

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>
43	4	12/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll news release examining low 1972 voter turnout. Duplicate not scanned. 3 pgs.
43	4	11/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll news release on campaign tone and spending. Duplicate not scanned. 3 pgs.
43	4	11/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release touting the organization's success in predicting election results. Duplicate not scanned. 2 pgs.
43	4	11/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release comparing public opinion and legislative policy in recent American history. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	11/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Alternate format of Gallup article on public opinion and legislative policy. Text is identical. 3 pgs.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release on the accuracy of its 1972 election polling. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release discussing the lack of attention paid by candidates to the issue of personal safety in the 1972 presidential race. Duplicate not scanned. 2 pgs.
43	4	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing the results of a theoretical Kennedy candidacy in 1972. 1 pg.

<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>
43	4	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Alternate format of a Gallup release on Kennedy's polling numbers against RN in 1972. 3 pgs.
43	4	11/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release presenting the final pre-election survey results. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	11/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release on blue collar workers and McGovern. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release examining Democratic Party strengths. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release covering McGovern's gains and presenting the most recent polling data. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling information obtained from Davies. 2 pgs.
43	4	10/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release exposing weak college voter support for McGovern. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "1972 Race Shattering Voting Patterns." Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling information from Davies. 2 pgs.
43	4	10/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 14 pgs.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Polling data on McGovern and RN. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

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43	4	10/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the release of new Gallup polling data. 1 pg.
43	4	10/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the release of new Gallup polling data. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the results of a Gallup poll. 2 pgs.
43	4	10/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release showing RN's significant lead over McGovern. 2 pgs.
43	4	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release comparing RN and McGovern's polling numbers on various campaign issues. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 10 pgs.
43	4	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: conflicting polling data and attempts to contact Gallup and Harris agency representatives. 1 pg.
43	4	10/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 2 pgs.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Comprehensive voter demographics charting support for RN and McGovern from August to early October of 1972. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Gallup Poll trial heats for presidential elections from 1948 to 1972. Only duplicate with handwritten notes scanned; other duplicates omitted. 2 pgs.

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43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Polling information from Gallup on the elections of 1948, 1952, 1956, 1964, and 1968. Comprehensive figures included for 1972. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 12 pgs.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Harris polling information on the election of 1972. 3 pgs.
43	4	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Gallup polling data sent form Strachan to Higby. 2 pgs.
43	4	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	First class envelope from the American Institute of Public Opinion to Strachan. 1 pg.
43	4	10/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release exploring the effects of perceived governmental corruption on the 1972 election. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing McGovern's polling gains in key voter groups. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	10/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article from "The Washington Post" titled "Gallup Says McGovern Is Closing Gap, Lags by 28 Points." Written by Davis S. Broder. 1 pg.
43	4	10/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release presenting the organization's latest findings on voters. Duplicate not scanned. 2 pgs.
43	4	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing RN, McGovern, and the credibility gap. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.

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43	4	10/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A "Newsweek" article titled "The Youth Vote: Nixon's Ahead." Handwritten note added by unknown. Page from a news summary presenting information from the article attached. 4 pgs.
43	4	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release surmusing that RN's wide lead over his opponent could evaporate. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Duplicates not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing African-American voter trends in 1972. 1 pg.
43	4	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: RN's potential forty-point lead over McGovern and other polling matters. Handwritten note added by Higby. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing young voters. 1 pg.
43	4	8/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling information sent by Davies. Trial heats for the 1972 presidential race attached. 2 pgs.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relaying information from Davies. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on Colson and key voter groups. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Page from a news summary mentioning information on Democratic and Catholic voters. 1 pg.
43	4	9/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release presenting opinions on wage-price controls. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.

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43	4	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached Gallup release. Handwritten notes added by multiple unknown individuals. 1 pg.
43	4	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "Five Million McGovern Backers Willing to Work in His Campaign." 2 pgs.
43	4	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to MacGregor RE: important information from a recent Gallup poll. 1 pg.
43	4	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>		Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "Five Million McGovern Backers Willing to Work in His Campaign." Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	9/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing young voter trends. Handwritten note added by unknown. 3 pgs.
43	4	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: trial heats from before July 1972. 1 pg.
43	4	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: polling information obtained from Gallup by Tom Benham. 1 pg.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Note from the Gallup organization to periodical editors RE: the organization's next release. 1 pg.
43	4	8/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release charting McGovern's latest polling loss. 1 pg.
43	4	8/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release analyzing Democratic voter registration. 1 pg.

<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>
43	4	9/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release displaying results of a poll on Vietnamese government. Duplicate not scanned. 1 pg.
43	4	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A Gallup Poll release titled "Nixon Widens Lead Over McGovern In Latest Test." 1 pg.
43	4	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	From Strachan to Higby RE: attached documents. 1 pg.
43	4	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: trial heats from before July 1972. Polling figures from previous presidential elections attached. 2 pgs.
43	4	8/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and a Gallup organization secretary. 1 pg.
43	4	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Transcript of a telephone conversation between Strachan and Davies. 4 pgs.
43	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Polling figures obtained by Gallup during presidential election years from 1948 to 1972. 1 pg.

Gallup Post-Election Analysis

SURVEY EXAMINES REASONS FOR LOWEST
TURNOUT RATE SINCE 1948 ELECTION

By George Gallup

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written consent of the copyright holders.

PRINCETON, N.J., Dec. 9---Nearly complete election returns indicate that only about half of those of voting age in the U.S. (54.5 per cent) cast ballots in the presidential election in November. This represents the lowest voter turnout percentage since 1948 when 52 per cent cast a ballot.

A Gallup post-election survey sheds light on the reasons why voter turnout in the U.S. on Nov. 7 was the lowest it has been in nearly a quarter century, and why the U.S. consistently has a poorer voting record than any other major democracy in the world.

One of the survey questions sought to determine the reasons non-voters themselves offer for not participating. Nearly four in ten indicate that they just did not bother to register or that they were prevented from doing so by residence requirements.

Nearly a third of non-voters reported that they "sat it out" because of a lack of interest in politics, while another 10 per cent indicated their belief that they did not have a good choice of presidential candidates.

Here is the full table of reasons given by non-voters:

(MORE)

REASONS NON-VOTERS GIVE
FOR NOT VOTING IN 1972
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Didn't bother to register or prevented from registering by residence requirements	38%
Not interested in politics	28
Didn't like either candidate	10
Sick or disabled	10
Could not leave job or working two shifts	7
Away from home/traveling	7
Total, non-voters	100%

As the above table indicates, only a small proportion of non-voters appear to have a reasonably legitimate excuse for not voting. According to their own testimony, the large majority of non-voters could have voted if they had made an extra effort to register and vote.

REGISTRATION SYSTEM

BLAMED IN PART

Some political observers blame the low turnout in this country in part on our registration system. A recent editorial in the New York Times pointed out that "many towns and cities allow registration only a few days a month and then only for a few hours and often at inconvenient places."

Gallup surveys indicate that approximately eight persons in ten were registered to vote as of the time of this year's presidential contest. But among citizens 18 to 30 years old, the proportion registered to vote was only about six in ten.

On the brighter side, the proportion of women registered to vote just prior to this year's election about equalled the proportion among men. In addition, the differences in registration on the basis of educational attainment was less marked in this campaign than it has been previously. This year, three persons in four among persons with only a grade-school background were registered to vote.

(MORE)

Post-election analysis further indicates that voters had settled on a candidate far sooner this year than was the case in the previous presidential campaign in 1968.

This year only about one voter in 11 said that he had not made up his mind until sometime during the last two weeks of the campaign, a finding which was reflected in Gallup Poll trial heats showing little change in the standings from late September.

In sharp contrast, as many as a fourth of the voters in 1968 had not made up their minds until sometime during the final two weeks of that year's presidential campaign.

SIX IN TEN

'SPLIT' TICKETS

As might be expected by the heavy defection among Democrats this year, ticket-splitting was common. As many as six voters in 10 said they split their tickets and voted for the candidates of different parties for the various political offices.

The results reported today are based on in-person interviews with 1,462 adults, 18 and older, interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period Nov. 10-13.

The following table shows the percentage of the population voting in presidential elections since 1920 when women became eligible to vote:

VOTER TURNOUT IN U.S. IN
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

1920	44%
1924	44
1928	52
1932	53
1936	57
1940	59
1944	54
1948	52
1952	63
1956	60
1960	64
1964	62
1968	61
1972 (to date)	54.5

GALLUP-AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
SCORE BULLS-EYES IN ELECTIONS
IN FIVE NATIONS

PRINCETON, N.J., Nov. 00---In a period of less than three months, Gallup-affiliated survey organizations in four nations besides the U.S. scored spectacular successes in estimating the outcome of national elections in these nations.

EMNID, the West German Gallup affiliate, was within one percentage point in its final pre-election estimate of the vote for the SPD and CDU/CSU parties in the recent election in that country. Here is the comparison:

WEST GERMANY		
	Gallup- Germany	Election Results
SPD	46.2%	45.9%
CDU/CSU	45.3	44.8
F.D.P.	6.5	8.4
Sonstige Parteien .	2.0	1.0

The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion was also right on target in estimating the popular vote in the recent national election in that country, as seen in the following table:

CANADA		
	Gallup- Canada	Election Results
Liberals	39%	39%
Conservatives	33	35
NDP	21	18
Other	7	8

In October, voters in Norway and Denmark voted in national referenda on joining the Common Market. Here is a comparison of the actual vote with survey results for each country, as reported by the Norwegian Gallup Institute. The comparison provides still further evidence that scientifically conducted public opinion surveys on referendum issues can be as accurate as surveys on candidates:

(MORE)

NORWAY

	Gallup- Norway	Election Results
Yes (favor joining)	47.9%	46.51%
No	52.1	53.49

DENMARK

Yes	64/65%	63.44%
No	35/36	36.56

And in the U.S., the Gallup Poll's final 1972 pre-election estimate was within two-tenths of a percentage point of Nixon's share of the major party vote, as seen below:

U.S.A.

	Gallup- U.S.A.	Election Results (to date)
Nixon	62%	61.8%
McGovern	38	38.2

From PUBLISHERS-HALL SYNDICATE

401 North Wabash Avenue

Chicago, Illinois 60611

Public Hits 'Mudslinging,' High
Costs of 1972 Presidential Race

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N.J., Nov. 29---Seven in ten Americans would like to see changes in the way political campaigns are presently conducted. Leading the list of gripes are the high costs of campaigns and "too much mudslinging."

Next on the list of sought-for changes are "a greater discussion and definition of the issues" and a shorter campaign.

The following comments reveal the mood of the public regarding the race for the presidency which, starting with the first primary election, consumed the better part of the year.

"Presidential campaigns usually start out on a fairly high level, but by the end of the campaign the race has degenerated, with desperate remarks and meaningless insults tossed about freely." These were the thoughts of a young engineer from Colorado.

A 51-year-old building superintendent from Iowa thinks there is room for improvement in the way campaigns are conducted, but confesses that he finds them entertaining--"the endless round of charges and countercharges--it's better than a circus."

A 42-year-old railroad supervisor from Chicago expresses a common view: "Campaigns cost too much--they hold good candidates back. The man who gets elected is not necessarily the best man--he's often the one who's got more money."

BEHIND WIDESPREAD

APATHY THIS YEAR?

To a certain extent, the widespread voter apathy recorded this year can be charged against the lengthiness of the presidential campaign and the way it was conducted. Voter turnout on Nov. 7 was the lowest it has been since 1948. The percentage of election night TV viewers was down sharply from the percentage recorded in 1968.

(MORE)

7 IN 10 FAVOR LAW
TO LIMIT SPENDING

In the same survey, persons were asked specifically about a proposal for a law which would put a limit on the total amount of money that can be spent for or by a candidate in his campaign for public office.

Seven in ten (71 per cent) say they would favor such a law, 18 per cent are opposed, while another 11 per cent do not express an opinion.

Basic in the thinking of many Americans is the belief that every person should have an equal chance to run for office and that money should not be a controlling factor.

Although present laws are designed to control the amount that a person can contribute to a campaign, these laws can be avoided or evaded in many different ways.

It is estimated that approximately \$100 million was spent by presidential candidates in the presidential campaign this year, including \$9 million on the Democratic and Republican conventions.

PUBLIC HAS LONG
FAVORED OVERHAUL

The U.S. public has long favored a complete overhaul of the American electoral system, including a nationwide primary to select candidates and abandonment of the Electoral College. The public's will in terms of changes in the electoral process has been heeded only in regard to lowering the voting age requirement to 18. In a survey conducted three years prior to the Supreme Court's decision, two adults in every three favored enfranchisement of 18, 19 and 20-year-olds.

In a Gallup survey reported last spring, 72 per cent of persons interviewed said they favored the selection of presidential candidates in a nationwide primary election instead of by political party conventions as at present. The proposal found bipartisan approval.

(MORE)

Majorities in every survey--as long ago as 1948--have either favored abandonment of the present Electoral College system or changing it to make it reflect more accurately the popular vote sentiment registered on election day.

The latest survey on the Electoral College showed eight in ten Americans in favor of the election of Presidents on the basis of popular vote throughout the nation rather than the Electoral College system. The latter system makes it possible for a candidate to win even though he runs behind in the popular vote total.

SHORTEN
CAMPAIGNS?

The electorate would also like to see another basic change in the electoral process--cutting the 10-week campaign period in half. Six in ten voters would favor such a change, which, if it were done, would bring the U.S. more in line with the practice of Great Britain, Canada, Israel and other democracies.

DETAILS OF
SURVEY

Today's report is based on in-person interviews with 1205 adults, 18 and older, interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation. These are the questions and national results:

"Would you like to see any changes in the way political campaigns are conducted?"

YES	70 %
NO/NO OPINION	30

"Would you favor or oppose a law which would put a limit on the TOTAL amount of money which can be spent for or by a candidate in his campaign for public office?"

FAVOR	71%
OPPOSE	18
NO OPINION	11

Polls Chart Social History of U. S. Spanning Nearly Four Decades

Public Has Been Ahead of Legislative Leaders on Many Issues

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1972, Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Nov. 15 — The final pre-election survey of the Gallup Poll proved to be the most accurate of the nationwide polls in the 1972 presidential race and, in fact, the most accurate in the history of nationwide polling in the U.S.

Virtually complete election returns show that the final survey figures were within 0.2 percentage points of the national presidential election result, which better the poll's record of 0.5 percentage points in the 1968 election.

Kudos for this achievement must be shared with the 157 daily newspapers, including the one you are presently reading, which provide the financial support necessary to carry out these continuing surveys on the issues of the day. Many of these newspapers have sponsored the Gallup Poll since its founding in 1935.

Although elections prove a testing ground for polling methods, their value during campaigns consists largely in providing information about how various groups in the population will vote and why. A chief interest, however, of many readers centers on the insights polls reveal about life in America.

Hopes and Fears of American Public

For 37 years, the Gallup Poll has dealt with social and economic problems, as well as political. During this period the hopes and fears of the American people have been surveyed, their beliefs and their leisure time activities, their morals and their manners — even their foibles.

Findings from 6,000 surveys are contained in a new three volume work just published by Random House. A total of 2,400 pages are needed to cover the 37 years of Gallup surveys.

Changes in the public's views and their prejudices in many fields are revealed in the nearly four decades covered. In the case of many issues and proposals, proof is provided that the people are often years ahead of their legislative leaders, who, all too often, take their orders from pressure groups.

A case in point is the control of hand guns. As early as 1938, an overwhelming majority of Americans (84 per cent) favored laws to require the registration of pistols and revolvers — laws which still are not on the books.

Another of many examples that could be cited has to do with the "item" veto, which would permit a president to veto some items in a bill without

vetoing the entire bill. The vote in favor of this proposal which would do much to reduce "pork-barrel" schemes of Congressmen, was 2 to 1 in favor in 1947.

As early as 1952 the American public approved basic changes in the electoral system, including a nationwide primary to select candidates, doing away with the electoral college, and changing the whole manner of campaigning.

Work vs. Cash Relief Plans

Attitudes toward work and welfare have changed little. In 1938 when America had still not come out of the great depression, the public by a ratio of 9 to 1 favored work relief over cash relief. They approved a Pennsylvania law (1939) by almost the same ratio that would require all able-bodied people on relief to accept any job offered by a local government, no matter what kind of job.

Just a few of the findings from thousands of surveys reveal the wide range of subjects that have been covered:

* In November, 1938, nearly a year before World War II, Hitler said he had no more territorial ambitions in Europe. When the American people were asked if they believed this statement, only 8 per cent said they did.

* Hitler's treatment of the Jews, even before World War II, was disapproved by an overwhelming majority of Americans — 94 per cent.

* Early surveys on economic issues reveal the extent to which a higher living standard, plus inflation, have changed the American scene. When asked how much a family of four needed to live decently, the answer, in July, 1937, was \$30 a week.

* The minimum wage which the public thought should be paid in 1938 was 40 cents an hour in non-farm areas, 30 cents an hour in farm regions.

* As late as 1949, one person in seven could report that at some time during the year, he or his family did not have enough money to get enough to eat.

* There have been great changes in manners and morals. A poll in 1939 showed that a majority of adults thought that it was indecent for women to wear shorts for street wear.

* As late as 1947 nearly half of all the families of the United States were saying grace or giving thanks to God aloud before meals.

* In the present era of foul language, it is worth noting that in a poll taken

in December, 1951, some 40 per cent of those questioned said that they objected to their husband saying "damn" or "hell" when among friends. Even more objected to wives using these same words.

* The great migration to California, Florida and the Southwest was foreshadowed by early polls that asked people where they would like to live if they moved from their present state.

* After World War II the public was asked about amnesty for conscientious objectors who had been sent to prison. By a vote of 3-to-1 the public said that they should be freed.

* A poll conducted in 1949, asked people in the largest cities to name their city's worst problem. The survey brought to light that poor housing, traffic congestion, dirt, high tax rates, corrupt politics, all rated ahead of crime. In fact, crime was cited by only 4 per cent as their city's worst problem — in marked contrast to the importance crime occupies today as a major concern of city dwellers.

Historians of the future may well regard these findings that deal with the quality of lives in the U.S. as an important contribution that only polls can make.

POLLS CHART SOCIAL HISTORY OF U.S. SPANNING NEARLY
FOUR DECADES

Public Has Been Ahead of Legislative Leaders on Many Issues

By George Gallup

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As early as 1952 the American public approved basic changes in the electoral system, including a nationwide primary to select candidates, doing away with the electoral college, and changing the whole manner of campaigning.

Work vs. Cash Relief Plans

Attitudes toward work and welfare have changed little. In 1938 when America had still not come out of the great depression, the public by a ratio of 9 to 1 favored work relief over cash relief. They approved a Pennsylvania law (1939) by almost the same ratio that would require all able-bodied people on relief to accept any job offered by a local government, no matter what kind of job.

Just a few of the findings from thousands of surveys reveal the wide range of subjects that have been covered:

* In November, 1938, nearly a year before World War II, Hitler said he had no more territorial ambitions in Europe. When the American people were asked if they believed this statement, only 8 per cent said they did.

* Hitler's treatment of the Jews, even before World War II, was disapproved by an overwhelming majority of Americans — 94 per cent.

* Early surveys on economic issues reveal the extent to which a higher living standard, plus inflation, have changed the American scene. When asked how much a family of four needed to live decently, the answer, in July, 1937, was \$30 a week.

* The minimum wage which the public thought should be paid in 1938 was 40 cents an hour in non-farm areas, 30 cents an hour in farm regions.

* As late as 1949, one person in seven could report that at some time during the year, he or his family did not have enough money to get enough to eat.

* There have been great changes in manners and morals. A poll in 1939 showed that a majority of adults thought that it was indecent for women to wear shorts for street wear.

* As late as 1947 nearly half of all the families of the United States were saying grace or giving thanks to God aloud before meals.

* In the present era of foul language, it is worth noting that in a poll taken

in December, 1951, some 40 per cent of those questioned said that they objected to their husband saying "damn" or "hell" when among friends. Even more objected to wives using these same words.

* The great migration to California, Florida and the Southwest was foreshadowed by early polls that asked people where they would like to live if they moved from their present state.

* After World War II the public was asked about amnesty for conscientious objectors who had been sent to prison. By a vote of 3-to-1 the public said that they should be freed.

* A poll conducted in 1949, asked people in the largest cities to name their city's worst problem. The survey brought to light that poor housing, traffic congestion, dirt, high tax rates, corrupt politics, all rated ahead of crime. In fact, crime was cited by only 4 per cent as their city's worst problem — in marked contrast to the importance crime occupies today as a major concern of city dwellers.

Historians of the future may well regard these findings that deal with the quality of lives in the U.S. as an important contribution that only polls can make.

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FORECAST IN POLLING HISTORY**

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On Monday, the Gallup Poll published the following survey figures in its 157 client newspapers across the nation:

FINAL GALLUP SURVEY RESULTS (Division of two-party vote)	
Nixon	62%
McGovern	38
	<u>100%</u>

With 98 per cent of the nation's precincts reporting as of this writing, the major party vote in the presidential election Tuesday is as follows:

ACTUAL ELECTION RESULTS (Division of two-party vote)	
Nixon	61.8%
McGovern	38.2
	<u>100.0%</u>

The high degree of accuracy achieved by the Gallup Poll in its estimate of the major party vote in Tuesday's election repeats the impressive performance of the Gallup Poll in the previous presidential election of 1968. The final pre-election survey results that year showed Nixon leading Senator Humphrey and came within a half of a percentage point (0.5) of indicating Nixon's actual vote in that election.

The average deviation, that is, the average amount by which final Gallup Poll figures have differed from the elections beginning with 1936 has been 2.5 percentage points. The largest deviation was registered in 1936 when the poll correctly pointed to Roosevelt's victory but missed the mark by 6.8 percentage points. The smallest deviations came in this year's election, in the race four years ago, and in 1960 when the final Gallup pre-election survey showed Sen. John Kennedy with a razor-thin lead over the then Vice President Nixon.

The average deviation for 10 national elections since 1952 has been 1.3 percentage points.

PERSONAL SAFETY SEEN AS
HIDDEN ISSUE IN '72 RACE

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N. J., Nov. 00 -- The emotionally charged issue of personal safety shifted many votes of blue collar workers to Nixon in the cities of the nation in Tuesday's election. And it was the heavy defection among this traditionally Democratic bloc which contributed to the overwhelming defeat of Sen. George McGovern. Blue collar workers feared that McGovern would encourage a permissive society that would fail to provide safe streets and cities.

Not only did the candidates fail to discuss the problem of public safety at length during the campaign, but voters themselves, when asked to indicate what they regarded as the most important problems facing the nation, were inclined to talk about the issue of public safety under such general terms as crime, law and order, drug addiction.

Survey evidence indicates that the proportion of voters who say they are afraid to go out alone at night in their own neighborhoods has shown a dramatic increase in recent years. It is especially high in cities over 1 million in population and even in smaller cities it has reached an astounding level.

Women particularly are fearful of personal attacks when they leave

their homes in their own districts. As many as three women in four among women over the age of 50 say they are afraid to go out alone in their neighborhoods.

Fear of personal assaults is by no means limited to the larger cities. Notwithstanding government crime statistics, voters throughout the nation say that crime has increased during the last year in communities where they live.

Of the two candidates of the major parties, voters thought that President Nixon could deal with this problem of crime and lawlessness far better than Sen. McGovern. Blue collar workers who have traditionally cast their ballots for democratic presidential candidates, by the ratio of 46% to 30% in an October survey, held this view, which is perhaps the most important reason for their high rate of defection.

The public wants tougher sentences handed out to lawbreakers -- and by the overwhelming majority of 79% to 10%. Indicative of the public mood was the recent vote in California in favor of reinstating the death penalty and against legalizing marijuana.

The survey findings reported here should not be read as indicating that most voters lack a social conscience. However, when the issue comes down to what the typical voter perceives as a question of social programs versus personal safety, he is likely to vote for the latter.

Survey Shows Kennedy Would Have Run Nixon Closer Race

By George Gallup
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PINCETON, N. J., Nov. 11 — In the aftermath of President Nixon's final re-election Tuesday, the important political question arises — to what extent was the outcome a rejection of Senator McGovern rather than his party — could another Democrat have given Nixon a closer race?

