seats. When the GOP presidential vote in the North dipped to 49-50%, the GOP share of House seats fell to 163-167. In the disastrous year of 1964, when Barry Goldwater got 37% of the Northern presidential vote, the GOP won only 123 non-Southern House seats! A big presidential vote means coattails. For those who doubt that 1956 was such a year, the chart below shows how the 1956-1960 presidential vote slippage in key states was matched by congressional vote slippage (i.e., lost coattails).

1956-1960 Decline in GOP Share of Presidential and Congressional Vote

| | Pres. | Cong. | | Pres. | Cong. |
|-------|--------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| R.I. | -22.0% | -15.0% | Vt. | -13.5% | -10.2% |
| Mass. | -19.9 | -12.2 | Md. | -12.7 | -8.1 |
| Conn. | -17.4 | -14.0 | Ill. | -9.7 | -5.1 |
| N.J. | -15.8 | -7.3 | Pa. | -7.8 | -4.4 |
| N.Y. | -13.8 | -7.6 | Ohio | -7.8 | -3.2 |

Press allegations that Eisenhower had no 1956 coattails are simply wrong. The GOP did well in the Northern congressional vote, and would have carried the House if they had elected the Dixie House members in office today. The key to 1956's shortfall is that there was still no Southern congressional opportunity. We belabor this point, with statistics and all, to show that a failure in 1972 would not be supported by previous precedents, but would represent an unprecedented phenomenon of ticket-splitting and White House avoidance of local candidates. Back in 1956, Eisenhower helped elect 192 Northern Republicans, while only nine of the roughly 110 Southerners elected to Congress were Republicans. Since then, the GOP has broken through in Dixie. The Confederacy and Kentucky now send 29 GOP representatives to Congress, and the Nixon Dixie landslide taking shape will be the first since 1944, and the first Republican sweep of the South in history. Strategists expect at least 35-40 Southern GOP congressmen in 1973.

Thus, should a Nixon landslide of 55-57% of the vote in the North fail to elect 180-185 Northern GOP congressmen, it would be an unprecedented coattail miscarriage. In light of the numbers set forth above, district-by-district analyses do not seem too useful. To be sure, a dozen or so seats can be singled out as likely to change hands in all but the most unusual circumstances. However, the real story of 1972 is likely to be written by the overall tide -- or lack of it. States like Connecticut, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, where there is either unusual straight party voting or unusual GOP strength at the top-of-the-ticket could produce some surprises. Analysts often use a shorthand of five seats a percentage point in exploring the impact of presidential victories on congressional seats. Thus, the difference between a 52% Nixon victory in the North and a 57% win would be great. Keep this regional distinction in mind, too. While LBJ's 1964 landslide only added 38 net Democratic House seats, there were two opposite tides: the Democrats picked up 45 in the North and Outer South and lost 7 in the Deep South. Had a nationwide tide been involved (like Nixon's) the upheaval could have been 50 seats in the same direction.

The Senate: Presidential coattails are not so strong in the Senate, but they do play a role. In 1964, for example, there were 25 Democrats up and 9 Republicans. Thanks to LBJ's landslide, all of the 25 Democratic incumbents won except interim appointee Pierre Salinger in California. Of the 9 Republicans, 3 lost and 5 others got less than 53% of the vote. The landslide cost the GOP such close races as Taft (Ohio), Keating (N.Y.), Baker (Tenn.), Bush (Texas), Wilkinson (Okla.) and Laxalt (Nev.).

This year, there are a lot of close races, and several will probably be decided by whether the local Nixon majority is 55% or 58%. In fact, the extraordinary number of close races increases the likelihood that presidential voting will play an important role. Many more Senate seats have wound up in doubt than observers had expected in June or July. Of the 19 GOP seats at stake, party strategists were originally concerned about only three or four. Now the list is longer. On the tight and nervous list are: Boggs (Delaware), Nunn (Ky.), Hirsch (S.D.) and Texas' Tower (while GOP polls show Tower pulling away, he is out of money and nobody trusts the polls). Fairly tight, but less apprehensively so, are the races of Griffin (Mich.), McClure (Idaho), Hatfield (Oregon) and South Carolina's Thurmond (a contest that has narrowed considerably thanks to Wallace's endorsement of Democrat Nick Zeigler, whose race is being run out of South Carolina Gov. John West's office). Last minute nerves are also being felt in the camps of Gordon Allott (Colo.) and Jack Miller (Iowa), both of whom are ahead only 10% or so (less than earlier) in their own polls.

Of the 14 Democratic seats at stake, only a few are safe. The closest races are New Mexico (where Democrat Jack Daniels is clearly behind), North Carolina (where the McGovern current is dragging down Democrat Nick Califianakis), nip-and-tuck Oklahoma, Georgia and Rhode Island. In New Hampshire, Montana, Alabama and Virginia originally favored Democratic incumbents have not opened up the leads expected in summer. All of them are nervous. Any of them could tumble. Louisiana continues to witness a close fight between Democrat J. Bennett Johnston and fast-gaining former Governor John McKeithen, an independent whose January support could go to the highest bidder.

All in all, there are about 15 races close enough to be affected by a strong -- or unexpectedly weak -- Nixon tide. The greatest effects of the tide are bound to occur in the open seats: Kentucky, South Dakota, Idaho, Oklahoma, New Mexico, North Carolina and Georgia. If the current is strong, it could be the vital factor in the Republicans winning Senate control. On the other hand, should the Nixon tide be unexpectedly weak, the GOP could wind up standing still at 45 seats or even losing one.

Realignment and the White House: If President Nixon wins 56% of the vote and the GOP picks up only 1-2 Senators and 10-15 congressmen, that will be -- and should be -- regarded by party leaders as a bad showing all around, a real muffing of a once-in-a-generation opportunity. But remonstrance could become even more bitter in the event that the President wins 58-60% of the national vote and the GOP fails to win Congress. As the statistics of 1956 and 1964 indicate, such a presidential percentage should do the trick, and if it does not, party leaders can criticize some unusual factors (in addition to the growing phenomenon of ticket splitting)..

As of mid-October, realignment was real and substantial. On October 19th, pollster Albert Siedlinger found eleven million more voters identifying themselves as Republicans than had been the case in July. This data indicated the clearest realignment since the New Deal era. However, within a few days, the Watergate/Sabotage network issue began to take hold, alienating some independents and causing a revulsion against the Nixon Administration even among some Republicans (who began reidentifying themselves as independents). Shortly thereafter, Vietnam ceasefire negotiations leaped onto the frontpages, causing some voters to react by thinking it was a Nixon pre-election trick. Moreover, with the war issue knocked out, some Hawk Democrats who had been turning Republican went back the other way. Both issues -- the Watergate and the last minute ceasefire arrangements -- seem to have hurt the GOP, and both can be held against the White House. The Watergate mess is a minus in more ways than just one. Besides antagonizing voters, it underscores the 1972 failure of the White House to opt for a philosophic framework rather than surveillance and media manipulation as the GOP tactic for a "new majority."

But the greatest aggravation to GOP regulars has been the failure of the White House to support party congressional candidates. The Administration's "bipartisan crusade" presidential race tactic has been carried too far. An APR survey of GOP leaders indicates big trouble for the White House if congressional returns go poorly.

Note: Issue No. 3A, Volume II of APR -- the post-election survey -- will be mailed out for November 12.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRUCE KEHRLI
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*
SUBJECT: House Races

Attached are my work sheets on some key House campaigns in states that should be reporting fairly early.

Best indicators of sweep - or net pickups - are in Connecticut and New Jersey.

NEW JERSEY
Polls Close: 8 pm, EST

State labor leaders and Democratic officials are not enthused by McGovern campaign. New Jersey has 30% ethnic vote with Italians the largest bloc.

Incumbent Clifford Case (R) won 1966 election with 60% and is heavily favored this year against former Democratic Congressman Paul Krebs.

Republicans should have no trouble holding five House seats: John Hunt (1st), Charles Sandman (2nd), Peter Frelinghuysen (5th), Ed Forsythe (6th) and Bill Widnall (7th).

Democrats, however, can firmly count only four seats: Peter Rodino (10th), Dominick Daniels (14th), Ed Patten (15th) and Robert Roe (8th).

→ There are probably greater potential House gains in New Jersey than any other state should the President sweep the state. There are tight contests in six districts: 3rd District Incumbent James Howard (D) slightly ahead of Bill Dowd (R); Democratic Congressman Frank Thompson (4th) is in trouble in race with Peter Garibaldi (R); Rep. Henry Helstoski (D) of 9th District could be upset by State Sen. Alfred Schiaffo (R); Incumbent Joe Minish (D-11th) lost some heavy Democratic areas in re-districting and is barely leading GOP challenger Milton Waldor; the 12th District (retiring Flo Dwyer) is close but Matthew Rinaldo should win; and in the new 13th District, without incumbent, Republican Joe Maraziti would be walk-away winner except opponent is Helen Meyner, wife of former Governor.

| | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|------------------------|
| 1956 | IKE | 1,606,942 | 64.7% | |
| | AS | 850,337 | 34.2% | |
| | | <u>2,457,279</u> | | |
| 1960 | RN | 1,363,324 | 49.2% | |
| | JFK | 1,385,415 | 50.0% | |
| | | <u>2,748,739</u> | | |
| 1964 | BG | 964,174 | 33.9% | |
| | LBJ | 1,868,231 | 65.6% | |
| | | <u>2,832,405</u> | | |
| 1968 | RN | 1,325,467 | 46.1% | '68 Registered Voters: |
| | HHH | 1,264,206 | 44.0% | 3,319,752 |
| | CV | 262,187 | 9.1% | '68 Turnout: 86.6% |
| | | <u>2,851,860</u> | | |

OHIO
Polls Close: 6:30 pm, EST

The President should do well in the Buckeye State but his margin will not be as large as some other states.

There are no statewide elections but referenda calling for a Constitutional Convention and a repeal of taxes since January 1972, prohibiting future graduated state income taxes.

→ There appears no opportunities to pick up House seats this year. Republicans will have difficulty holding Rep. Walter Powell (R-8th) against James Ruppert (D) although the GOP is leading; retiring Bill McCulloch's seat in the 4th with Tennyson Guyer; and Frank Bow's vacancy in the 16th with Ralph Regula.

| | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|
| 1956 | IKE | 2,262,610 | 61.1% |
| | AS | <u>1,439,655</u> | 38.9% |
| | | 3,702,265 | |
| 1960 | RN | 2,217,611 | 53.3% |
| | | <u>1,944,248</u> | 46.7% |
| | | 4,161,859 | |
| 1964 | BG | 1,470,865 | 37.1% |
| | LBJ | <u>2,498,331</u> | 62.9% |
| | | 3,969,196 | |
| 1968 | RN | 1,791,014 | 45.2% |
| | HHH | 1,700,586 | 42.9% |
| | GW | <u>467,495</u> | 11.8% |
| | | 3,959,095 | |

TENNESSEE
Polls Close: 4-9 pm EST

The President will receive a heavy percentage of total votes in the Volunteer State. Most of the '68 Wallace vote (34%) will go to the President.

Senator Howard Baker (R) is ahead but will do well to hold his 1966 percentage of 55.7% against conservative Rep. Ray Blanton. Main issue is busing and both candidates are vocal in opposing forced busing. However, Baker recommended the federal judge -- and took credit for his appointment -- who ordered increased and unreasonable school-busing in Nashville. There is also some minor GOP factionalism which could hurt Howard Baker.

→ The best possibility for Republican pick up is in new 6th District. Incumbent Bill Anderson (D) of "Tiger Cage" fame is in hard challenge from Robin Beard. Area has shown GOP trend in recent years and Beard could pull upset.

However, Democrats could win GOP seat held by LaMar Baker of Chattanooga who won in 1970 by only 51%. Howard Sompayrac (D) is young and attractive and has been campaigning for over a year attacking lackluster Baker. Addition of Democratic Oak Ridge to district will help Sompayrac, as will an AIP candidate who may draw a few thousand votes. Also, LaMar Baker refuses hometown Sen. Bill Brock's offer to help because "he wants to win it on his own."

| | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|------------------------|
| 1956 | IKE | 462,288 | 49.2% | |
| | AS | 456,507 | 48.6% | |
| | | <u>918,795</u> | | |
| 1960 | RN | 556,577 | 52.9% | |
| | JFK | 481,453 | 45.8% | |
| | | <u>1,038,030</u> | | |
| 1964 | BG | 508,965 | 44.5% | |
| | LBJ | 635,017 | 55.5% | |
| | | <u>1,144,012</u> | | |
| 1968 | RN | 472,592 | 37.8% | '68 Registered Voters: |
| | HHH | 351,233 | 28.1% | 1,840,077 |
| | GW | 424,792 | 34.0% | '68 Turnout: 67.9% |
| | | <u>1,248,617</u> | | |

'72: 1,970,026
Projection: 1,253,716

MAINE

Polls Close: 8-9 pm, EST

Over the past decade and half there has been a distinct shift in Maine to the Democrats. Nevertheless, the President is expected to carry the State this year.

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R) is ahead of her opponent Rep. Bill Hathaway. Smith's age (74), bitter GOP primary and energetic campaign of Hathaway will make this a close race.

Rep. Peter Kyros (D) should win easily over Bob Porteous in the 1st District. In Hathaway's old district, William (Bill) Cohen, Mayor of Bangor, is running neck and neck with State Senator Elmer Violette (D) and could pull an upset here.

| | | | | |
|------|-----|----------------|-------|------------------------|
| 1956 | IKE | 249,238 | 70.9% | |
| | AS | 102,468 | 29.1% | |
| | | <u>351,706</u> | | |
| 1960 | RN | 240,608 | 57.0% | |
| | JFK | 181,159 | 43.0% | |
| | | <u>421,767</u> | | |
| 1964 | BG | 118,701 | 31.2% | |
| | LBJ | 262,264 | 68.8% | |
| | | <u>380,965</u> | | |
| 1968 | RN | 169,254 | 43.1% | '68 Registered Voters: |
| | HHH | 217,312 | 55.3% | 509,888 |
| | GW | 6,370 | 1.6% | '68 Turnout: 77.1% |
| | | <u>392,936</u> | | |

KENTUCKY
Polls Close: 6-7 pm, EST

Kentucky, a border state, is one of the least urban areas in the country. Nevertheless, voter turn-out has historically been high. Louie Nunn and Walter Huddleston seek to fill John Sherman Cooper's seat in the U. S. Senate. Nunn links opponent with McGovern. Huddleston tags Nunn with unpopular sales tax passed during the latter's Governorship. Election rated a toss-up with margin to Nunn if President carries big.

→ House race to watch is 6th District (formerly held by Democrats Watts and Curlin). Traditionally conservative Democrat area, Bluegrass, tobacco, horses, Frankfort - State Capitol here, Lexington biggest city. University of Kentucky also. Famous Kentucky name Breckinridge (former state attorney general) is Democratic candidate, and GOP is Laban Jackson (former Democrat). Rated leaning to Democrats and a Republican victory would be a major upset.

Media may play up Kentucky's 3rd District (Louisville) as bellwether since incumbent Romano Mazzoli (D) defeated GOP in 1970 by only 211 votes (closest in nation). However, Mazzoli has solidified his base and the district has been re-drawn to include strong Democratic areas. Our candidate, Phil Kaelin, is not strong. Therefore, we list as definite Democratic, though media may interpret otherwise.

| | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| 1956 | IKE | 572,192 | 54.3% | |
| | AS | 476,453 | 45.2% | |
| | | <u>1,048,645</u> | | |
| 1960 | RN | 602,607 | 53.6% | |
| | JFK | 521,855 | 46.4% | |
| | | <u>1,124,462</u> | | |
| 1964 | BG | 372,977 | 35.7% | |
| | LBJ | 669,659 | 64.0% | |
| | | <u>1,042,636</u> | | |
| 1968 | RN | 462,411 | 43.8% | '68 Registered Voters: |
| | HHH | 397,541 | 37.6% | 1,471,343 |
| | GW | 193,098 | 18.3% | '68 Actual Turn-out: 71.8% |
| | | <u>1,053,050</u> | | |

72: 1,618,575
Projection: 1,084,445

INDIANA
Polls Close:

Indiana is "Nixon Country" with only question of how big.

GOP Speaker of State House Otis Bowen is candidate for Governor against former Gov. Matthew Walsh (D). The Democrat was a popular Governor with strong name recognition. Bowen is hoping for Nixon landslide. Current GOP Gov. Whitcomb is liability.

State Referenda include amendments to permit a Governor to serve eight out of any 12 years, and another to allow county officers to serve unlimited terms.

These House incumbent seats are considered safe:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Ray Madden (D-1st) | John Brademas (D-3rd) |
| Bud Hillis (R-5th) | Bill Bray (R-6th) |
| John Myers (R-7th) | Roger Zion (R-8th) |
| Lee Hamilton (D-9th) | |

Republicans David Dennis (10th) and Earl Landgrebe (2nd) are ahead but both races are close.

There are two chances for GOP pick ups in Indiana → Allan Bloom of Fort Wayne tackles U. S. Rep. Ed Roush (D) in 4th District, aided by some GOP additions. Bloom behind but race is close → In Indiana's new 11th District (Indianapolis), Presbyterian minister William Hudnut (R) leads incumbent Rep. Andrew Jacobs. Nixon policies big issue here.

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-----------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 1956 | IKE | 1,182,811 | 59.9% | |
| | AS | 783,908 | 39.7% | |
| | | 1,966,719 | | |
| 1960 | RN | 1,175,120 | 55.0% | |
| | JFK | 952,358 | 44.6% | |
| | | 2,127,478 | | |
| 1964 | BC | 911,118 | 43.6% | |
| | LBJ | 1,170,848 | 56.0% | |
| | | 2,081,966 | | |
| 1968 | RN | 1,067,885 | 50.3% | 1968 Registered Voters: 2,653,219 |
| | HHH | 806,659 | 38.0% | |
| | GW | 243,108 | 11.4% | |
| | | 2,117,652 | | 1968 Turnout: 80.0% |
| | | | | 72: 5,346,442 3,065,232 |
| | | | | Projection: 2,509,831 |

CONNECTICUT
Polls Close at 8 p. m. , EST

Connecticut is one of the most urban states. No Republican has carried it since 1956. The state is one of the highest in ethnic strength--32% of the population, with Italians the largest bloc.

There are no statewide races this year. McGovern and Shriver have worked this state heavily.

Connecticut has six Congressional districts and only one is safe: Stewart McKinney (R-4th).

- Richard Rittenband (R) is running even with incumbent Wm. Cotter (D-1st). District predominantly Democratic with mix of ethnics. Industrial, urban. Hartford is main city.
- Robert Steele (R-2nd) is leading in bid for re-election against Roger Hilsman (D). But it's a swing district -- yankee and some French Canadians.
- Henry Povinelli (R) challenges incumbent Robert Giaimo (D-3rd) in this industrial, urban district which is basically Democratic and Italian-American. Giaimo has edge but heavy Presidential vote could help Povinelli.
- Ronald Sarasin (R) is engaged in effort to unseat John Monagan (D-5th). Irish, Italian and some old yankee stock in small towns. Predominantly Democratic and Monagan leads.
- John Walsh (R) could upset incumbent Ella Grasso (D-6th) if the President's coattails are effective. Grasso won in 1970 with 51.1% in this normally marginal district which is diverse: industrial, small towns, and upper income suburbs.

| | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|
| 1956 | Ike | 711,837 | 63.7% |
| | AS | 405,079 | 36.3% |
| | | <u>1,116,916</u> | |

| | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|
| 1960 | RN | 565,813 | 46.3% |
| | JFK | 657,055 | 53.7% |
| | | <u>1,222,868</u> | |

| | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|
| 1964 | BG | 390,996 | 32.1% |
| | LBJ | 826,269 | 67.8% |
| | | <u>1,217,265</u> | |

| | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|
| 1968 | RN | 556,721 | 44.3% |
| | HHH | 621,561 | 49.5% |
| | GW | 76,650 | 6.1% |
| | | <u>1,254,932</u> | |

1968 Registered Voters: 1,341,519
1968 Turnout: 93.6%
'72: 1,507,603
Projection: 1,341,766

GEORGIA
Polls Close: 7 pm, EST

Democrats in this deep south state have avoided George McGovern's candidacy. Wallace won in 1968 and the President was second. In 1972 the President is expected to win big everywhere in the Peach State except in black areas in Atlanta.

