

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>
12	19	12/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Rumsfeld Invitation to Harvard Republican Club. 1 pg.
12	19	9/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Typed note explaining Eddie Cox and his joining of the Harvard Republican Club. 1 pg.
12	19	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The draft questionnaires for the Committee Poll in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Florida that needs approval by December 1. 1 pg.
12	19	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Teeter to Haldeman. RE: Questionnaire for the first wave polling. 3 pgs.

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12	19	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	Suggested questions for the primary states poll which include: What are the most important problems facing the U.S. as a nation at this time, and overall do you think the U.S. is better off or worse than it was three years ago? 25 pgs.
12	19	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The meeting with Taft Schreiber, and the three key points to be discussed that will need subsequent approval. 1 pg.
12	19	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Alternate questions posed by Bob Teeter concerning the draft questionnaire for the Committee Poll in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Florida. 1 pg.
12	19	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The Gallup Trial Heat results from the poll conducted November 19-22. 1 pg.
12	19		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Handwritten notes concerning the Gallup Trial Heat results from November 19-22. 3 pgs.

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12	19	12/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The November 19-22 Gallup Poll, and the need for Presidential approval figures. 1 pg.
12	19	12/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The meeting between Magruder and Teeter to discuss the Campaign polling plan. 2 pgs.
12	19	11/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to Haldeman. RE: The campaign polling program, and the need to respond to several points. 2 pgs.
12	19	11/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert Teeter to the Attorney General. RE: The 1972 Campaign Polling, and the status report on the first wave of polls. 4 pgs.
12	19		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A statewide research study in Wisconsin that asks a variety of questions to gauge Nixon's popularity as President, and how that could influence his possible re-election in 1972. 10 pgs.

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12	19	12/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The need for a political meeting between the President and Secretary Connally. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 235

Folder: Strachan Chron-HRH only December 1972 [1971] Book I

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
118	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HALDEMAN re: "RUMSFELD INVITATION TO HARVARD REPUBLICAN CLUB" 12/10/71
119	Retain Open
120	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: "PRIMARY STATE POLL" 12/7/71
121	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: "TAFT SCHREIBER MEETING" 12/7/71
122	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: "PRIMARY STATE POLL" 12/7/71
123	Retain Open
124	Retain Open
125	Retain Open
126	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: "GALLUP TRIAL HEATS" 12/6/71
127	Retain Open
128	Retain Open
129	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: "CAMPAIGN POLLING" 12/2/71
130	Retain Open
131	Retain Open
132	Return Private/Political STRACHAN TO HRH re: "POLITICAL MEETINGS" 12/1/71
133	Retain Open
134	Retain Open
135	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy STRACHAN TO HRH re: "BUTZ NOMINATION" 12/1/71

Agency

1/1/72 #

Ju

3/7

Administratively Confidential

December 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Rumsfeld Invitation to
Harvard Republican Club

The attached action paper suggested that Don Rumsfeld be invited to the Harvard Republican Club in light of Ed Cox's membership.

Lee Huebner arranged for the invitation, which Counsellor Rumsfeld accepted for late November. Rumsfeld had to cancel the November appearance because of COLC responsibilities. The appearance has been re-scheduled for January.

You may want to cover this with the President because he may be asked when he sees his family over the holidays.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

~~GS has~~
or

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Primary State Poll

You have the draft questionnaire for the Committee poll in New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Florida that the Attorney General approved on December 1.

*Skated
approx 20%
72 questions*

Working with Bob Teeter has developed alternate questions based on polls conducted by Gallup, Harris, and ORC (questionnaire attached).

Teeter has also prepared a memorandum to you outlining various points of difference between his research approach and ORC's (attached).

Finally, you mentioned that you were going to discuss the Harris Domestic Issues poll with the Attorney General. It would be helpful if Bob Teeter but not Jeb Magruder, Bob Marik, or anyone else at the Committee received a copy of this Harris poll.

_____ Approve, send copies to the Attorney General and Bob Teeter

_____ Disapprove, only the Attorney General

_____ Other

GS:lm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 8-102
By AmPraise NARS, Date 1-18-80

December 6, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM ROBERT M. TEETER

R. Teeter

SUBJECT: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIRST WAVE POLLING

Attached is a revised questionnaire for use in the first wave surveys in the target and primary states. This questionnaire is being field tested currently and might have to be shortened as we cannot keep the respondent interested for more than 45-50 minutes.

We have used wherever I felt they were applicable the same questions that have been used in previous White House surveys. In other instances we have used questions for which my company (MOR) has trend data and in some instances we have developed new questions which I believe more adequately fulfill our current needs. We (MOR) have regular trend data collected over several years in approximately half of the states on our target list and as this project is basically a series of statewide polls, I think that maintaining these state trends will be more useful than comparing specific state data to past national data. Moreover, most of our data will be collected in a campaign context and used for campaign purposes which is somewhat different than most previous White House work.

I have indicated on the questionnaire the questions where there is existing data available either in the White House (WH) or at Market Opinion (MOR). There may be other areas where existing White House data is applicable but I do not, as yet, have that data.

Some of the methods we are using, that you should be aware of, are:

Generally, we have used more open-end questions and rating scales than were used on the ORC work I'm aware of. I think it is important that we are able to use these surveys to generate

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

campaign ideas as well as measure specific attitudes on candidates and issues. Therefore, we need to give the respondent more opportunity to tell us what he thinks rather than choose between a series of alternatives we give him.

?
Rather than use a probable vote filter at the beginning of the questionnaire, we are going to filter for registered voters or eligible voters if they are 17-24 years old. I simply don't think it is possible to determine who will and will not vote this far ahead of the election. Therefore, I think we should use a harder filter.

fact
We are using an actual sample ballot to measure the various head-to-head contests rather than an oral question. We have found this to be a better measurement technique particularly close to the election and as we will definitely want to use it late in the campaign I think we should begin using it now so as to keep our data comparable. The disadvantage is that we can't ask the undecided voter how they lean. We can, however, measure level of commitment of the decided voter by using an intensity scale.

We are using a standard set of demographics in all the studies which are comparable to the 1970 census classifications. In some cases we are getting finer breaks than we may want to use, on the theory that we can always collapse them but that we can't expand them if we don't have the data.