Gallup survey evidence indicates that one prominent Democrat — Senator Edward Kennedy — could have run a much stronger race than did Senator McGovern. Trial heats conducted in October in the semi-final Gallup survey showed Nixon leading McGovern 53 to 36 per cent but leading Kennedy by a considerably smaller margin, 52 to 43 per cent.

One could speculate, of course, that the race would have been still closer if Kennedy had actively campaigned as his party's nominee this year. Kennedy has disavowed any interest in seeking the nomination for 1976, yet political observers have speculated that Kennedy, in campaigning hard for McGovern this year, also had his eye on the White House in 1976.

Vote More a Rejection Of Candidate Than Party

The day's results reflected to a considerable extent a rejection of the Democratic nominee rather than an indication of any GOP tide. Nixon's tremendous victory at the polls did not translate into major gains for the GOP in terms of Senate and House seats.

A comparison of the Nixon-McGovern trial heat with the Nixon-Kennedy results in the same survey and with the same sample of voters brought to light Kennedy's greater strength among these groups:

* Whereas Nixon won the youth vote (under 30) in the test race against McGovern, Kennedy held a commanding lead with young voters, 55 to 41 per cent.

* Among blue collar workers (the largest voting bloc and a major source of McGovern's difficulties), McGovern trailed Nixon in the mid-October survey by a margin of 44 to 49 per cent, but Kennedy held a wide 53 to 41 per cent lead.

* Kennedy's pronounced popularity among fellow Catholics is apparent in the findings which showed him leading Nixon 53 to 43 per cent, whereas McGovern trailed Nixon among persons of this faith, 37 to 59 per cent.

The following table shows the full comparison of the Nixon-McGovern and the Nixon-Kennedy trial heats:

	Nixon vs. Kennedy		Other, Undec.
	Nixon %	Kennedy %	
NATIONAL	52	43	5
East	47	48	5
Midwest	50	44	6
South	58	39	3
West	54	41	5
Under 30 years	41	55	4
30-49 years	52	42	6
50 & over	58	38	4
Republicans	89	8	3
Democrats	24	72	4
Independents	50	43	7
Protestant	58	38	4
Roman Catholic	43	53	4

Prof. & Business	64	33	3
Clerical & Sales	52	43	5
Manual	41	53	6

	Nixon vs. McGovern		
	Nixon %	McG. %	Undec. %
NATIONAL	59	36	5
East	57	38	5
Midwest	57	40	3
South	66	29	5
West	55	35	10
Under 30 years	55	43	2
30-49 years	57	35	8
50 & over	63	33	4
Republicans	93	7	*
Democrats	33	61	6
Independents	59	33	8
Protestant	63	33	4
Roman Catholic	59	37	4
Prof. & Business	68	29	3
Clerical & Sales	66	32	2
Manual	49	44	7

Kennedy Consistently Popular With Democrats

Kennedy has consistently been popular with the Democratic rank-and-file, despite the fact that he suffered a sharp loss in appeal following the Chappaquiddick incident in the summer of 1970.

As early as December, 1971, Kennedy held a clear lead over all other Democratic presidential possibilities as the choice of Democratic voters to receive the nomination for 1972.

In a test election at that time, Kennedy trailed Nixon by only 3 percentage points.

McGovern's Liabilities

Although McGovern was the candidate of the majority party in this coun-

try, he had serious liabilities which conspired to bring him a resounding defeat at the polls:

1. A key factor in his loss was, of course, the fact that an incumbent President has a strong built-in advantage and can control events and programs to a degree denied a challenger.

2. The fact that Gov. George Wallace was not in the race this year added many millions of votes to Nixon. More than three out of four people who voted for Wallace in 1968 indicated a preference for Nixon, as determined by an October survey.

3. Voters perceived McGovern as left of where they described themselves politically. This may have arisen from the liberal position on issues which he took in the primaries in order to distinguish his campaign platform from those of the other Democratic contenders. Although the Senator moved more to the center on certain issues as the campaign wore on, he was unable to shake his image as "too left" or radical, with Republicans making considerable capital of this.

4. As the campaign wore on, voters came to have increasing doubts about McGovern's sincerity and credibility — which ironically enough were considered to be among his strongest attributes by voters at the time of the primaries. The Eagleton incident — when McGovern first backed the Vice Presidential nominee and then dumped him from the ticket — contributed greatly to McGovern's credibility problems.

5. The combination of these negative factors — the belief that McGovern was "too radical" and a lack of credibility — undoubtedly greatly affected what voters perceived to be McGovern's

ability to deal with the top issues.

Nixon successfully captured the issues uppermost in the minds of voters — Vietnam and inflation. Furthermore, as revealed in a recent post-election survey, personal safety was a key issue in the 1972 election, with Nixon holding a wide lead as the candidate better able to deal with the problem of crime and lawlessness.

6. McGovern lacked the personal appeal or "charisma" of previous presidential candidates. In fact, his "highly favorable" rating on a 10-point attitude scale was only 21 per cent. By way of comparison, Kennedy's comparable rating on the same scale was 29 per cent. Nixon's rating, while higher than McGovern's, fell far under the ratings accorded Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and Dwight Eisenhower in 1956.

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On Monday, the Gallup Poll reported these figures:

Final Gallup Results	
Nixon	67%
McGovern	30

With 98 per cent of the nation's precincts reporting as of this writing, the major party vote in the presidential election Tuesday is as follows:

Actual Election Returns	
Nixon	61.8%
McGovern	38.2

SURVEY SHOWS KENNEDY WOULD HAVE RUN NIXON CLOSER RACE

By George Gallup

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McGovern 38

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Actual Election Returns

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McGovern 38.2

GALLUP POLL

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

NOTE TO EDITORS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trend Since Conventions

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

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

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

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

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

Trend Since Start of Primaries	Nixon		McG.	Other.
	%	%	%	%
Oct. 13-18	59	36	5	6
Sept. 29-Oct. 9 . .	61	34	6	6
Sept. 22-25	61	33	6	6
Aug. 26-27	64	30	6	6
--- GOP Convention ---				
Aug. 5-12	57	37	12	
--- Eagleton Incident ---				
July 14-17	56	37	7	
June 16-19	53	37	10	
May 26-29	53	34	13	
April 28-May 1 . .	49	39	12	

Race Has Been Closer In Terms of Issues

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

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

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

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

The upturn in the economy during recent months has contributed to McGovern's problems. When voters in a recent survey were asked whether they are better off or worse off financially than they were a year ago, 37 per cent said better off, compared to 27 per cent who said worse off. The rest said either that their situation was the same, or were undecided. Even among Democratic voters, more said they were better off now than a year ago than said they were worse off.

Third Party Candidates

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

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

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

Democratic Defection At Record High

Democratic defection during this year's campaign has been at a record high, with the proportion of Democrats favoring Nixon ranging between 30 and 40 per cent. One of McGovern's chief liabilities with voters has been his "credibility." A nationwide Gallup survey conducted during the campaign, for example, found voters by the ratio of 55-to-2 saying Nixon is more "sincere" and "believable" than McGovern.

Popular Vote Not Electoral Vote

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

Election Survey Methods

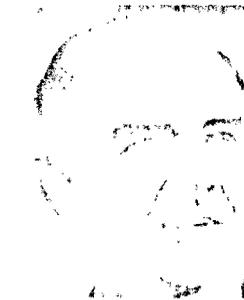
The interviewing areas used in the survey constitute a probability sample of election precincts. Selection of households and respondents within households is not left to the discretion of interviewers but is controlled by a procedure designed to provide an objective, systematic choice of respondents.

Some error is inherent in all sample

The 1972 Presidential Race



Richard Nixon



George McGovern

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

Problem of Turnout

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

Undecided Voter

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

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

the undecided vote on an objective basis.

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

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

Interpreting Poll Findings

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

The average deviation, that is, the average amount by which final Gallup Poll figures have differed from the elections beginning with 1936 has been 2.5 percentage points. The average deviation for 11 national elections since 1948 has been 1.6 percentage points. The largest deviation was registered in 1936 when the poll correctly pointed to Roosevelt's victory but missed the mark by 6.8 percentage points. The smallest deviation came in the presidential race four years ago. The deviation was less than 1 percentage point, actually 0.5.

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Blue Collar Workers - Key to McGovern's Problems, but His Best Hope for Tuesday

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Nov. 1 — The nation's blue collar workers — representing 40 per cent of the electorate and the vote wire for all Democratic presidential aspirants — are largely responsible for the fact that Senator McGovern trails Nixon by the current wide margin of 59 to 36 per cent. But the blue collar group also represents McGovern's best hope for narrowing the gap in the final days of the campaign.

At the last stage in the race, McGovern is earning a smaller percentage of the vote of manual workers than 20 other Democratic presidential candidates since 1836 when scientific polling was first introduced. Only in the Eisenhower landslide of 1956 did manual workers fail to give the Democratic candidate a majority of their vote.

If McGovern were to receive what he has — the average vote accorded to his party candidates by manual workers in the past — during the last four decades, the current presidential race would be much closer — approximately 52 per cent for Nixon to 46 per cent for McGovern.

Blue Collar Vote Is Fluid

One of McGovern's troubles in attracting blue collar workers, the vote of this group has been more fluid than

the vote of most other groups and McGovern has managed to win back many blue collar people since the start of the campaign in early September. The final days of the campaign could see a continued return to the fold of these traditionally Democratic voters, who represent the largest voting bloc in the electorate.

Actually McGovern's success in narrowing the gap nationally — by six points since the start of the campaign — has been largely due to his winning back manual workers to their more traditional Democratic voting pattern. In a late August survey, conducted at the start of the campaign, Nixon held a vote 63 to 28 per cent lead over McGovern among manual workers. In the latest survey, Nixon's lead is 49 to 44 per cent with this group.

While manual workers as a whole favor Nixon, certain important population segments within this group favor McGovern. For example, a major difference is seen between the preferences of skilled and unskilled manual workers, with each group representing approximately half of the total blue collar group. The skilled workers include electricians, plumbers, mechanics, machinists, etc. Unskilled workers include assembly line workers, construction laborers, longshoremen, etc.

Skilled workers as a group are 5-to-3 on Nixon's side at the current stage of the race — to the same degree, in fact, as such traditionally Republican groups as business and professional people.

The Nixon orientation of the skilled worker group is explained in part by the fact that many in this group are in the higher income brackets, and, in fact, are becoming a segment of the "affluent society." The latest survey indicates that almost four in ten skilled workers have a yearly income of \$10,000 or over.

In contrast, unskilled workers prefer McGovern over Nixon by a fairly wide margin. This preference for McGovern among the unskilled is due in large measure to the high percentage of blacks in the unskilled worker population. Black manual workers, like the total black population, favor McGovern overwhelmingly.

The following table shows the vote for the total blue collar group and by skilled and unskilled workers:

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
Total blue collar	49	44	7
Skilled	60	34	6
Unskilled	41	51	8

Membership in labor unions has little influence on the candidate preferences of the nation's blue collar workers, with those belonging to unions no more in favor of McGovern than non-union workers.

Age also has a direct bearing on manual worker's presidential preferences with new voters (18 to 24 year olds) favoring McGovern by a 5-to-3 ratio, while their older counterparts, including the 25 to 29 year olds, vote heavily for Nixon.

Following is the vote by age groups among blue collar workers:

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
18-24 years	43	53	4
Under 30	50	47	3
30-49 years	51	41	8
50 & older	58	35	7

Catholics Evenly Divided in Vote

Other factors which bear directly on the presidential preferences of manual workers are religion and ethnic background. Protestant manual workers lean heavily to Nixon whereas Catholics are about evenly divided between the two presidential candidates.

In terms of ethnic background, Nixon holds a wide lead over McGovern among those manual workers who trace their ancestry to what are sometimes termed the "old" immigrant groups — persons from the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland), from Germany and Austria, from the Scandinavian countries, and from Ireland.

Among these groups, Nixon's lead is particularly pronounced among so-called WASPs — Anglo-Saxon Protestants from the United Kingdom, Scandinavians, Germans, etc. Irish Americans, while favoring Nixon over McGovern, give the President a somewhat smaller lead than do the WASP groups.

In the case of manual workers who trace their forebears to immigrant groups who came to this country rela-

tively recently — the Italians, Middle and Eastern Europeans and those from Latin countries, such as Puerto Rico, Mexico, etc. — McGovern is preferred over Nixon. Differences can be noted among the main groups comprising what is frequently labeled the "ethnic" vote, however. Whereas Italians lean marginally to Nixon, workers with a Latin background represent one of McGovern's most solid voting blocs and give the South Dakota Senator nearly as large a vote as do blacks.

The following tables show the vote by religion and ethnic background among blue collar workers:

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
Protestants	57	37	6
Catholics	48	46	6

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
"Old" Immigrant Groups	69	26	5
WASPs	72	25	3
Irish	58	34	8

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
Recent Immigrant Groups	44	49	7
Italians	51	41	8
Middle East Europeans	49	44	7
Latins	25	71	4

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
Blacks	16	81	3

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
East	55	38	7
Midwest	57	43	6
South	58	38	4
West	43	48	9

McGovern Leads in Largest Cities

Presidential preferences vary marked-

ly depending on where manual workers live. For example, in cities with over 50,000 inhabitants, McGovern has a slight edge over Nixon. In communities under 50,000 inhabitants, Nixon holds a wide lead over the South Dakota Senator.

Similarly, the 1968 election voters' open line on the section of the country in which manual workers reside, Nixon holds wide leads over McGovern in the East, Midwest and the South. In the 13 states comprising the Western region of the country, however, McGovern is preferred over Nixon by a margin of 48 per cent to 43 per cent.

The following tables show the blue collar vote by city size and region of the nation:

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
500,000 & over	40	48	13
50,000-499,999	45	40	6
2,500-49,999	52	41	7
Under 2,500	67	26	7

	Nixon McG. Undec.		
	%	%	%
East	55	38	7
Midwest	57	43	6
South	58	38	4
West	43	48	9

The survey findings reported today are based on interviews with a total of 5,870 registered voters out of a total sample of 11,855 adults, 18 and over. Survey respondents were interviewed in person in more than 400 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the first three weeks of October.

Analysis of Election Factors Reveals Key Strengths of Democratic Party

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 28 — In determining voter sentiment, polling organizations typically concentrate their efforts on measuring candidate preferences. But it is also important to analyze three factors which underly candidate preferences: the issues, party loyalty, and finally the activity of the party organization at the grassroots level.

When these factors are probed in the present race, the conclusion can be drawn that the Democratic party has certain strengths which may not be apparent in the latest figures on candidate preferences. The latest Gallup Poll, based on interviewing in mid-October, shows Nixon winning the support of 59 per cent of registered voters, to 36 per cent for McGovern with 5 per cent undecided.

The issue. While Nixon currently holds a wide lead in the latest trial heat, the GOP leads the Democratic party by only a smaller ratio of 55 to 45 per cent as the party voters see better able to deal with the nation's top problems.

In addition, the GOP holds a comparable, 54 to 40 per cent, margin on

the hardy perennials of "peace and prosperity," which have been key issues in virtually every presidential campaign of this century.

Below are the questions and results:

What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

All persons who named a problem were then asked:

Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned — the Republican party or the Democratic party?

Republican 55%
Democratic 45%

These two questions were also asked in the latest survey:

Looking ahead for the next few years, which political party — the Republican or the Democratic — do you think will do the better job of keeping the country prosperous?

Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III — the Republican party or the Democratic party?

The results to the two questions in combination show the following:

Republican 54%
Democratic 46%

2. Party enthusiasm. On an attitude scale designed to measure degree of enthusiasm, the Democratic party emerges with a slight lead in terms of the highest rating, 51 per cent to 49 per cent for the GOP. Voters were asked to indicate where on a 10-point scale (called the Stapel Scalometer) they would rate the two parties.

3. Party activity. Despite the fact that the Democratic ticket is far behind the Republican ticket at the present time, the Democrats are working as hard at the grass roots level as are the Republicans.

The latest survey shows that 15 per cent of persons have been called upon by Republican party workers — either by telephone or in person — while 16 per cent of persons have been contacted by Democratic workers.

The latest findings on party activity contrast sharply with those recorded in 1968, when the GOP had the lead as the more active party at the grassroots level. In late October of 1968, 12 per

cent of persons said they had been called upon (or telephoned) by Republican workers, compared to 8 per cent who said they had been contacted by Democratic workers.

The Democratic ticket's chief liability at the present time is found to be the personal popularity of their candidate.

The latest "enthusiasm ratings" on the Stapel Scale show Nixon with a "highly favorable" vote of 41 per cent compared to 22 per cent for McGovern.

Popularity of V. P. Candidates

Historically, statisticians have found it difficult to assess the extent to which a vice presidential candidate helps or hurts a ticket. But the evidence in election surveys in the past is that the effect is small.

In terms of personal enthusiasm generated among voters, Agnew receives a "highly favorable" vote on the Stapel Scale of 22 per cent compared to 15 per cent for Sargent Shriver. Agnew's current "highly favorable" rating is substantially greater than in the 1968 presidential race when it was 14 per cent.

Gallup Poll Plans for Final Pre-Election Poll

In its final report on the presidential race, the Gallup Poll will follow its usual practice of polling up to Saturday noon, Nov. 4. The findings will be reported in the columns of this newspaper on Monday, the day before the election.

The sample will be based upon approximately 3500 voters, personally interviewed in their homes in scientifically selected areas of the U.S.

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

The average deviation, that is, the amount by which final Gallup Poll figures differ with the election returns in the 19 national elections beginning with 1936, has averaged 2.5 percentage points. The largest deviation was registered in 1956 when the poll correctly pointed to Roosevelt's victory but missed the mark by 6.8 percentage points. The smallest deviation came in the presidential race four years ago. The deviation was less than 1 percentage point, actually 0.5.

The prudent reader should make an allowance of 3 to 4 percentage points in the case of the Gallup Poll which put in statistical terms means that the odds are 95 in 100 that the deviation should not go beyond this amount.

McGovern Continues to Make Gains; Race Today: Nixon 59%, McGovern 36%

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 25 — The latest nationwide trial heat, based on interviewing conducted Oct. 13-18, shows Nixon winning the support of 59 per cent of registered voters to 36 per cent for McGovern, 5 per cent for other candidates and 4 per cent undecided.

In the previous survey, conducted September 29 - October 6, Nixon received the support of 60 per cent to 34 per cent for McGovern, 5 per cent for other candidates and 5 per cent undecided.

The latest findings represent a gain of 6 percentage points for McGovern since his low point recorded in late August following the Eagleton crisis and the Republican convention.

McGovern's gains can be explained in large measure by the fact that a large proportion of manual workers — a group which represents almost 40 per cent of the electorate — has shifted back to their traditional Democratic party allegiance. In the August survey, Nixon held a wide 63 to 38 per cent lead over McGovern among manual workers; in the latest survey Nixon's lead is marginal, 49 to 44 per cent.

McGovern has also picked up strength among Catholics and under 30 voters, but not to the same extent as among manual workers.

Despite McGovern's gains, President Nixon continues to hold the lead among

all major population groups with the exception of Blacks and Jews.

Underdog Gains Strength In Final Weeks of Race

In six of the last eight presidential races, the candidate trailing in surveys at the start of the campaign has registered gains, particularly in the final days of the campaign.

Since 1940, with the exception of the presidential campaigns of 1956 and 1944, the candidate behind in mid-October subsequently gained anywhere from three to ten percentage points in the final two or three weeks of a campaign.

The following table shows the vote by groups in the latest survey, based on the choices of registered voters:

	Other,		
	Nixon %	McG. %	Undec. %
NATIONAL	59	36	5
Men	56	37	7
Women	62	35	3
White	64	34	5
Non white	31	75	4

College background	60	37	3
High school	61	34	5
Grade school	52	40	8
Under 30 years	55	43	2
30 - 49 years	57	35	8
50 & over	63	33	4
Professional & business	68	29	3
Clerical & sales	66	32	2
Manual workers	49	44	7
East	57	38	5
Midwest	57	40	3
South	66	29	5
West	55	35	10
Protestants	63	33	4
Catholics	59	37	4
Republicans	93	7	*
Democrats	33	61	6
Independents	59	33	8

* Less than one per cent.

Today's results are based upon personal interviews conducted in approximately 350 scientifically selected localities with 1220 registered voters out of a total sample of 1516 respondents. Interviewing was conducted October 13-18.

This question was asked:

If the presidential election were being held TODAY, which candidate would you vote for — McGovern, the Democrat, or Nixon, the Republican?

The trend in voter preference since the Democratic convention is revealed by the trial heat results reported below. The first measurement showed Nixon leading McGovern 56 to 37 per cent with 7 per cent undecided. McGovern lost strength following the Eagleton incident. The GOP convention gave Nixon a boost, while McGovern's strength remained about the same. In surveys since the GOP convention, however, McGovern has started to close the gap, as seen below:

	— Nixon Versus McGovern Trend —		
	Nixon %	McG. %	Other, Undec. %
Oct. 13-18	59	36	5
Sept. 29-Oct. 9	60	34	6
Sept. 22-25	61	33	6
Aug. 26-27	64	30	6
— GOP Convention —			
Aug. 5-12	57	31	12
— Eagleton Incident —			
July 14-17	56	37	7

October 21, 1972

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

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

- 1) The next Gallup trial heat release is scheduled for Thursday, October 26. The polling dates were Oct 14-15. A standard 1500 sample was used and the results will be within one or two points of 60-34-6, the figures released on October 15 based on the Sep 29- Oct 0 Gallup Poll;
- 2) The next Gallup trial heat field survey is scheduled to be conducted November 2, 3 and 4. The results are scheduled to be reported November 6, the Monday before the election. (Bob Teeter has obtained conflicting information - that Gallup is in the field this weekend - Oct 21-22 and will have results on Tuesday, Oct. 24).
- 3) There will be more Gallup issue releases than originally planned. Because Gallup is using the regular 1500 sample there will not be the demographic releases based on the Oct 14-15 survey. Instead, Gallup will consolidate three surveys and release information on particular ethnic groups, such as Irish, Italian, Middle Europeans, etc.
- 4) Dr. Gallup Sr's theory is that the issue questions - which political party is better able to handle peace and prosperity - lead the trail heat figures. This shoed Dr. Gallup in 1968 that Humphrey was moving up. However, in 1972 the only movement is in our favor;

5) Davies believes the Connally 30 minute was "one of the most devastating political shows that I have seen in a long time." He thinks that it covered all bases and that we do not need to do anything on the economy. The only change Davies would suggest is re-emphasize that Connally is a Democrat at the end. This will help hold the 32% Democrats who have left McGovern for the President. Many Democrats are under pressure to return to the fold, but as long as they believe that they have company they will stay with the President.

6) Davies thinks the Connally speech should be run in segments. He thinks we should avoid the sarcasm of the Democrats for Nixon attack spots because it will look like the President is nit-picking and kicking the guy when he is down.

7) He could not say whether the President was holding his position with Catholics because the samples are too small to permit statistically significant comparisons.

8) He believes the Frank Rizzo contact is excellent because of the positive effect on Italians everywhere. However, he thinks the Revenue Sharing Signing Ceremony was a dud.

9) Davies believes the President should spend more time in controlled TV situations to prevent the news shows from using uncomplimentary material from stump events. He cites the TV news film of the President jerking Agnew around to get him on camera.

10) Although he recognizes the political fact that it would be wrong to debate McGovern, Davies suggests that it be considered because the President would cream McGovern and the people want debates.

A transcript of the conversation is attached.

GS:car

Special College Poll Dims McGovern Hopes for Huge Student Majority

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J. October 21 — Results of a special Gallup survey of the nation's college students dim the hopes of the McGovern forces to win huge majorities on the college campuses of America on Nov. 7.

Far from the 4 to 1 advantage McGovern had counted on among college students earlier this year, the latest figures show that students divide their vote about equally between President Nixon and Senator George McGovern, with McGovern holding a slight edge.