U.S. Rep. Fletcher Thompson (R) is rated even with Sam Nunn of Perry in bid for David Gambrell's Senate seat. Nunn is seen as conservative but has major black support as well as most of Georgia Party establishment.

Rep. Ben Blackburn (R) should win re-election to 4th District Atlanta suburbs. However, Rodney Cook (R) is behind in effort to win Thompson's old House seat. Andrew Young is Democratic candidate, Black, former aide to Martin Luther King, Jr. District has been redrawn and is now 44% Negro and virtually all will go to Young.

| | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------|-------|------------------------|
| 1956 | IKE | 222,778 | 33.3% | |
| | AS | 444,688 | 66.4% | |
| | | <u>667,466</u> | | |
| 1960 | RN | 274,472 | 37.4% | |
| | JFK | 458,638 | 62.6% | |
| | | <u>733,110</u> | | |
| 1964 | BG | 616,584 | 54.1% | |
| | LBJ | 522,556 | 45.9% | |
| | | <u>1,139,140</u> | | |
| 1968 | RN | 380,111 | 30.4% | '68 Registered Voters: |
| | HHH | 334,439 | 26.8 | 1,850,000 |
| | GW | 535,550 | 42.8 | '68 Turnout: 67.6% |
| | | <u>1,250,100</u> | | |

'72: 2,043,002

Projection: 1,287,091

NEW YORK

Public polls show the President running 20 points ahead in the Empire State. Blue-collar Catholics seem to have swung to Nixon and bitter Democratic infighting hurt McGovern.

There are no statewide races.

Republicans should hold two House "open" seats: 31st (Pirnie) with Don Mitchell over Robert Castle (D) and 33rd (Terry) with William Walsh over Clarence Kadys (D).

→ The new 3rd District (parts of LI, Nassau, and Suffolk) should be Republican and Angelo Roncallo normally would be a clear winner over Democrat Carter Bales. However, Conservative candidate Laurence Russo will run well in Suffolk and eat into the GOP margin. Leaning Republican.

There are five incumbent Democrats who must be rated marginal:

→ --1st District (NY suburbs -- LI --upper income):

Democratic Otis Pike vs. Joseph Boyd. Conservative entrant Robert Gardiner makes it leaning Democratic.

→ --17th District (Staten Island):

Rep. John Murphy won in 1970 with 51.6%. Mario Belardino (R) will make close race. Toss up.

→ --26th District:

Strong Republican District. Rep. John Dow (D) faces GOP Ben Gilman. Would be easy pick-up except for Conservative Yale Rapkin.

→ --24th District (parts of Westchester County):

This one district to watch. Turncoat Ogden Reid faces Republican-Conservative Carl Vergari. Swing Italian vote important. Toss up.

→ --32nd District:

This race pits Democratic Rep. James Hanley against GOP-Conservative Leonard Koldin. Redistricting helps Republicans and Koldin's fate tied to Nixon margin.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: 65

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

For your
FILE!!!!

May 11, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

Now that Haldeman is locked into the Ehrlichman Monday/Thursday political meetings, we should make sure there is a Talking Paper prepared for him for each one of these meetings that raises, or gives him the opportunity to raise those subjects regarding the Campaign operation that need to be settled.

Will you please take this on as an assignment. Make sure that we have the Talking Paper by Wednesday at noon to review and that he has it in his Wednesday evening material each time.

Also, Magruder was supposed to be sending over to me a letter or memorandum of understanding on how the surrogate program was to work. Would you please make sure we get this from Magruder before the week is out.

Thank you.

LH:kb

~~9/16~~ H7u mon.
every + Thurs.
9/18
9/28
10/2
10/9
10/16/22
10/17
10/25
10/26
10/30
11/9
11/9
1/31
8/10
8/11
8/17
8/22
8/28
8/31

MESSAGE TO VOTERS

Western Union Is Upset About Nixon 'Telegram'

By SUSAN AXELROD
Special to The Star-News

The light yellow letter is addressed to you personally. The envelope and letterhead are marked "telegram." The text of the letter is written in upper case letters similar to telegram type and the message urges you to vote on election day. It is signed "Richard Nixon."

However, the "telegram" comes from the Committee to Re-elect the President — not Western Union.

The Committee to Re-elect the President is mailing 7 million to 8 million such "messages" to voters across the nation as part of its "get out and vote effort," according to DeVan L. Shumway, director of public relations for the committee.

A SPOKESMAN says Western Union feels that the effort is trading on the company's goodwill.

Company lawyer David A. Irwin said yesterday that the telegram is "an unauthorized use of the Western Union yellow blank image" and "may be misleading to some people"

who might think it is a Western Union telegram.

Shumway said it never occurred to him that persons receiving such a letter might confuse it with a real telegram.

"People know what a real telegram looks like," he said. He said he didn't know why the letters were labeled "telegram." He said "you'll have to draw four own conclusions."

IRWIN CALLED IT "a misrepresentation . . . Western Union telegrams are not delivered by mail. After one has been read over the telephone, a confirmation can be sent through the mail if requested, but first delivery is never made by mail," he said.

Shumway said he had no idea how much the "telegrams" would cost the committee, but the amount will be filed along with other GOP reports with the General Accounting Office.

The letters are being mailed by bulk rate, thus costing the committee 5 cents each rather than 8 cents.

The letter states:

The letter transmits a "per-

sonal message" from the President urging the recipient to vote; stating that "your vote can help achieve the goal of the biggest voter turnout in American history on Nov. 7, so that the result of this election will reflect the views of a clear majority of all Americans." It also sent regards from Mrs. Nixon.

Shumway said the method has been used in "other political campaigns."

Irwin said, "there have been other organizations that have similarly used the yellow blank telegram image for their purposes without Western Union's permission." He named a local department store and a mail order company as examples.

"The company takes a firm stand against this and in this instance they are taking action," he said.

Action generally consists of a letter written to the party using the blank images, asking them to stop sending the letters. If the practice is not stopped, they are informed, the letter could be followed by a lawsuit.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Gallup Pre-Election Survey

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

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

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

3) From the "secret formula" applied to the eight questions, Dr. Gallup determined that 2,700 of the 3,500 sample were likely voters.

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

5) Davies gave his personal projections: 62.1% for the President, giving him every state except Massachusetts and D.C.

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

ARTICLE ON THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION

By Wesley Pruden, Jr.

GEORGE GALLUP, the polling man, is pretty sure he knows how you'll vote this week. He's certain that you can't say that about *him*.

He won't vote at all. He never does.

"If someone asks me how I intend to vote," explains the man whose name has become synonymous with voter polls, "my answer could be interpreted as my trying to influence the election if I said 'Democrat' or 'Republican.' If I say, 'No, I can't tell you,' then how could I ask anyone else such a question? So I never vote, but I never say anything about it."

A Thousand Surprises

But Gallup and his two sons, George Gallup, Jr., and Alec Gallup, and a daughter, Julia Gallup, tell nearly everything else about the family's famous business this week with the publication of a remarkable, 2,500-page, three-volume book containing every poll they published during their last 37 years.

What makes *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971* remarkable is its recollection of some remarkable American public opinions. If one recollection doesn't surprise the browsing scholar, a thousand others will.

Politics is the common thread running through the answers to 20,000 questions Gallup and his men have asked over the years. From these questions he has distilled 7,000 reports. The names found most often through the volumes, testimony to their staying power, are Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Richard M. Nixon.

Nixon first showed up in 1953; 82 per cent correctly identified him as the Vice President and 45 per cent said they had a favorable impression of him. Five years later he made Gallup's list of the "10 most admired men in the world," an eclectic roll of celebrities including Billy Graham, Orval Faubus, Jonas Salk, and both Harry S Truman and Douglas MacArthur.

TV, No; ~~Answer~~, Yes

Politics is only the common thread. Gallup's polls offer a fascinating look at where America has been. In 1939 Gallup asked Americans whether they would be willing to fly across the Atlantic "in one of the new commercial airplanes." Only 41 per cent said yes. He asked Americans whether they would be interested in buying a television set, and 87 per cent said no.

His World War II polls evoke startling recollections of how it was in the midst of a "hot" war. In 1944, 13 per cent of all Americans suggested that *all* Japanese citizens should be killed at war's end. Most of them suggested the appropriate method: "Return them to a slow and awful death." Another suggested: "Put them in a tank and suffocate them."

Hanging or shooting was good enough for the Nazi leaders, said 35 per cent in a 1942 poll, and only 2 per cent wanted to torture Germans. Six per cent would have shown some leniency—5 per cent would have gone easy on Hitler himself. Hardly surprisingly, 7 per cent of Gallup's Americans thought the United States would get along better with Germany than Japan once the war was won, probably because, as a 1945 poll showed, 82 per cent of those asked considered the Japanese—the "Japs," in those days—inherently crueler than the Germans.

Tastes, as Gallup found them, were different in those war years. The 10 states Americans said they would most like to live in were, in order, California, Florida, New York, Texas, Colorado, Oregon, Arizona, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Michigan. American men preferred brunettes over blondes, 43 per cent to 23, and 83 per cent of all Americans slept in double beds—in which 14 per cent still had frequent difficulty getting to sleep. Only 5 per cent of the Americans polled could correctly identify Hirohito as the Japanese emperor (most thought his

name was hari-kari or Fujiyama), and 67 per cent of all American women said American soldiers shouldn't be allowed to date German girls once the war was over. Only 57 per cent of the men thought so.

"Silent Night" was nearly everyone's favorite carol at Christmas 1947, followed closely by "White Christmas." The Jews were fighting for Palestine, 76 per cent of the Americans wished them well, and 21 per cent would have been willing to send U.S. troops to help.

The postwar years were the optimistic years—43 per cent of all Americans thought Soviet Russia would co-operate with America in world affairs. Less than two years after the end of the war, 45 per cent felt "friendly" toward the Germans. Gallup asked Americans how much money a family of four needed to "get along," and the answers averaged \$33 a week in the South to \$45 a week in the East. Three of every four American families spent less than \$25 a week on food.

The Gallup Poll/Public Opinion 1935-1971 was the idea of Fred Israel and William P. Hansen, two editors at Random House who are paid to think up such projects. The best-selling reprint of the 1897 Sears catalog was their idea; so was an anthology tracing *Dick Tracy's* villains through the years. The three-volume Gallup set costs \$95, and Random House expects to sell most of them to libraries, historians, and corporations.

"As social history, this is fascinating stuff," says Israel, who is also a professor of American history at the City College of New York. "Some of the answers seemed incredible." Adds Hansen: "When we were going through the old polls it was like playing *Can You Top This*."

The Politician as Follower

If there's a common theme, Israel says, it's a theme of political ignorance. "One poll shows that only 49 per cent knew the names of both their senators. A similar poll, with the questions being asked in Britain, showed that 75 per cent knew the answer to the similar question.

But Gallup's polls also show an unmistakable pattern of the politician as follower of public opinion, rather than leader. Israel believes. "The polls on the Spanish civil war showed a preponderant disinterest, as well as an ignorance of the issues. This certainly makes [President Franklin D.] Roosevelt's reluctance to get involved understandable."

He traces a similar pattern in Nixon's cold maneuvering to bring Communist China into the United Nations. "American opinion was solidly against it in the 1950s but began dissolving in 1969. The 1970 poll Gallup took before Nixon announced that he was going to Peking showed 52 per cent of Americans thought the Communists should get the seat in the U.N."

Sex Is a No-No

Most of the political questions the Gallup pollsters ask are the obvious ones, taken from Page One. The others come from the curiosity of Gallup, his sons, and three or four others in the high command of the American Institute of Public Opinion in Princeton, N.J.

The questions are invariably asked in a noncontroversial way. Fred Israel describes them as "middle-class questions." The Gallups avoid some subjects entirely. Says Israel: "Sex is usually too risqué. They once discarded as too risqué the question, 'Would it matter to you whether the girl you marry is a virgin?' Someone suggested they ask whether Lyndon Johnson should be tried as a war criminal. The question was discarded as too controversial."

One of the great crises at the Gallup organization erupted several years ago when a questionnaire went out asking prospective legal clients whether they would "go to a woman lawyer." Gallup himself hurried down to the Princeton post office to sort through the mailbags to get the offending questionnaires back.

First Success: FDR Over Landon

Gallup, who is 71, is a thoughtful Iowan who walks and talks with the air of a gentleman farmer, a term at which he winces. He ticks off the crops he grows on his *working* farm nearby: soybeans, wheat, corn, and beef. "We no longer have a dairy herd."

Gallup went to Princeton in 1934, the year before he started the poll. He was accused of moving there just to get the dateline for his column—so that readers might incorrectly assume that his American Institute of Public Opinion was affiliated with Princeton University.

He purchased the farm in 1934, when he was working for Young & Rubicam, the New York advertising agency. "When I started the poll, I started it in Princeton because I didn't want to commute. I wanted to stay on the farm."

Gallup's first success was the 1936 election, when he correctly predicted Roosevelt's victory over Alf Landon in the face of the popular *Literary Digest* poll, which said FDR would lose. The Roosevelt landslide ruined *Literary Digest*, which relied on polling sheer numbers, taking names from the telephone directory.

"They polled 12,000,000 people," Gallup recalls, with some awe of the effort expended. "That was enough to reach every third American home in 1936. We polled 30,000—and we tried to disguise that figure."

Gallup's method, an innovation at the time, was to build a tiny replica of the national electorate—a truly random sampling—and treat the sample's answers as the electorate's. This technique has been refined in the years since, but the principle

is the one Gallup and his competitors use today.

The random-sampling technique was severely criticized. "We don't get as much criticism today as we once did," Gallup says. "In the early years, when our methods were not so well understood, there was constant criticism."

Most critics today cite the time lag between the interviews and publication of the results, arguing that the results are sometimes misleading. Gallup concedes this as valid criticism. "What you must understand," he says, "is that a poll is really a snapshot, an accurate picture of sentiment at the time the poll was taken."

No Repeat of 1948

Opinion lag is what burned him in 1948, he says, when Truman startled everyone but Truman by upsetting Thomas E. Dewey. Gallup says he quit polling too soon.

"The chief failure in the election forecasts this year was due to decisions made by the poll directors rather than failure of the sampling system itself," Gallup wrote in a humiliating post mortem two weeks after the 1948 election. "One of the reasons why the polls went wrong . . . was their failure to continue questioning voters right up to election eve."

Gallup's pollsters, like those of his colleagues, will not make that mistake this year. Voters in the 365 "interviewing areas" will be questioned through election eve; Gallup will telegraph the final results and analysis to his 153 newspaper-subscribers only a few hours before the first actual votes are cast.

Gallup and his sons still occasionally take questionnaires into the field themselves. He recalls an interview he did not long ago in Lisbon, Maine.

An Interviewer's Adventures

"I knocked on the door and identified myself. I told the lady that I was from the Gallup Poll.

"Yes," she said, "I've heard of it."

"How do you intend to vote," I asked. She looked at me, with a little shock showing on her face. She seemed to back up a couple of steps.

"Do I have to tell you that?"

"If you don't tell me, how will I know?"

"Oh," she replied, "I thought you did it with statistics."

Most of Gallup's 900 interviewers have similar stories. Like pots-and-pans salesmen, pollsters learn quickly not to be surprised how someone answers their knock. One interviewer noted that one woman insisted on answering his questions while naked. ("Not bad looking," he noted in the margin.) Another woman insisted on being interviewed as she sat propped up in bed; midway through the interview, a man emerged from under the covers, gasping for breath.

Some of the best answers go unrecorded. Once, when Gallup was polling about attitudes toward "the double sexual standard" for men and women, a woman replied: "I'm all for it. In matters of sex, standards should be twice as high."

A man supplied a definition of the European Common Market: "It's where the average person in Europe goes to shop."

Most Interviewers Are Women

Gallup's interviewers, like the people they interview, are chosen from nearly every occupation. Most are women. Many are over 65; the oldest is 87. About half are college graduates. Half are Democrats, half Republicans.

The interviewer gets a blue-and-white Gallup button, a No. 2 pencil, a clipboard with 10 questionnaires for the day's work, and a map of the interviewing area. On reaching the area, the pollster makes an "X" in the northeast corner of the map. This is the first house, and the route goes clockwise from the starting point. If the first house is a corner house, the pollster skips it. A corner house invariably is the home of the most affluent man on the block, whose opinion is thought to introduce a bias.

The typical poll requires 45 minutes. The voter is asked about his occupation, schooling, and political and religious affiliations so that Gallup, by checking this information against Census Bureau data, can build an accurate replica.

Though based on the hard laws of probability, modern polling still offends some voters. "Nobody ever asks me," goes the most common complaint. Given the laws of probability and the size of the national sample—1,500 voters in 365 interviewing areas—the chance of any one of 208,000,000 Americans being interviewed is infinitesimal.

Nevertheless, pollsters are an old and favorite target of politicians, particularly those trailing in the polls. Truman, the patron saint of the also-running, sneered at them in 1948. Barry Goldwater laughed at them in 1964. And George McGovern railed at them only last week, asserting that the pollsters would get the hangover of their lives with this week's result.

Gallup has heard it all, but never more colorfully than from Earl Long, the late governor of Louisiana. Gallup did a special poll of Louisiana's 1940 Democratic gubernatorial primary, concluding that Long would lose.

'Uncle Earl's Soliloquy

"Three months ago," wrote Long in a full-page advertisement in Louisiana newspapers, "a half-dozen postgraduate 'social science' workers from Princeton University, augmented by seven or eight East Side New Yorkers who had never in their lives seen a possum, tasted a sweet potato, or chewed a plug of tobacco, arrived in New Orleans to conduct a so-called 'survey of public opinion.'

"After taking a few sight-seeing trips, getting some fancy grub at the famous restaurants of New Orleans, looking at some swamps, and sending picture postcards back home, they then wrote some mystic figures in their little black books and hurried back to their boss, a low-ceiling guy with bifocal glasses who sits enthroned way up there in Princeton, New Jersey, like the Wizard of Oz and peers owlishly at figures all day long until he looks like a left-handed figure-4. . . .

"Out of this hocus-pocus of numbers and dope sheets and form charts, lo! and behold, if up didn't jump the Gallup Poll. . . ."

Gallup, as it turned out, was right. Long lost. Gallup framed Long's attack, and it hangs today in a place of honor "way up there in Princeton, New Jersey." Says Gallup, with an envious sigh: "If I could write like that, I'd never have gone into the polling business."

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDENAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

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GS/jb

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...he never does. ...how I intend to... whose name has... with voter polls, "my... as my trying to... I said 'Democrat'... 'No, I can't tell... I ask anyone else... I never vote, but I... about it."

A. Thousand Surprises

George Gallup has two sons, George Gallup, Jr., and Alan Gallup, and a daughter, Julia Gallup, and nearly everything else about the family's various business this week with the publication of a remarkable, 2,600-page record of the week containing every... their first 37 years.

What makes *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971* such a readable is its recollections of some 100 famous American public figures, of one revelation doesn't surprise and breaking scholar, a thousand others will.

Politics is the common thread running through the answers to 10,000 questions Gallup's polls have asked over the years. From 1935 to 1971 he has divided 7,000 names. The names listed most often through his pollings, in any to their staying power, are Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Richard M. Nixon.

What first showed up in 1935: 33 per cent... the Vice... they had a... Two years... of the 1930s most... economic roll... Graham, Gerald... Harry S. Truman...