The data will be broken and analyzed according to behavioral groups rather than attitudinal groups. By that, I mean we will be classifying the voters into Republicans, ticket-splitters, and Democrats on the basis of their past voting behavior rather than into Republicans, Independents, and Democrats on the basis of self-identification, which is an attitudinal definition and is not as useful for campaign purposes. The behavioral definition allows us to segment the electorate into those who we are virtually sure will vote Republican, those who will vote Democratic, and those who almost always split their ticket and are therefore, available to either side in most elections.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

This method of segmenting the electorate only has about 50-70% overlap with the attitudinal definition as many voters who consider themselves Republicans or Democrats actually split their ticket in most elections and are, of course, the marginal Republicans and Democrats who we are most interested in along with the true independents.

Furthermore, a number of those people who say they are independents do, in fact, almost always vote for almost all of the candidates of one or the other party. This is, of course, a much smaller group than those who identify with a party but actually split their ticket.

We have done several studies comparing the self-identified independents with the behavioral ticket-splitters which have clearly shown them to be different types of voters -- demographically, in terms of media use habits, and in terms of their attitudes toward various issues.

12/6/71

TEETER'S SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR PRIMARY STATES POLL

1. Are you a registered voter here in Wisconsin?

OK (If yes, continue with interview beginning with question #2.

If no, ask: *Do a birth date.* "Are you 17 years old or older?" If no, terminate

1969 interview. If yes, ask: "Do you intend to register and vote

the 1972 Presidential election?
~~in the national elections next fall?"~~ If no, terminate interview.

If yes, continue with interview.)

2. MOR Question:

What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time?

ORC Question:

What, in your opinion, are some of the most important problems facing the country today? (Probe: any others?)

3. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States? Instructions: Circle just one above.

MOR

sketch 4. Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction today or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Roper

4A. Why do you feel that way? (Probe)

Teeter follow-up suggestion.

4B. Are there any other reasons?

Teeter follow-up suggestion.

*Shift about
2 years ago*
5. Overall do you think the United States as a nation is better off or worse off today than it was three or four years ago?

MOR

	<u>Better Off</u>	<u>Worse Off</u>	<u>About Same</u>	<u>D.N.</u>
--	-------------------	------------------	-------------------	-------------

5A. Why do you say that? (Probe)

MOR

Domestic Issue Poll Question: On the whole compared with five years ago, would you say that America has become a better place to live in, a worse place, or not much different from the way it was five years ago?

6. Now I am going to mention several problems and issues facing our country to you and using this scale card, I would like you to rate how important a problem each one is to you. (It is a five-point scale.)

MOR

General Unrest in the Country
Inflation
Racial Problems
Unemployment
Vietnam
Environment/Pollution
High Taxes
Crime
National Defense
Health Care
Bussing
Drugs
Education

(The order of this list is rotated.)

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?

ORC

ORC question: If disapprove: Why do you disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job? What specifically don't you like?

7A. Why do you say that?

Teeter follow-up suggestion.

~~Our question?~~

MOR question: What do you think are the most important accomplishments of the Nixon Administration? (Probe)

should

ORC question: In your opinion, what do you think are the two or three most important accomplishments of the Nixon Administration?

~~Our question?~~

MOR question: What do you think are the major failures of the Nixon Administration?

should

ORC question: What do you think are the two or three major failures of the Nixon Administration?

10. Do you favor increasing, decreasing or keeping Defense spending where it is now?

Increasing Decreasing Keeping D.N.

Some

Domestic Issues Poll

If increasing ask:

10A. Suppose an increase in Defense spending meant a decrease in spending on education, pollution control and health. Would you still want to increase Defense spending or not?

Yes No D.N.

Domestic Issues Poll

If decrease, ask:

10B. Suppose a decrease in Defense spending meant that the United States military capability would fall behind that of the Russians, would you still want to decrease Defense spending or not?

YesNoD.N.Domestic Issues Poll

11. Concerning our level of spending for national defense, do you think our goal should be to stay ahead of the Russians, stay even with the Russians, or that it doesn't matter if we fall slightly behind the Russians in terms of military capability?

Stay AheadStay EvenDoesn't MatterD.

New Question per AG request.

12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?

ApproveDisapproveD.N.

MOR

ORC

13. Do you feel that President Nixon's plan for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam is bringing our troops back too

fast, too slow, or just about right?

Too Fast Too Slow About Right D.N.

ORC

~~ORC~~

cut?

14. Once the United States has withdrawn all of its combat troops from Vietnam, do you think we should keep some troops there to help support the South Vietnamese, or should all of our troops be withdrawn?

Keep Some There All Troops Withdrawn D.N.

ORC suggestion, no trend.

15. Do you think that the United States should withdraw all of its troops regardless of whether or not the North Vietnamese release our prisoners of war or that we should keep some troops in Vietnam until all of our prisoners of war are released?

Withdraw Troops Keep Some D.N.

MOR suggestion, no trend.

Our question?

16. MOR question: As you probably know, we have had a continuing problem in unemployment recently. Do you think that business, government, labor, or the consumers are most responsible for this problem.

Business Government Labor Consumers D.N.

ORC question: If you had to fix the blame on some person or group of persons, who do you think is most responsible for the inflation we have had in recent years?

17. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?

Approve Disapprove D.N.

ORC

18. From what you know about President Nixon's new economic policies, do you think these policies treat everyone fairly, or do these policies favor some groups over others?

Treat All Fair Favor D.N.

ORC

If favor some groups over others, ask:

18A. What group or groups do you think are favored by President Nixon's new economic policies? (Ask this as an open-end question, but record responses using the precoded categories where possible. Specify other answers.)

Business Labor The Individual/ Consumer/ Average Person/ Other D.N.

ORC

19. As a result of the President's new economic policy, how do you feel about the future -- a lot more confident, somewhat more confident, no change, or less confident?

Lot More Conf. Somewhat No Change Less D.N.

Option:
Addendum
A

? ? Source

20. Do you believe that President Nixon's economic plans will help your personal situation, hurt it, or it won't make any difference?

Help Hurt No Difference D.N.

ORC

No

21. The newly established pay board has ~~set~~ a policy that wages should not be increased by more than 5-1/2% a year. Do you agree or disagree with this policy?