College Students Not Monolithic Voting Bloc

Generalizations about the political views of college students must take into account many variables. For example, 7 out of every 10 upperclassmen who are studying in the field of the humanities or the social sciences and who happen to live off campus prefer McGovern to Nixon. By way of contrast, only 3 out of 10 underclassmen studying physical science, business or the professions, who live on campus, favor McGovern over Nixon.

The latest "trial heat" figures on campus, based up on those students who are registered to vote (80 per cent), show McGovern with 49 per cent of the vote, 47 per cent for Nixon, with

the remaining 4 per cent undecided or leaning toward other candidates.

Although the presidential race is close among college students overall, preferences vary significantly by class in school, type of college, major area of study and place of residence.

The college sample was designed to provide a representative national sample of all full-time college students, including students living off campus, married students, graduate students, and those attending universities, four-year colleges, and two-year junior colleges. A total of 1,116 students out of a total college population of 6 million full-time students was interviewed Sept. 25-Oct. 8.

Class in College A Major Factor

Analysis of the results by key student population groups shows that a student's class in college is an important factor in terms of presidential choices. Nixon holds a substantial lead over McGovern among underclassmen (freshmen and sophomores), while McGovern runs strong with juniors, seniors and particularly graduate students, as shown below:

	Class in College		
	McG.	Nixon	Other, Undec.
	%	%	%
Freshmen	40	56	4
Sophomores	45	52	3
Juniors	55	40	5
Seniors	52	45	3
Graduate students	68	31	1

A student's place of residence is also a key factor. Those who live on cam-

pus (dormitories, fraternities, sororities) prefer Nixon, but off-campus residents (apartments, rooming houses) are heavily on the McGovern side. Students who live at home with their parents, however, are strongly in the Nixon camp. The following table gives the details:

	Place of Residence		
	McG.	Nixon	Other, Undec.
	%	%	%
On Campus — dorms, fraternities, sororities	44	52	4
Off campus — apartments, rooming houses, etc.	56	39	5
Students who live at home	44	52	4

McGovern leads Nixon among students attending public and private colleges, but the President holds a commanding lead over his opponent in religious-affiliated institutions, as shown below:

	Type of College		
	McG.	Nixon	Other, Undec.
	%	%	%
Public	49	46	5
Private	54	42	4
Denominational*	26	74	*

* Limited sample size

A student's major area of study is also a big factor in terms of candidate preference. McGovern, for example, has

a decided advantage among students majoring in social science or the humanities, while Nixon does well among students in the physical sciences (math, science, engineering) and those enrolled in business and professional courses of study. This is shown below:

	Major Area of Study		
	McG.	Nixon	Other, Undec.
	%	%	%
Humanities/Social Sciences	58	47	5
Physical Sciences, Math, Engineering	44	51	5
Business & professional (pre-law, medicine)	42	56	2

Differences by sex are only slight, with Nixon leading marginally among women and McGovern with a slight edge among college men.

McGovern wins the overwhelming backing of black collegians (about 8 in 10), while Nixon holds a small lead among whites on campus.

More Democrats Than Republicans

The latest college findings showing a close race overall are also significant in that Democrats far outnumber Republicans on campus (35 per cent to 22 per cent, with 43 per cent who call themselves "independents").

Following is the question asked to gauge student voting preferences:

If the presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for — McGovern the Democrat, or Nixon, the Republican?

Norwegian Gallup Poll Accurate in Forecasting Vote in Norway, Denmark

PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 20 — Further evidence that scientifically conducted public opinion surveys on referendum issues can be as accurate as surveys on candidates is furnished by a comparison of the recent popular vote in Norway and Denmark on joining the Common Market. The surveys were taken by the Norwegian Gallup Institute in both countries.

The following table shows the comparisons:

	Norway Election Results		Gallup %
	%	%	
Yes (favor joining)	46.51	47.9	
No	53.49	52.1	
	100%	100%	
Denmark			
Yes	63.44	64/65	
No	36.56	35/36	
	100%	100%	

1972 Race Shattering Voting Patterns

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 18 — The 1972 presidential race will likely go down in history as one which shattered many traditional voting patterns, resulting from a record defection among Democratic voters.

In the latest nationwide Gallup trial heat, approximately one third of Democrats (32 per cent) currently prefer Nixon to McGovern. This defection rate exceeds that recorded in the previous five presidential elections.

In the 1968 election, 12 per cent of Democrats gave their vote to Nixon while 14 per cent voted for Wallace. The average rate of Democratic defection for the last five presidential elections is 22 per cent.

The record since the 1952 election shows the Republican vote as far more consistent in the Democratic vote. With the exception of 1964, when Barry Goldwater ran against Lyndon Johnson and the defection rate among Republicans was 29 per cent, the figure has never exceeded 14 per cent.

A comparison of the latest Gallup survey results, based on interviewing conducted September 29-October 9, with the vote by groups in the last five elections shows many shifts in voting preference by groups.

The results for the elections are based on surveys conducted immediately before and after the election each year. Since such information as age,

sex and occupation of voters is not recorded on election ballots, it is only through survey methods that such information can become part of the political record of presidential years.

* This year for the first time in two decades, a majority of Catholics are supporting a Republican candidate for President. Persons of this faith have not failed to give the Democratic ticket a majority of their vote during the last two decades.

The latest survey shows Catholics leaning to Nixon over McGovern by a vote of 52 to 42 per cent.

* Voters under the age of 30 back Nixon by a slight margin in the latest survey. This is in sharp contrast to the 1968 election when young voters voted for Humphrey over Nixon by a fairly wide margin. Younger voters have voted Democratic in all presidential elections over the last two decades, with the exception of 1956.

* Manual workers have voted heavily Democratic in elections since 1952, with the exception of 1956 when they divided their vote between Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson in the Eisenhower landslide. In the latest survey, manual workers vote heavily for Nixon, 55 to 40 per cent.

* Very little difference is found between the views of men and women in the latest survey, with both sexes leaning heavily toward Nixon. In presidential elections prior to 1964, women voted more Republican than did men, but in 1964 and 1968 they voted more Democratic than men.

* Current voter preferences differ little by region of the nation, although McGovern is slightly stronger in the Far West than in the other three major regions. The East at this point in the race is no more Democratic than other regions of the nation, in contrast to recent presidential elections.

* The voting group that has deviated least from its traditional voting behavior are blacks. In the latest survey eight in ten blacks back the Democratic candidate. With the exception of 1956, no fewer than eight in ten blacks have voted for the Democratic candidate in presidential elections.

The accompanying table shows the standings of each party's candidate in the last five elections, compared with the latest survey findings, based on early October interviewing.

Today's results are based upon personal interviews conducted in approxi-

mately 350 scientifically selected localities with 2,650 registered voters out of a total sample of 3,339 respondents. Interviewing was conducted September 29-October 9.

VOTE BY GROUPS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (Since 1952)

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		Latest Survey			
	Stev.	Ike	Stev.	Ike	JFK	Nixon	Lib	Gold.	H.H.H.	Nixon	Wallace	McG.	Nixon	Undec.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	44.6	55.4	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	43.0	43.4	13.6	34	60	6
Men	47	53	45	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16	35	60	5
Women	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12	33	59	8
White	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15	28	65	7
Non-white	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3	79	15	6
College	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	37	54	9	34	61	5
High School	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15	32	62	6
Grade School	52	48	50	50	55	45	66	34	52	33	15	39	52	9
Prof. & Bus.	36	64	32	68	42	58	54	46	34	56	10	29	66	5
White Collar	40	60	37	63	48	52	57	43	41	47	12	30	65	5
Manual	56	45	50	50	60	40	71	29	50	35	15	40	55	5
Under 30	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15	45	51	4
30-49 years	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15	34	62	4
50 years & older	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12	29	63	8
Protestant	37	63	37	63	38	62	55	45	35	49	16	28	67	5
Catholic	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8	42	52	6
Republicans	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5	3	95	2
Democrats	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14	61	32	7
Independents	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25	31	60	9
East	45	55	40	60	53	47	68	32	50	43	7	33	60	7
Midwest	42	58	41	59	48	52	61	39	44	47	9	33	60	7
South	51	49	49	51	51	49	52	48	31	36	33	34	61	5
West	42	58	43	57	49	51	60	40	44	49	7	37	58	5

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October 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Gallup Surveys -
John Davies Discussion

In a long conversation with John Davies of Gallup he made the following points:

- 1) There is some indication the President's vote among Youth is softening, but the sample is too small for a public release on that point;
- 2) Gallup will continue releasing information during the campaign regarding likelihood of voting which indicates the President does much better than McGovern among those voters who will vote;
- 3) Davies and those at the New York Times using the Yankelovich survey are in contact regarding comparative results;
- 4) Dr. Gallup, Sr. distrusts telephone polling. In 1968 Davies directed a political polling operation to run simultaneously with the field polls. Davies says, "I would look extremely carefully at what the telephone polls show". The result was that telephone polling showed the President 5% above the field poll results;
- 5) Davies disregards Sindlinger entirely, indicating that the Sindlinger attempt to pick up subjective trends is a lot of crap. Whether the comments are coming from Nixon or McGovern supporters and whether the vote is influenced is crucial and Sindlinger doesn't show this;
- 6) Although the "corruption" charge will "make some difference", the public believes "all politicians are corrupt", so it doesn't have much effect;

7) Dr. Gallup, Sr. believes that the questions on handling peace and prosperity lead trial heat changes. In 1968, the Democrats began improving in both of these categories before Humphrey began moving up in the trial heats;

8) In 1972 the only shift on handling peace and prosperity has been "away from the Democrats ... the Republicans for the first time have a pretty substantial lead on both of those questions of keeping the country out of a major war and keeping the pursestrings in sensible shape".

9) Davies believes it cannot be determined this early whether it would be helpful for a heavy or a light turnout. The question is whether the Democrats who now support the President might just sit out the election rather than vote for the President or McGovern;

10) The President's economic policies and McGovern's screwball plans are holding the Democrats for the President. The main issue for the President's Democrats is not national defense. For every Democrat Gallup interviewed who opposed busing or amnesty, there were 2 or 3 Democrats who couldn't stand the welfare plan and giveaway programs;

11) National defense is not a burning issue any more; and

12) In Davies' opinion, McGovern has to convince the people that the war is still going on at full steam in order to win. He also has to do something with his position and perception on the economy.

The full context of the conversation is attached.

CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES -- October 14, 1972

- G: It's Gordon, how are you?
- D: How are you? I missed you yesterday.
- G: Yeah, I half expected you to stop by but....
- D: Well, I had my daughter with me so I just refrained from calling and even suggesting it. She wasn't feeling so hot. I walked her all over town and the poor kid got a little bit homesick so I figured there was no sense pushing it.
- G: Any word on whether they are going to go with the results tomorrow?
- D: It's going to be Monday Gordon.
- G: Results on Monday, huh?
- D: Right... and the, let's see, the figure, I believe, now I didn't check into this, the figure I believe is exactly where I told you. 60 - 34
- G: 60-34? 6 I guess then for the balance?
- D: Right, and I remember region was within a point of each other -- 32, 33. I think the West was 34 for McGovern and the others were 33.
- G: Okay.
- D: ✓ Democratic defection was still at 32.
- G: Oh, that's interesting.
- D: So that hasn't changed at all. There is some indication that the Youth Vote might have thrown back but the samples size is so small that we are not going to make a big deal of it.
- G: Oh, I see.
- D: The figures show that McGovern now has 53% of the new voters 18-24 but the sample size is only something like 175. So any change of that type is very doubtful. I wouldn't even pay any attention to it.
- G: Is this the field interview of the 7th and 8th or is it that...
- D: This is that Chief Precinct Sample --- it was the 30th of Sept. to this past Monday.

G: Which would have been the 9th I guess - huh?

D: Right.

G: So it went rather a long time.

D: Yeah, 2600 and some interviews with registered voters out of a total sample of 3400.

G: But you'll just release the registered voters information right?

D: Right.

G: It's a secret ballot, right, to push the leaners down so far?'

D: We released a very interesting finding too, the... we divided the registered voters into likelihood of voting, how likelyhood, medium likelihood, very low likelihood and we found out that among the highest likelihood of voting the figure was 1 point greater for Nixon.

G: So it would be 61-34 or something?

D: Right -- whereas in the lower levels McGovern did very well-- didn't come close to the President but it came down to about a 13 - 14 point spread among the lowest likelihood of voting group. This is interesting but it is not terrible hopeful for the other side because traditionally these people just don't come out -- it doesn't matter what. And in our final analysis, when we determine the predicted turn-out, of course this low level will be excluded.

G: Right -- ARE you going to comment on the likelihood of voting in the thing or will the --

D: Not yet...

G: I see so the lead will just be...

D: No, we have to get up to date registration figures and registration in some states is still going on...

G: It closes this week as I recall

D: Yeah, so (1) we'll get the registration levels and (2) we'll be using our battery questions, we'll be determining the degree of interest in the election and simply what is turning out. As

you know, it' one thing to be registered to vote and it's another thing getting there.

G: That's very interesting -- Are you guys in the field now?

D: Let's see, I'm trying to calm down two little kids-- I can't even think--you know Gordon, I've just drawn a blank -- we've had so darn many surveys go out in the last week that I just... some of them have been commercial ones.

G: Well, you were talking about doing it weekly and I was just curious as to whether or not you were doing it this week-end or not.

D: If you just give me a minute, I think it will flash. Trying to look at dates here. There's interviewing going on now.

G: Currently?

D: I'm very, I'm almost positive -- I could let you know this afternoon.

G: I would appreciate that very much -- it would be interesting to know what the interview dates were and so forth. What else is of note?

D: I can't think of anything Gordon -- once again, I was away yesterday and what decisions were made yesterday -- but I'm pretty sure, I'm positive we'll be going with the break downs and the final figure, the quarter final figure, on--Monday -- the same date the Yankelovich comes out incidentally.

G: Any information on the Yankelovich?

D: No, Jack Rosenthal at the TIMES wouldn't give me any but he made one comment that was interesting to me -- he said that he asked me if ours were coming out Sunday or Monday, and I said Monday and he sounded a little bit perplexed about it because it was the same day and when I told him the interviewing days he said -- he sort of sighed with relief and said "Oh that's great-- at least we have a couple of dates on you anyway."

G: So they are more recent?

D: They are more recent and it would look to me on the basis of his comments that perhaps he has got a slightly different figure.

G: Of course, Yankelovich said up in Cambridge, Mass. the other day that the %'s were going to stay pretty close to what they are now.

D: Well, that could be anything within 5 points.

G: Which is kind of interesting -- did you get this....

D: What do you think of this Yankelovich material?

G: Well, it's interesting that he goes after all the big states...they have a disadvantage of doing it by telephone but alot of the stuff in the primaries was sure accurate.

D: Which, incidentally, telephone interviewing in an election situation is very, very dangerous.

G: Yeah, well --- he...

D: We tried it for four years ago, just to test our service against the telephone method and we found ourselves going way off base on telephone.

G: How -- are they alot higher?

D: The telephone figures showed alot higher for the President.

G: I see, more than the personal interview?

D: I mean for the Republican, I should say for the Republican.

G: I see.

D: Alot of that had to do with the fact that the telephone ownership tends to be a little higher among the more affluent, you know, the better educated, the more likely to vote and so on.

G: Did you guys arrive at any % to break you down like you know, 4% or higher on an average or any of that.

D: It was 5% higher we found.

G: 5% higher?

D: You can figure that Dr. Gallup goes with that figure and I have argued with him about that. I told him that there were kind of balancing factors involved in it - I blamed it more on the high no opinion than the reluctance of people to talk about it over the phone - rather than any Republican or otherwise biased situation.

G: Huh!

D: But, I can't win their argument -- but I stick with it. I did the experiment -- it took me three months to put it together and I was convinced that the figures that we were showing were accurate within the acceptable limits but that it was very difficult to break that undecided down. We couldn't do it the way we do it with the personal interview and the paper ballot.

G: Yeah, the guy actually looking him in the face and asking him to put something on the card.

D: Well, Gallup, Sr. has got a negative opinion of telephone interviewing to begin with. He doesn't approve of it, won't let us do it and I can't blame him in a sense, as long as you have a personal interview going for you, you might as well stick with it.... Sindlinger I just disregard entirely.

G: Really? Why is that?

D: Well, his opinion in 1968, if you look back, was rather shabby. And, I tend to think in a situation where the race is this clear cut at the present time, almost any pollster, you know ~~Strom~~ Davies organization, could go out and conduct (tape was changed)
I would look extremely carefully at what the telephone polls show.

G: Yeah, yeah... Well, on the Sindlinger stuff, he claims that he can pick up, by a massive telephone interview and he can eliminate some of the sample problems. Cause he is telephone interviewing constantly.

D: Yeah, but ask him sometime whether that means free substitution or not?

G: What do you mean?

D: Well, here is the thing -- let's say we had 500 telephone names in front of us and we spent an entire weekend calling them - I could guarantee that 25% of that sample you couldn't contact - 1) they wouldn't be home; 2) they would likely refuse, hang up on you and so on -- so what that means, he may be able to overcome the sample problems, but what he is doing is he is freely substituting which we don't allow.

G: Yeah, I see.

D: Although, that's I would guess the only thing you could do in a telephone situation -- however, we had other ways of doing it but his best bet would be of course to be to take what is obtained and don't even look at the figures - just take the demographics and then weight all the demographics to their proper levels.

G: Percentage within the population?

D: Right, and then show the figures. But, I have a feeling that

what he does is to stick with his sample with the free substitution. Now, I may be very wrong and I don't want to indict his methodology but.....

- G: He also claims that he can pick up sort of a feel -- like after McGovern's Vietnam speech, he thinks that alot of the people picked up the phrases "Surrender" and "Apology for North Vietnam and White Flag" and stuff which strikes us as questionable.
- D: Well, let's put it this way -- it strikes me as being alot of crap to be perfectly honest with you -- let's face it -- do the figures show it?
- G: Well, he doesn't have any figures on it -- it's just sort of like an open-ended question.
- D: Yeah, but I mean the overall figures don't show it -- in other words, he is not showing any great movement toward McGovern.
- G: No, No.
- D: So I would people may be picking it up, but that's not the important thing. The important thing in that sense is that is it being picked up and influencing anybody. I mean I don't care whether people would be saying Surrender or White Flag or whatever. But, if it's not translating into a different voter preference than the person might have had a week before, it doesn't mean two cents.
- G: That's right, right.
- D: I think that you can get hung up on those things, when you're asking open end questions you can always get that kind of reaction from people but it's important to find out whether those reactions were coming from people who were already supporting McGovern and if that's the case, they might just be strengthening their own views so I would stay away from it.
- G: Yeah, that's interesting.
- D: It's easy for you people to get hung up on this sort of thing because if he beats this home enough it becomes a worry factor for you and I... if he goes going to report data like that I'd like to see him report it by population groups.
- G: Yeah, well he doesn't do that.
- D: He should though, usually.
- G: What about, do you think McGovern is having any affect on this Corruption issue, your poll last week showed that Corruption

just wasn't the big thing. Do you think that this continued hammering on this is going to make any difference?

- D: It's got to make some difference sure -- there's no doubt about it. But to be perfectly honest with you, the way the voters look at it, from what we found, was that why should one side be making these charges against the other side when they are both just as guilty.
- G: Right, all politicians....
- D: All politicians are corrupt.(period) And the people know that and the people feel that and being one myself, I know that.
- G: Gordon laughing
- D: But the fact is that as long as that continues the whole of that feeling, you people are on safe ground. Right, wrong or indifferent.
- G: That's interesting because, boy, he sure is putting alot of his guns on that.
- D: I think if the question were asked and I wanted to ask it but we just didn't have space for it, you know, Do you think that Corruption is pretty widespread among both parties? In other words, do you see much of a difference between the two parties on the area of corruption. Would you say that one is cleaner than the other? The public would probably show or reveal that there is no difference at all that they are both corrupt.
- G: Yeah, I guess that is probably true, sort of the shame....
- D: It's a shame but we in public life have to live with that idea.
- G: Yeah... are you going to go on this Key Precinct thing with some of the issues -- similar to the issue handling release of last Friday? Who can handle issues best or.....
- D: Right... this should be coming up soon, right. I don't know whether we are actually going to be reporting it but the figures will be available. Dr. Gallup likes to use it for his own personal analysis and we use those as sort of voting barometers.
- G: Cross checks.
- D: Right -- for example. if their changing, if the question is Peace and Prosperity which I think are sort of meaningless questions by themselves--if they start showing a return to the Democrats whereas the overall McGovern figure doesn't

change, I think it indicates an early warning signal that very soon there may be a bigger movement toward McGovern. We found that in 1968 in fact.

G: Oh really - that the issues started to move?

D: In other words, we saw the shift to Humphrey before the figures began to shift and I know Gallup himself predicted in early October when the race was still 15 points separating the two and he predicted down to the wire contest.

G: Any indication of that this time -- is there any shift?

D: Well, yeah, there is a shift but it's the other direction.

G: Away from McGovern - huh?

D: Yeah, away from the Democrats, I mean.. the Republicans for the first time have a pretty substantial lead on both those questions of keeping the country out of a major war and keeping the purse-strings in sensible shape.

G: Right, so there is no indication of that issue shift leading a shift on McGovern, huh?

D: Right --- Yeah, we're doing -- I was with the American Psychiatric Asso. yesterday and we're considering doing a very interesting study -- it probably won't be done after the election we just can't get the machinery going in time but it's going to be sort of based on the Eagleton situation and how people regard public officials who have undergone such mental treatment- whether or not the public thinks that men in this condition can hold useful jobs -- or run for public office and so on. It's going to be very interesting.

G: It really would be fascinating.

D: But, I don't think the results would be available until Feb. or March. They work rather slow.

G: Anything else of interest coming up? Are you going to try any questions on the media or something -- there has been alot of discussion, you know, the American Independent Party just filed suit against CBS for non-coverage.

D: I don't think they are going to do anything but I wouldn't let it bother you.

G: No, we're not too concerned but....

D: I think that you will probably find that between now and Nov. 4 or so, we'll be concentrating strictly on just the hard data and breaks and so on.

G: Trial heats? and the whole but.

D: We have an interesting survey that we just completed among College students.

G: YEAH!

D: Well, we have the trail heat on there. I hadn't seen the data. It's 99 and 100 % commercial but we through a trial heat on there just to liven things up a bit.

G: Yeah, is this for NEWSWEEK?

D: No, no, this is ours.

G: OH!

D: So I don't know what is going to happen. I haven't seen any of the data - as a matter of fact, I haven't even looked at the question.

G: Of course that's the strongest segment in the society and he's going to all sorts of College Campuses.

D: Well, it's interesting to see whether there isn't general agreement among students and there probably won't be.

G: No....

D: And the region of the country ought to be very interesting in terms of the trail heats.

G: Sure, when do you think you'll have those.

D: I really have no idea - I just haven't followed it.

G: Yeah, that would be an interesting survey to note because that's been one the surprises in this election that McGovern didn't have the youth vote all sewed up.

D: One of the reasons I am reluctant to follow it is because I don't think that they did a very good job in terms of voter registration and likelihood of voting. It could represent a very distorted figure.

G: That's really a problem among college students because they all claim that they are registered.

D: And you really have no indication of what they are going to do.

G: Exactly.

D: Or where they are going to be in fact.

G: Yeah, have you people, other than this likelihood to vote, gone after the sort of apathy question. The turn out and the whole bit?

(Changing tape)

G: So there's less interest in this campaign than in 1968?

D: Yes, slightly less. But what will be reflected in the actual turnout is another thing.

G: Is it more of an attitude that they would just like to have the campaign get over? Or, more of a just, they....

D: People, more and more, I think it is indicated by the rise in the Independent figure, I think people are just becoming jaded with Politics in general and I think that is going to be a political fact of life ten years from now, but I don't think it is going to have any impact this year.

G: What if the percentage of vote will be affected in any way I mean if we are going to have a high or low turnout?

D: I really couldn't tell you but I would guess that the turnout should be somewhat the same as it was.

G: Really? You think 60 % of the American public is an ingrained voter?

D: I think so -- and I think if that happens that it's to your advantage.

G: I do too. Have you fellows picked up any data as to whether it's to our advantage to have a high turnout vs. a low turnout? It used to be that the Conservative candidate would have a low turnout because his voters would get out whereas a Liberal candidate should have a high turnout because he would bring out other various segments of the public. But there is some thought now that the President has such broad support that the higher the turnout the better.