TV, No; Torture, Yes

Politics is only the common thread. Gallup's old polls offer a fascinating look at where Americans have been. In 1939 Gallup asked Americans whether they would be "willing" to fly across the Atlantic "in one of the new experimental airplanes." Only 41 per cent said yes. He asked Americans whether they would be interested in buying "a home television set," and 87 per cent said no.

His World War II polls evoke startling recollections of how it was in the midst of a "moral" war. In 1944, 13 per cent of all Americans suggested that *all* Japanese citizens should be killed at war's end. Most of these suggested the appropriate method: "Torture them to a slow and awful death." Another suggested: "Put them in a tank and suffocate them."

Hanging or shooting was good enough for the Nazi leaders: 35 per cent in a 1942 poll, and only 2 per cent wanted to torture Germans. Six per cent would have shown some leniency—5 per cent would have gone soft on Hitler himself. Hardly surprisingly, 7 per cent of Gallup's Americans thought the United States would get along better with Germany than Japan once the war was won, probably because, as a 1945 poll showed, 82 per cent of Americans considered the Japanese—the "Japs," in those days—inherently colder than the Germans.

Tastes, as Gallup found them, were different in those war years. The 10 states Americans said they would most like to live in were, in order, California, Florida, New York, Texas, Colorado, Oregon, Arizona, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Michigan. American men preferred brunettes over blondes, 43 per cent to 33, and 43 per cent of all Americans slept in double beds—in which 14 per cent still had frequent difficulty getting to sleep. Only 5 per cent of the Americans polled could correctly identify Hirohito as the Japanese emperor (most thought his...

name was hari-kari or Fujiyama), and 67 per cent of all American women said American soldiers shouldn't be allowed to date German girls once the war was over. Only 57 per cent of the men thought so.

"Silent Night" was nearly everyone's favorite carol at Christmas 1947, followed closely by "White Christmas." The Jews were 1st rank for Passover. 79 per cent of the Americans wished them well, and 21 per cent would have been willing to send U.S. troops to help.

The 1940s were the optimistic years—44 per cent of all Americans thought former Russia would cooperate with America in world affairs. Less than two years after the end of the war, 45 per cent felt "friendly" toward the Germans. Gallup asked Americans how much money a family of four needed to "get along," and the answers averaged \$23 a week in the South to \$45 a week in the East. Three of every four American families spent less than \$25 a week on food.

The Gallup Poll Public Opinion 1934-1971 was the idea of Fred Israel and William P. Hansen, two editors at Random House who are paid to think up such projects. The best-selling reprint of the 1957 Sears catalog was their idea; so was an anthology tracing *Dick Tracy's* villains through the years. The three-volume *Gallup* set costs \$45 and Random House expects to sell most of them to libraries, historians, and corporations.

"As social history, this is fascinating stuff," says Israel, who is also a professor of American history at the City College of New York. "Some of the answers seemed incredible." Adds Hansen: "When we were going through the old polls it was like playing *Can You Top This?*"

The Politician as Follower

If there's a common theme, Israel says, it's a theme of political ignorance. "One poll shows that only 49 per cent knew the names of both their senators. A similar poll with the questions being asked in 1971 showed that 75 per cent knew the answer to the similar question.

Gallup's polls also show an understandable pattern of error, often as follows: The opinion is more than likely to be correct. "The polls on the 1960 election showed a preponderance of support for Kennedy as well as an acceptance of the fact that certain states (President Dwight D. Eisenhower's) adherence to the involved understanding."

He traces a similar pattern in Nixon's 1968 campaigning to bring Communist China into the United Nations. "American opinion was solidly against it in the 1950s but began dissolving in 1969. The

poll Gallup took before Nixon announced that he was going to Peking showed 60 per cent of Americans thought Communists should not be seated in the U.N."

Sex Is a No-No

Most of the political questions the Gallup pollsters ask are the obvious ones, taken from Page One. The others come from the curiosity of Gallup, his sons, and three or four others in the high command of the American Institute of Public Opinion in Princeton, N.J.

The questions are invariably asked in a noncontroversial way. Fred Israel describes them as "middle-class questions." The Gallups avoid some subjects entirely. Says Israel: "Sex is usually too risqué. They were discarded as too risqué the question, 'Would it matter to you whether the girl you marry is a virgin?' Someone suggested they ask whether Lyndon Johnson should be tried as a war criminal. The question was discarded as too controversial."

One of the great crises at the Gallup organization erupted several years ago when a questionnaire went out asking prospective legal clients whether they would "go to a woman lawyer." Gallup himself hurried down to the Princeton post office to sort through the mailbags to get the offending questionnaires back.

First Success: FDR Over Landon

Gallup, who is 71, is a thoughtful Iowan who walks and talks with the air of a gentleman farmer, a term at which he winces. He tucks on the crops he grows on his working farm nearby: soybeans, wheat, corn, and beef. "We no longer have a dairy herd."

Gallup went to Princeton in 1934, the year before he started the poll. He was accused of moving there just to get the dateline for his column—so that readers might incorrectly assume that his American Institute of Public Opinion was affiliated with Princeton University.

He purchased the farm in 1934, when he was working for Young & Rubicam, the New York advertising agency. "When I started the poll, I started it in Princeton because I didn't want to commute. I wanted to stay on the farm."

Gallup's first success was the 1936 election, when he correctly predicted Roosevelt's victory over Alf Landon, the face of the popular Literary Digest poll, which said FDP would lose. The Roosevelt landslide ruined Literary Digest, which relied on polling sheer numbers, taking names from the telephone directory.

"They polled 12,000,000 people," Gallup recalls, with some awe of the effort expended. "That was enough to reach every third American home in 1936. We polled 2,500—and we tried to disguise that figure."

Gallup's method, an innovation at the time, was to build a tiny replica of the national electorate—a truly random sampling—and treat the sample's answers as the electorate's. This technique has been refined in the years since, but the principle

is the one Gallup and his competitors use today.

The random-sampling technique was widely criticized. "I don't get as much credit today as he did," Gallup says. "In the early years, when our methods were not so well understood, there was constant criticism."

Now, critics today are the time between the interview and publication of the results, arguing that a reporter who writes misleading Gallup columns would criticize what he is reporting. "I would criticize what he is reporting," he says, "but a Gallup report is a snapshot, a concrete picture of sentiment at the time it was taken."

No Repeat of 1938

Opinion lag is what burned him in 1938, he says, when Truman started every one but Truman by up setting Thomas E. Dewey. Gallup says he quit polling Dewey.

"The chief failure in the election forecasts this year was due to decisions made by the poll directors rather than failure of the sampling system itself," Gallup wrote in a humiliated post-mortem two weeks after the 1948 election. "One of the reasons why the poll went wrong was their failure to continue questioning voters right up to election eve."

Gallup's pollsters, like those of other agencies, will not admit that mistakes in New York voters in the two interviewing areas will be questioned through election eve. Gallup will not release the final results and analysis to all 183 newspaper subscribers only a few hours before the first actual votes are cast.

Gallup and his sons still occasionally take questionnaires into the field themselves. He recalls an interview he did not long ago in Lisbon, Maine.

An Interviewer's Adventures

"I knocked on the door and identified myself. I told the lady that I was from the Gallup Poll.

"Yes," she said. "I've heard of it."

"How do you happen to vote?" I asked. She looked at me, and her head shook over the question. She started to back up a couple of steps.

"You have to tell me that?"

"If you want to ask me, how will I answer?"

"Oh," she replied. "I thought you did it with statistics."

Most of Gallup's 600 interviewers have similar stories. Like pots-and-pans salesmen, pollsters learn quickly not to be surprised how someone answers their knock. One interviewer noted that one woman insisted on answering his questions while naked. "Not bad looking," he noted in the margin. Another woman insisted on being interviewed as she sat propped up in bed; midway through the interview, a man emerged from under the covers.

Some of the best answers go unrecorded. Once, when Gallup was polling about attitudes toward "the double sexual standard" for men and women, a woman replied: "I'm all for it. In matters of sex, standards should be twice as high."

A man supplied a definition of the European Common Market: "It's where the average person in Europe goes to shop."

Most Interviewers Are Women

Gallup's interviewers, like the people they interview, are chosen from nearly every occupation. Most are women. Many are over 60; the oldest is 87. About half are college graduates. Half are Democrats, half Republicans.

The interviewer gets a blue-and-white Gallup button, a No. 2 pencil, a clipboard with 10 questionnaires for the day's work and a map of the interviewing area. On reaching the area, the pollster makes an "X" in the northeast corner of the map. This is the first house, and the route goes clockwise from the starting point. If the first house is a corner house, the pollster skips it. A corner house invariably is the home of the most affluent man on the block, whose opinion is thought to introduce a bias.

The typical poll requires 45 minutes. The voter is asked about his occupation, schooling, and political and religious affiliations so that Gallup, by checking this information against Census Bureau data, can build an accurate replica

Though based on the hard laws of probability, modern polling still offends some voters. "Nobody ever asks me," goes the most common complaint. Given the laws of probability and the size of the national sample—1,500 voters in 200 interviewing areas—the chance of any one of 208,000,000 Americans being interviewed is infinitesimal.

Nevertheless, pollsters are an old and favorite target of politicians, particularly those trailing in the polls. Truman, the patron saint of the also-ran, sneered at them in 1948. Barry Goldwater laughed at them in 1964. And George McGovern railed at them only last week, asserting that the pollsters would get the hangover of their lives with this week's result.

Gallup has heard it all, but never more colorfully than from Earl Long, the late governor of Louisiana. Gallup did a special poll of Louisiana's 1949 Democratic gubernatorial primary, concluding that Long would lose.

'Uncle Earl's Soliloquy

"Three months ago," wrote Long in a full-page advertisement in Louisiana newspapers, "a half-dozen postgraduate 'social science' workers from Princeton University, augmented by seven or eight East Side New Yorkers who had never in their lives seen a 'possum, tasted a sweet potato, or chewed a plug of tobacco, arrived in New Orleans to conduct a so-called 'survey of public opinion.'

"After taking a few sight-seeing trips, getting some fancy grub at the famous restaurants of New Orleans, looking at some swamps, and sending picture post-cards back home, they then wrote some mystic figures in their little black books and hurried back to their boss, a low-ceiling guy with bifocal glasses who sits enthroned way up there in Princeton, New Jersey, like the Wizard of Oz and peers owlshly at figures all day long until he looks like a left-handed figure-4. . . .

"Out of this hocus-pocus of numbers and dope sheets and form courts, let me behold, if up didn't jump the Gallup Poll. . . ."

Gallup, as it turned out, was right. Long lost. Gallup framed Long's attack, and it hangs today in a place of honor "way up there in Princeton, New Jersey," says Gallup, with an envious sigh: "If I could write like that, I'd never have gone into the polling business."



November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
 FROM: FRED MALEK *FMA*
 SUBJECT: Status of GOTV

This memorandum reviews where we stand on preparation for getting out the vote on election day and summarizes the field organizations' estimates of Tuesday's voting results.

As you know, there are five basic tools being used to get out the vote: (1) Pre-election reminder calls to all identified supporters and all registered Republicans; (2) a telegram reminding all identified supporters and all Republicans in the ten key states to vote; (3) poll checking in the states where it is allowed; (4) Election Day phoning to those supporters and Republicans to remind them to vote; (5) victory squads to go door to door late in day to remind those supporters who have not voted that we need their vote. The leadership in the states were asked to blend the pieces of this national program into a workable plan for their particular states.

We concentrated most of our management efforts from here on the key, battle-ground and senate seat states to ensure sound programs were devised and the organizations to put them into effect were in place. Some 75 of our 1701 staff and 25 from the RNC are in these states to assist in organizing the GOTV efforts. Reports from our staff over the weekend indicate that the organizations are in place and ready. Generally, our fieldmen indicate that the preparation is good to excellent. High lights from these reports are set out below.

California: Preparations is excellent - probably the best in the country. The California leadership claims to have 167,844 volunteers recruited for election day. These volunteers will be used on over 2,000 phones and for the massive victory squad effort to go door to door on election day. GOTV Workshop sessions have been held over the entire state for the last ten days. The strength of this effort should result in a margin of 10 points.

Texas: Texas was late in getting organized and in commencing their canvassing effort and in terminating their canvassing. Therefore, Get Out The Vote organization is late and not well organized. The GOTV program will consist of reminder calls on election eve and election day, concentrating on 450,000 favorables in the 27 largest counties. This, combined with the President's overwhelming popularity, should assure us of a 30 point margin.

New York: The organization is in place. Governor Rockefeller reports all is ready and found no apathy in his blitz across the state over the weekend. Even Bixby calls a victory by 16 points.

Illinois: The fine canvassing organization has shifted gears and is ready for GOTV activity. It is the opinion of the Illinois leadership that 96 of the state's 102 counties are in excellent condition for GOTV, with the remaining 6 small downstate counties being adequate. The Nixon organization will be manning over 3,000 phones on election day while the Ogilvie campaign will be fielding several thousand precinct workers. All are confident of the ballot security arrangements in Cook County and East St. Louis. I look for a 16 point margin here which should pull Ogilvie in.

Pennsylvania: Although the Committee for the Re-election had a relatively poor canvassing effort, it is now ready for an outstanding voter turnout program. One of my fieldmen is directing the machinery and reports that 4,180 telephones have been secured, along with over 10,000 volunteers recruited for election day work. In addition, Mayor Rizzo has put out the word for his ward helpers to win or else lose their patronage rights. This should result in a 18 point margin.

Ohio: Ohio's Republican party has traditionally been one of the most strongly organized in the country; and will live up to its reputation in this election. The President's visit stimulated get out the vote activity in Northern Ohio. Mayor Perk is actively working to deliver the Cleveland area. Election day phone contacts will generally only be made to Republicans since many local GOP leaders are concentrating on local races. In addition, a controversial referendum concerning repeal of the income tax will increase voter turnout generally. We should win Ohio by a 20 point margin.

Massachusetts: While the canvass reached less than 20% of the households, extensive voter turnout preparations have been made in the 121 key townships to turn out the Republicans and other identified favorables (1,500 phones and volunteers to use them). However, this is too little, too late, and will not be enough to win the state.

New Jersey: The county CRP and GOP organizations are ready - 1,100 phones, 4,200 volunteers, and 468 target voters as well as all Republicans are ready to go in the 9 key counties containing 70% of the population. I look for a strong turnout and a 20 point margin.

Michigan: Chairman Jack Gibbs considers this the strongest GOTV effort he has seen; and points up that controversial abortion and properly tax referendums will help turn out the vote. However, since much of the organizational effort depends on home phones, we cannot evaluate how well the job will be done; and must rate the preparation as only fair. I expect the state to be close, with a Nixon victory of about of about 2 to 3 points.

Connecticut: Connecticut traditionally has high voter turnout for Presidential elections. Our Re-election campaign seems well prepared for making sure our supporters are included in this turnout and that the President carries the state. There seems to be adequate evidence that the voting districts are covered by the local organization - with at least two phones for each district in homes, or headquarters and with ample numbers of callers as well as a minimum of five volunteers for our election day activity. We will have extensive poll checking to identify the approximately 100,000 target households which our campaign will contact with reminder calls on election day. I am looking for a 20 point spread.

Wisconsin: The Wisconsin leadership has used a "Key Cities" program and claims to have contacted some 650,000 homes. They estimate that 80% of the favorables identified will get an election day call. Because we cannot accurately evaluate the strength of our GOTV, plus the strength of the McGovern organization left over from the primary, we consider this to be a very close race.

Other states such as Maryland, Washington, Oregon, Missouri and West Virginia have extensive efforts on the drawing board and should be able to turn out the President's supporters.

In summary, our field reports are optimistic about our ability to move our voters on election day and that the organizations are not apathetic as we feared might be the case. I am satisfied that the GOTV job to insure the President's victory and build the plurality will be done.

FIELD PROJECTIONS OF THE VOTE

I asked our regional directors and state chairmen to project the vote in each of their states. While these projections are not as scientific as the polling data, I thought you would be interested in how they see the election.

| | <u>(000 Omitted)</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Total Number of Registered Voters | 98,183 |
| Estimated Turnout | 82,302 |
| % Turnout | 84% |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Nixon Vote | 48,660 |
| % Nixon | 59% |
| Plurality | 15,465 |
| % Victory | 18% |
| States Won | 49 |
| Electoral Votes | 521 Nixon/17 McGovern |

The state by state breakout is at Tab A. We, like most of the polls, are calling a 49 state victory with only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia in the loss column.

I believe our margins can actually be larger than this in many of the states; but the final margins will be determined by whether the hardshell Democrats who support the President can actually pull the Republican lever. If there is much last minute switching, we could possibly see Wisconsin, West Virginia and Michigan slide into the loss column. I do not think it will happen, but it is possible.

* * *

In summary, the GOTV efforts are sound, and we will turn out the President's supporters. Forty-nine states should support the President - the major question is the size of the plurality. Here the voter turn out effort will help, but the key determinate will be the number of Democrats who go home.

TAB A

| State | Elec- toral Votes | Estimated Regis- tration | Expected Turnout | | Estimated Nixon Vote | | Estimated Margin | |
|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| | | | % of Reg. | Voters | % of Turn- out | Votes | % | Votes |
| Alabama | 9 | 1,774,505 | 69 | 1,225,000 | 70 | 860,000 | 40 | 490,000 |
| Alaska* | 3 | 140,505 | 76 | 107,000 | 60 | 65,000 | 20 | 20,000 |
| Arizona | 6 | 820,000 | 78 | 640,000 | 64 | 410,000 | 28 | 180,000 |
| Arkansas | 6 | 1,110,396 | 66 | 730,000 | 58 | 425,000 | 16 | 115,000 |
| California | 45 | 10,400,000 | 84 | 8,750,000 | 55 | 4,800,000 | 10 | 875,000 |
| Colorado | 7 | 1,211,224 | 84 | 1,020,000 | 60 | 610,000 | 20 | 200,000 |
| Connecticut | 8 | 1,507,603 | 89 | 1,340,000 | 60 | 800,000 | 20 | 270,000 |
| Delaware* | 3 | 293,078 | 84 | 245,000 | 61 | 150,000 | 22 | 55,000 |
| D.C.* | 3 | 305,072 | 68 | 210,000 | 22 | 45,000 | (56) | (120,000) |
| Florida* | 17 | 3,487,458 | 74 | 2,575,000 | 67 | 1,725,000 | 34 | 875,000 |
| Georgia | 12 | 2,150,000 | 63 | 1,350,000 | 67 | 900,000 | 34 | 460,000 |
| Hawaii | 4 | 340,000 | 86 | 290,000 | 57 | 165,000 | 14 | 40,000 |
| Idaho* | 4 | 404,148 | 89 | 360,000 | 65 | 230,000 | 30 | 110,000 |
| Illinois | 26 | 6,215,331 | 80 | 5,000,000 | 58 | 2,900,000 | 16 | 800,000 |
| Indiana | 13 | 3,350,000 | 69 | 2,300,000 | 63 | 1,450,000 | 26 | 600,000 |
| Iowa | 8 | NA | NA | 1,250,000 | 64 | 800,000 | 28 | 356,000 |
| Kansas | 7 | 1,650,730 | 55 | 900,000 | 65 | 585,000 | 30 | 270,000 |
| Kentucky | 9 | 1,650,000 | 67 | 1,100,000 | 64 | 700,000 | 28 | 310,000 |
| Louisiana | 10 | 1,783,000 | 71 | 1,275,000 | 68 | 870,000 | 36 | 460,000 |
| Maine | 4 | 576,915 | 74 | 425,000 | 60 | 255,000 | 20 | 85,000 |