Agree Disagree Don't Know

New MOR

No

22. The newly established price commission has set a policy that prices on the average should not be increased by more than 2-1/2% a year. Do you agree or disagree with this policy?

Agree Disagree Don't Know

New MOR

23. Do you think that the treatment of blacks in our country has improved, gotten worse, or stayed about the same during the past three years?

Improved Gotten Worse Same D.N.

MOR

and opinion A.

24. Do you feel that in trying to achieve equal opportunities for all racial minority groups, we are going too fast, too slow, or at about the right speed?

Too Fast Too Slow About Right D.N.

Domestic Issues Poll

25. MOR Question: Are you in favor or not in favor of racially integrated schools?

In Favor Not in Favor D.N.

MOR

If in favor, ask:

25A. Are you in favor or not in favor of bussing public school students to help achieve racially integrated schools?

In Favor Not in Favor D.N.

ORC question: Do you favor or oppose the bussing of students on a compulsory basis to achieve racial integration of schools in all parts of the country?

26. If the Federal Courts ruled that your school district had to bus students to get racial balance in the schools, would you be willing to have your child bussed if the bus rides took the following length of time?

- | | <u>Willing</u> | <u>Not Willing</u> | <u>D.N.</u> |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| A 10 minute bus ride -- | | | |
| A 20 minute bus ride -- | | | |
| A 30 minute bus ride -- | | | |
| A 45 minute bus ride -- | | | |

MOR

Cut?

27. Are you in favor or not in favor of the proposed Constitutional Amendment which would prohibit any bussing of school children to achieve racially integrated public schools?

In Favor Not in Favor D.N.

MOR

Cut 28

28. If it became necessary for the government to raise more money to finance public education, would you prefer it be done through increasing the property taxes, increasing the federal income taxes, increasing local income taxes, increasing of sales taxes, increasing state income taxes?

Property Federal Local Sales State

Cut 29

29. A proposal has been made to shift the major cost of public education from the property tax to the income tax -- this would have the effect of lowering the property taxes and increasing income taxes. Would you be for or against this proposal?

For Against D.N.

If for ask:

29A. Would you prefer this increase to come primarily from federal income tax, local income tax, state income tax.

Federal Local State D.N.

30. Are you in favor or not in favor of the federal government giving financial aid to parochial schools if the money were not used for any religious purposes?

In Favor Not in Favor D.N.

Option:
Addendum
A

Domestic Issues Poll: Would you favor or oppose federal support of parochial and religious grade and high schools, if the money were used for strictly non-religious purposes

31. In your opinion, who should have primary responsibility for providing health care services in this country? The Federal Government, or private individuals through their medical insurance, their savings, and their income?

Federal Governm't Private Indivs. D.N.

ORC

Not in
Addendum
A

32. There has been a lot of talk about ecology and the environmental problems. What specific problems come to your mind when you think about ecology and environmental problems? (ask open-ended, do not prompt response.) Potential answers -- air pollution, solid waste/recycling, population, noise, water pollution, land use/parks, use of chemicals/pesticides, other (specify), or don't know.

MOR

Option
Addendum
A

33. With regard to environmental problems, would you be willing to have your taxes increased if the money were used to help stop pollution and clean up the environment?

Yes

No

D.N.

34. Would you be willing to have the price of many of the products you buy increased if it would help stop pollution and clean up the environment?

Yes No Don't Know

MOR

35. Are you in favor or not in favor of the government forcing industry to stop polluting, even though it causes some plants to close and increases unemployment?

In Favor Not in Favor D.N.

MOR

*sect
option A*

36. Now I would like for you to think about Richard Nixon for a moment. Not only as the President but as an individual. What two or three words do you think best describe Richard Nixon as a person?

MOR

37. With regard to President Nixon's accomplishments up to now, would you say that it is better than most of our Presidents, about average, or not as good as most of our Presidents?

Better Average Not as Good D.N.

MOR

38. Which of the following statements on this card best describe how you feel about the information that the Nixon Administration

gives the public -- always frank and truthful with the public, try to make things seem more favorable than they really are, hold back or slant information that would make the Administration look bad, or don't know?

Always Frank Makes Seem Favorable Holds Back or Slants D.N.

ORC

? 39. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?

? 40. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Edmund Muskie?

MOR

? 41. How much do you feel that you know about Edmund Muskie and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

A Great Deal A Fair Amount Very Little

ORC question, no trend.

? 42. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Hubert Humphrey?

MOR

? 43. How much do you feel you know about Hubert Humphrey and what he stands for? A great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

ORC

2 44. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of George Wallace?

MOR

7 45. How much do you feel you know about George Wallace and what he stands for? A great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

ORC

7 46. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Edward Kennedy?

MOR

7 47. How much do you feel you know about Edward Kennedy and what he stands for? A great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

ORC question, no trend.

Why split.

48. Now I would like to mention several of the problems and issues we discussed earlier with you, and as I read each one, I would like you to rate President Nixon on his handling of each one. (Rotate the following list)

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Inflation | Crime |
| Racial | National Defense |
| Foreign Affairs | Health Care |
| Unemployment | Drugs |
| Vietnam | Bussing |
| Environment/Pollution | |

49. Now I would like to go through this list once again and have you rate Edmund Muskie on his ability to handle each of these problems. (Using a five point scale card and the list from question #48.)

50. Now when you decide how to vote for President next year, which of these issues will be most important to you?

(Using list from question #48.)

MOR

51. Now in which one of these areas do you think President Nixon has done his best job? (Using list from question #48.)

52. In which one of these areas do you think President Nixon has done his poorest job? (Using list from question #48.)

No
Add Chi...
X Add some questions on Muskie as 51/52 on P.
Domestic Issues Poll: How would you rate the job President Nixon has been doing on (Read list) -- excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor?

Numbers
change
53. What do you think are the most important problems facing the state of Wisconsin at this time?

MOR

54. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing Wisconsin at this time?

~~55.~~ Do you think Wisconsin as a state is better off or worse off than it was about two years ago?

Better Off

Worse Off

D.N.

~~56.~~ Why do you say that?

~~57.~~ Do you approve or disapprove of the way Pat Lucy is handling his job as governor?

~~58.~~ Do you approve or disapprove of the way William Proxmire is handling his job as U.S. Senator from Wisconsin?