D: Well, I think you have to look at it in terms of the record defection among the Democratic party these days. If these people follow through with what they are saying today and do in fact vote for President Nixon, then a higher turnout would likely help. But if these people decide that they are for Nixon today but they are just not going so far as to vote for him but not for McGovern either, they sit it out, then a low turnout would help you. But it's hard to say, you see we have

as it gets to the last week, then these 30% or so of Democrats away from McGovern will have to begin making a very basic decision.

G: Real hard choice?

D: It's easy to do it today -- as a matter of fact it's fashionable to do it today -- particularly in view of the Democrats for Nixon ads and so on and so forth -- they feel a great comfort.

G: Right - have you seen some of the Demos for Nixon ads?

D: Sure have.

G: What do you think of them?

D: Unbelievable - very good.

G: Really ? Which the defense and the welfare?

D: Well, I liked the Welfare, the chap sitting up on the --- it's just amazing.

G: Wait till you see the one we are going to run next week! Demos for Nixon ad. It's the one that talks about McGovern's credibility -- and it goes back and forth on the particular, the different stands he has taken over the course of the last two or three months.

D: (He laughs)

G: It's just amazing - because his statements themselves are so damaging to him.

D: Well that will be interesting and I'll be anxious to see it.

G: Any indication of what issue really holds those 32% democrats - is it National Defense -- is it

D: I would say economics.

G: You think it's the economic policy. So the Welfare commercial is probably better for holding them than the Defense?

D: Right -- because I think that a lot of these Democrats are rather Conservative people. They probably would have no problem going with Johnson if he were back. They are the manual workers the blue collar types the boys that are really turned off by these flamboyant Welfare types and so on.

G: You think it is really the economics? Because some people argue that instead it's amnesty and draft dodgers and some of these more visceral issues that holds them in line for the President.

Bussing really bothers them and that sort of thing.

D: Well those are regional situations and isolated incidents -- I think that you are going to find alot of Democrats who are down on McGovern because of Amnesty and in Dearborn and Pontiac you are going to find probably whole towns of Democrats who are against McGovern.

G: On the bussing thing-----

D: I mean generally it's probably more his economic programs that are turning people off.

G: Huh!

D: That's for every Democrat that we talked to who was upset about amnesty or bussing -- there were two or three that couldn't stand the welfare plan, the give-away programs and so on.

G: Really, huh! That's amazing. So we have to go after the Democratic group on what used to be the Republicans weakest issue that is the economy.

D: Right.

G: That's just amazing! That's showing up in your issues stuff?

D: Right, in other words the Democrats have always had the edge on being able to keep the nation running straight economically and probably without the McGovern Welfare Program the Democrats would still have that edge. They probably lost it simply on the fact that if McGovern got in it would -- the nation wouldn't be in very good shape economically at all.

G: Jesus! So the \$1000 a person and one out of two people on Welfare is what is really killing them?

D: I think.

G: Wow - that's just fascinating. We sort of thought that but we're always a little edgy when it comes to going after the economic issue because of the Historical background.

D: Well, I think that is shown in the fact that the Republicans now have the edge on keeping the Nation prosperous, and it would make little sense with all of the criticism about the economy - you would think that voters, particularly Democrats would say, hell we need a change.

G: Do you think we are getting blasted as hard as some people say on inflation and food prices. Some of our stuff has sown that inflation is a pretty serious problem.

- D: It's a serious problem but once again how does inflation or even fear of inflation or personal concern about their own pocket books - how does that relate, how does that go against a candidate when the other candidate advocates giving every thing to everybody. I think that that is the context in which it has to be looked at.
- G: So against another candidate, we would be hurting on inflation - but this guy
- D: I think that if McGovern had never said a thing about a \$1000 per person that the President would be in some kind of a bind on this economical thing.
- G: Most fascinating, hmmm.
- D: Everybody you talk to, everybody I talked to Gordon, who's against McGovern and who is a democrat and who has voted democratic mostly all his life brings up these points. You know, the fact that he can't believe some of McGovern's programs. They are just outrageous and I quote.
- G: Jesus -- that amazing because you see he spends most of his time trying to defend his Defense proposals. .
- D: Right which the surveys have found - most surveys have found - that this is not a burning issue anymore -
- G: National Defense-huh?
- D: Right. He still hammers on Vietnam when the President is being given credit for doing a very good job among Democrats and Republicans. I think that is shown in the Independent figure which is going so strong for Nixon.
- G: Sure -- what could McGovern get us on -- on anything?
If you were listing the issues, what would you do for the next
- D: 24 days?
- D: For him?
- G: Yeah - I mean he's pretty desperate.
- D: If I were his advisor I would tell him to buy another 1/2 of T.V.

D: I think that there are two things that could happen. I think he could change his economic policy and (2) I think the people could get rather upset about the bombing in Vietnam now. I think if he keeps batting home the fact that the war is not over, it's just now a different kind of war, and shows pictures of the bombing going on and people getting killed, etc., that this could help him a bit too. Right or wrong, he's got to be able to convince the American people that the war is still going on at full steam, whether it is or it isn't.

G: So he's got to go after the two basic issues. He's got to go after the Vietnam thing and the economy thing or he's screwed.

D: Right.

G: Well, that's fascinating. Well, it will be an interesting 24 days,

D: It sure will.

G: When do you think you'll be in Washington again?

D: Possibly next Thursday.

G: If you get a chance, why don't you stop in?

D: I sure will.

G: Good.

D: I'll be alone this time.

G: OK. Good, talk to you later.

NIXON-McGOVERN DEMOGRAPHICS

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

(7)

NIXON

McGOVERN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓ (F) Special
Gallup

October 14, 1972

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

Discussion with John Davies this morning disclosed that the Gallup trial heat figures will be released Monday, October 16 not Sunday, October 15 as planned. The final figures are 60-34-6, which is one point different than the 60-35-5 he had given me last Monday. The polling dates were September 30 to October 9. The Survey was the 3000 Key Precinct interview with 2600 registered voters.

Ed Harper called me asking for the Gallup figures for Ehrlichman for his Issues and Answers appearance. I did not indicate to Harper whether we had the results or not. I recommend against giving the information to Ehrlichman for release Sunday because it could destroy the confidential relationship with Gallup's John Davies.

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GS:car

14 m 42 ~

Sched

Field Interviews

→ Results Mon -

final figures:

x 60 - 34 - 6

Regions:

W/in

32 33

Far West 34 MeG

Other 33

Dem Defec - still at

32

some indie youth vote
vote swinging

53% of 18-24

175 - sample

size too small

Key Precinct

9/30 - 10/9

2600 regis voters

Resd vly m

highlyhood voting
among west hill
61 - 34 - 41

me G did better among
low likely vote
13% - bet.

→ Project team
→ Up to date Regis. levels
In field now:
Several out in last wks.

Breakdowns +

Yoen Delovich - Jack Rosenthal
at Times
- Men.
- signed, so Yank more
used.

Shift -

College Stus - 99.100%
Tul Heat: - ours →

The Gallup Poll

The Race Today: Nixon

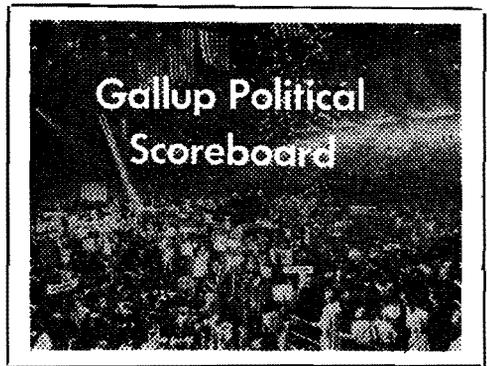
By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 15 — The latest nationwide trial heat shows Nixon winning the support of 60 per cent of registered voters to 34 per cent for McGovern, one per cent for other candidates and five per cent undecided.

While these findings, based on interviewing conducted September 29-October 9, represent virtually no change from the previous survey, conducted September 22-25, McGovern has registered a gain of four percentage points during the six weeks since the GOP convention in late August.

The President holds the lead with all major population groups, with the exception of blacks and new voters.



Democratic defection remains a serious obstacle for McGovern, with approximately one Democrat in three (32 per cent) currently defecting to Nixon. Voter preferences differ little by region

of the nation, although McGovern is slightly stronger in the Far West than in the other three major regions. The East at this point in the race is no more Democratic than other regions of the nation, in contrast to other presidential election years.

Importance of High Turnout for McGovern

The problem for the McGovern forces between now and election day will be to persuade as many of the registered Democrats as possible to get to the polls on election day.

The importance of turnout for McGovern is revealed in the following table which shows that among persons with a low likelihood of voting, the race is closer than among those with a high likelihood of voting. In the latter group, Nixon leads by more than a 2-to-1 margin.

The following table shows the results based on a 9-question voter turnout scale:

	Nixon %	McG. %	Other %	Un- dec. %
<i>All those of voting age</i>				
<i>By Likelihood of voting:</i>				
High	65	30	1	4
Medium	56	38	*	6
Low	51	38	1	10

The following table shows the vote by groups in the latest survey, based on the choices of registered voters:

	Nixon %	McG. %	Other %	Un- dec. %
NATIONAL ..	60	34	1	5

East
Midwest
South
West
Republicans ...
Democrats ...
Independents ...
18-24 years ...
25-29 years ...
30-49 years ...
50 & older ...
Professional & Business ...
Clerical and Sales
Manual workers
Labor union ...
Whites
Non-whites ...
College background ...
High school ...
Grade school ...
Men
Women
Protestants ...
Catholics
* Less than one
Today's results based on personal interviews with approximately 350 scientists

n 60%, McGovern 34%

33 * 7
 33 * 7
 34 I 4
 37 I 4
 3 * 2
 6I I 6
 3I I 8
 53 * 2
 33 2 4
 34 I 3
 29 I 7
 29 * 5
 30 2 3
 40 * 5
 39 I 6
 28 I 6
 79 I 5
 34 * 5
 32 I 5
 39 * 9
 35 I 4
 33 I 7
 28 I 4
 42 I 5
 ent

ties with 2,650 registered voters out of a total sample of 3,339 respondents. Interviewing was conducted September 29-October 9.

This question was asked:

If the presidential election were being held TODAY, which candidate would you vote for — McGovern, the Democrat, or Nixon, the Republican?

The trend in voter preference since the Democratic convention is revealed by the trial heat results reported below. The first measurement showed Nixon leading McGovern 56 to 37 per cent with 7 per cent undecided. McGovern lost strength following the Eagleton incident. The GOP convention gave Nixon a boost, while McGovern's strength remained about the same. In surveys since the GOP convention, however, McGovern has started to close the gap, as seen below:

— Nixon Versus McGovern Trend —

	Nixon	McG.	Other, Undec.
	%	%	%
Sept. 29-Oct. 9 ...	60	34	6
Sept. 22-25	61	33	6
Aug. 26-27	64	30	6
— GOP Convention —			
Aug. 5-12	57	31	12
— Eagleton Incident —			
July 14-17	56	37	7

based upon per-
 cted in approxi-
 y selected locali-

Widest Margin is on Vietnam

Nixon Leads McGovern on Top Issues

-- Vietnam, Inflation, and Crime

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 12 -- Although his stand on Vietnam was responsible in considerable measure for his success in the primaries this spring, Sen. George McGovern trails President Nixon by a wide margin as the candidate voters perceive as better able to handle the Vietnam situation. Nearly six in ten (58 per cent) in the latest survey give Nixon the advantage on this issue, compared to 26 per cent who select McGovern.

Even young voters, 18 to 29, back Nixon over McGovern on Vietnam. Despite the fact that McGovern does far better with this age group in test elections than he does with older voters.

In addition, persons in this age group have been particularly outspoken on the war and generated much of the momentum behind McGovern's campaign last spring.

The results reported today are based on a nationwide survey conducted September 22-25. What effect McGovern's televised address on Vietnam Tuesday evening will have on the relative standings of the two candidates on this issue will be determined in forthcoming surveys.

Nixon Also Has Advantage On Inflation and Crime

President Nixon also holds an advantage as the candidate voters believe is better able to handle the problem of inflation, as well as the problem of crime and lawlessness, although his margins over his rival are not so great as in the case of Vietnam.

The nation's top problems, as currently perceived by voters and reported earlier by the Gallup Poll, are the Vietnam war and the high cost of living (each cited by 27 per cent), followed by drug use and abuse (by 9 per cent) and crime and lawlessness (by 8 per cent).

Following is the question asked about Vietnam:

Which candidate — McGovern or Nixon — do you think can do a better job of dealing with the Vietnam situation?

Nixon is perceived as better able to handle this issue among virtually all major population groups. As many as a third of persons classifying themselves as Democrats say Nixon can do a better job, while more than eight in ten Democrats currently defecting to Nixon hold this opinion.

The following table shows the national results and those by politics and age:

Which Candidate Can Better Deal with Vietnam?

	Nixon %	McG. %	Undec. %
NATIONAL	58	26	16
Democrats	36	46	18
Republicans	90	3	7
Independents	60	21	19
Democratic defectors	85	3	12
18-29 years	52	33	15
30-49 years	59	25	16
50 & older	62	22	16

Nixon Lead Is Less On Inflation Issue

Nixon's lead on inflation is somewhat less — 47 per cent say Nixon can do a better job of dealing with the high cost of living, compared to 31 per cent who name McGovern. Although older voters give Nixon the advantage on this, opinion is evenly divided among young voters, under 30. Six in ten Democratic defectors pick Nixon on this issue.

Following is the question and results on key groups:

Which candidate — McGovern or Nixon — do you think can do a better job of dealing with inflation and the high cost of living?

Deal Better with Inflation?

	Nixon %	McG. %	Undec. %
NATIONAL	47	31	22
Democrats	23	55	22
Republicans	79	6	15
Independents	47	26	27
Democratic defectors	63	9	28
18-29 years	42	43	15
30-49 years	48	29	23
50 & older	49	26	25

Nixon also leads by a 50 to 26 per cent margin as better able to deal with the problem of crime and lawlessness. Roughly three Democrats in ten give Nixon the advantage on this issue, while seven in ten Democratic defectors do so. Youth are slightly on Nixon's side.

Here is the question and key findings:

Which candidate — McGovern or

Nixon — do you think can do a better job of dealing with the problem of crime and lawlessness?

Deal Better with Crime and Lawlessness?

	Nixon %	McG. %	Undec. %
NATIONAL	50	26	24
Democrats	27	47	26
Republicans	82	5	13
Independents	50	19	31
Democratic defectors	68	6	26
18-29 years	40	35	19
30-49 years	52	23	25
50 & older	51	23	26

The survey findings reported today are based on personal interviews with 1505 adults conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period September 22-25.

Quarter-Final Gallup Report

Within the next few days, the Gallup Poll will report the results of its quarter-final survey on the presidential race, based on in-person interviews with voters in 350 election precincts or districts in the nation.

CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES -- October 14, 1972

G: It's Gordon, how are you?

D: How are you? I missed you yesterday.

G: Yeah, I half expected you to stop by but....

D: Well, I had my daughter with me so I just refrained from calling and even suggesting it. She wasn't feeling so hot. I walked her all over town and the poor kid got a little bit homesick so I figured there was no sense pushing it.

G: Any word on whether they are going to go with the results tomorrow?

D: It's going to be Monday Gordon.

G: Results on Monday, huh?

D: Right... and the, let's see, the figure, I believe, now I didn't check into this, the figure I believe is exactly where I told you. 60 - 34

G: 60-34? 6 I guess then for the balance?

D: Right, and I remember region was within a point of each other -- 32, 33. I think the West was 34 for McGovern and the others were 33.

G: Okay.

D: Democratic defection was still at 32.

G: Oh, that's interesting.

D: So that hasn't changed at all. There is some indication that the Youth Vote might have thrown back but the sample size is so small that we are not going to make a big deal of it.

G: Oh, I see.

D: The figures show that McGovern now has 53% of the new voters 18-24 but the sample size is only something like 175. So any change of that type is very doubtful. I wouldn't even pay any attention to it.

G: Is this the field interview of the 7th and 8th or is it that...

D: This is that Chief Precinct Sample --- it was the 30th of Sept. to this past Monday.

- G: Which would have been the 9th I guess - huh?
- D: Right.
- G: So it went rather a long time.
- D: Yeah, 2600 and some interviews with registered voters out of a total sample of 3400.
- G: But you'll just release the registered voters information right?
- D: Right.
- G: It's a secret ballot, right, to push the leaners down so far?
- D: We released a very interesting finding too, the... we divided the registered voters into likelihood of voting, how likelyhood, medium likelyhood, very low likelyhood and we found out that among the highest likelyhood of voting the figure was 1 point greater for Nixon.
- G: So it would be 61-34 or something?
- D: Right -- whereas in the lower levels McGovern did very well-- didn't come close to the President but it came down to about a 13 - 14 point spread among the lowest likelyhood of voting group. This is interesting but it is not terrible hopeful for the other side because traditionally these people just don't come out -- it doesn't matter what. And in our final analysis, when we determine the predicted turn-out, of course this low level will be excluded.
- G: Right -- ARE you going to comment on the likelyhood of voting in the thing or will the --
- D: Not yet...
- G: I see so the lead will just be...
- D: No, we have to get up to date registration figures and registration in some states is still going on...
- G: It closes this week as I recall
- D: Yeah, so (1) we'll get the registration levels and (2) we'll be using our battery questions, we'll be determining the degree of interest in the election and simply what is turning out. As

you know, it' one thing to be registered to vote and it's another thing getting there.

G: That's very interesting -- Are you guys in the field now?

D: Let's see, I'm trying to calm down two little kids-- I can't even think--you know Gordon, I've just drawn a blank -- we've had so darn many surveys go out in the last week that I just... some of them have been commercial ones.

G: Well, you were talking about doing it weekly and I was just curious as to whether or not you were doing it this week-end or not.

D: If you just give me a minute, I think it will flash. Trying to look at dates here. There's interviewing going on now.

G: Currently?

D: I'm very, I'm almost positive -- I could let you know this afternoon.

G: I would appreciate that very much -- it would be interesting to know what the interview dates were and so forth. What else is of note?

D: I can't think of anything Gordon -- once again, I was away yesterday and what decisions were made yesterday -- but I'm pretty sure, I'm positive we'll be going with the break downs and the final figure, the quarter final figure, on--Monday -- the same date the Yankelovich comes out incidentally.

G: Any information on the Yankelovich?

D: No, Jack Rosenthal at the TIMES wouldn't give me any but he made one comment that was interesting to me -- he said that he asked me if ours were coming out Sunday or Monday, and I said Monday and he sounded a little but perplexed about it because it was the same day and when I told him the interviewing days he said -- he sort of sighed with relief and said "Oh that's great-- at least we have a couple of dates on you anyway."

G: So they are more recent?

D: They are more recent and it would look to me on the basis of his comments that perhaps he has got a slightly different figure.

G: Of course, Yankelovich said up in Cambridge, Mass. the other day that the %'s were going to stay pretty close to what they are now.

D: Well, that could be anything within 5 points.

G: Which is kind of interesting -- did you get this....

- D: What do you think of this Yankelovich material?
- G: Well, it's interesting that he goes after all the big states...they have a disadvantage of doing it by telephone but alot of the stuff in the primaries was sure accurate.
- D: Which, incidentally, telephone interviewing in an election situation is very, very dangerous.
- G: Yeah, well --- he...
- D: We tried it for four years ago, just to test our service against the telephone method and we found ourselves going way off base on telephone.
- G: How -- are they alot higher?
- D: The telephone figures showed alot higher for the President.
- G: I see, more than the personal interview?
- D: I mean for the Republican, I should say for the Republican.
- G: I see.
- D: Alot of that had to do with the fact that the telephone ownership tends to be a little higher among the more affluent, you know, the better educated, the more likely to vote and so on.
- G: Did you guys arrive at any % to break you down like you know, 4% or higher on an average or any of that.
- D: It was 5% higher we found.
- G: 5% higher?
- D: You can figure that Dr. Gallup goes with that figure and I have argued with him about that. I told him that there were kind of balancing factors involved in it - I blamed it more on the high no opinion than the reluctance of people to talk about it over the phone - rather than any Republican or otherwise biased situation.
- G: Huh!
- D: But, I can't win their argument -- but I stick with it. I did the experiment -- it took me three months to put it together and I was convinced that the figures that we were showing were accurate within the acceptable limits but that it was very difficult to break that undecided down. We couldn't do it the way we do it with the personal interview and the paper ballot.

- G: Yeah, the guy actually looking him in the face and asking him to put something on the card.
- D: Well, Gallup, Sr. has got a negative opinion of telephone interviewing to begin with. He doesn't approve of it, won't let us do it and I can't blame him in a sense, as long as you have a personal interview going for you, you might as well stick with it.... Sindlinger I just disregard entirely.
- G: Really? Why is that?
- D: Well, his opinion in 1968, if you look back, was rather chabby. And, I tend to think in a situation where the race is this clear cut at the present time, almost any pollster, you know Strong Davies organization, could go out and conduct (tape was changed) I would look extremely carefully at what the telephone polls show.
- G: Yeah, yeah... Well, on the Sindlinger stuff, he claims that he can pick up, by a massive telephone interview and he can eliminate some of the sample problems. Cause he is telephone interviewing constantly.
- D: Yeah, but ask him sometime whether that means free substitution or not?
- G: What do you mean?
- D: Well, here is the thing -- let's say we had 500 telephone names in front of us and we spent an entire weekend calling them - I could guarantee that 25% of that sample you couldn't contact - 1) they wouldn't be home; 2) they would likely refuse, hang up on you and so on -- so what that means, he may be able to overcome the sample problems, but what he is doing is he is freely substituting which we don't allow.
- G: Yeah, I see.
- D: Although, that's I would guess the only thing you could do in a telephone situation -- however, we had other ways of doing it but his best bet would be of course to be to take what is obtained and don't even look at the figures - just take the demographics and then weight all the demographics to their proper levels.
- G: Percentage within the population?
- D: Right, and then show the figures. But, I have a feeling that

what he does is to stick with his sample with the free substitution. Now, I may be very wrong and I don't want to indict his methodology but.....

G: He also claims that he can pick up sort of a feel -- like after McGovern's Vietnam speech, he thinks that alot of the people picked up the phrases "Surrender" and "Apology for North Vietnam and White Flag" and stuff which strikes us as questionable.

D: Well, let's put it this way -- it strikes me as being alot of crap to be perfectly honest with you -- let's face it -- do the figures show it?

G: Well, he doesn't have any figures on it -- it's just sort of like an open-ended question.

D: Yeah, but I mean the overall figures don't show it -- in other words, he is not showing any great movement toward McGovern.

G: No, No.

D: So I would people may be picking it up, but that's not the important thing. The important thing in that sense is that is it being picked up and influencing anybody. I mean I don't care whether people would be saying Surrender or White Flag or whatever. But, if it's not translating into a different voter preference than the person might have had a week before, it doesn't mean two cents.

G: That's right, right.

D: I think that you can get hung up on those things, when you're asking open end questions you can always get that kind of reaction from people but it's important to find out whether those reactions were coming from people who were already supporting McGovern and if that's the case, they might just be strengthening their own views so I would stay away from it.

G: Yeah, that's interesting.

D: It's easy for you people to get hung up on this sort of thing because if he beats this home enough it becomes a worry factor for you and I... if he goes going to report data like that I'd like to see him report it by population groups.

G: Yeah, well he doesn't do that.

D: He should though, usually.

G: What about, do you think McGovern is having any affect on this Corruption issue, your poll last week showed that Corruption

just wasn't the big thing. Do you think that this continued hammering on this is going to make any difference?