| State | Elec- toral Votes | Estimated Regis- tration | Expected Turnout | | Estimated Nixon Vote | | Estimated Margin | |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| | | | % of Reg. | Voters | % of Turn- out | Votes | % | Votes |
| Maryland* | 10 | 1,815,784 | 74 | 1,350,000 | 60 | 810,000 | 20 | 270,000 |
| Massachusetts* | 14 | 3,160,518 | 82 | 2,600,000 | 47 | 1,225,000 | (6) | (150,000) |
| Michigan | 21 | 4,600,000 | 78 | 3,600,000 | 51 | 1,835,000 | 2 | 70,000 |
| Minnesota | 10 | NA | NA | 1,700,000 | 54 | 920,000 | 8 | 140,000 |
| Mississippi | 7 | NA | NA | 725,000 | 70 | 510,000 | 40 | 290,000 |
| Missouri | 12 | NA | NA | 2,000,000 | 61 | 1,225,000 | 22 | 440,000 |
| Montana | 4 | 382,000 | 83 | 315,000 | 62 | 195,000 | 24 | 75,000 |
| Nebraska | 5 | 772,241 | 76 | 585,000 | 64 | 375,000 | 28 | 165,000 |
| Nevada | 3 | 231,037 | 81 | 185,000 | 57 | 105,000 | 14 | 25,000 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | 423,822 | 75 | 320,000 | 63 | 200,000 | 26 | 85,000 |
| New Jersey* | 17 | 3,667,329 | 79 | 2,900,000 | 60 | 1,750,000 | 20 | 580,000 |
| New Mexico | 4 | 452,800 | 74 | 335,000 | 59 | 200,000 | 18 | 60,000 |
| New York* | 41 | 9,270,363 | 79 | 7,325,000 | 58 | 4,250,000 | 16 | 1,175,000 |
| North Carolina | 13 | 2,357,645 | 79 | 1,865,000 | 66 | 1,225,000 | 32 | 600,000 |
| North Dakota | 3 | NA | NA | 260,000 | 62 | 160,000 | 24 | 60,000 |
| Ohio | 25 | 5,500,000 | 78 | 4,300,000 | 60 | 2,575,000 | 20 | 860,000 |
| Oklahoma | 8 | 1,247,157 | 79 | 985,000 | 65 | 640,000 | 30 | 300,000 |
| Oregon* | 6 | 1,198,996 | 84 | 1,010,000 | 55 | 555,000 | 10 | 100,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 27 | 6,100,000 | 84 | 5,125,000 | 59 | 3,025,000 | 18 | 925,000 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | 531,847 | 79 | 420,000 | 56 | 235,000 | 12 | 50,000 |

| State | Elec- toral Votes | Estimated Regis- tration | Expected Turnout | | Estimated Nixon Vote | | Estimated Margin | |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| | | | % of Reg. | Voters | % of Turn- out | Votes | % | Votes |
| South Carolina | 8 | 1,033,688 | 74 | 765,000 | 68 | 520,000 | 36 | 275,000 |
| South Dakota* | 4 | 351,316 | 81 | 285,000 | 56 | 160,000 | 12 | 35,000 |
| Tennessee* | 10 | 1,990,026 | 68 | 1,350,000 | 65 | 875,000 | 30 | 400,000 |
| Texas | 26 | 5,500,000 | 76 | 4,000,000 | 65 | 2,600,000 | 30 | 1,200,000 |
| Utah | 4 | 543,364 | 89 | 485,000 | 65 | 315,000 | 30 | 145,000 |
| Vermont | 3 | 238,612 | 73 | 175,000 | 62 | 110,000 | 24 | 40,000 |
| Virginia* | 12 | 2,107,367 | 74 | 1,560,000 | 66 | 1,025,000 | 32 | 500,000 |
| Washington* | 9 | 1,975,382 | 78 | 1,550,000 | 54 | 840,000 | 8 | 125,000 |
| West Virginia | 6 | 1,038,587 | 76 | 790,000 | 57 | 450,000 | 14 | 110,000 |
| Wisconsin | 11 | 2,840,000 | 64 | 1,825,000 | 51 | 925,000 | 2 | 35,000 |
| Wyoming | 3 | 138,936 | 89 | 125,000 | 64 | 80,000 | 28 | 35,000 |
| TOTALS | 538 | 98,638,782 | NA | 81,907,000 | 59 | 48,660,000 | 18 | 15,465,000 |

* Final registration figures

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Malek's Canvassing Report

This wrap-up report indicates Malek's grass roots organization has contacted enough voters, either by telephone or in person, to assure the President's re-election. As the previous reports have indicated, California, Connecticut, Illinois and Texas have done the best organization job. In New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the number of "favorables" canvassed was not as high as hoped. However, Malek is confident other compensating factors will assure these states for the President.

Magruder and Malek decided to release to the press the existence of the Canvass Control Room over the weekend. This room monitored the progress of the canvass during the campaign. The resulting AP story was neutral but with a few negative comments regarding the similarity to a brokerage house stock transaction recording system.

*To AS
I would like
a post-election
analysis*

for the re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 335-7720

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Final Canvassing Results

This memorandum reports the final results of the door to door and telephone voter identification canvass. While a small amount of canvassing has not yet been reported, these additional contacts will not materially change this final tally.

The results are as follows:

| | <u>(000 Omitted)</u> |
|--|----------------------|
| Total Households in the U. S. | 63,316 |
| Total Households in Priority Counties | 48,149 |
| Total Households Contacted Door to Door | 16,075 |
| % Priority Households Canvassed Door to Door | 33% |
| Total Households Contacted by Phone | 6,543 |
| Total Households Contacted Door to Door andby Phone | 22,618 |
| % Total Households Contacted | 36% |
| % Households in Priority Counties Contacted | 47% |

Compared to last week, the number of households contacted door to door increased by 4,512,000 or 39%. The number of households contacted by telephone increased by 1,572,000 or 31.5%. The total number of households contacted door to door or by telephone increased by 6,084,000 or 36.8%, which is a comparable increase to that achieved in the three previous weeks.

Through these efforts, contact has been made with some 45 million voters, and roughly 25 million favorable to the President have been identified. Combining this with registered Republicans and adjusting for probable overlap, we have identified approximately 35 million favorables to be turned out on election day. Assuming an 80 million total turn out, the identified favorables represent 87% of the voters required for a victory. Thus, we have more than adequate insurance against any voter apathy problem.

KEY STATE RESULTS

Key state results are particularly good as shown below: (000 Omitted)

| | |
|--|--------|
| Number of Households in Priority Counties | 25,924 |
| Households Canvassed Door to Door | 8,284 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed Door to Door | 32% |
| Households Canvassed by Phone | 6,543 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed by Phone | 25.9% |
| Total Households Canvassed | 14,827 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed | 57% |

The results in all key states are acceptable (See Tab A). All states have canvassed at least 38% of the households in priority precincts and some have performed considerably better - California 83%, Connecticut 86%, Illinois 76%, Texas 75%. In other states, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, the favorables identified in the canvass are supplemented by large numbers of registered Republicans for voter turn out purposes. Only Michigan with 38.5% of the households canvassed in priority counties cannot supplement its canvass with registration lists.

In short, the key states conducted excellent voter identification canvasses; the only issue now is whether we have done as good a job in organizing our get out the vote effort. I feel that we have and that we will turn out the major portion of our favorables tomorrow.

THE BATTLEGROUND STATES

The final canvassing results in other battleground states are also good. 1,929,000 or 30.0% of the 6,448,000 households in the priority counties were contacted. (See Tab B for state by state canvass totals.) The canvassing effort was below par in only two of the states - Massachusetts and West Virginia. As previously mentioned, both states were originally throwaways and consequently, were organized late and somewhat underfunded. Unfortunately, Massachusetts now appears to be the only loss state; and a stronger canvassing effort could have helped to close the gap. The President's lead in West Virginia should hold up in spite of the lack of a strong canvass. But, Arch Moore may suffer because we lack a large pool of favorable voters to turn out for the President. In the remaining states, the canvassing effort has identified a sufficient number of supporters to insure victory in each state if we have a good voter turn out effort.

The final results for the remaining states are summarized by Regional Director at Tab C.

* * *

In summary, I consider the voter identification canvass as successful. Assuming two voters per household contacted, we reached 45 million voters in some way with this level of activity. I have no doubt that the two central purposes of the canvass were fulfilled...(1) we identified enough of the President's supporters to fuel an effective voter turn out effort; and (2) because of the canvass, the states had to put a working organization in place, which in turn, insures a strong election day effort. While all states did not perform as well as they might have, the key and battleground states where canvassing could have meant the difference, performed well beyond our expectations of early July.

Attachments

TAB A

KEY STATES

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|--------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| CALIF. | 5,047,704 | 2,896,130 | 57.3 | 1,303,278 | 25.8 | 83.1 |
| CONN. | 730,997 | 402,041 | 54.9 | 224,543 | 29.7 | 85.6 |
| ILL. | 2,604,869 | 1,247,947 | 47.9 | 745,168 | 27.9 | 75.8 |
| MO. | 935,627 | 240,815 | 25.7 | 255,981 | 27.4 | 53.1 |
| N.J. | 1,660,037 | 342,208 | 20.6 | 295,840 | 17.8 | 38.4 |
| N.Y. | 4,902,038 | 779,352 | 15.9 | 1,190,981 | 24.3 | 40.2 |
| OHIO | 2,573,045 | 744,456 | 28.9 | 447,971 | 17.4 | 46.3 |
| PA. | 3,095,620 | 344,721 | 11.1 | 562,618 | 22.1 | 39.2 |
| TEXAS | 2,270,018 | 908,805 | 40.0 | 812,928 | 35.8 | 75.8 |
| MICH. | 2,103,959 | 382,350 | 18.2 | 426,585 | 20.3 | 38.5 |
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| TOTALS | 25,923,924 | 8,283,827 | 32.0 | 6,542,831 | 25.1 | 57.1 |

TAB B

BATTLEGROUND STATES

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Missouri | 1,184,870 | 413,274 | 34.9 | | | |
| MASS. | 1,177,833 | 207,192 | 17.6 | | | |
| MINN. | 833,676 | 210,525 | 25.3 | | | |
| WASH. | 857,966 | 255,113 | 29.7 | | | |
| Ore. or | 525,467 | 235,404 | 44.8 | | | |
| W. Vir. | 414,372 | 29,545 | 7.1 | | | |
| WISL. | 1,453,430 | 578,336 | 39.8 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 6,447,614 | 1,929,391 | 30.0 | | | |

TAB C

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 642,865 | 185,856 | 28.9 | | | |
| ARKANSAS | 433,704 | 133,722 | 30.8 | | | |
| GEORGIA | 745,213 | 32,978 | 4.4 | | | |
| LA. | 712,485 | 77,375 | 10.9 | | | |
| MISS. | 403,784 | 351,379 | 87.0 | | | |
| S. CAR. | 524,337 | 207,859 | 39.7 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 3,467,398 | 984,169 | 28.4 | | | |

GOOCH

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| New York | 4,902,038 | 779,352 | 15.9 | 1,190,981 | 24.3 | 40.2 |
| PA. | 3,095,630 | 344,721 | 11.1 | 868,683 | 28.1 | 39.1 |
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| TOTALS | 7,997,668 | 1,124,073 | 14.0 | 2,059,664 | 25.8 | 39.3 |

KAUPINEN

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|---------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Conn. | 730,997 | 402,041 | 54.9 | 224,543 | 30.7 | 85.6 |
| ILL. | 2,604,869 | 1,247,949 | 47.9 | 726,168 | 27.9 | 75.8 |
| MAINE | 238,070 | 75,318 | 31.6 | | | |
| MASS. | 1,177,833 | 207,192 | 17.5 | | | |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 174,935 | 123,208 | 70.4 | | | |
| VERMONT | 107,077 | 54,762 | 51.1 | | | |
| R.I. | 232,456 | 42,852 | 18.4 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 5,266,237 | 2,153,322 | 40.8 | 950,711 | 18.1 | 58.9 |

MOSIMAN

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|-----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| INDIANA | 1,174,407 | 807,742 | 68.7 | | | |
| MICHIGAN | 2,103,959 | 382,350 | 18.2 | | | |
| OHIO | 2,573,045 | 744,456 | 28.9 | 447,971 | 17.4 | 46.3 |
| WISCONSIN | 1,453,430 | 578,336 | 39.8 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 7,304,841 | 2,512,884 | 20.7 | 447,971 | 6-1 | 26.8 |

MURRAY

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| DELAWARE | 141,436 | 39,176 | 27.7 | | | 27.7 |
| MARYLAND | 935,627 | 240,815 | 25.7 | 255,984 | 27.4 | 53.1 |
| NEW JERSEY | 1,660,037 | 342,208 | 20.6 | 275,840 | 17.8 | 38.4 |
| D.C. | 197,000 | 16,376 | 8.3 | | | 8.3 |
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| TOTALS | 2,934,100 | 638,575 | 21.8 | 537,824 | 18.8 | 40.6 |

REED

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ARIZONA | 413,000 | 51,104 | 12.4 | | | |
| COLORADO | 549,841 | 702,298 | 120.0 | | | |
| HAWAII | 165,000. | 49,771 | 30.2 | | | |
| New Mex. | 224,000 | 67,845 | 30.3 | | | |
| TEXAS | 2,270,018 | 908,805 | 40.0 | 812,928 | 35.8 | 75.8 |
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| TOTALS | 3,621,879 | 1,779,823 | 49.1 | 812,928 | 22.4 | 71.5 |

RICHARDS

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|---------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ALASKA | 58,294 | 9,053 | 15.5 | | | |
| IDAHO | 164,127 | 54,621 | 33.3 | | | |
| MONTANA | 170,319 | 67,384 | 39.6 | | | |
| NEVADA | 129,490 | 60,581 | 46.8 | | | |
| OREGON | 525,467 | 235,406 | 44.8 | | | |
| UTAH | 242,224 | 127,616 | 52.6 | | | |
| WASH. | 852,966 | 255,103 | 29.7 | | | |
| Wyoming | 83,860 | 85,805 | 102.3 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 2,231,747 | 995,609 | 40.1 | | | |

SAWERS

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| FLORIDA | 1,667,263 | 443,380 | 26.6 | | | |
| KENTUCKY | 893,996 | 365,013 | 40.8 | | | |
| MISSOURI | 1,184,870 | 413,274 | 34.9 | | | |
| N. CAR. | 1,633,775 | 118,184 | 7.2 | | | |
| TENN. | 841,555 | 270,511 | 32.2 | | | |
| VIRGINIA | 919,324 | 231,995 | 25.2 | | | |
| WEST VA. | 414,372 | 29,545 | 7.1 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 6,955,155 | 1,871,952 | 26.9 | | | |

YEUTTER

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|--------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| IOWA | 574,000 | 400,101 | 69.7 | | | |
| KANSAS | 573,505 | 193,855 | 33.8 | | | |
| MINN. | 883,676 | 210,525 | 23.8 | | | |
| NEB. | 376,995 | 67,557 | 17.9 | | | |
| N.D. | 140,592 | 122,525 | 87.1 | | | |
| OKLA. | 632,018 | 215,817 | 34.2 | | | |
| S.D. | 155,947 | 47,123 | 30.2 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 3,327,733 | 1,257,503 | 37.8 | | | |

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Malek's Canvassing Report

This wrap-up report indicates Malek's grass roots organization has contacted enough voters, either by telephone or in person, to assure the President's re-election. As the previous reports have indicated, California, Connecticut, Illinois and Texas have done the best organization job. In New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the number of "favorables" canvassed was not as high as hoped. However, Malek is confident other compensating factors will assure these states for the President.

Magruder and Malek decided to release to the press the existence of the Canvass Control Room over the weekend. This room monitored the progress of the canvass during the campaign. The resulting AP story was neutral but with a few negative comments regarding the similarity to a brokerage house stock transaction recording system.

GS/jb .

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-7720

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Final Canvassing Results

This memorandum reports the final results of the door to door and telephone voter identification canvass. While a small amount of canvassing has not yet been reported, these additional contacts will not materially change this final tally.

The results are as follows:

| | <u>(000 Omitted)</u> |
|--|----------------------|
| Total Households in the U. S. | 63,316 |
| Total Households in Priority Counties | 48,149 |
| Total Households Contacted Door to Door | 16,075 |
| % Priority Households Canvassed Door to Door | 33% |
| Total Households Contacted by Phone | 6,543 |
| Total Households Contacted Door to Door andby Phone | 22,618 |
| % Total Households Contacted | 36% |
| % Households in Priority Counties Contacted | 47% |

Compared to last week, the number of households contacted door to door increased by 4,512,000 or 39%. The number of households contacted by telephone increased by 1,572,000 or 31.5%. The total number of households contacted door to door or by telephone increased by 6,084,000 or 36.8%, which is a comparable increase to that achieved in the three previous weeks.

Through these efforts, contact has been made with some 45 million voters, and roughly 25 million favorable to the President have been identified. Combining this with registered Republicans and adjusting for probable overlap, we have identified approximately 35 million favorables to be turned out on election day. Assuming an 80 million total turn out, the identified favorables represent 87% of the voters required for a victory. Thus, we have more than adequate insurance against any voter apathy problem.

KEY STATE RESULTS

Key state results are particularly good as shown below: (000 Omitted)

| | |
|--|--------|
| Number of Households in Priority Counties | 25,924 |
| Households Canvassed Door to Door | 8,284 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed Door to Door | 32% |
| Households Canvassed by Phone | 6,543 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed by Phone | 25.9% |
| Total Households Canvassed | 14,827 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed | 57% |

The results in all key states are acceptable (See Tab A). All states have canvassed at least 38% of the households in priority precincts and some have performed considerably better - California 83%, Connecticut 86%, Illinois 76%, Texas 75%. In other states, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, the favorables identified in the canvass are supplemented by large numbers of registered Republicans for voter turn out purposes. Only Michigan with 38.5% of the households canvassed in priority counties cannot supplement its canvass with registration lists.

In short, the key states conducted excellent voter identification canvasses; the only issue now is whether we have done as good a job in organizing our get out the vote effort. I feel that we have and that we will turn out the major portion of our favorables tomorrow.

THE BATTLEGROUND STATES

The final canvassing results in other battleground states are also good. 1,929,000 or 30.0% of the 6,448,000 households in the priority counties were contacted. (See Tab B for state by state canvass totals.) The canvassing effort was below par in only two of the states - Massachusetts and West Virginia. As previously mentioned, both states were originally throwaways and consequently, were organized late and somewhat underfunded. Unfortunately, Massachusetts now appears to be the only loss state; and a stronger canvassing effort could have helped to close the gap. The President's lead in West Virginia should hold up in spite of the lack of a strong canvass. But, Arch Moore may suffer because we lack a large pool of favorable voters to turn out for the President. In the remaining states, the canvassing effort has identified a sufficient number of supporters to insure victory in each state if we have a good voter turn out effort.

The final results for the remaining states are summarized by Regional Director at Tab C.

* * *

In summary, I consider the voter identification canvass as successful. Assuming two voters per household contacted, we reached 45 million voters in some way with this level of activity. I have no doubt that the two central purposes of the canvass were fulfilled... (1) we identified enough of the President's supporters to fuel an effective voter turn out effort; and (2) because of the canvass, the states had to put a working organization in place, which in turn, insures a strong election day effort. While all states did not perform as well as they might have, the key and battleground states where canvassing could have meant the difference, performed well beyond our expectations of early July.