~~59.~~ Do you approve or disapprove of the way Gaylord Nelson is handling his job as U.S. Senator from Wisconsin?

Insert state issue and/or primary questions here:

~~60.~~ Now I am going to hand you several sample general election ballots. These ballots each have one or more possible contests for some of the offices we will be voting on for next year.

I would like for you to mark each race on each of the ballots just as you would if the election were being held today.

(The races we would test on the ballots are: Nixon/Muskie, Nixon/Humphrey, Nixon/Kennedy, Nixon/Muskie/Wallace, Nixon/Humphrey/Wallace, Nixon/Kennedy/Wallace, Nixon/Muskie/Wallace/McCarthy.)

~~61.~~ In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card best describes how you voted for state and local offices, such as governor and senator -- straight Democratic, mostly Democratic, a few more Democrats than Republicans, about equally for both parties, a few more Republicans than Democrats, mostly Republican, straight Republican, don't know.

~~62.~~ Generally speaking, in politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or what?

If neither, independent, or don't know -- ask:

~~63.~~ Which way do you lean?

Republican Dem. Independ. D.N.

~~64.~~ For whom did you vote for President in 1968?

Nixon Humphrey Wallace No Vote D.N.

~~65.~~ For whom did you vote for governor in 1970?

Olson Lucy No Vote D.N.

~~66.~~ For whom did you vote for Senator in 1970?

Nelson Erickson No Vote D.N.

A few more questions for statistical purposes only:

~~67~~. What is your occupation?

If respondent is not head of household ask:

~~68~~. What is the occupation of the head of this household?

~~69~~. What is your approximate age?

18 years to 20 _____	50 years to 54 _____
21 years to 24 _____	55 years to 59 _____
25 years to 29 _____	60 years to 64 _____
30 years to 34 _____	65 years and over _____
35 years to 39 _____	Refused _____
40 years to 44 _____	
45 years to 49 _____	

~~70~~. What is the last grade of school completed by you?

Grade school or less (grade 1-8) _____
Some highschool _____
Graduated highschool _____
Some college _____
Graduated college _____
Post-graduate work _____
Refused _____

~~71~~. What is your religion?

Roman Catholic _____	Jewish _____
Protestant _____	Other (specify) _____

By observation:

22. What is the national origin of the respondent?

White _____ Oriental _____
Negro _____ Mexican/American _____

23. In what country was your grandfather born, that is, your father's father?

Austria _____ Itally _____
England _____ Holland _____
Germany _____ Spain _____
Sweden _____ U.S. _____
Polland _____ Czechoslovakia _____
France _____ Estonia _____
Denmark _____ Hungary _____
Ireland _____ Norway _____
Mexico _____ Latvia _____
Russia _____ Romania _____
Ukraine _____ Portugal _____
Puerto Rico _____ Yugoslavia _____
Other (specify) _____

24. Are you a labor union member?

Instruction -- by observation:

25. Sex? Male Female

76. Which classification on this card includes your total family income before taxes?

- 0 to 2,999 _____
- 3,000 to 4,999 _____
- 5,000 to 5,999 _____
- 6,000 to 6,999 _____
- 7,000 to 9,999 _____
- 10,000 to 14,999 _____
- 15,000 to 24,999 _____
- 25,000 and over _____
- Refused _____

77. Now as you probably know, there will be a Presidential primary here in Wisconsin next spring. How sure are you that you will be voting in either the Republican or Democratic primary election?

Very Sure Fairly Sure Probably Won't Vote

If "probably not" skip primary questions and continue interview.

If "very or fairly sure" ask:

78. Now assuming these will be the candidates (hand them the card) in the Republican and Democratic primary, will you be voting in the Republican or Democratic primary?

Republican Democratic D.N.

If "Democratic" skip primary section and continue with interview.

If "Republican" continue with:

79. Can you tell me who Pete McCloskey is?

80. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Pete McCloskey?

81. What else?

82. How much do you feel you know about Pete McCloskey and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

83. As you may know, Congressman McCloskey may be running against President Nixon in some of the primary elections next spring. Do you approve or disapprove of him running against the President in the Wisconsin primary?

84. Why do you say that?

85. If Congressman McCloskey does not run in the Wisconsin primary, would you prefer to have the President run unopposed or have someone else run against him?

Run Opposed Someone Else Run D.N.

If "Someone Else Run" ask:

86. Would you prefer that whomever ran against President Nixon in the Wisconsin primaries be more liberal or conservative than he is?

Liberal Conservative Neither D.N.

87. Is there anyone in particular you would like to see run in the Republican primary against the President?

88. If the Wisconsin primary election were being held today and Pete McCloskey and Richard Nixon were the candidates, would you be voting for McCloskey or Nixon?

McCloskey

Nixon

Undecided

89. Why would you be voting that way?

ADDENDUM A

Now, I would like to read you some opinions people have expressed on a number of different issues. After I read each opinion statement, I'd like to have you tell me the answer on this card which best expresses your personal feelings about that particular opinion (HAND CARD). Here's the first statement:

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither</u> <u>Agree</u> <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
1. I think the President's Pay Board has no business setting a policy that increases must be held to 5 1/2 percent or less	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. I am happy that the President's Price Commission has set a policy that prices, on the average, would not be increased by more than 2 1/2 percent a year.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. As a result of the President's new economic policy, I feel more confident about my future than I did last year.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. I think that the treatment of blacks in our country has improved during the past three years.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. I think that, in trying to achieve equal opportunities for all racial minority groups, we are going too fast.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. I wouldn't mind if the federal government gave financial aid to parochial schools if the money were not used for any religious purposes.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. I think the federal government should be responsible for providing complete health care services for everyone in our country	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. I'd gladly pay more taxes or slightly higher prices if I knew that money would go to help stop pollution and clean up our environment.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. It's a mistake for President Nixon to visit Communist China.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. School children should be bussed out of their neighborhoods if it is necessary to achieve racial balance in the schools.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. In the long run the President's new economic policies and the wage/price freeze will benefit the working man.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12. The only way to stop the rising crime rate is to have more police and tougher law enforcement.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. Keeping our economy strong is more important than worrying about pollution.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Argument

redun

Dope

There has been a lot of talk about national priorities or how the federal government should spend its money lately. Here is a list of some things some people have mentioned to us as being important (HAND CARD). I would like you to tell me which one item on this list you think should be the top priority for the federal government during the next year or two?

a. Now, I would like to go through the list of items with you and have you tell me whether the federal government should be spending more, less or about the same amount of money as they now are on each of these items.