- D: It's got to make some difference sure -- there's no doubt about it. But to be perfectly honest with you, the way the voters look at it, from what we found, was that why should one side be making these charges against the other side when they are both just as guilty.
- G: Right, all politicians....
- D: All politicians are corrupt.(period) And the people know that and the people feel that and being one myself, I know that.
- G: Gordon laughing
- D: But the fact is that as long as that continues the whole of that feeling, you people are on safe ground. Right, wrong or indifferent.
- G: That's interesting because, boy, he sure is putting alot of his guns on that.
- D: I think if the question were asked and I wanted to ask it but we just didn't have space for it, you know, Do you think that Corruption is pretty widespread among both parties? In other words, do you see much of a difference between the two parties on the area of corruption. Would you say that one is cleaner than the other? The public would probably show or reveal that there is no difference at all that they are both corrupt.
- G: Yeah, I guess that is probably true, sort of the shame....
- D: It's a shame but we in public life have to live with that idea.
- G: Yeah... are you going to go on this Key Precinct thing with some of the issues -- similar to the issue handling release of last Friday? Who can handle issues best or.....
- D: Right... this should be coming up soon, right. I don't know whether we are actually going to be reporting it but the figures will be available. Dr. Gallup likes to use it for his own personal analysis and we use those as sort of voting barometers.
- G: Cross checks.
- D: Right -- for example. if their changing, if the question is Peace and Prosperity which I think are sort of meaningless questions by themselves--if they start showing a return to the Democrats whereas the overall McGovern figure doesn't

change, I think it indicates an early warning signal that very soon there may be a bigger movement toward McGovern. We found that in 1968 in fact.

G: Oh really - that the issues started to move?

D: In other words, we saw the shift to Humphrey before the figures began to shift and I know Gallup himself predicted in early October when the race was still 15 points separating the two and he predicted down to the wire contest.

G: Any indication of that this time -- is there any shift?

D: Well, yeah, there is a shift but it's the other direction.

G: Away from McGovern - huh?

D: Yeah, away from the Democrats, I mean.. the Republicans for the first time have a pretty substantial lead on both those questions of keeping the country out of a major war and keeping the purse-strings in sensible shape.

G: Right, so there is no indication of that issue shift leading a shift on McGovern, huh?

D: Right --- Yeah, we're doing -- I was with the American Psychiatric Asso. yesterday and we're considering doing a very interesting study -- it probably won't be done after the election we just can't get the machinery going in time but it's going to be sort of based on the Eagleton situation and how people regard public officials who have undergone such mental treatment- whether or not the public thinks that men in this condition can hold useful jobs -- or run for public office and so on. It's going to be very interesting.

G: It really would be fascinating.

D: But, I don't think the results would be available until Feb. or March. They work rather slow.

G: Anything else of interest coming up? Are you going to try any questions on the media or something -- there has been alot of discussion, you know, the American Independent Party just filed suit against CBS for non-coverage.

D: I don't think they are going to do anything but I wouldn't let it bother you.

G: No, we're not too concerned but....

D: I think that you will probably find that between now and Nov. 4 or so, we'll be concentrating strictly on just the hard data and breaks and so on.

G: Trial heats? and the whole but.

D: We have an interesting survey that we just completed among College students.

G: YEAH!

D: Well, we have the trail heat on there. I hadn't seen the data. It's 99 and 100 % commercial but we through a trial heat on there just to liven things up a bit.

G: Yeah, is this for NEWSWEEK?

D: No, no, this is ours.

G: OH!

D: So I don't know what is going to happen. I haven't seen any of the data - as a matter of fact, I haven't even looked at the question.

G: Of course that's the strongest segment in the society and he's going to all sorts of College Campuses.

D: Well, it's interesting to see whether there isn't general agreement among students and there probably won't be.

G: No....

D: And the region of the country ought to be very interesting in terms of the trail heats.

G: Sure, when do you think you'll have those.

D: I really have no idea - I just haven't followed it.

G: Yeah, that would be an interesting survey to note because that's been one the surprises in this election that McGovern didn't have the youth vote all sewed up.

D: One of the reasons I am reluctant to follow it is because I don't think that they did a very good job in terms of voter registration and likely hood of voting. It could represent a very distorted figure.

G: That's really a problem among college students because they all claim that they are registered.

D: And you really have no indication of what they are going to do.

G: Exactly.

D: Or where they are going to be in fact.

G: Yeah, have you people, other than this likelihood to vote, gone after the sort of apathy question. The turn out and the whole bit?

(Changing tape)

G: So there's less interest in this campaign than in 1968?

D: Yes, slightly less. But what will be reflected in the actual turnout is another thing.

G: Is it more of an attitude that they would just like to have the campaign get over? Or, more of a just, they....

D: People, more and more, I think it is indicated by the rise in the Independent figure, I think people are just becoming jaded with Politics in general and I think that is going to be a political fact of life ten years from now, but I don't think it is going to have any impact this year.

G: What if the percentage of vote will be affected in any way I mean if we are going to have a high or low turnout?

D: I really couldn't tell you but I would guess that the turnout should be somewhat the same as it was.

G: Really? You think 60 % of the American public is an ingrained voter?

D: I think so -- and I think if that happens that it's to your advantage.

G: I do too. Have you fellows picked up any data as to whether it's to our advantage to have a high turnout vs. a low turnout? It used to be that the Conservative candidate would have a low turnout because his voters would get out whereas a Liberal

D: candidate should have a high turnout because he would bring out other various segments of the public. But there is some thought now that the President has such broad support that the higher the turnout the better.

D: Well, I think you have to look at it in terms of the record defection among the Democratic party these days. If these people follow through with what they are saying today and do in fact vote for President Nixon, then a higher turnout would likely help. But if these people decide that they are for Nixon today but they are just not going so far as to vote for him but not for McGovern either, they sit it out, then a low turnout would help you. But it's hard to say, you see we have

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Gallup and Harris Surveys

Gallup.

Conflicting reports have been received from Bob Teeter and John Davies. As you know, Davies reports that Gallup is interviewing now (Oct 1-6) with the results to be reported October 15. Davies says Gallup will run trial heats weekly until November 7. Bob Teeter talked with Paul Perry at Gallup. Perry claims that Gallup will interview Oct 6-8 and then do two more trial heat surveys at 10-day intervals. Gallup may add a last minute survey if the margin begins to narrow. Perry would not tell Teeter about any scheduled release dates. Perry told Teeter that on Monday, October 9, Gallup would release a college study. I have been trying to reach John Davies to confirm this.

Harris

Colson was to receive the trial heats from Harris' mid-week survey this morning. If Colson has Harris' schedule for trial heats for the rest of the campaign, he has not told Dick Howard.

Davies H - 609-394-8736

H-60-33 10/10

✓
①
Gallup

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

S - Hello, John, how are you?

D - OK, how are you doing?

S - Good. Can you talk a minute?

D - Sure can.

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

D - Nothing changed yet.

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

D - So far. Right.

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

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

S - OK.

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

S - OK.

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

S - OK. Very good.

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

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

D - I haven't seen any demographics yet.

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

D - Not yet.

S - All right. Anything else of note?

D - I can't think of anything.

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

D - Right.

S - Do you have those figures by any chance?

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

S - OK. I'll do that.

D - I won't be here this afternoon.

S - OK. I'll call him.

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

S - I'll try it then.

D - Very fine.

S - Thanks a lot.

D - OK.

S - Bye, John.

NIXON-McGOVERN DEMOGRAPHICS

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

GALLUP POLL TRIAL HEATS

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
	Dewey Truman Wallace Thurmond	Eisenhower Stevenson	Eisenhower Stevenson	Nixon Kennedy	Goldwater Johnson	Nixon Humphrey Wallace	Nixon McGovern
JUN		55-35-10 (Kefauver)		48-46-6		35-40-16-9	53-37-10
JUL	48-36-5- -10	45-43-12	61-37-2	45-50-5	20-76-4	40-38-16-6	56-31- 7
AUG	48-37-4-2- 9	51-43- 6		50-44-6 47-47-6	29-65-6	45-29-18-8	57-31-12 64-30- 6
SEP	46-39-4-2- 9	51-42- 7	52-41-7	47-48-5 47-46-7	29-65-6	43-31-19-7 43-28-21-8 44-29-20-7	
OCT	46-40-4-2- 8 *50-44-4-2- 0	45-38-17	52-40-8	45-49-6 48-48-4 46-49-5	29-64-7	43-31-20-6 44-36-15-5 42-40-14-4	
NOV			59.5-40.5	48-49-3	32-61-7		
DEC							
Actual	(Rep) 45.1%	55.1%	57.4%	49.9%	38.5%	43.4%	
Vote	(Dem) 49.6	44.4	42.0	50.1	61.1	42.7	
	(Other) 5.3	.5	.6		.4	.4	
						(AIP) 13.5	

* Checks with John Davies at Gallup indicate this figure is unavailable.
Their records do not have the No Opinion for the second October poll in 1948.

GALLUP POLL TRIAL HEATS

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
	Dewey Truman Wallace Thurmond	Eisenhower Stevenson	Eisenhower Stevenson	Nixon Kennedy	Goldwater Johnson	Nixon Humphrey Wallace	Nixon McGovern
JAN				53-47			
FEB							49-34-11-6
MAR				50-50 47-47-5			
APR				47-53			46-31-15-8 45-32-16-7
MAY				46-54 49-51			48-39-12 53-34-13
JUN		55-35-10 (Kefauver)		? 51-49 48-46-6 45-50-5		35-40-16-9	53-37-10
JUL	48-36-5- -10	45-43-12	61-37-2	? 48-52 48-50-2	20-76-4	40-38-16-6	56-37-7
AUG	48-37-4-2- 9	51-43-6		53-47 50-44-6 50-50 47-47-6	29-65-6	45-29-18-8	57-31-12 64-30-6
SEP	46-39-4-2- 9	51-42-7	52-41-7	49-51 47-48-5 51-49 47-46-7	29-65-6 32-68-0	43-31-19-7 43-28-21-8 44-29-20-7	
OCT	<i>not done</i> 46-40-4-2- 8 50-44-4-2- 0* 49-44-4-2- 0	45-38-17	52-40-8 55-45-0	? 47-53 46-44-5 48-49-3	29-64-7	43-31-20-6 44-36-15-5 42-40-14-4	
NOV			59.5-40.5	49-51	32-61-7		
DEC				48-49-3			
Actual Vote	(Rep) 45.1% (Dem) 49.6 (Other) 5.3	55.1% 44.4 .5	57.4% 42.0 .6	49.9% 50.1	38.5% 61.1 .4	43.4% 42.7 .4	(AIP) 13.5

* Checks with John Davies at Gallup and indicate this figure is unavailable. Their records do not have the no opinion for the second October poll in 1948.

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1948

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Dewey</u>	<u>Truman</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Thurmond</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July 31	48	36	5		10
August 21	48	37	4	2	9
September 26	46	39	4	2	9
October 16	46	40	4	2	8
October 26	50	44	4	2	0
November 1	55.5	44.5			
Oct. 31	49.5	44.5	4	2	0

Actual Vote:

Republican	21,991,291	45.1%
Democrat	24,179,345	49.6%
Other	2,623,190	5.3%

6

GALLUP TRIAL HEATS

May 30-June 4	<u>Eisenhower</u> 55	<u>Kefauver</u> 35	<u>Undecided</u> 10. (no % available on Stevenson in this one)
July 25-30	<u>Eisenhower</u> 45	<u>Stevenson</u> 43	<u>Undecided</u> 12
August 23-28	51	43	6
September 6-11	51	42	7
September 28- October 3	45	38	17

Actual Votes and Percentage:

Republican:	33,936,234	55.1%
Democrat:	27,314,992	44.4%
Other:	299,692	.5%

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1956

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Eisenhower</u>	<u>Stevenson</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July (pre convention) ₂₇	61	37	2
September 8	52	41	7
October 9	52	40	8
October 26	55	45	
November 1	59.5	40.5	

Actual Vote:

Republican	21,991,291	35,590,472	57.4%
Democrat	24,179,345	26,022,752	43.0%
Other	2,623,190	413,684	.6%

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

	<u>1964</u>		
<u>DATE</u>	<u>LBJ</u>	<u>Goldwater</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
July 10	76	20	4
August 23	65	29	6
September 16	65	29	6
September 27	68	32	
October 18	64	29	7
November 2	61	32	7

Actual Vote:

Republican	27, 178, 188	38.5 %
Democrat	43, 129, 566	61.1 %
Other	336, 838	.4 %

DATE	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	No Opinion
June 29-July 3	35	40	16	9
July 19-21	40	38	16	6
August (pre Convention)	45	29	18	8
September 3-7	43	31	19	7
September 20-22	43	28	21	8
September 27-30	44	29	20	7
October 3-12	43	31	20	6
October 17	44	36	15	5
October 31	42	40	14	4

Actual Vote:

Republican	31,785,480	43.4%
Democrat	31,274,166	42.7%
Amer. Ind.	9,906,473	13.5%
Other	244,756	.4%

SEPTEMBER 3-7	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	No Opinion
NATIONAL	43	31	19	7
SEX				
Male	43	27	24	6
Female	44	34	14	8
RACE				
White	46	27	20	7
Non-white				
EDUCATION				
College	56	26	10	8
High School	41	29	22	8
Grade School	36	39	18	7
OCCUPATION				
Professional & Bus.	53	24	16	7
White Collar	51	29	13	7
Farmers	45	15	29	11
Manual Worker	35	35	22	8
AGE				
21-29	43	33	18	6
30-49	42	31	19	8
50-	45	30	19	6
RELIGION				
Protestant	47	25	22	6
Catholic	37	41	12	10
POLITICS				
Republican	89	3	7	1
Democrats	10	63	17	10
Independents	39	20	33	8
REGION				
East	45	35	8	12
Midwest	50	29	16	5
South	29	26	39	6
West	51	33	10	6

INCOME

\$10,000 +	55	25	14	6
\$7,000+	47	29	18	6
\$5,000-6,999	45	29	18	8
\$3-4,999	34	33	21	12
Under \$3,000	36	39	20	5

COMMUNITY SIZE

1 million	46	35	9	10
500,000 +.	44	36	11	9
50,000 - 499,999	43	37	13	7
2,500-49,999	44	27	24	5
Under 2,500	42	22	29	7

	Nixon	McGovern	No Opinion
July 30	56	37	7
July 14-17	56	37	7
June 16-19	53	37	10
May 26-29	53	34	11

GALLUP TRIAL HEATS

	Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	NotSure
April 28-May 5 (last one) 1972	46	30	16	8
March 24-7 , 1972	46	36	14	4
February, 1972	43	42	10	5
January 7-10, 1972	43	42	12	3
November 19-22, 1971	44	41	10	5
October 8-11	43	35	13	9
August 20-23, 1971	42	36	11	11
May 7 -10	39	41	12	8
March 12-14	43	39	12	6
January 9-10, 1971	44	44	9	3
December 5-6, 1970	44	43	9	4
June 19-22	43	36	13	8
January 30-Feb 2, 1970	47	35	13	5
September 12-15, 1969	49	34	11	6

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

1972

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
July 14 - 17	46	33	18	4
June 16 - 19	45	32	18	5
May 26 - 29	43	30	19	8
April 28 - May 1	43	35	15	7
February	49	34	11	6
November 1971	49	33	12	6

Gallup Trial Heats

	Nixon	HHH	Wallace	Not Sure
June 16-19 (last one)	47	28	18	7
May 26-29	43	26	22	9
April 28-May 1	45	34	15	6
March 24-7	46	35	15	4
February	46	39	10	5
November 1971	47	37	12	4

TRIAL HEATS -- Gallup

<u>DATE</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
April 15-16 (most recent)	46	36	12	6
February 1972	47	39	9	5
November 1971	44	41	10	5
August 1971	43	38	10	9
May 1971	42	41	10	7
March 1971	46	38	11	5
January 1971	47	38	9	6
December 1970	47	37	11	5
January 1970	49	35	11	5
September 1969	53	31	10	6
July 1969	52	36	9	3
April 1969	52	33	10	7

1972

HARRIS TRIAL HEATS

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
August, 1972	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
June	54	38	8
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
March	59	32	9

HARRIS SURVEY

	Nixon McGovern Not Sure (May 9-10, 1972) (1385 likely voters)			Nixon McGovern Not Sure (June 10-15, 1972) (1401 likely voters)			Nixon McGovern Not Sure (July 1-6, 1972) (1901 likely voters)			Nixon McGovern Not Sure (August 2-3, 1972) (1630 likely voters)		
Nationwide	48	41	11	54	38	8	55	35	10	57	34	9
East	42	47	11	51	42	7	53	37	10	58	30	9
Midwest	46	43	11	54	39	7	54	36	10	53	36	11
South	59	30	11	61	27	12	62	27	11	65	27	8
West	47	44	9	49	45	6	45	45	10	55	39	6
Deep South	57	34	9	-	-	-	62	27	11	68	26	6
Border States	62	24	14	-	-	-	60	23	17	62	29	9
City	38	49	13	44	49	7	45	45	10	50	42	8
Suburban	48	41	11	56	38	9	57	33	10	57	33	10
Towns	53	36	11	61	32	7	65	26	9	62	31	7
Rural	57	36	7	59	33	8	57	31	12	62	28	10
18-29	46	48	6	41	55	4	46	46	8	53	45	4
30-39	47	44	9	58	34	8	56	34	10	56	34	8
40-49	51	34	15	59	30	11	59	29	12	59	28	13
50-59	46	37	17	51	37	12	49	34	17	52	36	12
High school	47	41	12	56	35	9	54	35	11	58	31	11
College	50	43	7	53	42	5	58	36	6	53	37	5
Men	49	41	10	53	39	8	57	33	10	53	33	9
Women	47	42	11	54	38	8	52	37	11	56	35	9
Black	21	62	17	27	74	4	24	64	12	16	77	7
White	51	39	10	57	35	8	59	31	10	62	29	9
Under \$5,000	46	39	13	40	51	9	44	40	16	52	39	9
\$5,000-9,999	51	39	10	57	37	6	54	37	9	55	35	10
\$10,000-14,999	51	39	10	54	38	8	60	32	8	58	31	11
\$15,000+	49	43	8	64	29	7	65	29	6	65	30	5
Union Members	35	53	12	46	44	10	50	39	11	49	40	11
Republican	82	14	4	86	11	3	87	10	3	87	10	3
Democrat	29	59	12	36	55	9	36	53	11	38	53	9
Independent	43	42	15	54	37	9	54	34	12	60	25	15
Catholic	44	46	10	54	40	6	54	36	10	55	30	12
Protestant	38	33	9	66	25	9	66	25	9	68	24	8
Jewish	39	51	10	22	68	10	31	58	11	46	44	10

HARRIS SURVEYS

Nixon McGovern Demographic Study

May 9-10, 1972

June 10-15, 1972

July 1-6, 1972

August 2-3, 1972

..... PAGE 1

Nixon McGovern Trial Heats: 1972

August

July

June

May

April

March

.
..... PAGE 2

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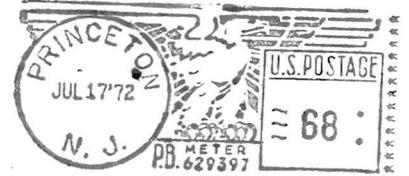
GALLUP POLL TRIAL HEATS

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
	Dewey Truman Wallace Thurmond	Eisenhower Stevenson	Eisenhower Stevenson	Nixon Kennedy	Goldwater Johnson	Nixon Humphrey Wallace	Nixon McGovern
JUN		55-35-10 (Kefauver)		48-46-6		35-40-16-9	53-37-10
JUL	48-36-5- -10	45-43-12	61-37-2	45-50-5	20-76-4	40-38-16-6	56-31- 7
AUG	48-37-4-2- 9	51-43- 6		50-44-6 47-47-6	29-65-6	45-29-18-8	57-31-12 64-30- 6
SEP	46-39-4-2- 9	51-42- 7	52-41-7	47-48-5 47-46-7	29-65-6	43-31-19-7 43-28-21-8 44-29-20-7	
OCT	46-40-4-2- 8 *50-44-4-2- 0	45-38-17	52-40-8	45-49-6 48-48-4 46-49-5	29-64-7	43-31-20-6 44-36-15-5 42-40-14-4	
NOV			59.5-40.5	48-49-3	32-61-7		
DEC							
Actual	(Rep) 45.1%	55.1%	57.4%	49.9%	38.5%	43.4%	
Vote	(Dem) 49.6	44.4	42.0	50.1	61.1	42.7	
	(Other) 5.3	.5	.6		.4	.4	
						(AIP) 13.5	

* Checks with John Davies at Gallup indicate this figure is unavailable.
 Their records do not have the No Opinion for the second October poll in 1948.

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SPECIAL DELIVERY

Watergate Incident Influencing Few Voters

'Corruption in Government' Not A Major Issue With U. S. Voters

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 7 — Although Sen. George McGovern is hitting hard on the theme that the Nixon administration is corrupt, only a small percentage of the electorate believe corruption in government to be one of the nation's top problems.

A focal point of McGovern's attack is the Watergate incident, which concerns the alleged "bugging" of the Democratic party's headquarters in Washington. The latest survey shows that while half of all voters (52 per cent) say they have heard or read about this incident, only about a third are able to play back the key facts of the situation.

Among those who have heard or read about the incident, eight in ten say that Watergate is *not* a strong reason for voting for McGovern. Even among Democrats in the survey, opinion is 3-to-1 on the side that the incident is not a strong reason for voting for the Democratic nominee.

Furthermore, as revealed by the survey, McGovern can expect to win back few Democratic defectors — that is, Democrats who currently prefer Nixon

—on the basis of the Watergate situation. Only one Democratic defector in twenty feels that the incident is a strong reason for voting for McGovern.

'Corruption' Was Big Issue in '52 Campaign

The issue of corruption at the present time appears to be of no great concern to voters, nor has it played a major role in recent presidential election campaigns. The last time this issue was in the forefront was in the 1952 presidential campaign.

At the beginning of the fifties there were repeated charges of corruption and bribery in Washington. In 1952 the anti-Truman forces took up the cry of "Korea, Communism and Corruption." A survey of GOP county chairmen in 1952 showed corruption in Washington regarded as the most effective argument the GOP could use against the Democrats.

War and Inflation Named Top Problems Today

When voters in the latest survey are asked to indicate what they believe to be the nation's top problem, equal proportions of voters (27 per cent) name the Vietnam war and the high cost of

living. Next most frequently named are international problems in general (by 10 per cent), drug use and abuse (by 9 per cent) and crime and lawlessness (by 8 per cent).

Far down the list is "corruption in government" (named by 3 per cent in the latest survey and by about equal proportions of Republicans and Democrats).

Little change is noted in the public's top priorities between the latest survey, conducted in late September, and the previous survey, conducted in July.

This question was asked to measure the public's top concerns:

What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

Following are the results of the latest audit:

- Top Problems Facing Nation?**
- Vietnam war 27%
 - *Inflation, high cost of living . 27
 - International
 - problems (gen.) 10
 - Drug use, abuse 9
 - Crime/lawlessness 8

- Pollution/the environment 4
- Poverty, welfare 3
- Corruption in government 3
- Lack of national unity/purpose 2
- Problems of youth 2
- Moral problems/lack of religion 2
- Miscellaneous/other responses 9
- No opinion 3

109%**

* Includes "unemployment," "high taxes."

** Total exceeds 100 per cent since some persons named more than one problem.

The survey findings reported today are based on personal interviews conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period September 22-25.

McGovern Winning Back Defectors - Makes Gains Among Catholics, Labor and Youth

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 5 — Sen. George McGovern's success in reducing President Nixon's lead nationally is accounted for in large measure by his success in winning back Democratic defectors. In the latest survey, 32 per cent of Democrats prefer Nixon, while in the earlier survey the figure was 40 per cent.

McGovern's headway in winning back Democratic defectors is reflected in his improved standing among two groups which are traditionally Democratic in their presidential preferences but have been in Nixon's camp since the Democratic Convention — Catholics and labor union voters.

In the latest survey, Nixon leads McGovern among Catholics by 52 to 40 per cent. In the previous survey (late August), Nixon's margin was considerably wider, 62 to 29 per cent.

An upturn in McGovern's fortunes has also been recorded among labor union families. In the latest survey members of labor union families give Nixon a 52 to 42 per cent lead over his rival, while in the previous survey, Nixon held a 61 to 30 per cent lead.

Also Winning Back Youth

Senator McGovern also appears to be winning back young voters, 18 to

29, who were solidly in his camp during the spring and early summer, but who began to slide away after the Eagleton disclosures and then went over to Nixon's side following the GOP convention.