Attachments

KEY STATES

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|--------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| CALIF. | 5,047,704 | 2,896,130 | 57.3 | 1,303,278 | 25.8 | 83.1 |
| Calif. | 730,997 | 402,841 | 54.9 | 224,545 | 29.7 | 25.6 |
| ILL. | 2,604,269 | 1,247,949 | 47.9 | 726,168 | 27.9 | 75.8 |
| MO. | 935,627 | 240,815 | 25.7 | 255,981 | 27.4 | 53.1 |
| N.J. | 1,660,037 | 342,208 | 20.6 | 295,840 | 17.8 | 38.4 |
| N.Y. | 4,907,038 | 779,352 | 15.9 | 1,190,981 | 24.3 | 40.2 |
| OHIO | 2,573,045 | 744,456 | 28.9 | 447,971 | 17.4 | 46.3 |
| PA. | 3,095,630 | 344,721 | 11.1 | 862,683 | 28.1 | 39.2 |
| TEXAS | 2,270,018 | 908,805 | 40.0 | 813,928 | 35.8 | 75.8 |
| MICH. | 2,103,959 | 382,350 | 18.2 | 426,555 | 20.3 | 38.5 |
| | | | | | | |
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| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| TOTALS | 25,923,924 | 8,283,827 | 32.0 | 6,542,831 | 25.1 | 57.1 |

BATTLEGROUND STATES

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| MISSOURI | 1,184,870 | 413,274 | 34.9 | | | |
| MASS. | 1,177,833 | 207,192 | 17.6 | | | |
| MINN. | 833,676 | 210,525 | 25.3 | | | |
| WASH. | 857,966 | 255,113 | 29.7 | | | |
| OHIO | 525,467 | 235,406 | 44.8 | | | |
| W. VIR. | 414,372 | 29,545 | 7.1 | | | |
| WISL. | 1,453,430 | 578,336 | 39.8 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 6,447,614 | 1,929,391 | 30.0 | | | |

BROWN

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 642,865 | 185,856 | 28.9 | | | |
| ARKANSAS | 433,704 | 133,722 | 30.8 | | | |
| GEORGIA | 745,213 | 32,978 | 4.4 | | | |
| LA. | 712,485 | 77,375 | 10.9 | | | |
| MISS. | 403,784 | 35,379 | 8.8 | | | |
| S. CAR. | 524,337 | 242,859 | 46.5 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 3462,388 | 984,169 | 28.4 | | | |

GOOCH

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| New York | 4,902,038 | 779,352 | 15.9 | 1,190,981 | 24.3 | 40.2 |
| PA. | 3,095,630 | 344,721 | 11.1 | 868,683 | 28.1 | 39.1 |
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| TOTALS | 7,997,668 | 1,124,073 | 14.0 | 2,059,664 | 25.8 | 39.3 |

MOSIMAN

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|-----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| INDIANA | 1,174,407 | 807,742 | 68.7 | | | |
| MICHIGAN | 2,103,959 | 382,350 | 18.2 | | | |
| OHIO | 2,573,045 | 744,456 | 28.9 | 447,971 | 17.4 | 46.3 |
| WISCONSIN | 1,453,430 | 578,336 | 39.8 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 7,304,841 | 2,512,884 | 20.7 | 447,971 | 6-1 | 26.8 |

MURRAY

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| DELAWARE | 141,436 | 39,176 | 27.7 | | | 27.7 |
| MARYLAND | 935,627 | 240,815 | 25.7 | 255,984 | 27.4 | 53.1 |
| NEW JERSEY | 1,660,037 | 342,208 | 20.6 | 275,840 | 17.8 | 38.4 |
| D.C. | 197,000 | 16,376 | 8.3 | | | 8.3 |
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| TOTALS | 2,934,100 | 638,575 | 21.8 | 551,824 | 18.8 | 40.6 |

REED

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ARIZONA | 413,000 | 51,104 | 12.4 | | | |
| COLORADO | 549,861 | 702,298 | 128.0 | | | |
| HAWAII | 165,000. | 49,771 | 30.2 | | | |
| New Mex. | 284,000 | 67,845 | 23.9 | | | |
| TEXAS | 2,270,018 | 908,885 | 40.0 | 812,928 | 35.8 | 75.8 |
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| TOTALS | 3,621,879 | 1,779,823 | 49.1 | 812,928 | 22.4 | 71.5 |

RICHARDS

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|---------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ALASKA | 58,294 | 9,053 | 15.5 | | | |
| IDAHO | 104,127 | 54,621 | 33.3 | | | |
| MONTANA | 170,319 | 67,384 | 39.6 | | | |
| NEVADA | 129,490 | 60,581 | 46.8 | | | |
| OREGON | 525,467 | 235,406 | 44.8 | | | |
| UTAH | 242,724 | 127,616 | 52.6 | | | |
| WASH. | 857,966 | 255,103 | 29.7 | | | |
| WYOMING | 83,860 | 85,805 | 102.3 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 2,231,747 | 995,609 | 44.1 | | | |

SAWERS

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| FLORIDA | 1,667,263 | 443,380 | 26.6 | | | |
| KENTUCKY | 873,996 | 365,013 | 40.8 | | | |
| MISSOURI | 1,184,870 | 413,274 | 34.9 | | | |
| N. CAR. | 1,633,775 | 118,184 | 7.2 | | | |
| TENN. | 841,555 | 270,561 | 32.2 | | | |
| VIRGINIA | 919,324 | 231,995 | 25.2 | | | |
| WEST VA. | 414,372 | 29,545 | 7.1 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 6,955,155 | 1,871,952 | 26.9 | | | |

YEUTTER

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|--------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Iowa | 574,000 | 400,101 | 69.7 | | | |
| KANSAS | 573,505 | 193,855 | 33.8 | | | |
| MINN. | 883,676 | 210,525 | 23.8 | | | |
| NEB. | 376,995 | 67,557 | 17.9 | | | |
| N.D. | 140,592 | 122,525 | 87.1 | | | |
| OKLA. | 632,018 | 215,817 | 34.2 | | | |
| S.D. | 155,947 | 47,123 | 30.2 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 3,327,733 | 1,257,503 | 37.8 | | | |

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

11/6/72

Bob,

The foul-up on the stations listed in the time-in ads was entirely my fault. I hope we caught the rest. The network spots we are running should help.

I'm sorry we had to end on such a sour note.

Regards

Steve

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN 
SUBJECT: Canvass/Telephone Sheets

We have had inquiries from the Committee staffs in California, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Texas for the canvass and telephone lists in the keypunch centers. When we are through putting the volunteers on these sheets on the computer, we will have no need for them.

The states already have copies of all of this information since they have retained copies for their use.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the canvass/telephone lists be given to the states if they request it. If requests are not received by November 10th, our copies will be destroyed.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MAGRUDER

TO: MR. JEE S. MAGRUDER - FYI

FROM: CHARLES C. SVOB

SUBJECT: Campaign Windup Report

One of the products which I would like from you before Committee activity winds down on November 15 is a detailed description of how each element of your campaign was conducted. This report will be for the personal use of the President. It should be sufficiently complete to permit the President to determine what is attributable to you, and to identify areas for improvement in the campaign. It should, in general, describe the following:

- what was done in 1972 in your area of responsibility; and
- anything that you know now, that you would have done differently.

The following is one possible outline for these reports -- this is intended as a guide only:

- I. Overall Objectives and Goals
 - In which states?
- II. Action Plan
 - Calendar of key events; completion dates.
- III. Resources Utilized
 - Budget
 - Staffing -- Number and type (creative, production, field, etc.)
 - Facilities, Computers, etc.
 - Outside Services, Vendors

IV. *Timeline/Activities*

- List successful accomplishments
- List successful achievements
- Techniques of achieving accountability, reporting results

V. *Exposure with Other Nations? Committee Divisions and State Committees*

- Significant contact with which divisions? Which states?
- Nature and purpose of contacts

VI. *Advice If Campaign Were to Begin Over Again Today*

- For improvement of objectives
- For organizational improvement
- For improved allocations and amounts of resources (budget, staff, etc.)
- Regarding method of operation
- Regarding timing of key events and action steps
- Regarding place of activity in the campaign

You may liberally refer to material already prepared during the campaign; please include as attachments to your report.

Without diminishing your efforts in the final days of the campaign, you should begin to draw together ideas to be included in your report and relevant materials used during the campaign which should be appended to the final document.

The project manager for this post-election report is Bob Marik. He is available to discuss it with you at any time.

On another subject, I would like you to get all the files in your Division ready by November 15 for transmission to a central point within the Committee where they will be stored. Ultimately, they will be housed in the Nixon Library although that will not be for some time. However, we do want all the files and papers relating to each Division.

Bob Odle will be sending out a memorandum on this subject in the near future and Martha Deegan will provide you with uniform packing cases and labels for all of your files next week. If you have any questions on this subject, please contact Bob Odle.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Jock Whitney

Dan Hofgren called to say that Jock Whitney is not exactly pleased to have been invited to the Douglas Home Dinner tomorrow night. Whitney is bored and wonders why he was invited. Walter Thayer told Hofgren that "you would have done Whitney a favor by not inviting him."

Hofgren says the entire crowd - Whitney, Thayer, Paley, etc.- are all bored and disenchanted.

Before Whitney was invited Alex called me to find out whether he had contributed. Tom Evans reported that Whitney was in for 10 with 100 promised but not yet delivered.

Hofgren is concerned that Whitney, Thayer, Paley, etc. just might agree with the New York Times endorsement of McGovern. Hofgren will have lunch with Walter Thayer in New York to work against this possibility.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M
Terrill
Wordy

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **S**
SUBJECT: California Endorsements

Harry Dent and Cap Weinberger are appealing the decision not to send Presidential endorsements to California Assemblymen. Instead of the twenty originally submitted, they suggest the eight described in the attached memorandum.

A check with Nofziger indicates that these eight would be helpful even at this late date. He pointedly reminded me that he and Governor Reagan had strongly urged letters to the original twenty.

Nofziger noted with a certain vindictive pleasure that he had succeeded in obtaining one endorsement for Charles Conrad, an Assembly candidate in a particularly close race. Nofziger would not disclose how he did it but said he would have drafted and signed a letter from the President himself if he had to.

The suggested draft for the eight is attached.

Recommendation:

That you approve the attached draft Presidential letter of endorsement to the eight California Assembly candidates.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

TO Dent
11/3 -
3:45

Drop in
L 11/3

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Harry S. Dent (SD)
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ENDORSEMENTS

California State GOP Chairman, Putnam Livermore, has urged that we send telegrams of endorsement to the following Assemblymen who are in very close and critical races:

CLARE BERYHILL
P. O. Box 3349
Modesto, California 95353

KEITH MILLER
16525 E. Whittier Blvd.
Whittier, California 90603

GARY ANTOLININI
1049 4th Street
Santa Rosa, California 95404

WILLIAM DANNEMEYER
9254 W. Katella Street
Anaheim, California 92804

TED LONG
861 San Bruno Avenue
San Bruno, California 94066

ROBERT HUNTER
3636 University Avenue
Riverside, California 92502

DON MacGILLIVRAY
821 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93102

RON DeI PRINCEPE
7244 Clairemont Mesa Blvd.
San Diego, California 92111

JOHN CONLAN
528 South A Street
Oxnard, California 93030

Republicans are only two seats from controlling the Senate and six in the Assembly. Control of the California Legislature would be a tribute to the President in this election.

Endorsement of local candidates

STRAIGHTWIRE-- _____ (date) _____

[message is designed to be sent to someone other than
the candidate - to be read at rallies and/or excerpted
for ads]

Best wishes to (name of candidate) in his/her race for
(the State Assembly/Senate, etc.). The people of
(California's Fifth District, etc) deserve the finest possible
representation in (Sacramento), and you have a candidate
whose record of accomplishment and devotion to duty ~~are a credit~~
~~to the Republican Party and merit~~ the support of all our citizens.

~~Let's get out the vote on November 7 and demonstrate our~~
~~commitment to good government by electing~~ (name of candidate)!

RICHARD NIXON

RN:MAAllin:RLE:

try writing on
P would appear

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Reading

Four interesting items have been submitted recently that you may want to read. The first two are reports by Fred Malek on the Canvass efforts and Get Out the Vote Kick Off. The Canvass report indicates that 1/3 of the priority counties in the key states have been contacted in person or by telephones. In California more than 1/2 of the households in the priority counties have been contacted. The poorest key state performances have been in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. (Full report at Tab A.)

Malek's Get Out the Vote memorandum describes the activities on October 28. He claims 10,000 volunteers received training, that the local media coverage was good, and that technically there were few problems. (Full report at Tab B.)

Harry Dent prepared a report on the Evans & Novak Political Forum that MacGregor attended with Scammon, O'Brien, and Caddell. The most interesting notes are:

1) Evans projects 524 electoral votes for the President. McGovern only has Massachusetts and D.C. The McGovern campaign never got off the ground because of his vacillation, Eagleton, and O'Brien. Also, McGovern became too specific on the issues too soon;

2) The Republicans have a slim chance to capture the Senate, but will only pick up 20 House seats;

3) MacGregor predicts a low vote because of the McGovern-Shriver "mud-slinging";

4) Pat Caddell, in a remarkably frank discussion, says the people lost confidence in McGovern's handling of Eagleton. He believes the President's landslide will not indicate Democrats have abandoned their party for the Republicans

5) Scammon claims neither candidate is well-liked, and that the President's problem is to get people to trust him; and

6) O'Brien too loyal to McGovern to say anything of real interest.

The report is attached at Tab C.

John Whitaker has submitted a memorandum on post-election activities. Several of the suggestions are being implemented. However, his ideas about directing the Cabinet to go out into the country to listen, to send special Ombudsmen such as Carlucci in Pennsylvania into the country, and to capture the "substantive march on the Congress", are quite interesting. Whitaker's memorandum is attached at Tab D.

GS/jb

H

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: FRED MALEK *FJM*

SUBJECT: Canvassing Results

OVERALL PROGRESS

This memorandum reports progress on the door-to-door canvass through October 23rd and the telephone canvass through October 21st. The progress is as follows:

| | <u>(000 omitted)</u> |
|---|----------------------|
| Total Households in the U. S. | 63,316 |
| Total Households in Priority Counties | 48,149 |
| Total Households Contacted Door-to-Door | 11,563 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed | 24% |
| Total Households Contacted by Phone | 4,971 |
| Total Households Contacted by Phone and Door-to-Door | 16,534 |
| % Priority County Households Canvassed | 34% |

Compared to last week, the number of households canvassed door-to-door increased by 4,350,000 or 60%. The number of households contacted by telephone increased by 1,312,000 or 36%. The total number of households contacted by telephone and door-to-door increased by 5,663,000 or 52%.

This canvassing effort has identified over 15 million voters who support the President. When these voters are combined with the 15 million registered Republicans, we have a pool of known favorables to turn out on election day of some 25 to 30 million voters (depending on the amount of double counting caused by canvassing Republicans door-to-door).

If the voter turn-out effort matches the canvass results, we will have licked the apathy problem for the most part.

KEY STATE PROGRESS

In the key states, households canvassed door-to-door increased by 2,094,000 or 49% and those canvassed by telephone, by 1,313,000 or 36%. Overall, we have now contacted 11,358,000 households or 48% of the households in the priority counties of key states. (See Tab A)

The results in all states are acceptable although some have performed much better than others:

California has canvassed 2,689,000 households or 53% of the households in priority counties. This effort coupled with the GOTV program now in the works should assure a victory in California.

Illinois has canvassed 51.4% of its priority households. Again, this should be enough to ensure a win in Illinois in spite of Daley's last minute push.

Texas claims 48.3% of the households in the priority counties canvassed. The telephone contacts are reliable; I seriously question their claims on door-to-door. However, my staff has done some spot checking and has not yet caught an obvious inflation of the figures. In any case, we are in a good position to run an effective GOTV effort which should more than offset the heavy new registration of Blacks and Spanish Speaking in Houston and Dallas.

New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have turned in the poorest canvass performance. However, each of them have canvassed around 20%, and each state allows party registration so that we have a large pool of voters to turn out. I am confident that both New York and New Jersey are organized well enough to get the turn-out job done; Pennsylvania is not. Therefore, one of our national fieldmen has been made the GOTV Chairman for Pennsylvania, and we have sent about 30 people from 1701 to work in the counties. I am hopeful that this will take up the slack.

The remaining key states are in good shape, and I anticipate no problems with them.

BATTLEGROUND STATES

The battleground states came in with a solid gain. Number of households canvassed increased from 536,483 to 1,314,025 or by 144%, resulting in 15% of the households in priority counties having been canvassed. (See Tab B). All

states are now over 10% except West Virginia and Wisconsin. Wisconsin should improve substantially before the end of the election; households canvassed went up from zero to 134,000 during the week. West Virginia will not improve significantly, and we must count on turning out the Republicans in West Virginia (over 300,000) to give us the edge.

Progress to date in the remaining states is summarized by regional director at Tab C.

*

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We are now over the hump on canvassing. With one week of canvassing to go - October 24th to October 28th - we have canvassed 16.5 million households which exceeds our original expectations of 15 million. I do not expect the results for the last week to continue at the same pace. The telephone centers began to recruit for GOTV on the 23rd so they are effectively out of the voter identification business. Also, the door-to-door effort began to slow down as the states prepared for the GOTV kick-off on the 28th. Thus, the total number of households canvassed during the campaign should come out around 18 million. Assuming two voters per household, we will have reached 36 million voters in some way with our canvassing effort.

Attachments

BCC: H.R. Friedman

KEY STATES

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

TAB A

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|---------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| California | 5,047,704 | 2,371,120 | 47.4 | 1,303,278 | 25.7 | 41.2 |
| Connecticut | 750,977 | 176,000 | 24.5 | 154,500 | 21.1 | 27.6 |
| Illinois | 2,604,869 | 1,072,738 | 42.1 | 500,539 | 21.5 | 30.6 |
| Massachusetts | 935,627 | 60,471 | 6.5 | 204,797 | 22.9 | 29.4 |
| New Jersey | 1,669,037 | 197,770 | 11.9 | 304,254 | 13.3 | 25.2 |
| New York | 4,902,058 | 737,676 | 15.0 | 912,779 | 18.6 | 23.6 |
| Pennsylvania | 2,573,445 | 600,101 | 25.3 | 359,004 | 13.2 | 28.5 |
| Texas | 2,895,100 | 321,937 | 11.0 | 622,113 | 20.1 | 21.1 |
| Virginia | 2,270,018 | 751,189 | 33.5 | 660,902 | 29.1 | 31.6 |
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| TOTALS | 23,419,905 | 7,377,141 | 26.8 | 4,971,575 | 20.9 | 28.7 |

Tab B

BATTLEGROUND STATES

PROGRESS REPORT

ON

DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted in Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number of Priority Counties Contracted | Total # Households Contracted in Priority Counties |
|----------|---|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Missouri | 1,194,870 | 178,850 | 14.9 | | | |
| Ill. | 1,199,828 | 122,400 | 10.2 | | | |
| Indiana | 2,123,977 | 471,171 | 22.2 | | | |
| Ohio | 823,676 | 144,261 | 17.4 | | | |
| Pa. | 1,009,811 | 119,100 | 11.9 | | | |
| W. Va. | 528,409 | 174,000 | 32.9 | | | |
| W. Va. | 944,930 | 140,000 | 14.8 | | | |
| Alabama | 1,000,000 | 100,000 | 10.0 | | | |
| TOTALS | 11,001,500 | 1,000,000 | 9.1 | | | |

Tab C

BROWN

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

TAB C

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total # Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|---------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 642,865 | 85,155 | 13.3 | | | |
| ARIZONA | 433,704 | 74,611 | 17.2 | | | |
| ARIZONA | 745,213 | 55,213 | 7.4 | | | |
| ARIZONA | 702,485 | 45,500 | 6.5 | | | |
| ARIZONA | 403,701 | 102,100 | 25.3 | | | |
| S.C. | 524,337 | 102,101 | 19.5 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 3,144,407 | 1,147,101 | 36.5 | | | |

KAUPINEN

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|-------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Calif. | 70,997 | 177,037 | 24.5 | 154,530 | 21.7 | 23.1 |
| Illinois | 2,604,967 | 10,450 | 0.4 | 519,837 | 21.5 | 1.9 |
| Ind. | 238,070 | 25,000 | 10.8 | | | 11.7 |
| Iowa | 1,177,833 | 120,900 | 10.4 | | | 10.8 |
| Miss. | 174,000 | 10,000 | 5.8 | | | 6.3 |
| Miss. cont. | 107,077 | 16,011 | 15.3 | | | 15.3 |
| Miss. | 253,150 | 14,970 | 5.9 | | | 6.6 |
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| TOTALS | 5,246,237 | 15,360 | 2.9 | 715,470 | 13.6 | 16.5 |