	<u>(a.) More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Maintaining our national defenses _____	[]	[]	[]
Controlling pollution _____	[]	[]	[]
Improving education _____	[]	[]	[]
Stopping inflation _____	[]	[]	[]
Providing equal opportunity for all our citizens _____	[]	[]	[]
Lowering unemployment _____	[]	[]	[]
Improving health care _____	[]	[]	[]
Aid to senior citizens _____	[]	[]	[]
Welfare benefits _____	[]	[]	[]

Alternative

79-89

1. Now, as you probably know, there will be a Presidential Primary election here in Wisconsin next spring. How sure are you whether you will be voting in the Republican or Democratic primary -- very sure, fairly sure, or probably won't vote?

Very sure Fairly sure Probably won't vote Don't know

IF "PROBABLY WON'T", SKIP TO QUESTION - AND CONTINUE INTERVIEW

IF "VERY SURE OR FAIRLY SURE", ASK:

2. Now, assuming these people (HAND CARD A) will be the candidates, will you be voting in the Republican or Democratic primary?

Republican Democratic Don't know

IF "DEMOCRATIC", SKIP TO QUESTION - AND CONTINUE INTERVIEW

IF "REPUBLICAN" CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 3

3. Can you tell me who Pete McCloskey is? Yes No Don't know

IF "YES", ASK:

a. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of Pete McCloskey? _____

b. What else? (PROBE) _____

4. How much do you feel you know about Pete McCloskey and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

Great deal Fair amount Very little Don't know

5. As you may know, Congressman McCloskey is running against President Nixon in some of the Republican Primary elections. Do you hope he runs or does not run in the Wisconsin Primary?

Does Does not Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

6. If Congressman McCloskey does not run in the Wisconsin Primary, would you prefer to have the President run unopposed or have someone else run against him?

Unopposed Someone else Don't know

IF "SOMEONE ELSE", ASK:

a. Would you prefer that who ever runs against President Nixon be more liberal or more conservative than he is?

More liberal More conservative Don't know

7. Is there anyone in particular you would like to see run in the Republican Primary other than President Nixon? _____

8. If the Primary election were being held today and Pete McCloskey and Richard Nixon were the candidates, would you be voting for McCloskey or Nixon?

Nixon McCloskey Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

NEW HAMPSHIRE:

1. Will you be voting in the Democratic or Republican Primary?

Democratic Republican Don't know

2. Are you in favor or not in favor of the proposed state income tax for New Hampshire?

Favor Not in favor Don't know

3. Do you generally read the Manchester Union Leader?

Yes No

IF "YES", ASK:

a. With respect to the editorial positions taken by William Loeb and the Manchester Union Leader, would you say that you generally agree or disagree with them?

Agree Disagree Don't know

New Hampshire General Election Ballot:

U.S. Senate

Rep. Wesley Powell

Dem. Thomas McIntyre

Governor

Rep. Walter Peterson

Dem. Roger Crowley

Administratively Confidential

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Taft Schreiber Meeting

If you meet with Taft Schreiber today he will want to cover at least three matters. The first concerns the RNC Convention and the role of Frederick Rheinstein in the TV production. Chapin has submitted reports independently to you on this subject. Schreiber will try to end-run the decisions of Chapin, Timmons, Magruder and the RNC about using Rheinstein.

The second subject that Schreiber could raise will be the celebrities program for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. You received an update December 12.

Thirdly, Schreiber will try to get you to approve "some big event for the President".

Recommendation:

Since Chapin is familiar with the Convention TV arrangements and will be asked to consider the schedule request, he should set in on your meeting with Schreiber.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

Chron
LH has
back
attachments
& original
Chron
12/7
12:15pm

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Primary State Poll

You have the draft questionnaire for the Committee poll in New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Florida that the Attorney General approved on December 1.

Working with Bob Teeter has developed alternate questions based on polls conducted by Gallup, Harris, and ORC (questionnaire attached).

Teeter has also prepared a memorandum to you outlining various points of difference between his research approach and ORC's (attached).

Finally, you mentioned that you were going to discuss the Harris Domestic Issues poll with the Attorney General. It would be helpful if Bob Teeter but not Jeb Magruder, Bob Marik, or anyone else at the Committee received a copy of this Harris poll.

_____ Approve, send copies to the Attorney General and Bob Teeter

_____ Disapprove, only the Attorney General

_____ Other

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

December 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Callup Trial Heats

Dwight Chapin called John Davies at the Gallup Organization to obtain the trial heat results from the poll conducted November 19-22. Davies called me with the results, which are based on registered voters, not the entire population:

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
44	41	10	5

These are final figures and will be published Thursday, December 9.

Preliminary figures, which may change slightly before publication on Sunday, December 12, are:

<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
44	41	10	5
<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
46	37	12	5
<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
49	33	12	6

If you cover these figures with the President, you may want to remind him that Mr. & Mrs. George Gallup, Jr. will be his guests at the Medici State Dinner tomorrow night, December 7.

GS:dg

m
F
S

A
Gallup Trial Heat

Dwight Chapin called John Davies at the Gallup organization to obtain the trial heat results from the Gallup poll conducted Nov. 19-22. Davies

called me with the ~~the~~ results, which are based on registered voters not ^{the} entire population.

Nixon
44

Kennedy
41

Wallace
10

Undecided
5.

These are final figures and will be published Thursday, 12/9.

Preliminary figures, which may change slightly before publication on Sunday, 12/12 are:

Nixon	Muskie	Wallace	Undecided
44	41	10	5

Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Undecided
46	37	12	5

Nixon	McGovern	"	"
49	33	12	6

If you cover these with the P, you may want to remind him that Mr. & Mrs. George Gallup Jr. will be his guests at the Medici State Dinner tomorrow night, December 7.

12/6
410

John Davies:

Prelim trial beats

n, K, Wal - public 1
44 41 10 5

Same \leftarrow n mus, Wal - same \rightarrow

release

mus⁺, mcG⁺ + H H H*
not yet

Voters
to
regis
to
vote
total
pop.