The race today among this group of young voters is close, with 52 per cent favoring Nixon and 46 per cent McGovern. The previous survey showed Nixon with a 62 to 35 per cent lead.

Nixon Leads With All Groups But Two

Despite McGovern's gains in recent weeks, President Nixon continues to hold leads in all major regions of the nation and with all major groups in the population, with the exception of Blacks and Jews.

As reported Sunday, Nixon leads McGovern among registered voters nationwide by the vote of 61 to 33 per cent with one per cent for other candidates and five per cent undecided. The previous survey showed Nixon leading 64 to 30 per cent with six per cent for other candidates or undecided.

The following table shows the vote by groups in the latest survey, based on the choices of registered voters:

	Nixon	McG.	Other	Un- dec.
NATIONAL	61	33	1	5
Republicans	95	4	*	1
Democrats	32	61	1	6
Independents	67	25	2	6
Catholics	52	40	*	8
Protestants	70	26	1	3
Labor union families	52	42	*	6
18-29 years	52	46	—	2
30-49 years	65	29	1	5
50 & older	62	31	1	6
Whites	67	28	*	5
Non-whites	10	82	2	6
College background	61	35	1	3
High school	65	30	*	5
Grade school	51	41	1	7

Professional & Business	68	29	*	3
Clerical and Sales	62	32	2	4
Manual workers	57	35	1	7
Men	58	36	1	5
Women	64	30	1	5
South	70	24	1	5
Non-South	59	36	*	5

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Today's results are based upon personal interviews conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected communities with a total sample of 1,505 respondents, of whom 1,168 were registered. Interviewing was conducted September 22-25.

This question was asked:

If the presidential election were being held TODAY, which candidate would you vote for — McGovern, the Democrat, or Nixon, the Republican?

Gallup Says McGovern Is Closing Gap, Lags by 28 Points

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Gallup Poll has confirmed the evidence that Sen. George McGovern closed the gap on President Nixon during September but still trailed him by a very wide margin six weeks before Election Day.

The Gallup survey released today shows:

Nixon	61%
McGovern	33
Others	1
Undecided	5

The survey, taken Sept. 23-27, shows a 3-point gain for McGovern and a 3-point drop for Mr. Nixon from the previous Gallup Poll conducted Aug. 26-27.

It was in line with the latest Harris Survey, released last Monday, which also showed a 29-point spread between the candidates and a 6-point reduction in the gap during the previous month.

Harris credited Mr. Nixon with a 59-to-31 per cent lead, and Gallup said it was 61-to-33 per cent. But with both surveys using approximately 1,500 interviews, the difference in the figures was statistically insignificant.

McGovern has insisted that the polls are lagging behind a shift in the public mood, and released a survey by his own pollster, Patrick Caddell, early this week which put the President's margin at 22 per cent.

Whichever figure one accepts, the political distance McGovern has to travel to overhaul Mr. Nixon before election day is enormous.

A private pollster who examined the Harris and Gallup results said yesterday that they indicated the "impossible task" McGovern faces in the remaining five weeks of the campaign.

However, the Gallup organization noted that the race looks closer if the South—which seems to be securely in Mr. Nixon's column—is eliminated from the national totals.

Outside the South, the latest Gallup figures give Mr. Nixon

a 59-to-36 per cent lead—or a spread of 23 points, just about what Caddell measured.

Moreover, Alec Gallup, a spokesman for the polling organization, said in an interview yesterday that McGovern was gaining more rapidly in the non-southern states in September than the overall figures would indicate.

Gallup said he could not yet furnish an exact breakdown, but the survey showed Mr. Nixon had widened his lead

over McGovern in the South during September. That means the Nixon losses outside the South were greater than 6 per cent.

Gallup said that there was no historical precedent for a candidate overcoming a September deficit as great as McGovern appears to have.

In 1964, Barry Goldwater trailed Lyndon B. Johnson by 30 points in the late September Gallup Poll and was beaten by 22.8 per cent.

In 1968, Hubert H. Humphrey trailed Mr. Nixon by 15 points in the late September Gallup Poll. Humphrey managed to make up all but 1 point of that 15-point spread by election day, but his gains came from the undecided voters and backers of George Wallace, who is not a candidate this year.

Alec Gallup said that he and his colleagues felt "almost certain" that McGovern's September gains marked a definite

turnaround from the Democratic nominee's summer losses.

"I'd be willing to bet any amount of money the gap will continue to narrow," Gallup said, noting that there are still large numbers of self-identified Democrats who are not yet in the McGovern column.

"I don't think he'll take him (Mr. Nixon), but I think it will get close enough to give the Republicans a scare."

committee to Re-Elect the President indicated no sense of alarm over the poll.

"Whether you are looking at the Sindlinger Poll, showing the President's lead at 41 points, or the Gallup Poll at 28 points, you are looking at figures of historically unprecedented proportions," he said.

"Because they are unprecedented, we, of course, anticipate some downward drift."

states have shown the President's margin holding or, in some cases, increasing.

The Iowa Poll, published in Sunday's editions of the Des Moines Register-Tribune, shows Mr. Nixon widening his lead over McGovern by 11 points since August.

The September figures—in Iowa gave Mr. Nixon 64 per cent of the vote and McGovern, 29, with 1 per cent for other candidates and 6 per cent undecided.

A spokesman for the Com-

IMPORTANT

Note to Editors:

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

* * * * *

(Pick up after lead)

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

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

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

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

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

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

More Voters See McGovern Than Nixon With 'Credibility Gap'

By George Gallup

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

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

In the case of young voters, 18-20 years, on whom McGovern has pinned high hopes, Nixon wins by a sizable margin on this issue.

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

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

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

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

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

Following is the question asked and the results:

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

	Which Candidate More Sincere, Believable		
	Nixon	McGovern	No Opin.
NATIONAL ...	59	20	21
	%	%	%
Whites	62	17	21
Non-whites	24	52	24
Under 30	57	28	15
30-49 years	61	16	23
50 & over	57	19	24
Republicans	85	5	10
Democrats	38	37	25
Nixon backers ..	85	3	12
McGovern backers	6	65	29

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

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

The 'Charisma' Scale

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MR. NIXON'S LEAD AMONG 18-TO 24-YEAR-OLDS

The President was running ahead of McGovern at the end of August — with variations by education and region — and he widened his lead somewhat in a recheck in mid-September.

	Aug. 19-26	College		No College		East	Midwest	South	West	Sept. 14-17
Nixon	50	48	54	39	41	70	48			52
McGovern	46	48	42	54	54	29	48			43
Others	1	2	*	3	*	*	2			1
Undecided	3	2	3	4	4	*	2			4

*less than 1 per cent

Donald Van Dyke—Newsweek

E. Gallup

The Youth Vote: Nixon's Ahead

Remember the Youth Vote? Remember those 25 million newly enfranchised Americans aged 18 to 24 who, about a year ago, were being ballyhooed as the potential margin of victory in the 1972 election? No one really expects the youth vote to be decisive anymore—especially given the lopsided look of the Presidential race. But the battle to win young votes is on in earnest—and could produce surprising results.

Young voters are being recruited by radio and signed up by registrars on street corners and campuses and at pop concerts. Thousands of young people have enlisted in this or that political cause, millions have registered and plan to cast their first vote this November. But the eager harvesters of young votes are being confronted by two striking discoveries—and neither offers much consolation to George McGovern. One of them is that the 26th Amendment has produced no surge of youthful interest in this year's Presidential campaign: a great many young people, like their elders, are bored and disillusioned by the whole affair. And the second discovery is that so far the 18- to 24-year-olds, like their elders, prefer Richard Nixon.

These are two of the principal findings of a special poll commissioned by NEWSWEEK and conducted by The Gallup Organization. Based on a sample of 1,242 young people between the ages of 18 and 24, the survey discovered that Mr. Nixon leads Senator McGovern by 50 to 46 per cent of those likely to vote. And McGovern does not seem to be gaining on the President; if anything, the trend is the other way around. Part of the poll's original sample (the main interviews were held in late August) was rechecked in mid-September. The results: Mr. Nixon had widened his lead to 52 per cent vs. 43 per cent for McGovern. The shift itself was statistically insignificant—it fell within the survey's margin of error—but it was hardly good news for the McGovern campaign.

Worse yet for McGovern, who has been going all-out to register young vot-

ers, the NEWSWEEK poll indicates that the higher the youth turnout, the more votes Mr. Nixon can expect to receive. The survey holds other surprises as well. Despite the fact that McGovern has made character and credibility twin themes of his campaign, only a fraction of young voters see him as a man of principle and an almost equal number rate him as an "opportunist." While McGovern scores high on a number of supposed "youth issues"—drugs, amnesty, women's rights and abortion—these issues are relatively unimportant to young people when it comes to picking a President. Even Vietnam and the economy, which are their main concerns, seem to count for less than the general feeling of "confidence" they have in Mr. Nixon's leadership.

The poll results do offer some encouraging signs for McGovern. He is running well ahead of Mr. Nixon among young voters in two key areas of the country, the East and the Midwest (see chart). In the West, the two candidates are neck-and-neck. Only in the South does Mr. Nixon have an enormous lead—and McGovern strategists have virtually written off most of the South anyway. If, therefore, McGovern can strengthen and mobilize his youth support in the Northern states, his main targets for electoral votes, then the youth vote could still work in his favor over-all—for whatever that is worth. What's more, the poll shows McGovern maintaining a strong lead among Catholic youth (57 to 40 per cent) despite Mr. Nixon's efforts to attract the "ethnic" vote. Among Protestants, the President has an even stronger edge, however—63 to 34 per cent.

But the most disappointing phenomenon among young voters this year, from the candidates' point of view, is the degree of apathy. "From what I've seen, this is not the kind of year in which a young person can be politically inspired," says Penn Kemble of Frontlash, a union-supported registration drive. Vermont college coed Janice Parkington, 19, is a case in point. "People have been running

Stokell registering UCLA students:

for President ever since I can remember, saying the war is going to be over," she says. "It's been just words and more words. Who am I to judge . . . ?" According to the NEWSWEEK poll, 52 per cent of all the eligible new voters already have signed the rolls and another 17 per cent say they are certain they will do so. At the current level of interest, however, only 48 per cent of all the newly enfranchised young are likely to show up at the polls, according to the NEWSWEEK survey. This would be well below the average national turnout for all age groups of 60-65 per cent in Presidential elections.

Crimp? Perhaps most significant, young people are not as eager to pitch into the campaign as the McGovern forces had hoped. Compared with a similar NEWSWEEK poll in 1971, this year's survey indicates a decline of around 10 percentage points in the willingness of new voters to work for a candidate or contribute as little as \$5 to his cause. This, even more than a low youth vote turnout, could put a crimp in the McGovern campaign, which counts on energetic youngsters to compensate for a lack of big money. "McGovern is at the point where he no longer is an independent force in American politics," complains Barry Kellman of Evanston, Ill., who worked for McGovern in the primary but now thinks he may just go back to school. "He's a liberal force, but not a challenge to the system. I still support him . . . but he isn't going to take over the country." Both young people surveyed for the poll and those interviewed by NEWSWEEK correspondents around the country often mentioned the Eagleton affair as one of their



radio spots and political barbecues

main sources of disillusionment. "It started when McGovern wouldn't stand up for Eagleton. And when he changed his proposal for welfare," said a 23-year-old graduate student in Massachusetts who has deserted to Mr. Nixon. "He's trying to woo too many groups and watering down his policies."

As expected, the NEWSWEEK survey shows a sharp division between young voters who have had at least some college education and those who haven't. Perhaps most important is the fact that the college group, although outnumbered by non-college youth, appears to be almost twice as likely to show up at the polls in November. Among those with at least some college background McGovern and President Nixon are now tied with 48 per cent each; in the other group, the President pulls ahead 54 to 42.

Mr. Nixon's strong standing in the college crowd has been a source of elation to Nixon organizers, who feared that the sheer unfashionability of Nixon support would cost them votes on the campuses. Peer pressure, that was the hardest thing to break, but I think we've done it," says Gary Hunt, 23, executive director of Young Voters for the President in Los Angeles. "Before, it was not popular to be for the President; now it's easier."

Like their elders, the 18-to-24s named Vietnam and the economy as the two top issues in the campaign. In the NEWSWEEK survey, 39 per cent named Vietnam as the national problem most important to consider in selecting a President. In second place was the economy, cited by 26 per cent. But interestingly enough, Vietnam does not come across as a plus for George McGovern. Roughly similar

numbers of young people believe that the President (36 per cent) and McGovern (35 per cent) would be best at handling the war. Mr. Nixon has the edge on dealing with the high cost of living (24 per cent to 19 per cent), but McGovern is thought more competent (23 to 14 per cent) in the area of jobs and unemployment. McGovern also comes over as most capable of dealing with issues involving the "youth culture"—amnesty for draft evaders, the legalization of pot, abortion and women's rights.

But one of the poll's most provocative aspects is the light it sheds on young voters' attitudes on supposed youth issues. Far from being a unified, liberal bloc on these questions, the young turn out to be middle-roads. They divided almost evenly on the legalization of marijuana, took a dim view of amnesty (59 to 40) and women's lib. (Significantly, 54 per cent of the young women surveyed disagreed with women's lib, as opposed to only 44 per cent of the men.) A 56 per cent majority favored legalized abortion, including 51 per cent of the Catholics.

Confidence: Moreover, issues often do not seem to have much effect on young people's choice of a candidate. "I can't think just of myself," explains 18-year-old Maggie Smartt of Houston, whose personal convictions run to ending the war, legalizing marijuana and abortions (she happens to be eight months pregnant—and single), but who also plans to vote for the President. "I have to think about the majority," she says. "Most of those people won't need an abortion—and they're not going to sit around and smoke dope. I guess I'm willing to make the sacrifice." Whatever their particular stands on the issues, the majority of young voters (by 52 to 37 per cent) simply has more confidence in Richard Nixon than in George McGovern as the nation's leader. "I'm not crazy over Nixon," says a 22-year-old California business school graduate. "It's just that he's not done too bad."

Mr. Nixon's appeal is clearly not based on personality; less than 1 per cent of the young people in the NEWSWEEK sample mentioned that as a reason for supporting him. But the President does come across as clear-thinking and sincere, albeit too much of a politician (30 per cent fault him on that score). George McGovern has a similar, moderately favorable personal profile. He is seen as more exciting, forward-looking and fair—but also, on balance, as an extremist prone to snap judgments. The most fascinating contrast between the two men is on the matter of sticking to principles. Richard Nixon, who has executed dramatic—and politically advantageous—turnabouts in the field of foreign policy and domestic economics, is praised by 35 per cent of the young people as a "man who sticks to his principles." Only 18 per cent have similar praise for McGovern—and 16 per cent take exactly the opposite view, finding him "too much of an opportunist."

Trying to energize the youth vote is a project for both Presidential campaigns and a mix of non-partisan registration programs such as Frontlash, foundation-funded First Vote and the Youth Citizenship Fund, focused on minority groups. Besides the usual array of registration booths on college campuses, these groups are blitzing parks, movie houses, beaches, bars, rock concerts and supermarkets to get to non-college youth. In San Francisco, California Student Vote is distributing posters with a taunting challenge: "Maybe they gave you the right to vote because they thought you'd never use it. Prove them wrong!" In Chicago, activist Rev. Jesse Jackson has zeroed in on black youth with radio spots and high-school assembly programs that end with the flamboyant Jackson leading a march to the neighborhood registration center.

At the Washington headquarters of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, youth division director Ken Rietz, 31, would be satisfied to snare a

THE KEY ISSUES

Which problems facing the country are the most important in deciding whom to vote for. Which of the problems would be handled particularly well by Mr. Nixon or Senator McGovern?

PROBLEMS	Handled Particularly Well by:		
	Rated Most Important	NIXON	McGOVERN
Vietnam War	39	36	35
High Cost of Living	17	24	19
Jobs, Unemployment	11	14	23
Drug Use and Abuse	10	15	16
Crime and Lawlessness	9	17	12
Pollution and Environment	8	15	19
Taxes and Tax Reform	4	13	19
Defense Spending	3	10	19
School Busing	2	15	10
Favoritism for Special Interests	*	4	6
Draft Evaders and Deserters	*	7	10
Women's Rights	*	4	8

*less than 1 per cent

Donald Van Dusen/Newsweek

have 51 per cent of the youthful turnout. He has a \$1 million budget to work with. "The odds are in our favor now," says Rietz, who is an associate of Nixon media expert Harry Teleaven. "Nobody believed us fourteen months ago when we said that McGovern didn't have the youth vote locked up. People snickered and laughed while we went about building our organization." With 100 full-time staffers, Young Voters for the President has set up branch offices in 47 states and a separate college program in all 50. A speaker's bureau can call on the services of 1,500 under-30 spokesmen who emphasize Mr. Nixon's efforts to fight drug addiction and preserve the environment, his order barring draftees from service in Vietnam and his "peace" missions to Moscow and Peking.

But in some areas where McGovern clearly dominates the youth vote, the Nixon strategy is apparently to lie low and not stir up more interest or registration. "We will thoroughly canvass our state and pick up young voters the same way we pick up all other voters," says Greg Gallagher, 25, executive director of the entire Nixon effort in Massachusetts. "There are no special appeals or events for youth planned."

McGovern has no flashy national youth operation, but youthful workers provide much of the obvious muscle for his entire campaign—and the youth vote remains a prime goal. Expectations have been significantly scaled down since last year, however, when top strategist Fred Dutton laid claim to a 13 million edge among new voters. What registration director Anne Wexler wants now is merely 2 million more than the President gets. "Numbers," she says, "aren't nearly as important as where the votes are cast, and they'll be in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and California."

Volunteers: To gain that advantage, McGovern has budgeted \$1.2 million for all voter registration and another \$150,000 especially for organizing young people. By canvassing every college campus in the country, the McGovern forces also expect to sign up enough reinvigorated volunteers to put close to 50,000 canvassers into neighborhood streets every weekend this fall. "They've forgotten what Nixon has done for four years," says Greg Stokell, 20, of Los Angeles, a veteran McGovern worker. "All you have to do is show them the facts, things like Kent State and Agnew's charges about students being bums and his attacks on the press and effete intellectuals."

Off campus, McGovern organizers are appealing to blue-collar youth by leafletting factory gates and shopping centers. The stress is on bread-and-butter issues ("If you have a lifetime of work ahead of you," says one handbill, "this year you can do something to make it safe"), and the style is supposed to be sedate. "If I go up to East Texas with cut-offs, tennis shoes, a T shirt and no bra, it's tough to relate to those people," says Jeralyn Mardis, 22, who works for McGovern in

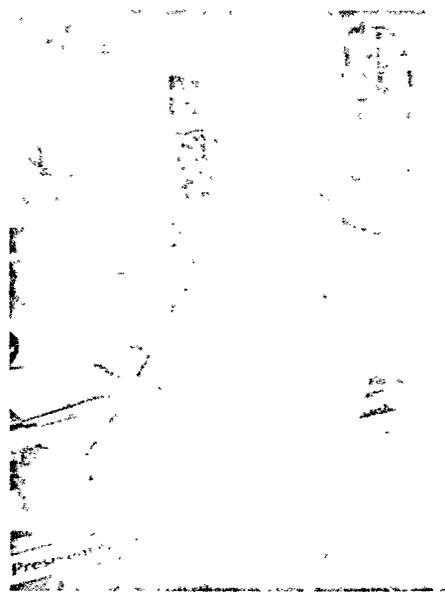


Peter Greenberg

Mardis: Sometimes a pantsuit

Houston. "So I have to make a few concessions, like putting on a nice pair of slacks or a pantsuit. After all, I'm expecting a few concessions from them also."

In a sense, the Jer Mardises and the thousands of other young people who have been drawn actively into the political process this year are more important than the over-all statistics of any poll or perhaps even the final figures on how young people actually vote in November. For despite the disillusionments among young voters this year, despite the disappointments to some in the currently projected turnout, young people have enlisted in this Presidential campaign in greater numbers than in any previous one. Young people have been incorporated into the nation's political process this year at nearly every level, and however the 1972 youth vote ultimately turns out, this will be remembered as the first year that it made itself felt.



Greg Gallagher

Gallagher: Sometimes a low profile

PRIMARIES:

Two-Time Loser

Allard K. Lowenstein, hero of the 1968 "Daisy Johnson" movement, came within 800 votes of victory against Brooklyn's hawkish, fourteen-term Rep John J. Rooney last June in a Democratic primary so fraught with irregularities at the polls that the court ordered a rerun (NEWSWEEK, Sept. 18). Elated, the energetic liberal said he was now sure to win the triumph that, he insisted, had been stolen from him the first time. It didn't work out that way. Lowenstein lost last week's rematch by 2,415 votes—and reluctantly threw in the towel. His name will still appear on the November ballot, as the nominee of the small Liberal Party. But the 43-year-old former congressman—he was gerrymandered out of another seat on Long Island in 1970—seemed stymied in his latest effort to find himself a new political foothold.

POLITICAL COMMERCIALS:

On the Spot

Every Presidential election year, the nation's TV screens become showcases for the salesmanship of the latter-day wizards of American politics—the creators of spot commercials for the candidates. Last week, the Republican and Democratic media men began displaying their expensive mini-dramas for 1972—and the outlines of the TV strategies concocted by the Nixon and the McGovern camps began to come clear.

The Nixon side opened its campaign by trotting out the President's own Democratic defector, former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally. In a blunt, five-minute commercial that was spotted in the prime-time afterglow of "Marcus Welby, M.D.," Connally lashed out at George McGovern's call for cuts in defense spending and urged Democrats to bar the South Dakotan from the ranks of such Presidential heroes as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

Connally's attack was part of a careful Republican strategy of brandishing the Texan's Democrats for Nixon organization as the cutting edge of the Nixon television campaign. Whenever there is an attack on McGovern to be made, according to present plans, the Democrats for Nixon will do it. Two even sharper anti-McGovern commercials are scheduled for airing over the next few weeks. One spot shows a poster of the South Dakota senator spinning in dizzy, 180-degree turns while a narrator ticks off contradictory McGovern stands on campaign issues. The second lays out squadrons of toy planes, ranks of toy soldiers and a fleet of toy warships on a tabletop. As the narrator recites Senator McGovern's proposal for cutting back on defense spending, an arm appears and knocks a

Newsweek

And from UPI:

"A national poll shows RN has increased his margin over McG by 11 points for a 62-23 lead, Time said. The mag says "if the election were held today, McG would join those WH aspirants buried under the country's historic landslides -- Clay, Parker, Cox, Landon, and of course, Goldwater."

Notes
 And Newsweek has a Gallup poll w/RN leading 52-43 among youth. It was 50-46 in Aug. College youth are 53-40 McG but non-college, 2 times the college population, favor RN by 49-34.... The Star's Spencer says there is plenty of evidence to show neither party can count on the youth vote, "but it seems remarkable that significant numbers of young people are angry and puzzled by the Dem party and McG." The anger and resentment boils down to the fact that the "little guy" feels he's stuck in a corner, doing a job he doesn't like and that he'll never be any different. The main dividing line among youth, stems from who went to college and who didn't. And it's the blue-collar youth who feels particularly put upon and is the one who wonders "who is on my side?" If VN is mentioned, they often attack McG's amnesty. If it's welfare, they talk about giving money away to those who won't work. If it's the economy, they respond that firms are only hiring blacks. Reporter says the answers are almost always negative and w/one theme: "The blue-collar workers feel they are the ones who will have to bear the burden in taxes, lost jobs, further loss of control over their own lives," and neither candidate has said anything thus far to make them feel important.

CBS w/6 minutes on active, unprecedented pursuit of youth vote by both sides. Arguing of RN-McG supporters over VN and respective chances of aspirants was focused. YVP's Rietz said young have come to understand what RN has done and thus the support. Anne Wexler followed by saying what a candidate means to voter will turn youth to McG Nov. 7. From the start, said reporter Kilpatrick, McG has relied on youth, seen a plurality as likely but polls show otherwise, especially among non-college but, he pointed, more registration has occurred among pro-McG collegians.