MOSTMAN

PROGRESS REPORT

ON

DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households In Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total Households Contacted in Priority Counties |
|-------|---|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
|-------|---|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|

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|----------|------------|-----------|------|--|--|--|
| Illinois | 11,244,187 | 2,477,721 | 21.9 | | | |
|----------|------------|-----------|------|--|--|--|

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|----------|-----------|-------|----|--|--|--|
| Illinois | 2,103,959 | 5,184 | .2 | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------|----|--|--|--|

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|----------|-----------|---------|-----|--|--|--|
| Illinois | 2,593,045 | 152,100 | 5.8 | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------|-----|--|--|--|

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|----------|-----------|-----------|----|--|--|--|
| Illinois | 1,153,453 | 1,015,000 | 88 | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----|--|--|--|

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|--------|------------|-----------|------|--|--|--|
| TOTALS | 17,094,644 | 8,677,005 | 50.8 | | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|------|--|--|--|

MURRAY

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total % Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|--------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Ala. | 1,411,436 | 53,747 | 3.8% | | | |
| Ill. | 935,627 | 60,471 | 6.5 | 211,277 | 22.9 | |
| Ind. | 1,669,037 | 177,716 | 11.9 | 201,214 | 12.3 | |
| Pa. | 197,000 | 1,388 | .7 | | | |
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| TOTALS | 2,934,100 | 293,712 | 10.0 | 412,491 | 14.3 | |

REED

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted in Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted in Priority Counties | Total Households Contacted in Priority Counties |
|------------|---|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Arizona | 413,000 | 57,251 | 9.5 | | | 57,251 |
| California | 549,861 | 419,301 | 23.4 | | | 419,301 |
| Illinois | 1,051,000 | 312,000 | 29.7 | | | 312,000 |
| New York | 224,000 | 54,274 | 23.1 | | | 54,274 |
| Texas | 2,774,812 | 761,151 | 38.5 | 664,091 | 29.1 | 1,055,242 |
| TOTALS | 2,621,879 | 1,377,911 | 34.0 | 664,091 | 29.1 | 2,042,002 |

RICHARDS

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households Contacted Door to Door | % Contacted In Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted Priority Counties | Total Households Contacted In Priority Counties |
|--------|--|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Ala. | 1,200,000 | 1,000,000 | 83.3 | | | |
| Ark. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Cal. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Ill. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Ind. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Iowa | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Miss. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Mo. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Ohio | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| Pa. | 1,000,000 | 800,000 | 80.0 | | | |
| TOTALS | 10,000,000 | 8,000,000 | 80.0 | | | |

SAWERS

PROGRESS REPORT
ON
DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING

| State | Number of Households in Priority Counties | Number of Households | | % Contacted in Priority Counties | Number of Telephone Calls Made | Number Contacted in Priority Counties | Total Households Contacted in Priority Counties |
|----------------|---|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| | | Contacted Door to Door | Contacted by Telephone | | | | |
| Alaska | 116,331,195 | 81,000 | 35,331 | 6.9 | | | |
| Arkansas | 8,837,711 | 2,000 | 6,837 | 22.3 | | | |
| California | 11,247,911 | 1,000 | 10,247 | 8.9 | | | |
| Florida | 14,331,195 | 81,000 | 13,461 | 0.6 | | | |
| Illinois | 11,500,000 | 1,000 | 10,500 | 0.9 | | | |
| Indiana | 9,193,501 | 1,000 | 8,192 | 0.1 | | | |
| Iowa | 11,147,872 | 1,000 | 10,146 | 0.1 | | | |
| Michigan | | | | | | | |
| Minnesota | | | | | | | |
| Mississippi | | | | | | | |
| Missouri | | | | | | | |
| Montana | | | | | | | |
| Nebraska | | | | | | | |
| Nevada | | | | | | | |
| New York | | | | | | | |
| North Carolina | | | | | | | |
| North Dakota | | | | | | | |
| Ohio | | | | | | | |
| Oklahoma | | | | | | | |
| Oregon | | | | | | | |
| Texas | | | | | | | |
| Virginia | | | | | | | |
| Washington | | | | | | | |
| West Virginia | | | | | | | |
| Wisconsin | | | | | | | |
| Wyoming | | | | | | | |
| TOTALS | 6,986,155 | 1,148,391 | 1,819 | | | | |

H

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR

FROM: FRED MALEK *FMA*

SUBJECT: Report on "Get Out The Vote"
Kick Off

The purpose of the October 28 GOTV kick off was four fold:

- To cut off voter identification canvassing and force the states to begin preparing for getting out the vote on Election Day.
- To publicize the need for volunteers to help on Election Day.
- To show our storefront and telephone center volunteers the high priority we place on getting out the vote.
- To build campaign enthusiasm in key states.

To achieve these purposes, the GOTV kick off was held in 44 areas in 22 key and battleground states. We used our most important surrogates to visit the storefronts and telephone centers in these areas to talk about the importance of GOTV and participate in the work to prepare for election day, e.g., reminder calls and calls for volunteers. In most cases just before or after the surrogate appearance, the training slide show was shown and election day assignments were given to the volunteers gathered for the workshops.

For the most part, the GOTV kick off accomplished its purpose:

- It forced the gears to shift from canvassing to GOTV reminder calls and election day recruitment. Over 10,000 volunteers were gathered in the kick off headquarters for training, reminder calls and election day assignments. Thousands more were recruited in other headquarters throughout the country.
- We received excellent coverage in the local media although the President's trip to Ohio precluded network coverage. Tab A summarizes coverage in the local media. Our advance men report that the evening news shows gave extensive coverage to the events. While press coverage was good, we did not receive the front page coverage we got on September 16.

- The volunteers and local leadership were impressed that Administration Officials and other surrogates would concentrate their attention on them and mix with the troops. They particularly appreciated being able to work with a surrogate rather than having to stand by and cheer him.
- Technically the day went well. The surrogates got there for the most part; Holton was grounded by bad weather; Butz and Evans were late arrivals. We have received no reports that a surrogate was unhappy. The First Family events were outstanding - Julie, Tricia and Ed had good, warm crowds. In fact, the volunteers they drew were the largest of all the kick off areas. Each of them made phone calls to supporters; and these conversations were well covered by the media.

In summary, I am satisfied with the kick off results. Again, it was a cooperative effort at 1701 with the tour office, scheduling, the telephone operation, several of the voter blocs working closely with the political division and the RNC's political division to make the day a success.

However, while Saturday was a successful start at the community level on voter turn out, the day pointed up that much still needs to be done. We forced local attention on getting out the vote in the 44 areas, but there was not enough activity in many other storefronts to recruit the volunteers and find the telephones to operate on our ideal GOTV program.

To attack this problem, and to ensure GOTV preparations get underway, we are taking the following action:

- Locating Regional Directors full time in their most important states through Election Day.
- Deploying more Re-election Committee staff to important areas for getting out the vote in close or weakly organized states.
- Pushing a more simple and concentrated approach to voter turn out where local organization is weak or late; this program consists exclusively of a pre-election day reminder call to favorables identified in the door to door/phone canvass and to all Republicans and an election day contact at their homes.
- Concentrating a special effort to locate the many additional phone banks necessary to handle the large volume of reminder-to-vote phone calls. For a really comprehensive program of voter contact on election day, we estimate a need for four times the number of phones already in our existing phone centers.
- Directing that all voter bloc activity be exclusively focused on producing volunteers for the voter turnout program in the priority states.

- Calling, beginning Thursday, the campaign chairmen and leaders in target counties to thank them for their effort and to stress the importance of getting every last vote to the polls. These will be made by Cabinet wives and other women surrogates.

Finally, I will begin calling key state leaders to question them about their get out the vote plans and to encourage them to keep the pressure on. In addition, you and Bob Dole have call lists which should provide encouragement to state Nixon and GOP leaders.

I will report to you later in the week where we stand on our overall get out the vote efforts on a state by state basis and how effective I think we will be in turning out the vote.

WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA - Dent

Had a press conference on GOIV. Fair turnout of volunteers. Good coverage: 1 TV (NBC), 2 radio and 2 papers.

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA - Morgan Paull, Mrs. Bentley

Paull made comment to crowd that he was to make film soon with John Wayne and that Wayne has told him "he'd be on Paull's back for the whole ten weeks they would be making film if they didn't turnout the vote for the President and carry California." Actually "kicked-off" -- a football with kicker: Cong. Bob Wilson; receiver: State Senator Kau and holder: Edith Green Black (assembly woman candidate from area). Very good coverage: 2 tv stations (NBC, CBS), 2 radio stations and 2 papers (one was student paper at San Diego State College).

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND - Krauer

Visited three headquarters where well received and crowds were enthusiastic. Good coverage: 3 TV stations, 1 radio and 2 papers. Generally got secondary attention due to tight Senate race event which was also taking place.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT - Kleindienst, Stein, Ely

Visited four headquarters; volunteer turnout was adequate. Coverage was O.K.: 3 papers, no radio, apparently some TV coverage but it was not specified. Overall, response was excellent and locals and surrogates were very pleased.

PEORIA, ILLINOIS - Mrs. Ehrlichman and Mrs. Hodgson

Visited two headquarters with good volunteer turnout. Both ladies well received. Locals and press very impressed with both ladies. Press coverage was excellent and very favorable: all three TV stations, three radio stations and 2 papers.

EL PASO, TEXAS - Mrs. Baruelos

Visited two headquarters with good volunteer turnout; over 1/3 at phone center were Spanish-speaking. Made about 6 phone calls and made brief remarks. Good coverage: 2 TV stations, 1 radio station and 1 paper (Werald Post interviewed).

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA - Klein

Visited two headquarters with very good volunteer turnout; volunteers very enthusiastic. Made phone calls. Excellent press coverage: 3 TV stations, 2 radio stations, 2 papers, UPI, AP; did "Mike Levine" show on radio.

GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA - Sen. Garnoy

Gave brief pep talk and visited with volunteers (volunteer turnout excellent). Had several TV interviews at stations. Good response by older and middle age persons. Coverage: 4 TV stations, 5 radio stations and 5 papers.

PORTLAND, OREGON - Ed Nixon

Short talk - well received. Visited with volunteers. Made 4 phone calls which were picked up by radio and TV; two of calls were lifelong Democrats for Nixon. Very heavy volunteer turnout at storefront. Good press coverage: Local NBC AND CBS and local TV stations, radio, and both daily papers. General consensus was that event was a success.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK - Rossides

Rossides gave brief talk, made phone calls and generally mixed. Greeted by a band at storefront. Heavy turnout of volunteers at storefront. two papers covered and an Amsterdam TV crew.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI - Butz

Spoke to workers and made phone calls. Press took pixs and taped speech. All press represented with exception of ABC; INCLUDED NBC, CBS, UPI, AP, radio, two dailys and weekly. About 25 pickets outside storefront - union lettuce; Nixon people counteracted with picket. Heavy volunteer turnout at storefront.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - Tom Evans

Stopped by two storefronts. Good volunteer turnout. Coverage was weak due to Evans being 1 1/2 hours late. Originally had 3 TV stations and radio to cover, but most left and resulted with coverage from only 1 TV station and 1 paper.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS - Romney

Good volunteer turnout at both storefronts visited; very enthusiastic. Romney made phone calls. Excellent coverage: 3 TV stations (ABC, NBC, CBS), 4 radio stations and 5 papers.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA - Volpe

Visited two headquarters, a phone bank and the Italian Market. Pointed out that he was beaten by 1 vote per precinct when polls said he was ahead when he ran for Governor of Mass. Made phone calls, met with union officials, met Italian candidates and made personal visits in Democratic areas. Day considered a great success. Media coverage lacking: no radio or TV; 3 papers.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI - Shultz

Visited two storefronts. Good turnout at one where crowd listened quietly and attentively. The minority headquarters had only fair turnout. Reception was "quietly enthusiastic." Good coverage: 3 TV and 3 radio stations, 3 papers, UPI.

ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND - Peterson and Deci Amoz

Good turnout of volunteers who were enthusiastic and attentive. Overall response was very positive. Good coverage: 1 TV, 1 radio and 2 papers, AP.

DALLAS, TEXAS - Ruckelshaus

Made phone calls and made brief comments to volunteers. Phone conversation with one lady who said "she didn't want that stinking McGovern to get his foot in the door." Very good media coverage: 3 TV stations, 1 radio station and 6 newspapers including Dallas Morning News and Dallas Daily News.

HOUSTON, TEXAS - Sen. Fannin

Senator Tower's race emphasized along with Presidents. Well received. Press coverage poor - Houston Post interviewed by phone.

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON - Sen. Murphy

Good speech. Nearly 200 volunteers at storefront. Two TV stations and two papers gave coverage. No radio coverage.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON - Rog Morton

Morton well received; gave good talk. 100 volunteers at storefront. ABC affiliate; 2 papers. People indicated it was "critical" that President come to Seattle.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK - Sen. Keating

Light turnout of volunteers at storefront. Keating visited with crowd. Two TV stations covered and one radio station; no press.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS - Ed Cox

Cox made a few phone calls; visited with crowd and made a few remarks. He spent 10 minutes with a 14 year old volunteer who had stayed at the headquarters last night until 2:00 a.m. 125 volunteers at storefront. No TV coverage; 1 radio, AP and UPI, Springfield paper did cover.

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA - Sec. Hodgson

Visited 5 storefronts and made 10 calls from each. Visited with local Pres. of COPE and Pres. of Local 3060; Comm. Workers of America, AFL-CIO and local candidates. Volunteer turnout at storefronts average. Excellent coverage by media - 2 TV stations, 2 radio stations and all three papers.

CINCINNATI, OHIO - Cong. Snyder and Buzz Aldrin

Well received and had good advance media coverage. Surrogates made a few calls. Volunteer turnout good with 3,000 calls made and 150 Election Day volunteers recruited. Two TV stations covered and one of two papers; no radio coverage.

TOWSON, MARYLAND - Gov. Holton

Holton did not make it - plane grounded. County CFFP Chairman Jervis Finney filled in. Pointed out to press that 85,000 calls had been completed in Baltimore County; that 1100 of 3200 volunteers were under 30. Lot of activity and enthusiasm at storefronts. No TV coverage due to a train wreck in Baltimore; taped interview of Finney by local NBC radio station; two papers covered and a feature writer, state AP.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - MacGargner

MacGargner met with volunteers, gave a brief talk and held press conference. Light turnout of volunteers (35), 3 TV stations covered; no radio or press.

ALTOONA, PENNSYLVANIA - Mrs. Brooks and Ed Nelson

Both made phone calls to supporters. Heavy turnout of volunteers at storefront. Good TV, radio and press coverage.

FLINT - LUGAR

Lugar was forced to cancel due to inclement weather. Press coverage was also cancelled. There were 139 volunteers at the storefronts and phone centers, making calls, addressing reminder post cards and other GOTV organizational activities.

ALBANY - SECRETARY RICHARDSON

Visited two storefronts, and spoke to 125 volunteers. Made reminder calls (7). Press coverage was good.

DETROIT - TRICIA COX; GOVERNOR MILLIKEN

Both Tricia and the Governor made brief remarks on GOTV and spoke with individual volunteers. Visited three facilities where 1850 volunteers were present. Media coverage - excellent.

HARRISBURG - MRS. BUTZ; MRS. DAVID; BARBARA FRANKLIN

Surrogates met and spoke with 135 volunteers. Due to inclement weather crowds were light. 2 Newspapers covered the event - no radio or TV.

SCRANTON - CONGRESSMAN YOUNG

Young met with 120 young volunteers and talked with them about the importance of GOTV. There was no Press coverage due to the coverage of a Pre-Kick-Off dinner with Gordon MacRae on Friday night.

SOMERSET/MORRIS/UNION COUNTIES - SENATOR BEALL

"campaign results rest in your hands and in the hands of others like you across the country." Beall spoke to volunteers on GOTV and made reminder calls. About 100 volunteers met Beall at three facilities. Volunteers were generally young. The Kick-Off was covered by 2 radio stations and 12 Newspapers.

AUSTIN - BLATCHFORD

Blatchford was well-received in Austin. Response - positive. Mr. and Mrs. Blatchford made reminder calls and talked to approximately 140 volunteers. Media coverage was light and consisted of one TV station and 1 newspaper.

NEW HAVEN - GOVERNOR SARGENT

Sargent visited three storefronts, made reminder calls, and held a Press Conference at which he discussed the importance of GOTV. There were approximately 185 volunteers at these facilities. Two TV stations and 5 newspapers covered the event and Sargent appeared on a 1/2 hour Q&A radio program.

BOSTON - ROMNEY

"Nixon is the most qualified man to lead us into a generation of peace"
Romney spoke to 245 volunteers on GOTV, greeted volunteers and made reminder phone calls. Three network TV stations, 1 radio station and the two major papers in Boston covered the event.

MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL - JULIE NIXON EISENHOWER

Julie spoke on the importance of GOTV by citing the Sindlinger Poll. Over 1000 volunteers met with Julie and several reminder calls were made by the Surrogate. There was a 70-piece marching band. Julie signed the band's sheet music, and was presented with an anniversary card by a little old lady who could hardly write, and a bouquet of roses from a small child. Press coverage was excellent.

OKLAHOMA CITY - MAURSEN REAGAN

Was questioned about Peace Proposal. Surrogate spoke to 175 volunteers regarding GOTV; made phone calls; worked on check-off lists. Interview of a lady in a wheelchair - felt registration was so important that she came out only a week after a serious operation. Press coverage was extremely good (2 TV - 3 Radio).

ALBUQUERQUE - SANCHEZ

Surrogate made phone calls in Spanish. Spoke to volunteers (about 500) - had breakfast with Democrats for Nixon. Media coverage - excellent. (3 TV stations, 5 radio stations (2 Spanish) and 4 newspapers)

ABERDEEN - PHIL CAMPBELL, CHRIS CONNELLY

Surrogates made reminder phone calls. Very well received. Approximately 60 volunteers. Press coverage was fair.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA - Goldwater

Made remark that he did not want his 8 grandchildren to grow up knowing that their grandfather was the worst defeated presidential candidate in history...wanted to make sure McGovern got the title after this election. Visited three headquarters and personally greeted the volunteers and callers. Made three phone calls. Good volunteer turnout. Very good coverage: all 3 TV stations, several radio stations and two dailys.

CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA - Ruta Lee

Made 10 phone calls with all but one responding favorably. Pleased the crowd and when she said she was looking for a husband, but that all the men were probably married - one man raised his hand and she went into the crowd and gave him a kiss. Good volunteer turnout. Fair coverage: 1 TV and 1 radio; no papers. Advance coverage was good.

THE WHITE HOUSE

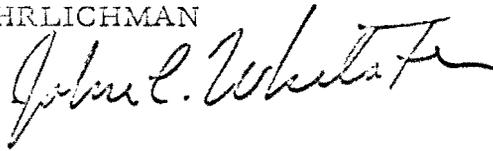
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY RESTRICTED

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

FROM: John C. Whitaker



SUBJECT: Post-Election Thoughts

We seem to be well underway in doing our preliminary thinking on how to arrange substantive things neatly for the first two months of next year. For example, with Congress back in January, we can delay sending down the budget so that things dribble out as we would like them in an orderly manner such as the following:

1. January 20: Inauguration Speech -- very broad.
2. State of the Union - a little more meat on the policy bones.
3. The Economic Message.
4. Details in the Budget Message.
5. In February, specific messages to the Congress.

All of the above is methodical, businesslike and, I'm afraid, rather dull. The "New American Revolution" will run into another stone wall, because Congress, whether controlled by the Republicans or Democrats, won't want to give up the power that will be required if we are to make Government Reorganization and Special Revenue Sharing meaningful and effective. Therefore, our strategy should be to try to bluff Congress into passing these, to them, unpalatable initiatives. I think we have to gamble on keeping up the attack on Congress as an institution, and do it while the iron is hot.