46	H H H 37	Wal 12	Um 5
49	mu 33	12	6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FU
12/7

December 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT : Gallup Poll

Today's release indicates that Gallup was in the field interviewing November 19-22.

In Chapin's absence I called John Davies at the Gallup organization to ask for Presidential approval figures. Davies told me they did not ask the Presidential approval question. When I asked if they had conducted trial heats he said yes but that the figures would not be available until Wednesday, December 8.

*That's the
one we already
asked about*

Administratively Confidential

December 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Polling

On December 1, the Attorney General met with Magruder and Teeter to review the progress on the Campaign polling plan. The suggestions which you made on November 23 regarding which states should be polled have been incorporated as indicated by the November 24 Teeter memorandum attached at Tab A.

The updated plan which has the Attorney General's approval is attached at Tab B. It suggests that field polling in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Florida begin December 6 with the questionnaire attached at Tab C. Magruder has written the Attorney General's changes on the draft questionnaire. The final questionnaire will be given to the Attorney General on December 6, just before the poll goes into the field. The questionnaire is currently being reviewed for consistency and trend possibilities.

ORC will do the polling in New Hampshire and Florida if their bid price is brought down. MOR, Bob Teeter's firm, will do the poll in Wisconsin.

The cost of the Campaign polling will be shared in Ohio, California, Texas, Kentucky, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The confidentiality of questions will be protected. States where there will be no sharing of costs include Oregon, New Hampshire, Florida, Iowa, Montana, and Virginia.

You may recall that sometime before November 4, the President indicated that he does not want any more major field polls done until after the State of the Union. You mentioned this to the Attorney General on November 4, but you both left open the question of whether you would have him reconsider that decision.

GS:lm:dg

The Attorney General is of course fully aware of your interest in polling and would welcome any suggestions. The only question which he has specifically asked you for comment on is the issues ranking question, for which ORC has trend, on page 6.

Two other polling matters are pending. First, you mentioned that you were going to talk to the Attorney General about him receiving a copy of the Harris Domestic Issues Poll. You will probably want to cover with him whether Magruder, Teeter, and Marik are also to have access. Second, you told me on November 22, after the Meany Poll, that we need to ask two questions on the President's plans to meet with Chinese and Russian leaders. The question is do you want these in the Campaign poll in the three states or as part of the next national telephone poll. I recommend asking them in the next national poll.

- Agree, next national telephone poll
- Disagree, include in Campaign poll
- Other

GS:lm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12065, Section 3-102
By *Empire* Date *1-18-80*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RMT*
SUBJECT: Campaign Polling

Jeb Magruder asked me to respond to several points which you raised concerning our polling program for the campaign.

1. Washington has been deleted from the list of target states and will not be surveyed.
2. Maryland and Wisconsin are both primary and target states and therefore will be surveyed with each of the planned waves.
3. Both Kentucky and Tennessee are considered target states and will be included.
4. Virginia has been in and out of the list of target states and it is my feeling that it should be included. It is important to us because of it's size, it's position as a border state, and one of those states where Wallace vote was a major factor in 1968 and any change in it could greatly influence our chances of campaigning it in 1972. We have now included it in our list of target states to be polled.
5. The suggestion has been made to also include at least one deep South state in the first wave of polls.

While we have not included any of these states in our list of target states, we do have some data from Alabama and will have additional data throughout the campaign. My company (MOR) has done a poll for Postmaster Blount which included several questions and test ballots on the

President. We have an agreement to do four more during the course of the next year at roughly the same times our state waves will be done. Blount is willing for us to include questions for the President and to make the data available to us. I think that Alabama should be indicative of those in Mississippi and Louisiana at least for present purposes. Furthermore, we are participating in a poll being done in Arkansas which will give us data on another type of Southern state.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

November 28, 1971

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

CONFIDENTIAL By Empire NRES, Date 1-18-80

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: 1972 CAMPAIGN POLLING

The purpose of this memorandum is to give you a status report on our planning for the first wave of polls.

Vendors/Design/Cost

I have met with each of the vendors and they have all submitted proposed questionnaires, design specifications and cost estimates.

A draft questionnaire (Tab A), a proposed list of state assignments, and budget figures for each of the states (Tab B) we intend to poll have been developed.

You should note and be advised of the fact that ORC's cost estimates are considerably higher than those of either DMI or MOR for the same states. I have brought this up with Tom Benham and hope to be able to lower our costs for the ORC states.

Recommendation

That you approve the state assignments of the vendors, the sample sizes, and cost estimates for the first wave as detailed in Tab B. We will have to give the vendors some flexibility in these costs (not more than 5%) as they do not have a final questionnaire and both ORC and DMI are going into new interviewing territory.

Approve Disapprove Comment _____

Timing

After talking to the vendors it is apparent to me that we cannot finalize a questionnaire, pre-test it, and give the vendors enough time to get the interviewing done before December 15. As it is

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102.
By BJ NARS, Date 1-27-82

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

impossible to get good interviewing during the holidays, I think we would be well-advised to delay all but the early-primary state polls until after the first of the year.

The vendors who are going to be working in new states need some additional time to get current census maps for sampling purposes. Also, information on state issues and candidates has been a little slow in coming in and this will give us an additional week to collect it and work out any joint arrangements we want to make with the States.

We should not, however, have any trouble in getting the interviewing in the three early-primary states done before the 15th which will give us data by the end of the year.

I have discussed the possibility of sharing costs with a few of the state chairmen who I know well and most are very interested. For example, I have made a tentative agreement with John Andrews to split the cost of the Ohio poll fifty-fifty which is a savings of \$9,000 for the Committee. If we are going to negotiate this type of arrangement with other states, we should decide now which states and with whom we are willing to work jointly.

Recommendation

That we begin the New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin polls immediately so as to have data back by the end of December. Then we finalize the arrangements for the remaining fifteen statewide polls and national oversample so that interviewing can begin on January 3 and that data will be available by the end of January.

Approve Disapprove Comment _____

Questionnaire

We plan to revise this questionnaire this weekend, add the primary questions and begin the three primary state polls immediately. I will have a finalized questionnaire with state questions for the other states for your approval by December 17.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Bj NARS, Date 4-27-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Three forms of the questionnaire are currently being field tested.