Vote registration group, Frontlash, financed by labor, says many blue collar youth are unenthusiastic. Clip of college student singing song to McG followed by "Nixon Now" song over clip of YVP hq. in DC where the highly organized crew says they want to surprise those expecting to see RN HQ staffed by little old ladies in tennies.

(F) Gallup

Geo Gol Sr. — Has personally written it. — L M call 3 XS

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The Gallup Poll

For Release: Monday, Sept. 25, 1972

Judging from Experience Since 1930's

Nixon's Wide Lead Over McGovern Could Vanish Before Election Day

By George Gallup

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

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

Humphrey Far Behind In Early September, '68

After the turmoil of the Democratic convention in 1968, Hubert Humphrey started out far behind Richard Nixon. In an early September survey, Nixon held a 4-to-3 lead over Humphrey. However, Humphrey made dramatic gains during October and early November, as documented by the Gallup Poll, and came within one percentage point of winning a plurality of the popular vote.

In early September of 1948, Thomas

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

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

The "return-to-the-fold" factor operates in many presidential campaigns — in fact, it has occurred in five of the eight presidential campaigns covered by the Gallup Poll since 1940 inclusive.

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

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

- 1968 (Humphrey):—gained 10 points
- 1964 (Goldwater):—gained 8 points
- 1960 (Nixon):—gained 1 point
- 1956 (Stevenson):—lost 2 points
- 1952 (Stevenson):—gained 3 points
- 1948 (Truman):—gained 9 points
- 1944 (Dewey):—lost 2 points
- 1940 (Willkie):—no change

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

'Soft Vote' of Defectors — Possible McGovern Gain?

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

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

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

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

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

Nixon could be described as "soft." It is among Democratic defectors who admit they might switch from Nixon, representing about one voter in seven among all registered voters (or 15 per cent of the electorate), where the "return-to-the-fold" factor would be most likely to operate.

Decades of Polling Show No 'Bandwagon' Movement

The evidence from many years of polling, not only in this country but abroad, negates the claims of a "bandwagon" movement. More often it is the candidate who is shown to be lagging behind who picks up strength during the course of an election.

There are two reasons for this. Typically, the underdog candidate is not so well identified in the public's mind as the candidate who is ahead in the polls, nor are his views so well known. The campaign gives him an opportunity to overcome this handicap.

Secondly, in the course of presenting his case scores of times, the underdog eventually discovers the arguments that arouse the greatest interest and enthusiasm.

Unforeseen Events Can Change Picture

Unforeseen events can sometimes turn victory into defeat. It will be recalled that within the last ten days of the

1956 campaign, two significant events took place: The Suez crisis and the Hungarian revolt. The public had more faith in Eisenhower's ability to handle these crisis situations than in Stevenson's. The result was that some two and one-half million voters switched to Eisenhower.

The important point, however, is that if the standings had been reversed, and Stevenson had been ahead before these events, he might well have been defeated.

Polls Do Not 'Predict'

Contrary to the view of many poll followers, election surveys are not intended to "predict" what will happen on election day. Polls can report sentiment only as of the time they are taken. They are a "snapshot" of opinion as of the time of interviewing. By providing several readings during the course of a campaign, polls can chart the trend of sentiment — they can reflect the public's views as of a given time.

This is the chief reason why reputable polls ask those interviewed how they would vote if the election were being held today. Persons who participate in these surveys can answer this without hesitation. But ask them how they think they will vote a month from now, and they cannot, in many cases, answer except to say: "It all depends."

Blacks Solidly in McGovern Camp Despite Shift Among Other Democratic Groups

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 21 — Although such traditionally Democratic voting blocs as Catholics and manual workers currently prefer President Nixon over Senator George McGovern in the presidential race, the nation's blacks remain solidly in the McGovern camp, by a ratio of more than 4-to-1.

In addition, while a steady decline in support for McGovern has been recorded up to this point among normally Democratic groups, only a slight loss in support for McGovern is found among the nation's blacks.

Actually, blacks preferred both Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Edward Kennedy over McGovern during the early primary period this spring. But McGovern subsequently picked up support among blacks and won their full allegiance when he became the party's standard bearer in July.

Current Black Vote Same as in Elections

The support blacks currently give McGovern nearly matches the average vote they have given Democratic candidates in national elections since 1952.

If the current undecided vote among blacks (8 per cent) is allocated equally

to both candidates, the current division is 79 per cent for McGovern and 21 per cent for Nixon.

The vote of blacks for the Democratic candidate in the last five elections averages 77 per cent. The following table shows the latest figure, based on recent surveys, compared to the vote of blacks in the previous five presidential elections:

Vote of Blacks For Democrat	
Latest surveys	79%
1968 election	85
1964	94
1960	68
1956	61
1952	79

Note: Vote of blacks in elections is based on Gallup survey data.

Differences by Groups Are Not Pronounced

The racial heat preferences among blacks differ little in terms of background characteristics.

For example, little difference in presidential preferences among blacks is found on the basis of age, sex, or occupation.

However, some slight differences do emerge. Those most inclined to favor McGovern are higher income blacks, those with a high school education or more, persons who live outside the South and those who live in the largest cities.

The following table shows the results by groups:

	McG.	Nixon	Undec.
	%	%	%
Blacks, nationwide	75	17	8
Under 40 years	76	14	10
40 and over	74	18	8
Men	72	18	10
Women	76	15	9
Manual workers	74	16	10
All other occup.	75	17	8
\$6,000 income & over	79	14	7
Under \$6,000	72	16	12
H.S. and more	80	10	10
Less than H.S.	70	21	9
Northern	78	14	8
Southern	71	20	9
1,000,000 Pop. & over	82	7	11
Under 1,000,000	71	21	8

The findings reported today are based on a sample of 404 registered blacks out of a total sample of 4260 registered voters, interviewed in person during the period July 14-August 28.

These questions were asked:

If the presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for — McGovern the Democrat, or Nixon, the Republican? If undecided: As of today, do you lean more to McGovern or to Nixon?

For Release Upon Receipt

INTEREST LAGGING IN 1972 CAMPAIGN

PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 20 — Voter interest in the forthcoming November elections is lagging as compared with interest at this same time in the 1968 presidential campaign.

In the latest survey (conducted in late August), half of all persons interviewed, 50 per cent, said they have given "a lot of thought to the coming elections" compared to 58 per cent at this time in the 1968 race, when Richard Nixon, Senator Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace were vying for the presidency.

Young adults, under 30, indicate somewhat less interest than do their elders, with 44 per cent saying they have given a lot of thought to the elections. However, this is a slightly better record than in 1968 when 38 per cent of young persons expressed a great deal of interest.

The question and results follow:

How much thought have you given to the coming November elections — quite a lot or only a little?

	1972	1968
Quite a lot	50%	58%
Some	17	16
Little	28	22
None	5	4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(F)
Gall



September 13, 1972

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

You asked whether the Gallup Organization would confirm or deny the rumor from the Leadership Meeting yesterday that a recent Gallup poll showed the President with a 40% lead.

H-
Sounds like
they have
a poll now.
L

Neither John Davies nor George Gallup, Jr. returned my calls. However, Tom Benham reached Alec Gallup late last night. Benham reports:

- 1) Alec Gallup would neither confirm nor deny the rumor of a 40% lead. Gallup did not indicate by hesitation or in any other way that he had such data in a long conversation with Benham;
- 2) Concerning the Gallup release last Sunday that "30% of the vote for either candidate can be considered 'soft'", Benham's discussion with Alec Gallup indicates that Gallup Surveys is just "taking out insurance by saying the race isn't decided". Alec Gallup told Benham that in all follow-up questions the support for the President remained constantly strong. Although he would not give Benham the exact questions, Gallup did ask "believability" and "scalometer" questions to test the President's support. "Every measure that they (Gallup) use confirms every other one."
- 3) Alec Gallup suspects that Harris has a recent trial heat that is "too Republican" and so doesn't want to report it.
- 4) When Banham asked Alec Gallup when they would do their next survey, he said "Well, maybe not for two weeks".

GALLUP

PRINCETON, N.J. (AP)--A SURVEY OF 221 YOUNG VOTERS SHOWS 61 PER CENT FAVORING PRESIDENT NIXON TO 33 PER CENT FOR SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST GALLUP POLL.

THE POLL--TAKEN IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AND RELEASED SUNDAY--SHOWED MARKEDLY DIFFERENT RESULTS FROM A SURVEY IN EARLY AUGUST THAT HAD MCGOVERN LEADING NIXON AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS UNDER 30 YEARS OLD BY 48 PER CENT TO 41 PER CENT.

THE MCGOVERN CAMPAIGN HAS COUNTED HEAVILY ON PICKING UP STRONG SUPPORT AMONG THE UNDER-30S, PARTICULARLY THE 18- TO 21-YEAR-OLDS VOTING FOR THE FIRST TIME.

MCGOVERN PROMPTLY TOLD A CROWD IN ESPANOLA, N.M., "I DON'T BELIEVE THE POLL."

THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION NOTED THAT THE SAMPLE OF 221 PERSONS WAS ABOUT ONE-SIXTH THE SIZE OF THE CUSTOMARY NATIONAL SAMPLE.

THE 221 WERE PART OF A GROUP OF 1,203 REGISTERED VOTERS OF ALL AGES WHO WERE ASKED: "IF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WERE BEING HELD TODAY, WHICH CANDIDATE WOULD YOU VOTE FOR--NIXON THE REPUBLICAN OR MCGOVERN THE DEMOCRAT?"

THE SURVEY FOUND SOME RESPONDENTS STILL UNDECIDED BUT REGISTERED OTHER NEW GAINS FOR THE INCUMBENT.

MANUAL WORKERS FAVORED NIXON OVER MCGOVERN 64 PER CENT TO 28 PER CENT. IN THE PREVIOUS GALLUP POLL, NIXON LED 49 TO 35.

NIXON LEADS 62 TO 29 PER CENT AMONG CATHOLICS, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST POLL. PREVIOUSLY HE LED 48 TO 42.

LABOR UNION MEMBERS CHOSE NIXON 61 TO 30, COMPARED WITH A 48 TO 42 PER CENT EDGE IN THE PREVIOUS POLL.

PD1139AED 11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AS
Date: 8/26/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

John Davies at Gallup had the attached comparison of the detailed demographics of the Nixon-McGovern trial heats prepared.

The April 21-24 was the first Nixon-McGovern trial heat according to John Davies.

The demographics for the July 14-17 poll are not available yet.

*let's get the
+ Aug poll*

Trial Heats

	June 16-19, 1972			May 26-29, 1972			April 28-May 1, 1972			April 21-24, 1972		
	Nix. %	McG. %	Und. %	Nix. %	McG. %	Und. %	Nix. %	McG. %	Und. %	Nix. %	McG. %	Und. %
National	54	37	9	53	34	11	49	39	12	53	34	13
Men	55	36	9	52	35	10	50	37	13	52	36	12
Women	52	37	11	53	33	14	48	41	11	53	34	13
White	56	34	10	56	31	13	52	36	12	56	33	11
Non-white	27	62	11	29	56	15	25	63	12	29	51	20
College	55	39	6	57	36	7	52	40	8	53	38	9
High School	54	36	10	54	32	14	49	39	12	53	36	11
Grade School	52	36	12	45	36	9	46	35	19	54	31	15
Prof. & Bus.	56	38	6	59	33	8	55	35	10	55	35	10
White Collar	57	39	4	54	32	14	48	17	5	47	43	10
Farmers	75	20	5	71	27	2	45	45	10	66	28	6
Manual	49	38	13	45	38	17	41	45	14	51	35	14
18-20 years	44	55	1	58	39	3	34	57	9	59	32	9
21-29 years	37	53	10	41	48	10	43	47	10	42	49	9
30-49 years	56	34	10	56	30	14	52	36	12	51	36	13
50 & over	57	32	11	53	31	16	51	35	14	58	30	12
Protestant	61	30	9	60	28	12	58	30	12	59	30	11
Catholic	46	32	12	46	41	13	38	50	12	47	41	12
Jewish	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Republican	87	7	6	85	7	8	84	9	7	91	8	1
Democrat	33	54	13	34	52	14	26	59	15	32	53	15
Independent	53	37	10	42	44	14	51	35	14	50	36	14
East	52	36	12	53	37	10	50	40	10	49	38	13
Midwest	46	44	10	50	34	16	45	43	12	50	40	10
South	64	27	9	56	30	14	50	35	15	63	24	10
West	52	40	8	54	33	13	53	36	11	49	39	12
\$15,000 & over	64	31	5	58	33	9	55	36	9	57	38	5
\$10,000-\$14,999	54	38	8	56	30	14	54	39	7	60	30	10
\$7,000-\$9,999	52	36	12	44	39	17	36	50	14	50	43	7
\$5,000-\$6,999	44	39	17	56	30	14	51	35	14	42	41	7
\$3,000-\$4,999	51	38	11	50	38	12	38	40	22	57	50	3
Under \$3,000	49	38	13	47	38	15	62	30	8	59	25	6
1,000,000 & over	40	52	8	47	41	12	43	44	13	45	40	15
500,000-999,999	59	32	9	52	35	13	39	48	13	45	44	11
50,000-499,999	53	37	10	50	38	12	47	40	13	50	38	12
2,500-49,999	55	35	10	56	29	15	57	33	12	60	32	8
Under 2,500, Rural	62	27	11	59	27	14	55	33	12	60	29	11

Davies

Camp Sched - 2 wks?

Catholics -

Demogs for last 3 Tnl Heats.

Next Tnl Heat

- Any popularity figures?

G → Davies 8/30 + 9/1 - unavail
back Tues 9/4

- Demogs - last polls.

Home #

G → CWC on Cath's fr / Gallup
Demerol fr / Ag pole +
ag 26-27 pole

CBS w/clip of McG statement, again followed by applause. Mills on CBS film said he had never talked w/McG about it. Asked if he would consider, Mills said, "I don't know whether he would offer it. If he did, I'd have to pass judgment on it at that time. There's a lot of water to go under the bridge before that happens." CBS said the Chrm. was cool to the idea but would weigh it if McG is elected, which Mills said he hopes will happen.... NBC noted the conservative said idea was "all news to him," but he'd consider.

Sevareid said US tax system is based on idea that collecting capital is the goal. Oil wells and tractors become depleted and depreciated but no such provision for people. Eric said a proposal of his to reverse human nature never got out of Ways and Means. McG plan's biggest danger now isn't credibility gap, but "attention gap." His program risks oblivion as it's one of a challenger to an incumbent in the WH and that's where the effort to push the other fellow's proposals to oblivion is a highly developed game played in back rooms of WH. Sevareid recalled how under Ike announcements of new programs were held up til his vacations and then released about every 9 holes to make it appear that Ike was working all the time.

Sevareid noted that Monday McG had said his books were open to GAO -- but RN announced draft's end and Post Office said no postage hike. Tuesday McG's tax proposal bumped heads w/RN's withdrawal statement and denial of auto price rise. The headlines and broadcasts will tell what happened at "attention gap," said Sevareid and it may be hard to say if proposals were pushed over the side or fell on their own. [Clearly neither happened on CBS where 8:00 McG lead was followed by :25 RZ w/drawals and 1:05 RN conference. Also 1:50 on car prices. But add 2:20 Sevareid to McG's 8:00 lead and one wonders who has the attention problem on CBS.]

"Lagging in the polls," says UPI, "McG made a bold attempt to remove 'radicalism' taint, modifying his controversial welfare plan and naming a fiscal conservative as 1st choice for Treas. Secy." And a UPI analysis says the new proposal bears more similarities than differences to RN's FAP.

MORE ON McG AND DEMS

At opening of LA Jewish Dems for RN, Jimmy Roosevelt said McG lacks the stature to hold the presidency. ... Chi Sun Times notes that Gallup officials say McG is losing more Dem votes than any other candidate has ever lost from his own party, and if McG gets back half of defectors, he'll cut RN's margin from 26 to 14%. It's noted RN is getting 58% of manual labor vote and 53% of Cath' vote; further, McG is winning only 15% of whites over 30.

Views of Nixon, McGovern Supporters Similar

Few Want Wage-Price Controls Removed, But Criticism of Application is Widespread

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 16 — Although widespread dissatisfaction with the application of wage-price controls continues to exist, only a very small proportion of the electorate favor removing them entirely.

Views on wage-price controls are of great political significance in the present election campaign. Every Gallup indicator shows the economy to be the number one domestic worry of the U.S. electorate, with "checking the high cost of living" named most frequently by voters as the domestic issue of most importance in determining how they would vote if the election were being held at this time.

The Democratic Party Platform calls for the elimination of "the unfair bureaucratic Nixon wage and price controls" while the Republican Party Platform calls for the removal of all controls "once the economic distortions . . . are removed."

Only 9 Per Cent Want Controls Removed

The current survey shows public opinion leaning heavily to the side that wage-price controls should be made "more strict" (45 per cent hold this view) rather than "less strict" (15 per

cent say this). Twenty-nine per cent think they are all right as they are now.

Nine per cent of persons in the survey favor taking off controls entirely, or roughly one-half of those who say controls should be made less strict.

While three persons in ten (29 per cent) express satisfaction with the way wage-price controls are presently being applied, twice as many (60 per cent) indicate dissatisfaction — that is, say either that controls are not strict enough or that they are too strict.

McGovern, Nixon Backers Hold Comparable Opinions

The views of McGovern and Nixon supporters are closely comparable, although those who favor McGovern are slightly more inclined to say controls should be less strict than are persons who back Nixon.

Forty-three per cent of McGovern supporters would like to see controls

made more strict, as opposed to 19 per cent who say less strict. Twenty-four per cent say they should be kept as they are now.

Approximately half, 49 per cent, of Nixon supporters think controls should be more strict, compared to 12 per cent who say less strict and 37 per cent who feel that they should be kept as they are at present.

Little difference in opinions is found on the basis of region of the country, income level or occupation group.

Of particular interest is the fact that labor union families hold views closely comparable to those of non-union families, although labor leaders have been sharply critical of President Nixon's economic policies.

Consistent with Earlier Findings

Today's survey results are consistent with earlier findings recorded in sur-

veys taken since President Nixon announced his new economic program on August 15 of last year.

These findings have shown the American people — both union and non-union — to be in favor of some form of controls, and sizable proportions willing to accept more rather than less strict controls.

President Nixon's August 15 announcement last year came at a time when public support for wage-price controls had reached its highest recorded point since the Korean war.

Details of Survey

A total of 1534 adults, 18 and older, were interviewed in person in this survey, which was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period August 24-27. Following is the question asked and the results:

Do you think wage-price controls should be made more strict, less strict, or kept about as they are now?

Wage-Price Controls Should Be . . .	
More strict	45%
Less strict	15
Kept as now	29
No opinion	11
100%	

The latest results show a slight decline from the previous survey in March in the proportion of people who say controls should be made "more strict." Following is the trend:

	More Strict	Less Strict	Same	About No Opin.
	%	%	%	%
LATEST	45	15	29	11
March . . .	53	13	25	9
January . .	48	11	29	12
November 38	15	37	10	

(F)
Gallup

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Gallup Survey - September 14

Attached -

Gallup's Survey, headlined "Five Million McGovern Backers Willing to Work in His Campaign", deserves some analysis. Based on the figures given in the release, about 30,000,000 voters support McGovern. The 15% who say they plan to work for McGovern total 4,500,000, which Gallup rounds off to "5 Million". The President has approximately 64,000,000 supporters. The 8% who plan to work for him totals 5,120,000. There is no mention of the 5 Million people who would work for the President in the Gallup release.

Discussion with Tom Benham about the release indicates that he believes Gallup wants to appear non-partisan, and so has reached for something positive to say about McGovern.

However, it would seem appropriate, without destroying any sources of information from Gallup, to have MacGregor call George Gallup, Sr. and complain about the obvious bias in this story. The attached memorandum for your signature to MacGregor will give him the back-up information. (Tn6A)

OK

Five Million McGovern Backers Willing to Work in His Campaign

By George Gallup
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Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 13 — If the McGovern forces can recruit only a small percentage of the people who today profess interest in working in the Democratic presidential campaign, a huge army of volunteers could be assembled.

According to the most recent Gallup survey, 15 per cent of registered voters who currently prefer McGovern over Nixon say they plan to work in the Democratic campaign. Translated into millions of people, this represents nearly five million potential volunteers.

The percentage planning to work in the Democratic campaign is twice the proportion interested in volunteering for the Republicans. Eight per cent of voters who today prefer Nixon over McGovern say they would be willing to take an active role in the campaign.

Persons interested in working for either the Democrats or Republicans have similar socio-economic characteristics — most are college-trained, upper income, work in business or the professions and live in the suburbs. Of those under 30 interested in working, McGovern and the Democrats hold a significant edge over Nixon and the GOP.

Since a difference exists between a person's interest in working in a campaign and the likelihood that he will actually do so, the survey question asked whether he planned to work in order to elicit a firmer expression of intention.

Vast Revenue Potential At Grass Roots Level

While presidential campaigns are traditionally financed by proceeds from fund raising dinners and major contributors, the current survey reveals that a staggering revenue potential currently exists at the grass roots level — both for the Republicans and the Democrats.

This finding could be particularly significant to the McGovern campaign organization, which has a large debt and has publicly appealed for one million Americans to donate a small sum of money to the campaign chest.

The survey finds that nearly half of the voters who today support Sen. McGovern (about 15 million voters) say they would donate \$5 to the Democratic coffers. A sizable, but smaller, proportion of those persons supporting President Nixon's bid for re-election, say they would be willing to donate \$5 to the GOP campaign fund.

For this survey, a total of 1534 adults 18 years of age and older were interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected locations across the nation Aug. 24-27. These questions were asked:

Do you, yourself, plan to do any work for a party or a candidate in this election campaign? For which party? If you were asked, would you contribute \$5 to the campaign fund of the political party you prefer?

The tables follow:

	Plan to Work In Campaign?	
	Yes %	No %
McGovern backers . . .	15	85
Nixon backers	8	92

	Donate \$5 to Campaign	
	Yes %	No %
McGovern backers	47	53
Nixon backers	44	56

Tab
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211
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

Below are some interesting calculations based on Thursday's Gallup release. (Attached)

1) Based on the August 24-27 Gallup poll (64-30-6), 64,000,000 people support the President. 8% of 64 million "Nixon Backers" is 5,120,000. The President has more than "Five Million Backers Willing to Work in His Campaign".

2) McGovern has 30 million backers. 15% is 4,500,000, who say they plan to work for McGovern.

Not only has Gallup failed to mention that the President has more than 5 million workers, but he exaggerates McGovern's 4.5 million. Even assuming Gallup must release some positive McGovern information to retain his non-partisan credibility, this release actually distorts the facts.

Without creating any large flap it might be worth a call from you to George Gallup to set the record straight on this.

HRH:GS:jb:LH:pm

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By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

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Up to Now a Key McGovern GroupSHIFT TO NIXON SEEN AMONG YOUNG
VOTERS SINCE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., September 7 -- The latest nationwide survey, conducted immediately following the GOP convention, shows a shift to President Nixon among young voters, under 30, who with non-whites have represented the core of Senator George McGovern's support.

In the previous survey, Nixon trailed McGovern 48 to 41 per cent among voters under 30. Now, Nixon not only has gained the lead but holds a wide 61-36 per cent margin over McGovern with this group.

The shift in preferences among young voters may be due, in part, to the President's determined efforts to attract youth, as evidenced by his acceptance speech at the GOP convention.

Youth Key Factor
In Change Nationally

Nixon's sizable gain among young voters has been one of the key factors in the President's gain nationwide. The latest national figures show Nixon leading McGovern, 64 to 30 per cent with six per cent undecided. The previous survey showed Nixon with a narrower margin, 57 to 31 per cent with 12 per cent undecided.

Until the latest survey, McGovern's losses since his high point in April, recorded in a survey taken immediately after his impressive victory in the Wisconsin primary, had been due largely to a decline in support among older voters, 30 and over, with a relatively small loss among those under 30. Young voters remained consistently in McGovern's ranks throughout this period with the exception of several occasions when their support was about evenly divided between Nixon and McGovern.

Nixon Leads With All
Groups But Blacks

Analysis of the latest survey findings shows Nixon holding a wide lead with all major population groups with the exception of non-whites where McGovern is currently preferred by a more than 5-to-1 ratio.