On election night, the President speaks to the Nation, frankly recognizing the decline in public confidence in Government and the even lower public opinion of the Congress. He calls upon the people to remember the name of the Congressman they have just voted for, and to write or call him right now while he is home and ask his support for returning power to where it belongs -- the level of government closest to the people. -- The Mayors, Governors and

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

State Legislature. The President explains again how Government Reorganization and Special Revenue Sharing would accomplish this goal by returning both priority-setting and responsibility to the local level, and, if these two ideas become law, the Gordian Knot of all-important decision-making being in far-off Washington can be cut. (I recognize that at this point there is some question if we will have Special Revenue Sharing. If we don't, the same scenario will apply just to Government Reorganization.)

While addressing himself to this substantive problem, and his plans and programs to solve it, he also speaks frankly of the decline in public confidence of the Executive Branch, fudged by the partisan rhetoric we have just been through. He says that, now that he has received an overwhelming mandate from the electorate on the vital and clear-cut issues of this election year, it is important that the electorate perceive that the Government is by, of and for them, and is not an antagonist. (The fallout from the Watergate syndrome is to make people feel a vague sense of unease about everything the Government does. Even the innocuous seems sinister, and any assertion of wrongdoing or chicanery is added to the litany of "proven" wrongdoing -- ITT, milk prices, wheat deal, "sabotage," etc. -- until the charge itself becomes the fact in popular perception.)

The President recognizes that public confidence is vital if he is to translate his mandate into progressive action, and that the electorate's belief that the Government is operating in their interest is as important as (and in the near-term more important than) substantive policy changes. He is therefore:

1. Directing his Cabinet Officers to go to the various regions of the Country and listen. They have done a lot of talking in this campaign, and now it is their turn to hear some talk. The White House staff last year did just this, and the need is important now to make it highly visible. We must get over the idea that new ideas are only invented in Washington and inflicted on the Country -- this is designed to be a Nation-wide "town meeting." (Each of the twelve Cabinet Officers would go to one

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

city, with White House staff support, and hold a televised listening-post operation. This would be repeated once a week for four weeks to cover the fifty largest cities in the Country.)

2. Perhaps in addition to the above, the President announces that he is dispatching from the White House staff ten "personal representatives" to work with each of the ten Federal Regional Councils as a kind of ombudsman -- along the lines that Frank Carlucci so successfully pioneered in Pennsylvania. These people would make themselves highly visible in the region, would be empowered to cut through Federal red tape, and would report back to the President the major concerns in their regions.

3. Alternatively, set up one Federal ombudsman (The Vice President, Rumsfeld, etc.) together with a toll-free number and 24 hours a day staffing to receive the suggestions of the citizenery. This one's pretty cute and our success with telephone operations (e. g., heroin hot-line) is poor.

I recognize that each of the foregoing ideas is gimmicky and would probably be viewed with cynicism among many of the commentators. It is also highly unlikely to achieve any practical result. On the other hand, the polls seem to show that smear and innuendo have left their mark and, if credibility is as important an element of effective Government as I think it is, that aura could sew some unpleasant seeds over the next four years if not nipped in the bud (you've got to get me out of the farm area, my metaphors are getting too one-sided).

In summary, the President would be stealing a substantive march on the Congress in the coming battle over the institutional framework of the Federal Government, and also moving to undercut the one liability -- decline in public confidence -- that it appears will be the prodgeny of the McGovern attacks. I don't think he can afford to be simply Olympian as the ending of the war focuses our concerns closer to home and Teddy Kennedy turns on his TV lights for the Watergate Show.

cc: Ken Cole

EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

Tentative Schedule

SECOND EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM

MADISON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 31, 1972

- ✓ 10:00 am Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. The 1972 Campaign.
Discussion and Questions.
- 11:30 am Hon. Clark MacGregor, Campaign Director of the Com-
mittee to Reelect the President. The Nixon Campaign.
Discussion and Questions.
- 12:30 pm Luncheon.
- 1:30 pm Mr. Richard Scammon, The Election Research Center and
Mr. Patrick Caddell, Cambridge Survey Research. The
1972 Voter. Discussion and Questions.
- 3:30 pm Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien, National Campaign Chairman of
McGovern-Shriver '72. The McGovern Campaign. Dis-
cussion and Questions.
- 4:30 pm Evans and Novak. Summing Up.
- 5:00 pm Reception.

SECOND EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM

Madison Hotel, Washington, D. C.

31 October 1972

Discussions and Questions - The 1972 Campaign (Evans)

Predict an electoral vote for Nixon of 524 to 14 for McGovern. Believe the pre-convention actions of McGovern did him in. That is, the policies he advocated in detail so far in advance and later modified or drastically changed his position. Six to eight weeks ago it was obvious that the McGovern campaign had collapsed. Forty percent of those polled as having voted for Humphrey stated they would not vote for McGovern.

Senator Hughes persuaded Muskie to oppose the candidacy of McGovern on the night before Muskie was to declare in favor of him. Had Muskie supported McGovern, he would have been named the Vice Presidential candidate and would have helped McGovern avoid his many mistakes or at least some of them.

Some mistakes were his vacillation, the Eagleton affair, and that of the O'Brien affair. He asked O'Brien to be chairman then found his staff had picked Westwood so McGovern changed. Such action placed his capacity as a manager in great doubt in the minds of leading democrats and the correspondents. At that point the democratic political managers began to leave McGovern.

Another adverse factor in McGovern's campaign was his unfortunate choice of issues to take to the people. Candidates should never go into a campaign with such detailed specific issues. For example, John F. Kennedy had a few simple objectives, such as a strong national defense, close the missile gap (there was none) and get the country moving again. This avoids the problems of alienating various groups early in the campaign.

McGovern, however, came out for:

- (a) \$1,000 for each person.
- (b) A tax plan repellent to those with medium income or above \$12,000 annually.
- (c) Mortgaged his future with programs to please splinter groups and lost his appeal to others.
- (d) Reversed his position on Israel and the Middle East to get votes but the Jews knew he did this only for votes.

- (e) He drove the Catholic vote to Nixon, or at least 50% of it, by anti-war talk and by his long hair, kid associates. Ethnic do not like Communists because they have had experience with them.
- (f) McGovern really had only one issue--that of Viet Nam and he never came to realize that the war issue was over. Nixon changed much of the resistance to the war by doing away with the draft.
- (g) McGovern failed to concentrate on inflation and the higher prices of food by not going into the stores and getting publicity on higher prices. He started late on Watergate. Art Buchwald had an interesting comment on McGovern--"I worship the very quicksand he walks on".

Three so called landslides by a past presidential candidate were: Harding 63.9%, Roosevelt 62%, and Lyndon Johnson 61%. Nixon should win by placing somewhere in the 60% area.

Regardless of a loss, the Democratic Party will be very much alive after the election. It will include the democrats voting for Nixon and the rest of the democrats. Believe Kennedy wants to run in 1976. The basic factions of the McGovern democrats will change in the future.

Comments on Republican Chances (Novak)

The only state conceded to McGovern at this time would be Massachusetts; also District of Columbia. The poll showed McGovern ahead by 4 % in Massachusetts which means McGovern will have trouble elsewhere.

Recent polls taken by Evans-Novak show Nixon's position as follows: Wisconsin 9% ahead; Oregon 10% ahead; Rhode Island--way ahead but may be some less; Hawaii--close; Washington 25% ahead; South Dakota 20% ahead; California 19-16 and 14% ahead on 3 polls; Michigan 18% ahead and trend is ahead more; New York a landslide; Texas ahead.

Senate now 55/45 but Republicans have a chance of winning Senate by a close margin. Chafee -win Rhode Island; Donahick (R) ahead in run for Clinton Anderson seat; North Carolina - Helms (R) moving ahead; Georgia close with Thompson (R) Sam Nunn (D); Oklahoma Edmonson (D) 2% ahead of Bartlett (R) but Oklahoma is 68% Nixon - 17% McGovern; Kentucky Huddleston (D) ahead of Louis Nunn now; South Dakota Abernethy (D) ahead of Hirsch (R); Delaware-Boggs will probably win; Idaho-McClure (R) win; Michigan-Republican probably;

Texas-Tower probably safe over Sanders; Montana-Mercalf; Virginia-a catastrophe for McGovern. Spong (D) - Scott (R) has a chance.

House About the best the Republicans can do is to win 20 seats. But there will be surprises should Nixon win by more than 60%. Believe the President is wise to stay home during the campaign except for official business. Watergate issue is not changing votes. Believe most people worry about jobs, inflation, and busing.

If instead of McGovern, Humphrey, Muskie, Kennedy, Jackson or Wallace had run the presidential race would be a dead heat at this point of the campaign. The Republicans have not built a strong program but people believe Nixon is best qualified for the White House. Even though many like the personality of McGovern better they will vote for Nixon.

In this race, many people feel it is the "boardroom" attitude vs. the "upper campus" attitude and they don't like either but for the President's job they much prefer Nixon as a stronger man for acting on the problems.

Believe that a low percentage difference between the candidates leads to a record low vote or turnout. The undecided vote is heavily undecided and most will finally vote for McGovern.

Only seventeen governorships are up for election this year. Believe more states should go to a mid-term basis. (Not elect a governor in a presidential election year.) Probably three or four Republicans will win in these elections.

In 1976, do not believe Connally will run as a Republican or that Percy has a chance. If in Illinois Ogilvie wins this year, he will be a candidate for president in 1976. There could also be new young faces by that time.

The Nixon Campaign - Clark MacGregor

I came aboard on 1 July basically to show the people of the United States what the President had done for them. Many do not realize these facts and the President wanted a presentation of his positive programs. McGovern took care of presenting any negative programs.

The Eagleton affair and McGovern's income plan have shown McGovern's incompetence. My job is to show the people that Nixon has brought the people peace and prosperity.

Questions:

Evans - Nixon has refused to campaign for Republican congressmen who need help. Why has he not done more in this area?

MacGregor - Congress was in session until 18 October at which time the President was sent over 100 very complicated bills to sign within a short period of time. It was necessary to work on these in Washington where he could confer with his cabinet members, his staff and others. There was little time for campaigning. The best policy was a good performance in office not campaigning.

If reelected, I don't think the President will embark on any new policies but will take actions which will work. He will decentralize as much as possible and pass action back to states, cities, etc. This was done for the "Revenue Sharing" bill.

A low vote this year would help McGovern and a high vote would help Nixon. The "mud-slinging" by McGovern and Shriver leads to a lower voter turnout.

Business must do more work to show what they have done and are doing for the people. They have an unfavorable image with the public which they have done little to change. The old business practices have changed--higher wages, better conditions, better employee relations, etc.

The 1972 Voter - Pat Caddell

Unless the candidate has competence, the voters will not vote for him. In July 1972, we interviewed 13,000 voters. In September 1972, we again interviewed sample voters from this original 13,000. We found that the internal attitudes of many of these voters had drastically changed against McGovern. One third had changed their minds in this period. Those who moved to Nixon from McGovern were 60% Democratic upper income, Catholic voters or combinations of those.

These voters had no real liking for Nixon but they had less confidence in McGovern since the Eagleton affair. They liked McGovern's personality better than that of Nixon and thought McGovern cared about them and was honest but McGovern had lost his credibility.

In a question, "Does Nixon tell the truth?", the answer was 44% - No and 42% - Yes. They believed that McGovern did not know how to do things. They had no better liking for Nixon but believed McGovern could not properly handle the White House responsibilities.

Initially the poll was 46% - McGovern and 43% Nixon, now it was three to one against McGovern and the young suburban group of voters defected. Many thought Nixon was dishonest but now they thought McGovern was incompetent to be in the White House.

On various questions to voters: When will the war end? - 12% said "never". Does the bombing help? - 60% said "no". Is it immoral? - 46% said "yes" and 44% said "no". Could the war have been ended sooner? - 40% said "yes".

On crime, many said neither party can help in this area. There was an increasing belief in corruption in the government and not necessarily only by Republicans. Those defecting from McGovern seemed to have no intention of permanently defecting from the Democratic party.

If there is a Nixon landslide, do not misread the result. A strong candidate could win over Nixon. Interest in the election is declining. Faith in the system is declining. Many refer to ITT, grain deals, etc. and believe things are not getting better. The basic turning point against McGovern was the Eagleton affair.

(Note - Pat Caddell gave many percentage changes between the July and September polls. All showed the drastic loss of support for McGovern. He was very frank in his comments and made a favorable impression that he was providing the facts as he read them and was not trying to hide anything.)

Dick Scammon - My impression is that even though the voter may believe everything is better, he still does not like it. Neither candidate is well liked. Without Wallace, his voters shifted to Nixon but this is not a real Republican shift of the voters. Voters like two parties in the government. In August, there was a loss of confidence and a big defection of McGovern's basic support.

Racism is not too strong an issue now but 40% of the voters believe more should be done for the blacks.

If there is a 61% turnout in this election, there should be a vote total of 85 million. Believe the Democrats will keep the Senate and House unless Nixon

gets 65% or more of the votes which will help move into Congress more Republicans. McGovern polls show a belief that Nixon is not honest, but he gets a high rating on his foreign affairs of around 70% of the voters.

A major problem is getting the voters to trust Nixon. Don't forget that the average voter is more sophisticated than many people think. The process and ideology by which McGovern won the nomination are the very things which will lose him the election.

The McGovern Campaign - Larry O'Brien

When I returned to the Chairmanship I found that the public felt the system did not meet their interests and goals. The party must respond by opening up to meet these requirements. When this is done, a price is paid as was shown in the convention at Miami.

Business must open up to enlist the support of the public.

At this time, McGovern is behind but not too far. People won't stand for the status quo and the party must realign. Believe the Democrats are developing a deep base of support and that the voting difference on Tuesday will not be large.

Questions:

Do you believe there is a lack of confidence in the government?
I believe the system must recognize the realities of today.

It seems there is a 28% gap between McGovern and Nixon. Why?

The Eagleton affair had an adverse effect. After that there was an erosion of confidence in McGovern. He had lost credibility. I agree that there is a widespread cynicism among the voters.

The ethnic vote will be the key to the Democratic and Republican future. This vote began to shift from the Democrats in 1950. When Mayor Curley was in Boston, I remember he had complete control of this vote for the Democrats.

We have been losing it and I hope the Republicans are not smart enough to make a major effort to obtain and keep this ethnic vote.

(Note - Larry O'Brien understandably talked in rather general and bureaucratic phrases much of the time. His loyalty to McGovern went over and above the normal call of duty. He did say that his experience as Chairman of the Party

was such that it should happen only once in one man's lifetime. This was in his more "off the record" comments. He made a good impression and was well liked with sympathy for his position.)

(Personal note - I believe the original ethnic voter had little money, worked hard and joined the Democratic Party. Now, he or his children have more money and a good job. He does not approve of politicians and taxes which will take away his hard earned money and distribute it to many who will not work as he did.)

Summary by Evans-Novak

Our last speakers have brought up a very interesting question as to whether the Democrats will "break the other arm" in the next few years. Or will the more conservative and experienced Democrats regain control of the party but modify it to meet necessary changes of the times and regain their defectors.

Caddell seemed to say, "We did not lose the war--our chief made a blunder." Mr. Dodd of the Democratic National Committee has been saying that the next Chairman must be a woman or black. This comes from the quota system of the convention. Are the Democrats just trying to change the whole face of the party?

Democrats are saying that the primary cause of a loss in the election will be McGovern not the party itself. Jean Westwood will leave soon. State and other leaders will become more conservative. I was surprised that O'Brien predicted that McGovern would win and was now close to Nixon.

The personality and actions of McGovern caused his lack of a chance to win. Muskie or Humphrey, with different personalities, would have been much better. Without McGovern a resilient Democratic Party will come back. There will be a Democratic house cleaning by competent Democrats under new management with McGovern not a major factor in future policies. There must be an analysis of the unworkable quota system.

At this time, Texas and California are overwhelmingly democratic but are voting 50/50.

The question for the next Democratic nominee is whether he is going to carry some McGovern baggage. If Kennedy runs, he will follow a more logical Democratic line. He may use some of the ideological Democratic programs but he will not make the mistake of giving them in detail so early in the campaign.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

FOR: Mr. R. Halderman

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Take necessary action | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Approval or signature | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Comment | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Prepare reply | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Discuss with me | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| For your information | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| See remarks below | <input type="checkbox"/> |

FROM: Paul R. Jones DATE: 11/2/72

REMARKS:

Atlanta Daily World

A Great Impact

A message almost as poignant as it is vital was brought to Atlanta over the weekend by the "Black Blitz" team seeking support of President Nixon's re-election bid on November 7th.

The four high-ranking team members abandoned the empty rhetoric usually associated with political campaigning and left this simple, but profound message with local black residents:

Significant black support of President Nixon in November would result in an administration for the next four years sympathetic to the aspirations of Black Americans.

If blacks, instead, throw their support to the badly outdistanced democrat presidential candidate, their hopes could well be dashed to the rocks" like those of the losing candidate.

Mincing no feelings in voicing this wise bit of political realism was Tuskegee's Black Mayor John Ford, a Democrat.

"Regardless of my personal convictions," he told reporters at a press conference, "as a leader of my people, I've got to take steps to assure the best for them."

These steps, he explained further, would begin with supporting the man who is expected to win by a big margin next month and reward his faithful supporters during the next four years.

Mayor Ford said he attended the Democrat Convention in hopes of eventually supporting a winner, chosen from among his party's leaders. But after the convention, the man that black Democrats had helped win the nomination "surrounded himself with only whites."

Another member of the Blitz Team, Alderman Orville Pitts of Milwaukee, another Democrat for Nixon said he decided to support the President after comparing the records of the Republican and Democrat parties in Wisconsin and nationally.

He and the other blitzers admitted however that the Nixon Administration lags behind recent Democrat administrations in one area - - that of "political rhetoric."

All agreed, and so do we, that rhetoric or "lip service" can do nothing for black people who have only ties with a party which is out of power.

Because of this, we fervently hope that Paul Jones, spokesman for the team, was correct when he said:

"We feel that 1972 is the year that black voters will reach the level of maturity (that would prevent) a repeat of 1968 when 80 to 90 per cent of the black vote went down the drain with a losing candidate."

We also wish there were more black political leaders like Alderman Pitts and Mayor Ford - - ones who would be more interested in seeing that their constituents got the most that our political system offers, rather than considering their own selfish political ambitions first.

Robert Brown, special assistant to the President, came into town Sunday night from another direction from which the Blitz Team came. He along with the other visitors were heartily received at a reception in their honor at Paschal's Motor Hotel.

Monday morning Mr. Brown made a big hit when he spoke to the 11th and 12th grades at David T. Howard High School. They applauded enthusiastically his remarks, urging them "to learn to give to service and to seek the facts in a given situation." Dr. Floyd Sullivan, principal, presented Miss Betty J. Harris, president of the student body who in turn presented the speaker and his assistant Norris W. Sydnor of Washington and Editor C. A. Scott of your Daily World.

We believe the visit by the Black Blitz Team will have a big impact on the election by influencing more persons to vote for the President.

Knowledge enormous makes
a goal of me. Senate bids speedy vote
-John Kouts. on antibusing bill.

BLACK GOP BLITZ TEAM HITS McGOVERN ON RIGHTS RECORD

ALDERMAN CHALLENGES REP. JULIAN BOND TO DEBATE; ASK BIG VOTE FOR NIXON

By ROGER TURNER

Elated by the warmth and enthusiasm of its Atlanta reception, a Blitz Team for the Re-Election of the President ended a vigorous city-wide campaign here Monday and predicted that "President Nixon will be elected with a significant number of black votes."

"A lot of people will be in for a surprise come Nov. 7, especially the McGovernites," said Paul Jones, executive director of the Black Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President and leader of the Blitz Team.

Jones, a member of the Nixon party when the President visited Atlanta two weeks ago, stated emphatically that Democrat presidential hopeful George McGovern's record leaves blacks "with no clearer choice than to vote for Richard Nixon."

Zeroing in on McGovern's civil rights record, Jones said: "No less than eight times, Sen. McGovern was absent when civil rights legislation was pending in the Senate or he voted against it."