Recommendation

That you approve this questionnaire with possible minor revisions for use with the primary add-ons in New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin.

Approve X Disapprove _____ Comment _____

subject to revisions

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

TAB B

MEMORANDUM

DMI	<u>Basic Sample</u>	<u>Rep. Primary Oversample</u>	<u>Basic Sample Cost</u>	<u>Oversample Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
California	1,000	-	19,600	-	19,600
Texas	1,000	-	20,300	-	20,300
Oregon	600	100	11,280	1,880	13,160
Kentucky	600	-	11,220	-	11,220
New York	1,000	-	21,400	-	21,400

ORC

New Hampshire	600	188	16,800	4,700	21,500
Florida	800	220	19,400	6,600	26,000
New Jersey	800	-	20,000	-	20,000
Maryland	800	240	19,300	8,700	28,000
North Carolina	800	-	19,400	-	19,400
Tennessee	800	-	19,600	-	19,600
Iowa	600	-	16,000	-	16,000

MOR

Pennsylvania	800	-	18,000	-	18,000
Ohio	800	-	18,000	(9,000 pd. by State comm.)	9,000
Indiana *	800	116	16,000	2,320	18,320
Illinois	800	-	-	-	-
Wisconsin	800	164	17,000	3,500	20,500
Missouri	800	-	18,000	-	18,000
Virginia	800	-	18,800	-	18,800

359,240

* Illinois Poll has been completed by MOR and privately financed

3. Do you think that the United States should withdraw all its troops regardless of whether or not the North Vietnamese release our Prisoners of War or that we should keep some troops in Vietnam until all our Prisoners of War are released?
 Withdraw troops regardless of POW Keep some troops there Don't know

3. Do you approve or disapprove of President Nixon's trip to Communist China?
 Approve Disapprove Don't know

3. In general, do you think opening up more normal relations between the United States and Communist China will be more likely or less likely to lead to world peace?
 More likely Less likely Makes no difference Don't know

4. As you probably know, we have had a continuing problem with inflation and unemployment recently. Do you think business, government, labor, or the consumers is most responsible for this problem?
 Business Government Labor Consumers
 Don't know

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?
 Approve Disapprove Don't know

3. From what you know about President Nixon's new economic policies, do you think these policies treat everyone fairly, or do these policies favor some groups over others?
 Treat everyone fairly Favor some groups over others Don't know

IF "FAVOR SOME GROUPS OVER OTHERS", ASK:

a. What group or groups do you think are favored by President Nixon's new economic policies? (ASK THIS AS AN OPEN-END QUESTION, BUT RECORD RESPONSES USING THE PRECODED CATEGORIES WHERE POSSIBLE. WRITE IN "OTHER" ANSWERS).
 Business Labor the consumer/the average person/the individual
 Other: (SPECIFY) _____ Don't know

4. In your opinion, how successful have President Nixon's economic policies been in reducing inflation and improving general business conditions in the country -- very successful, fairly successful, or not very successful?
 Very successful Fairly successful Not very successful Don't know

IF "NOT VERY SUCCESSFUL", ASK:

a. In what way, specifically, have the President's economic policies not been successful?

5. As a result of the President's new economic policy, how do you feel about the future -- a lot more confident, somewhat more confident, no change, or less confident?
 A lot more confident Somewhat more confident No Change
 Less confident Don't know

5. Do you believe President Nixon's economic plans will help your personal situation, hurt it, or won't it make any difference?
 Help Hurt No difference Don't know

17. The newly established Pay Board has set a policy that wages should not be increased by more than 5 1/2 percent a year. Do you agree or disagree with this policy?

Agree Disagree Don't know

18. The newly established Price Commission has set a policy that prices, on the average, should not be increased by more than 2 1/2 percent a year. Do you agree or disagree with this policy?

Agree Disagree Don't know

19. Do you think that the treatment of blacks in our country has improved, gotten worse, or stayed about the same during the past three years?

Improved Gotten worse Stayed same Don't know

IF "WORSE", ASK:

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

1 question

20. Overall, do you think that racial integration in the U.S. during the past several years has proceeded too fast, about the right speed, or too slow?

Too fast Too slow About right Don't know

21. Are you in favor or not in favor of racially integrated public schools?

In favor Not in favor Don't know

IF "IN FAVOR", ASK:

a. Are you in favor or not in favor of bussing public school students to achieve racially integrated public schools?

In favor Not in favor Don't know

22. If the Federal court ruled that your school district had to bus students to get racial balance in the schools, would you be willing to have your child bussed if the bus ride took the following length of time?

	Willing	Not Willing	Don't know
10 minute school bus ride	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20 minute school bus ride	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30 minute school bus ride	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45 minute school bus ride	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Are you in favor or not in favor of the proposed Constitutional Amendment which would prohibit any bussing of school children to achieve racially integrated public schools.

In favor Not in favor Don't know

24. Are you in favor or not in favor of the federal government giving financial aid to parochial schools if the money were not used for any religious purposes.

In favor Not in favor Don't know

25. In your opinion, who should have primary responsibility for providing health care services in this country -- the federal government or private individuals through their medical insurance, their savings, or their income?

The federal government Private individuals through their medical insurance, their savings or their income
 Don't know

26. There has been a lot of talk about ecology and the environment lately. When you think about ecology and the environmental problems, what specific problems come to mind? (ASK OPEN ENDED - DO NOT PROMPT RESPONSE)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Air pollution | <input type="checkbox"/> | Water pollution | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Solid waste/recycling | <input type="checkbox"/> | Land use/parks | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Population | <input type="checkbox"/> | Use of chemicals/pesticides | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Noise | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other: (SPECIFY) | |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

27. With regard to environmental problems, would you be willing to have your taxes increased if the money were used to help stop pollution and clean up the environment?

- Yes No Don't know

28. Would you be willing to have the price of many of the products you buy increased slightly if it would help stop pollution and clean up the environment?

- Yes No Don't know

29. Are you in favor or not in favor of the government forcing industry to stop polluting even though it caused some plants to close and make unemployment?

- In favor Not in favor Don't know

30. Are you in favor or not in favor of a law which would require that women be payed the same as men for doing the same job -- in other words, equal pay for equal work?