Solidly in the Nixon camp as of the present time are traditionally Democratic groups, such as manual workers, labor union members and Catholics, with sharp increases in support for Nixon being recorded among these groups since the previous survey.

The table below shows the latest presidential trial heat results by groups with the change:

Latest Nixon-McGovern
Trial Heats
(By key population groups)

Registered Voters
Under 30 years old

	Aug. 5-12 <u>Earlier</u> %	Aug. 25-28 <u>Latest</u> %
Nixon	41	61
McGovern	48	36
Undecided	11	3

Manual workers

Nixon	49	64
McGovern	35	28
Undecided	16	8

Catholics

Nixon	48	62
McGovern	42	29
Undecided	10	9

Labor union members

Nixon	52	61
McGovern	35	30
Undecided	13	9

The latest trial heat is based on in-person interviews with a total of 1203 registered voters out of a total sample of 1534 adults interviewed August 25-28 in more than 300 localities across the nation. This question was asked: *If the presidential election were being held TODAY, which candidate would you vote for -- Nixon, the Republican or McGovern, the Democrat? (If respondent is undecided, he is then asked: As of TODAY, do you lean more to Nixon or to McGovern?)*

ES

Race Seen Far
From Decided

A review of survey findings shows that the race is still far from decided:

1. Sharp movement has occurred in presidential preferences since the primaries this year. For example, in surveys bracketing the Wisconsin primary in April, McGovern gained five percentage points in just one week's time.

Similarly, in the period of six weeks since the Democratic convention, Nixon has increased his vote by eight points.

Sharp movement in the trial heats also occurred in the 1968 presidential campaign when Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who trailed Nixon by a wide margin at the end of September, erased this deficit in the final weeks of that campaign.

2. A residual base of support still remains for McGovern as revealed by the fact that, only five months ago, McGovern received only 10 percentage points less than Nixon, 49 to 39 per cent, in trial heat measurements.

3. Recent survey evidence shows that 30 per cent of the vote for either candidate can be considered "soft" -- that is, not solidly committed to the candidate currently preferred. Approximately three voters in ten currently favoring Nixon, for example, admit they might change their mind and vote for the other candidate.

Following is the trend in trial heats nationwide since April:

Nixon-McGovern Trial Heat Trend			
	Nixon %	McGovern %	Undecided %
April 21 - 24	53	34	13
April 28 - May 1	49	39	12
May 26 - 29	53	34	13
June 16 - 19	54	37	9
Democratic Convention			
July 14 - 17	56	37	7
Eagleton Disclosures			
August 3	57	32	11
August 5 - 12	57	31	12
GOP Convention			
August 25 - 28	64	30	6

*Have Beckton
get more on
this*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: August 30, 1972

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

John Davies at Gallup gave me the attached information which corresponds with Benham's records and our 1972 files.

Davies doubts there are pre-July trial heats but has asked Gallup research to check. Benham says pre-July Gallup trial heat polls were not released to the public, though they may have been conducted.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓ → (E) Gallup

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Gallup Release

John Davies has not returned my telephone calls for 10 days. Several pending questions regarding demographics, Catholics, campaign release schedules, etc., remain unanswered.

Tom Benham, however, has increased his informal contacts with Gallup. In a discussion with Alec Gallup today, Benham learned that the Gallup Organization will release figures in the near future which will show the President's dramatic increase in support among young voters. The Gallup poll of August 26-27 which showed the President over McGovern 64-30-6 will be used. The 18-29 year olds support the President over McGovern 58-36-6. This is within one point of the ORC August 29-31 poll which showed 18-29 year olds at 57-36-7.

IMPORTANT NOTE TO EDITORS

There will be no Gallup Poll report for this Thursday or Friday. In its place you will receive an extra report for publication next week.

The next Gallup Poll report will be sent you for release this Sunday, September 10.

-- THE GALLUP POLL

Nixon, 57% - McGovern, 31%

McGovern Loses Ground Against Nixon

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 19 — Richard Nixon holds a commanding 57 per cent lead over George McGovern in the latest Gallup survey, disclosed beginning the weekend that Senator Sargent Shriver named by McGovern as his choice to replace Thomas Eagleton as the Democrats' vice presidential candidate.

A special *Newsweek* survey conducted by the Gallup Organization after Eagleton's disclosure concerning his mental history, but before his resignation, shows similar results, with Nixon at 52 per cent to 32 per cent.

The poll shows a decline in McGovern's strength from a survey conducted immediately after the Democratic convention. At that time, Nixon had a 56 per cent to 37 per cent lead over his Democratic rival.

Notice to Newspapers:

As a bonus to subscribing newspapers, the results of a special Gallup conducted survey for "Newsweek" appear in this release — one day prior to publication in "Newsweek" magazine.

Continuing the trend in voter preference shown in this critical period reveals the significant effects of the Eagleton incident.

The decline in McGovern's strength came after Eagleton's announcement but before his resignation.

2. The increase in Nixon's lead is a result of a decline in preference for McGovern without an equivalent increase in Nixon's strength.

The table below shows the trial heat results from the three surveys:

	Nixon %	McGovern %	Other/ D.K. %
Before Eagleton			
Disclosures	56	37	7
After Eagleton			
Disclosure, but Before			
Resignation	57	32	11
After Eagleton			
Resignation, and Subsequent Selection of			
Shriver	57	31	12
Net change	+1	-6	+5

The table shows that the defecting McGovern supporters have not switched to Nixon but rather have moved into the "don't know" category. McGovern has registered a loss of six percentage points and the undecided vote has increased by five percentage points, while Nixon has recorded no gain over the three surveys. This basic pattern, which shows little or no movement in the Nixon standing, is evident among all major population groups.

The table below shows the trend in McGovern's vote for the three surveys among various groups in the population. McGovern suffered losses in virtually every population group during the Eagleton controversy — with the decline occurring after Eagleton's disclosure, but prior to his resignation.

	Post Conv. %	News- Week %	Aug. 4-6 %
NATIONAL	37	32	31

Men	34	29	30
Women	39	35	32
Under 30	49	43	48
30-49 years	35	25	28
50 and older	32	33	26
College	35	30	32
High school	35	33	29
Grade school	42	33	34
Protestant	33	24	23
Catholic	37	39	42
East	37	32	33
Midwest	35	36	33
South	36	25	29
West	41	38	28
Prof. and Bus.	35	29	28
Manual	39	33	35
Republicans	2	4	3
Democrats	61	52	55
Independents	30	25	25

In contrast to his decline among most key groups, McGovern has gained support among Catholics in the aftermath of the Eagleton affair. Although McGovern trailed Nixon among Catholics by 19 percentage points immediately following the Democratic convention, the gap has been narrowed to 6 percentage points in the most recent survey.

This partial return to traditional Democratic voting behavior among Catholics may be a reaction to the discussions concerning Eagleton's replacement after the disclosures about his mental health. At that time, great emphasis was placed on the desirability of selecting a Catholic running mate, such as Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie, Kevin White, or Sargent Shriver.

The most recent findings show Nixon leading McGovern in most major groups, including two that have traditionally voted Democratic in national elections — manual workers and Catholics — even though the President's lead among Catholics has declined over the past six weeks.

McGovern scores higher than Nixon in the most recent trial heat among blacks, and among persons under 30 years of age.

The table below shows the most recent trial heat results among key population groups.

	Mc- Govern %	No Opin. %
NATIONAL	57	12
Men	57	13
Women	57	11
Under 30	41	11
30-49 years	61	11
50 and older	60	14
College	59	9
High school	58	13
Grade school	50	16
Protestant	63	14
Catholic	48	10
East	51	16
Midwest	56	11
South	59	12
West	66	6
Prof. and Bus.	64	8
Manual	49	16
Republicans	92	5
Democrats	33	12
Independents	58	17

White	62	26	12
Non-white	15	71	16

\$15,000 & over	62	40	8
\$10,000-\$14,999	64	26	10
\$5,000-\$9,999	52	30	18
Under \$5,000	49	38	13

Comparison of the current trial heat figures with Gallup findings from five previous presidential elections shows that considering Nixon's commanding lead, nationwide, his support is relatively low among such traditionally Republican groups as professional and business people, the college educated, and persons in upper income households. Conversely, McGovern's trial heat performance among the better educated, more affluent segments of the population is relatively high.

Nixon owes his wide lead in the trial heats, nationwide, to major deficiencies among two traditionally Democratic strongholds — manual workers and to a lesser extent Catholics.

Details of Survey

The latest trial heat is based on in-person interviews with a total of 1039 registered voters out of a total sample of 1,495 adults interviewed August 5-12 in more than 300 localities across the nation. This question was asked:

If the presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for? McGovern, the Democrat or Nixon, the Republican?

Registration Among Blacks Up Sharply

Democrats Have Succeeded in Closing Registration Gap on Republicans

By George Gallup
Copyright, 1972,
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 12 — As the McGovern forces begin their major registration drive, Democrats can take encouragement from the fact that, for the first time since the mid-thirties when Gallup registration measurements were first undertaken, as high a percentage of Democrats as Republicans are registered to vote.

In the latest Gallup Poll registration audit, based on in-person interviews with 1,100 adults, 18 and older, during the months of June, July and August, 50 per cent of both Democrats and Republicans say they are registered to vote in the forthcoming presidential election.

A comparable study, conducted during the first three months of the current year, found Republicans leading in the registration battle, 80 per cent to 72 per cent. At approximately this time in the last presidential year, 1968, Republicans led Democrats 84 per cent to 76 per cent.

Significance For Democrats

The significance of the current figures for the Democrats lies in the fact that Republicans in the past have counted on higher registration among their ranks to help offset the GOP's minority status.

The task of Democratic strategists now will be to get as high a turnout

as possible among registered voters, since Democratic turnout in presidential elections has been traditionally lower than that of Republicans.

Drive Among Blacks Paying Dividends

An important factor in the success of the Democrats in their registration efforts since the beginning of the year is the sharp increase in registration among non-whites, particularly those living in the South. For the first time in polling history, as high a proportion of non-whites as whites say they are registered. While the national figure for all adults has increased only four points since the study earlier this year — from 71 per cent to 75 per cent — the figure for non-whites nationwide has increased 8 percentage points — from 66 per cent to 74 per cent. The most dramatic increase in registration is recorded among non-whites in the South.

Registration Also Up Among Young Adults

Registration has increased more sharply among young adults, under 30 years of age, than among adults 30 and older. This trend is also encouraging from McGovern's standpoint since the youth vote is considered to be the core vote by the McGovern forces and the major focus of their get-out-the-vote drive.

In the early 1972 survey data, a total of 47 per cent of young adults indicated they were registered to vote. In the latest survey, the percentage has risen to 54 per cent.

One factor in the increased registration among young people may be the Supreme Court ruling in March which overturned a Tennessee residence requirement. This ruling states that it is unconstitutional to deny anyone the vote simply because he has not resided in a place for a minimum length of time. This, combined with a number of state court rulings, could serve to enfranchise an additional estimated five to eight million young adults. One of the reasons why so few young citizens have registered and voted in the past has been their frequent change of residence.

Registration Deadlines

Twenty-seven states have final registration deadlines on or before October 9, including such key, populous states as New York, Texas, California, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Michigan. A substantial part of any registration effort must therefore be completed within the next two months.

The strategy of the McGovern forces likely will be to make an all-out effort in the next few weeks in those precincts which have voted heavily Democratic in previous national elections. Particular attention will likely be given those precincts with a high proportion of non-whites, Jews and lower-income whites, groups among whom McGovern scores best against Nixon in the most recent trial heats.

The following table shows the registration levels in groups which normally vote Democratic, as well as those which tend to lean toward the GOP in presidential elections. The early 1972 results (based on three surveys, Jan.-March, combined) are compared with the latest results (based on three surveys, June-August, combined):

	Per Cent Registered		Point Change
	Early 1972 %	Latest %	
NATIONAL	71	75	+4
Sex			
Men	72	76	+4
Women	70	74	+4
Educational Background			
College	76	80	+4
High school	69	73	+4
Grade school	70	75	+5
Age			
18-29 years	47	54	+7
30-49 years	75	80	+5
50 and over	84	85	+1
Political Affiliation			
Republicans	80	80	—
Democrats	72	80	+8
Independents	63	66	+3
Region			
East	75	78	+3
Midwest	74	76	+2
South	66	72	+6
West	67	72	+5

Religion			
Protestants	70	75	+5
Catholics	75	77	+2
Occupation			
Prof. & Business	77	80	+3
Clerical & Sales	72	77	+5
Skilled workers	66	68	+2
Unskilled workers	62	70	+8
Race			
Whites	71	75	+4
Non-whites	66	74	+8
Northern whites	75	76	+1
Southern whites	67	72	+5

This question was asked: *Is your name now recorded in the voter registration book in the election precinct or election district where you live?*

For the early 1972 results, a total of 4,567 persons, 18 years of age and older, were interviewed during the period January-March. For the latest results, a total of 4,149 persons, 18 and older, were interviewed during the period June-August. Gallup registration data based on the survey question above, have been found in previous years to be much the same as Census Bureau figures based on survey data obtained in their Current Population Survey. For example, Gallup survey data on the per cent registered among those of voting age in November, 1968, was within one percentage point of the Census estimate based on their regular sample surveys.

Many Favor Coalition Government

Only Minority of Public Would Insist on Government Run by South Vietnamese

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 2 — Only a minority of the American public would insist on a government run solely by representatives of the South Vietnamese people.

Six out of ten Americans say they would like to see either a coalition government take over in South Vietnam after U.S. troops are withdrawn, or feel that it would not make much difference what the composition of the government is in that country.

At the same time, however, a majority of the public feel that military aid should be continued to the South Vietnamese even after the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Gallup surveys have consistently shown the Vietnam war to be the number one concern of the American people with a large majority in favor of bringing all our troops home by the end of the year.

Type of Government Sought by Voters

Little difference is found among the various population groups on the question dealing with the composition of the government in South Vietnam, with McGovern supporters and Nixon sup-

porters holding closely comparable views.

Even among the under 30 group, who have been particularly vocal on the Vietnam issue, views closely parallel those for the nation as a whole.

Military Aid

Support for continued military aid to South Vietnam is also held by similar proportions in every population group, including persons under 30 years of age and among McGovern supporters.

Even among persons who favor a coalition government, the weight of opinion is 5-to-4 in favor of sending military aid after U.S. troops are withdrawn. Among those who want a government run solely by the South Vietnamese, opinion is 2-to-1 in favor of continuing to send military supplies.

The table below shows the relationship between views on the two questions:

	Should		No
	Continue Aid	Cut off Aid	
	%	%	Opin. %
Favor govt. run by S. Vietnamese	64	31	5
Favor coalition	52	41	7
Makes no difference	40	50	10

Here is the first question asked in the survey:

After U.S. forces leave Vietnam, what kind of government would you like to see take over there — 1) one run by the South Vietnamese, 2) one run by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, 3) a coalition government consisting of representatives of both sides — or doesn't it make much difference to you?

Here are the national results:

Coalition government	40%
Run by South Vietnamese	29
Doesn't make much difference	21
Run by Vietcong/ North Vietnamese	1
No opinion	9
	100%

Here is the next question asked: *After the withdrawal of U.S. troops, do you think the U.S. should continue to send military aid to South Vietnam, or do you think the U.S. should cut off all military aid?*

Should continue aid	51%
Should cut off	39
No opinion	10
	100%

The survey is based on in-person interviews with 1,465 adults, 18 and older, interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period August 4-5.

(Wire story sent Monday, August 28 -- for your file)

THE GALLUP POLL

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday, Aug. 30, 1972

Note to Editors: This timely report is being sent you by wire in order to significantly decrease the time between completion of interviewing and publishing of the results.

This takes the place of the release regularly scheduled for Thursday.

NIXON WIDENS LEAD OVER

McGOVERN IN LATEST TEST

By George Gallup

Copyright, 1972, Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 29 -- President Richard Nixon has increased an already-wide lead over his Democratic opponent Sen. George McGovern in the latest Gallup "trial heat," conducted over this last weekend. The results of this latest survey are Nixon 64%, McGovern 30%, Undecided 6%. In the previous survey, conducted August 5-12, the figures were Nixon 57%, McGovern 31%, Undecided 12%.

The Nixon lead over McGovern is virtually the same as the lead President Lyndon Johnson held over his GOP opponent, Barry Goldwater, at a comparable point in the 1964 campaign (65-29%, 6% Undecided). The latest survey was conducted Aug. 26 and 27, two days after the close of the Republican National Convention. Results are based on in-person interviews with 1148 registered voters out of a total sample of 1467 adults.

Following is the question asked: "If the presidential election were being held today, which candidate would you vote for -- McGovern, the Democrat or Nixon, the Republican?"

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DTG 301635Z/TT

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

TO: LARRY HIBBY

INFO:

RELEASED BY OR

TOR: 301648Z

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

URGENT

72 AUG 30 PM 12 53

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: August 30, 1972

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

John Davies at Gallup gave me the attached information which corresponds with Benham's records and our 1972 files.

Davies doubts there are pre-July trial heats but has asked Gallup research to check. Benham says pre-July Gallup trial heat polls were not released to the public, though they may have been conducted.

GALLUP POLL TRIAL HEATS

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
	Dewey Truman Wallace Thurmond	Eisenhower Stevenson	Eisenhower Stevenson	Nixon Kennedy	Goldwater Johnson	Nixon Humphrey Wallace	Nixon McGovern
JAN				53-47			
FEB							49-34-11- 6
MAR				50-50			
APR				47-53			46-31-15- 8 45-32-16- 7
MAY				46-54 49-51			49-39-12 53-34-13
JUN		55-35-10 (Kefauver)		51-49		35-40-16-9	53-37-10
JUL	48-36-5- -10	45-43-12	61-37-2	48-52	20-76-4	40-38-16-6	56-37- 7
AUG	48-37-4-2- 9	51-43- 6		53-47 50-50	29-65-6	45-29-18-8	57-31-12 64-30- 6
SEP	46-39-4-2- 9	51-42- 7	52-41-7	49-51 51-49	29-65-6 32-68-0	43-31-19-7 43-28-21-8 44-29-20-7	
OCT	46-40-4-2- 8 50-44-4-2- 0 49-44-4-2- 0	45-38-17	52-40-8 55-45-0	48-52 50-50 47-53	29-64-7	43-31-20-6 44-36-15-5 42-40-14-4	
NOV			59.5-40.5	49-51	32-61-7		
DEC							
Actual	(Rep) 45.1%	55.1%	57.4%	49.9%	38.5%	43.4%	
Vote	(Dem) 49.6	44.4	42.0	50.1	61.1	42.7	
	(Other) 5.3	.5	.6		.4	.4	
						(AIP) 13.5	

(F)
Gallup

G - The press report that we have indicates it's 60-34.

secy - Yes, that's right.

G - The President has 60?

secy - Yes, that's right.

G - And McGovern has 34?

secy - Uh, hmmm.

G - And that will be for release Thursday?

secy - Yes, I believe so.

G - OK. Is George Gallup, Jr. there?

secy - If you'll hold sir, I'll check in his office, OK?

G - Thank you.

secy- George has left for the day. I just called his secretary, but I got a copy of the wire, because I hadn't even seen it yet, and it says "The results of this latest survey is 64-30."

G - 64-30. What were the polling dates? Was it ...

S - It was conducted just this past weekend ...

G - August 26-27. 64-30. And that will be available Thursday, huh?

S - Yes, We'll release them tomorrow.

G - OK. Very good.

S - OK?

G - And John will be back tomorrow?

S - Yes, he should be.

G - Thank you very much.

S - Bye now.

PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JOHN DAVIES - August 29, 1972

D - What's your problem?

G - I'm curious, what - have we got the stuff back from the weekend yet?

D - Yes - 64-30.

G - 64-30 - that's great.

D - Isn't that incredible?

G - Jesus Christ - nobody's been that far ahead.

D - Well, that comes close to Johnson-Goldwater.

G - When's the release going to be?

D - Tomorrow.

G - Release tomorrow.

D - Sent by wire.

G - Fantastic. What will the lead be - do you know?

D - It's a wire to the newspapers - it's going to be sort of a bulletin - it's going to be just three paragraphs. Just the fact that the President has opened up an already wide lead -- blah, blah, blah - you know.

G - Polling dates were over the weekend - 26 and 27?

D - Right. Sent Wednesday. It's probably one of the fastest reporting dates we've ever had.

G - Yeah. We got a - you might be interested to know that we got a news report on it.

D - Is that right?

G - Yeah.

D - From whom? One of the wires?

G - I'm not sure who it was. But - a pretty reliable source told us out in San Clemente that that's what it would be.

D - Gordon, on a matter of campaign interest.

G - Yes?

D - Who's your - who's the guy that does your publicity and handling and goodies and all that sort of thing - you know. I'll tell you what my problem is.

G - Sure.

D - I got a guy here who is in the city of Trenton who is a very, very active Democrat, who is totally dissatisfied with McGovern. You know he is the former President of the City Council - he just resigned today as a matter of fact, and he is going to be extremely active in the campaign. There's been a lot of hullabaloo around here for the last two or three weeks about his resigning and so on, and everybody's sad to see him go and the whole business. And I thought that if one of you guys could see fit to get a little picture of the President and say "With appreciation for all the work you've done in the City of Trenton" signed, you know, Richard. This would go an awful long way in helping us on a local level. To sort of put the needle in this guy.

G - OK. Sure. What's the guy's name?

D - All right. David J. Schroth.

G - OK. At what - I'm trying to figure out a mechanism or justification or something. Should he be contacted by one of our guys like ...

D - No absolutely not. This should come from me. In other words, it should go to me and I can make the presentation to him.

D - You see, I run the organization, you don't know this, but I run the organization in Trenton - which puts myself in a very bad bind in my office.

G - I see. And then you would give it to him.

D - Right.

G - OK. Let me see what I can do.

D - OK.

G - And then I'll be back to you.

D - Don't even bother being back to me about it. If you can, it would be magnificent - if you can't, there's nothing else we can do.

G - Well, we can work out something else. I'm sure we can work out something.

D - You know what would be the greatest thing in the world is if somebody could - they're feting him tonight so to speak - so if someone could send a telegram just to, you know, from the White House Staff or something.

G - Are you going to be there?

D - Yes.

G - OK. Why don't you dictate it to me, that would be much easier.

D - OK. Something like - we've learned of your good works for the City of Trenton over the past 7 years as a member of the City Council and its President or as President of the City Council. He's going to become a Municipal Court Judge, you see, and something like "with all best wishes" -- whatever, you know, "with all best wishes for a very successful future in your new position"

D - or something like that. It doesn't even have - you know - anybody could send it - you could send it - if you'll just turn around and send it.

G - OK. Who should it go to so that it will be read and so forth.

D - Well, why don't you send it to me.

G - OK. Where will you be tonight.

D - c/o Lorenzo's Restaurant is on Clinton Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey.

That would save you the problem having to go through all the ...

G - Yeah. That also takes an awful long time as you can imagine to get ...

GALLUP POLL TRIAL HEATS

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FEB							49-34-11- 6
MAR				50-50			
APR				47-53			46-31-15- 8 45-32-16- 7
MAY				46-54 49-51			49-39-12 53-34-13
JUN		55-35-10 (Kefauver)		51-49		35-40-16-9	53-37-10
JUL	48-36-5- -10	45-43-12	61-37-2	48-52	20-76-4	40-38-16-6	56-37- 7
AUG	48-37-4-2- 9	51-43- 6		53-47 50-50	29-65-6	45-29-18-8	57-31-12 64-30- 6
SEP	46-39-4-2- 9	51-42- 7	52-41-7	49-51 51-49	29-65-6 32-68-0	43-31-19-7 43-28-21-8 44-29-20-7	
OCT	46-40-4-2- 8 50-44-4-2- 0 49-44-4-2- 0	45-38-17	52-40-8 55-45-0	48-52 50-50 47-53	29-64-7	43-31-20-6 44-36-15-5 42-40-14-4	
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DEC							
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Vote	(Dem) 49.6	44.4	42.0	50.1	61.1	42.7	
	(Other) 5.3	.5	.6		.4	.4	
						(AIP) 13.5	