Arriving in Atlanta Sunday night and remaining until noon Monday, the four member team embarked upon a whirlwind program. It included breakfast meetings at Frazier's Society Cafe and Paschal's Motor Hotel, and later meetings at Perry Homes Community and the Nixon-Cook Headquarters on Hunter Street. The Blitzers carried the same message to all the meetings: "Support the

best man President Nixon After sticking with this theme during tours of eight other cities Jones spoke in glowing terms of what the blitz team has experienced.

"Blacks are saying in increasingly large numbers that they will no longer be taken for granted, that they are no longer in the bag and never again will allow themselves to be the pawns for any one (political) party."

HITS DEMOCRATS

Though campaigning energetically, the blitzers for the most part, emphasized a low-keyed reasoning - by logic approach.

Occasionally, however some members such as Orville Pitts, a Milwaukee, Wis. alderman, leveled strong attacks on the Democrat Party.

For instance at a press conference he described it as a "roving band of disidents and puerrillas" and called McGovern a "verbose peddler of disapproval." He also called upon Georgia Rep. Julian Bond to debate him. Pitts accused Bond of perpetrating "a broad and pervasive betrayal on black Americans" who support President Nixon.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Black G. O. P.

CONTINUE FROM PAGE 1

Referring to a statement by Bond that blacks who support the President are "political prostitutes," Pitts said: "One would have us to say that he has betrayed us to say that he has referred to as 'Judas Bond.'"

He then turned his attack to McGovern. "When you look at his record in even the most favorable light you have to come to the conclusion that he is a very mediocre man from a very obscure state, where very few blacks live," he said.

The spunky alderman then issued his challenge to debate Bond. "I will tell him in very articulate terms and in explicit details why I support Richard Nixon." At the same time, he said he would demand Bond to explain why he supports McGovern.

MAYOR SPEAKS

Expressing his views with less bombast but with equal force was Democrat Mayor John Ford of Tuskegee, Ala.

While admitting that he attended the 1972 Democrat Convention and remains a Democrat, Ford said: "Regardless of my convictions, as a leader of my people, I've got to take steps that would help my people. I am mayor of a city that must deliver services to its people and it seems that Nixon will be in the White House for the next four years."

The fourth member of the team, Mrs. Elaine B. Jenkins, a Washington educator and Nixon appointee, said blacks cannot afford to risk an administration under Sen. McGovern, but must continue "with what we know is good."

All expressed confidence that blacks will be mature enough on Nov. 7 to examine the record of each man and to vote on the basis of those records, rather than the man rhetoric and reputation.

Voicing similar feelings at the news conference were Rev. William H. Borders, pastor of Atlanta's

Wheat Street Baptist Church and candidate for the State legislature; Dr. C. Clayton Powell, chairman of the black vote division of the Georgia Committee to Re-Elect President Nixon, and a member of the Republican executive committees in Atlanta and the Fifth Congressional District.

Other members on the Blitz Team included: Commission member Colston A. Lewis, Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) John Wilks, member of the National Committee to Re-elect the President; Ed Sexton, assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Mrs. Brenda Petross, executive assistant to the director of the Black Vote Division of the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

Following the press conference, the Blitzers flew out of Atlanta, heading for New Orleans and ultimately Washington, D. C.

Their 10-city blitz included tours of the following other cities: Baltimore, Md.; Newark, N.J.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Memphis, Tenn.; and Cleveland, O.



Black GOP Blitz Team in Atlanta

The Black GOP Blitz Team visited Atlanta recently seeking Black votes for the re-election of President Richard M. Nixon in the Atlanta and Georgia areas. Shown above are members of the team: (L-R) Ed Sexton, assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee; John Wilks, member of the National Committee to re-elect the President; Dr. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church; Mrs. Elaine Jenkins, presi-

dent of "One American, Inc."; Paul Jones, chairman of National Black Division for the re-election of the President; Alderman Orville Pitts of Milwaukee, Wis.; Colston A. Lewis, member of EEOC; Robert Brown, special assistant to the President; and Dr. C. Clayton Powell, head of the Black Republicans of Georgia for the re-election of the President. (Photo by Arthur F. Smith, Jr.)

TALKING PAPER FOR POLITICAL MEETING

GS

RE: Senator Harry Byrd and Campaign Advertising

Senator Harry Byrd

Harry Dent has received word from Harry Byrd's Administrative Assistant that Byrd is waiting for someone high up to call and ask him to endorse the President.

Clark, will you call Byrd?

he will

Campaign Advertising

Peter Dailey's November Group can purchase additional local 60-second spot TV but needs the money immediately.

Clark, can you get Stans to put up the 250,000 needed this morning?

he will

GS
11/2/72

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*

SUBJECT: Efforts to Notify the Field About the President's Address.

We have taken the following steps to notify our state organizations, volunteers and the general public of the President's campaign telecast on Thursday night.

- (1) We have asked all Regional Directors to notify all state chairmen and to ensure that a member of the state headquarters staff will inform every storefront and telephone center in the state.
- (2) We have sent night letters to all reported storefronts and telephone centers.
- (3) We have asked Listfax to call every reported storefront and telephone center in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and California as well as all storefronts which Western Union has been unable to contact in the past.

In all cases we are requesting that telephone centers add a tag line reminder to all calls, that storefronts place signs in windows to alert the general public, and that everyone talk up the program with their volunteers.

As you know, the plans for the speech have received wide media coverage. To supplement this and encourage increased viewers, we have placed time in advertising in major market newspapers around the country and have promoted it each morning on the Nixon Network.

Please let me know if you have any comments or suggestions regarding the above.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/2

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Dent does not recommend a visit by the President or any intervention in the race. Instead, he just wants you to be aware of the Thurmond situation.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

HRD

The Thurmond re-election campaign is having problems. His effort to win black votes is faltering since he has run out of money and organized labor has sent in plenty to turn out a massive bloc vote. Also, Wallace has now endorsed his opponent with the aim of moving against him with black and Wallace votes together in payment for what he did to Wallace in 1968. Thurmond has not been recognizing his peril but I am concerned that this could be a much closer race than anyone figured. The State Democrats, including the Governor's office, have been working full time in lieu of efforts for McGovern.

Paul

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nov. 1, 1972

GORDON:

Larry asked that you have a copy
of the attached FYI.

Pat McKee

Attachment

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

High Priority

October 30, 1972
5:30 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
FROM: STEPHEN BULL
RE: Presidential Telephone Calls

Bill Timmons sent a recommendation that the President make telephone calls to State Managers and key State Senate candidates during the week of October 30 for the purpose of getting out the vote and endorsing selected candidates. I was subsequently informed that the President will make telephone calls.

The matter has been discussed with Chuck Colson and Bill Timmons and the following plan is offered:

There are three priorities:

- (a) The principal 13 key States.
- (b) Non-key States with Senate races.
- (c) Non-key States with Gubernatorial races.

In key States where there is a Senate race, the President would place a call to the Senate candidate where appropriate, e.g., he would call Griffin in Michigan but would not call Case in New Jersey--the call would be placed to the CREP Chairman. In cases where he calls a candidate, the call serves a dual purpose: endorse the candidate and get out the vote. Where there is no candidate it is just get out the vote.

In States where we are laying low on a Senate or Gubernatorial race, e.g., Blount in Alabama, the call goes to the CREP Chairman and is purely get out the vote.

The individual being called, particularly in the first priority (key States) would be advised in advance of the approximate time of the President's telephone call and the individual would be encouraged to have Press coverage of him receiving a call from the President. This would obviously serve to achieve the objective of the endorsement and/or get out the vote message. The Eastern States would be done before the Western.

Following is a breakdown of the States and specific individuals to be called:

Old Dewey Chairman

| State | Time Zone | Senate Candidate | Gubernatorial Candidate | CREP Chairman | Other |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>Priority I</u> | | | | | |
| Conn. | EST | | | X | |
| Md. | EST | | | X | |
| New York | EST | | | | X Gov. Rockefeller |
| New Jersey | EST | Sen. Case | | X | |
| Pa. | EST | | | X | X <i>Rejz</i> |
| Michigan | CST | X Sen. Griffin | | | |
| Ohio | CST | | | X | |
| Texas | CST | Sen. Tower | Grover | X | |
| Wisconsin | CST | | | X | |
| Minn. | CST | X Sen. Hansen | | | |
| Missouri | CST | | X Bond | | |
| Illinois | CST | X Sen. Percy | X Gov. Ogilvie | | <i>Visit takes care of this</i> |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| Calif. | PST | | | | X Gov. Reagan |

Also for Consideration:

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|----------------------|--------------|--|--|
| Mass. | EST | X Sen. Brooke | | | |
| W. Va. | EST | Leonard ^o | X Gov. Moore | | |
| S. Dakota | MST | X Hirsch | X Thompson | | |
| | | (Joint call) | | | |
| Wash. | PST | | X Gov. Evans | | |

Priority II

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---|-----------|
| Del. | EST | X Sen. Boggs | X Gov. Peterson | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| Georgia | EST | X Thompson | | | |
| Kentucky | EST | Nunn | | X | |
| N. H. | EST | X Powell | X Thomson | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| N. Carolina | EST | X Helms | X Helshouser | | <i>//</i> |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| Rhode Island | EST | X Chafee | X DeSimone | | <i>//</i> |
| | | (joint call) | | | |

X denotes individual(s) to be called.

^o = no chance

| State | Time Zone | Senate Candidate | Gubernatorial Candidate | CREP Chairman | Other |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Priority II (Continued)</u> | | | | | |
| S. Carolina | EST | X Sen. Thurmond | | | |
| Virginia | EST | X Scott | | | |
| Iowa | CST | Sen. Miller | Gov. Ray | X | |
| Kansas | CST | X Sen. Pearson | Kay | | |
| Nebraska | CST | X Sen. Curtis | | | |
| Oklahoma | CST | X Bartlett | | | <i>no visit</i> |
| Tenn. | CST | X Sen. Baker | | | |
| Maine | EST | X Sen. Smith | | | |
| Colorado | MST | X Sen. Allott | | | |
| Idaho | MST | X McClure | | | |
| Montana | MST | X Hibbard | X Smith | | |
| | | | (joint call) | | |
| N. Mexico | MST | X Demeier | | | |
| Wyoming | MST | X Sen. Hansen | | | |
| Oregon | PST | X Sen. Hatfield | | | |
| Alaska | + 5 | X Sen. Stevens | | | |

Priority III

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----------|-----------------------|---|--|
| Vermont | EST | X Hackett | | | |
| Arkansas | CST | | Blaylock ^o | X | |
| Indiana | CST | | X Bowen | | |
| N. Dakota | CST | | X Larsen | | |
| Utah | MST | | Strike ^o | X | |

X denotes individual(s) to be called.

o = no chance

There would be three brief texts prepared for the President's use, one that contains the message of get out the vote, one for a call to a CREP Chairman, and one for a call to a candidate.

Individual call sheets would be prepared that would contain the necessary information about the thrust of the call and refer the President to the appropriate talking points. *Make them very brief & non-repetitious.*

The talking points would be prepared by Ray Price, the Senate candidate calls by Timmons/Dent, and the CREP calls by MacGregor, with all of the aforementioned ultimately cleared through Chuck Colson. For those to receive a scheduled call, the individual to be contacted would be notified by the individual who prepared the briefing paper. I will prepare the schedule of calls.

Approve Disapprove

cc: C. Colson
W. Timmons

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/31/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

MacGregor approves of these
Presidential telephone calls for
the last week of the campaign.

The suggestion is Timmons' with
Colson's concurrence.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

High Priority

October 30, 1972
5:30 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
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| Conn. | EST | | | X | |
| Md. | EST | | | X | |
| New York | EST | | | | X Gov. Rockefeller |
| New Jersey | EST | Sen. Case | | X | |
| Pa. | EST | | | X | |
| Michigan | CST | X Sen. Griffin | | | |
| Ohio | CST | | | X | |
| Texas | CST | Sen. Tower | Grover | X | |
| Wisconsin | CST | | | X | |
| Minn. | CST | X Sen. Hansen | | | |
| Missouri | CST | | X Bond | | |
| Illinois | CST | X Sen. Percy | X Gov. Ogilvie | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| Calif. | PST | | | | X Gov. Reagan |

Also for Consideration:

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|----------------------|--------------|--|--|
| Mass. | EST | X Sen. Brooke | | | |
| W. Va. | EST | Leonard ^o | X Gov. Moore | | |
| S. Dakota | MST | X Hirsch | X Thompson | | |
| | | (Joint call) | | | |
| Wash. | PST | | X Gov. Evans | | |

Priority II

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|--------------|-----------------|---|--|
| Del. | EST | X Sen. Boggs | X Gov. Peterson | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| Georgia | EST | X Thompson | | | |
| Kentucky | EST | Nunn | | X | |
| N. H. | EST | X Powell | X Thomson | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| N. Carolina | EST | X Helms | X Holshouser | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |
| Rhode Island | EST | X Chafee | X DeSimone | | |
| | | (joint call) | | | |

X denotes individual(s) to be called.

^o = no chance

| State | Time Zone | Senate Candidate | Gubernatorial Candidate | CREP Chairman | Other |
|--------------------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------|
| <u>Priority II (Continued)</u> | | | | | |
| S. Carolina | EST | X Sen. Thurmond | | | |
| Virginia | EST | X Scott | | | |
| Iowa | CST | Sen. Miller | Gov. Ray | X | |
| Kansas | CST | X Sen. Pearson | Kay | | |
| Nebraska | CST | X Sen. Curtis | | | |
| Oklahoma | CST | X Bartlett | | | |
| Tenn. | CST | X Sen. Baker | | | |
| Maine | EST | X Sen. Smith | | | |
| Colorado | MST | X Sen. Allott | | | |
| Idaho | MST | X McClure | | | |
| Montana | MST | X Hibbard | X Smith | | |
| | | | (joint call) | | |
| N. Mexico | MST | X Domenici | | | |
| Wyoming | MST | X Sen. Hansen | | | |
| Oregon | PST | X Sen. Hatfield | | | |
| Alaska | + 5 | X Sen. Stevens | | | |

Priority III

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----------|-----------------------|---|--|
| Vermont | EST | X Hackett | | | |
| Arkansas | CST | | Blaylock ^o | X | |
| Indiana | CST | | X Bowen | | |
| N. Dakota | CST | | X Larsen | | |
| Utah | MST | | Strike ^o | X | |

X denotes individual(s) to be called.

o = no chance

There would be three brief texts prepared for the President's use, one that contains the message of get out the vote, one for a call to a CREP Chairman, and one for a call to a candidate.

Individual call sheets would be prepared that would contain the necessary information about the thrust of the call and refer the President to the appropriate talking points.

The talking points would be prepared by Ray Price, the Senate candidate calls by Timmons/Dent, and the CREP calls by MacGregor, with all of the aforementioned ultimately cleared through Chuck Colson. For those to receive a scheduled call, the individual to be contacted would be notified by the individual who prepared the briefing paper. I will prepare the schedule of calls.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

cc: C. Colson
W. Timmons

ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST AS OF OCTOBER 25, 1972

| | NIXON | McGOVERN |
|-------------|---|--|
| SAFE | (9) Alabama (6) Arizona (6) Arkansas (17) Florida (12) Georgia (4) Idaho (13) Indiana (7) Kansas (9) Kentucky (10) Louisiana (7) Mississippi | (5) Nebraska (4) New Hampshire (13) North Carolina (3) North Dakota (8) Oklahoma (8) South Carolina (10) Tennessee (4) Utah (3) Vermont (12) Virginia (170) |
| FAIRLY SAFE | (7) Colorado (8) Connecticut (3) Delaware (26) Illinois (8) Iowa (4) Maine (10) Maryland (10) Minnesota (12) Missouri | (4) Montana (3) Nevada (4) New Mexico (25) Ohio (6) Oregon (27) Pennsylvania (20) Texas (6) West Virginia (3) Wyoming (192) |
| | | (3) District of Columbia (3) |
| CLOSE | (3) Alaska (45) California (4) Hawaii (21) Michigan | (17) New Jersey (41) New York (9) Washington (140) |
| | | (14) Massachusetts (4) Rhode Island (4) South Dakota (11) Wisconsin (33) |

TOTALS

502

36

Opinion Research Corporation
Princeton, New Jersey

October 26, 1972

H
FU
~~10/31~~
11/1

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

What's the possibility of getting Teeter to do an updated election analysis? Also, whatever happened to the great election analysis that Benham was going to do on a weekly basis for us? We never seemed to have gotten this.

LH:kb

→ Teeter 10/27
ready 10/31

10/31 Benham's in mail,
Teeter end of day

October 26, 1972

H 7u
10/28

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

What's the possibility of getting Tector to do an updated election analysis? Also, whatever happened to the great election analysis that Benham was going to do on a weekly basis for us? We never seemed to have gotten this.

LH:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

H
FU
~~10/31~~
11/1

Date: 10/27/72

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Attached is Benham's most recent election projections. I hadn't sent it to you because of Bob's very negative reaction originally.

Teeter's will be ready Tuesday.

OK —
Let's send the
both in L



Memorandum

10-13-72

Gordon:

Here's our latest
estimate

Tax

Thomas W. Benham

ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST AS OF OCTOBER 12, 1972

| | NIXON | | MCGOVERN |
|----------------|--|---|--|
| SAFE | (9) Alabama (6) Arizona (6) Arkansas (7) Colorado (3) Delaware (17) Florida (12) Georgia (4) Idaho (7) Kansas (9) Kentucky (10) Louisiana (7) Mississippi (4) Montana (5) Nebraska | (3) Nevada (4) New Hampshire (4) New Mexico (13) North Carolina (3) North Dakota (8) Oklahoma (6) Oregon (8) South Carolina (10) Tennessee (26) Texas (4) Utah (3) Vermont (12) Virginia (3) Wyoming (213) | |
| FAIRLY SAFE | (3) Alaska (8) Connecticut (26) Illinois (13) Indiana (8) Iowa | (4) Maine (10) Maryland (17) New Jersey (25) Ohio (27) Pennsylvania (141) | (3) District of Columbia (3) |
| CLOSE | (45) California (4) Hawaii (21) Michigan (10) Minnesota | (12) Missouri (41) New York (9) Washington (6) West Virginia (148) | (14) Massachusetts (4) Rhode Island (4) South Dakota (11) Wisconsin (33) |
| TOTALS | | 502 | 36 |

Opinion Research Corporation
Princeton, New Jersey

October 12, 1972

1972 ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST

| ESTIMATED NIXON PERCENTAGE | ELECTORAL VOTE TOTALS | STATES | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 66.1 and over | 134 | (9) Alabama ↑(6) Arizona (17) Florida (12) Georgia ↑(4) Idaho ↑(9) Kentucky (10) Louisiana | (7) Mississippi (5) Nebraska (13) North Carolina (8) Oklahoma (8) South Carolina (10) Tennessee ↑(4) Utah (12) Virginia |
| 61.1 - 66.0 | 79 | (6) Arkansas ↑(7) Colorado (3) Delaware (7) Kansas ↑(4) Montana ↑(3) Nevada ↑(4) New Hampshire | ↑(4) New Mexico (3) North Dakota ↑(6) Oregon (26) Texas (3) Vermont ↑(3) Wyoming |
| 56.1 - 61.0 | 141 | ↑(3) Alaska (8) Connecticut (26) Illinois (13) Indiana (8) Iowa | (4) Maine (10) Maryland (17) New Jersey (25) Ohio (27) Pennsylvania |
| 51.1 - 56.0 | 148 | (45) California ↑(4) Hawaii (21) Michigan (10) Minnesota | (12) Missouri (41) New York (9) Washington (6) West Virginia |
| Less than 51 | 36 | (3) District of Columbia (14) Massachusetts (4) Rhode Island (4) South Dakota ↓(11) Wisconsin | |

↑ = State has moved up since October 4 classification

↓ = State has moved down since October 4 classification

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