- Favor Not in favor Don't know

31. Are you in favor or not in favor of a constitutional amendment giving women all the same rights and responsibilities as men?

- In favor Not in favor Don't know

IF "IN FAVOR", ASK:

a. Would you be in favor even though such an amendment might cause women to be drafted?

- In favor Not in favor Don't know

32. ~~Overall~~, do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?

- Approve Disapprove Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

33. What do you think are the most important accomplishments of the Nixon Administration?

34. What do you think are the major failures of the Nixon Administration?

35. Now, I'd like you to think about Richard Nixon for a moment, not only as the President but as an individual. What two or three words do you think best describe Richard Nixon as a person?

47. (HAND CARD C) Here is a list of a number of current issues. Please read through the whole list and pick out the four or five issues that you are personally most concerned about. Just give me the numbers.

Q. 47

Most Concerned About

Q. 48

Excellent Good Fair Poor Don't know

		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't know
1	1. Ending United States involvement in Vietnam	1	2	3	4	5
2	2. Holding down the unemployment rate	1	2	3	4	5
3	3. Protecting the interest of the consumer	1	2	3	4	5
4	4. Combatting organized crime	1	2	3	4	5
5	5. Controlling drug traffic and use	1	2	3	4	5
6	6. Reducing inflation	1	2	3	4	5
7	7. Seeking a solution to the Middle East problem	1	2	3	4	5
8	8. Improving business conditions	1	2	3	4	5
9	9. Handling foreign affairs	1	2	3	4	5
10	10. Reducing government spending	1	2	3	4	5
11	11. Providing medical care for the aged	1	2	3	4	5
12	12. Improving social welfare programs	1	2	3	4	5
13	13. Reducing air and water pollution	1	2	3	4	5
14	14. Easing racial tensions	1	2	3	4	5
15	15. Improving conditions in our large cities	1	2	3	4	5
16	16. Maintaining the prestige of the United States throughout the world	1	2	3	4	5
17	17. Providing aid to education	1	2	3	4	5
18	18. Keeping our national defenses strong	1	2	3	4	5
19	19. Improving our relations with communist countries	1	2	3	4	5
20	20. Understanding the views of young people	1	2	3	4	5
21	21. Dealing with the problem of population growth	1	2	3	4	5
22	22. Understanding the problems of farmers	1	2	3	4	5

Want in president

48. Now, Let's go through each of these issues one at a time. For each one, please tell me what kind of a job you think the Nixon Administration is doing on it. Tell me whether you think the Nixon Administration is doing an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job? RECORD RESPONSE ABOVE BY CIRCLING APPROPRIATE NUMBER

49. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you tell me whether you think Edmund Muskie would do a excellent, good, fair or poor job of handling each of these problems, as President? RECORD RESPONSE ABOVE WITH AN X

50. Now, looking over this list again, tell me in which of the area you think President Nixon has done his best job? _____

52. In which area do you think he has done his poorest job? _____

63. What do you think are the most important problems facing the State of Wisconsin at the present time?

64. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing Wisconsin?
(CIRCLE JUST ONE ABOVE)

65. Overall, do you think Wisconsin as a State is better off or worse off than it was three or four years ago?

Better off Worse off About the same Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

66. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Pat Lucey is handling his job as Governor?

Approve Disapprove Don't know

67. Do you approve or disapprove of the way William Proxmire is handling his job as U.S. Senator?

Approve Disapprove Don't know

68. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Gaylord Nelson is handling his job as U.S. Senator?

Approve Disapprove Don't know

INSERT STATE ISSUE QUESTIONS:

69. Now, I'm going to hand you several sample general election ballots. These ballots each have one or more possible contests for some of the offices we will be voting on next year. I would like you to mark each race on each of the ballots just as you would if that election were being held today.

70. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

<input type="checkbox"/> Straight Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> A few more Republicans than Democrats
<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly Republican
<input type="checkbox"/> A few more Democrats than Republicans	<input type="checkbox"/> Straight Republican
<input type="checkbox"/> About equally for both parties	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

71. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or what?

Republican Democrat Independent Don't know

72. For whom did you vote for President in 1968?

Nixon Humphrey Wallace Didn't vote Don't know

73. For whom did you vote for Governor in 1970?

Olson Lucey Didn't vote Don't know

PRIMARY QUESTIONS

As you probably know, there will be a Presidential primary election in Wisconsin in March.

How sure are you that you will be voting in either the Republican or Democratic primary election -- very sure, fairly sure, or probably won't vote?

Very sure Fairly sure Probably won't vote Don't know

IF "PROBABLY NOT", SKIP TO QUESTION ____ AND CONTINUE INTERVIEW.

IF "VERY SURE", OR "FAIRLY SURE", ASK:

Will you be voting in the Republican or Democrat primary?

Republican Democrat Don't know

IF "DEMOCRATIC", SKIP TO QUESTION ____ AND CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW

IF "REPUBLICAN", CONTINUE WITH ____

Now, I'd like to mention several people to you and have you tell me whether or not you've ever heard of each of them?

ASK ONLY FOR THOSE WHO WILL VOTE IN REPUBLICAN PRIMARY:

What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Pete McCloskey? _____

How much do you feel you know about Pete McCloskey and what he stands for -- a great deal, a fair amount, or very little?

Great deal Fair amount Very little Don't know

As you may know, he is running against President Nixon in some of the Republican primary elections. Do you approve or disapprove of him running against the President in the Wisconsin primary?

Approve Disapprove Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

If Congressman McCloskey does not run in the Wisconsin primary, would you prefer to have the President run unopposed or have someone else run against him?

Run unopposed Someone else run against Don't know

Is there anyone else you would like to see run in the Republican primary besides the President? _____

If the primary election were being held today and Pete McCloskey and Richard Nixon were the candidates, would you be voting for McCloskey or Nixon?

McCloskey Nixon Don't know

a. Why would you be voting that way? (PROBE) _____

Consensus

December 1, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Political Meeting

You wanted to discuss with the President a political meeting with Secretary Connally. Chuck Colson advised you of Connally's interest.

The question is who should attend. Presumably in this political meeting with the President, the Attorney General would be present. If Colson were to attend you might also want to have Ehrlichman, Harlow, and Dent.

GS:elr