

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>
26	3	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to Gordon Strachan. RE: An attached copy of Max Fisher's memo to the Attorney General. 1 pg.
26	3	8/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Max Fisher to John Mitchell. RE: The support of the Jewish community in the 1972 campaign. 6 pgs.
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note dated 9/11. 1 pg.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: Florida Primary. 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>
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: Young People on State Committees. 1 pg.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: RNC Research Program. 1 pg.
26	3	9/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Thomas B. Evans Jr. to John Mitchell. RE: An attached outline that provides information on the uses of the redistricting base file. 8 pgs.
26	3	8/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: Lee Edwards, an organizer who runs several public relations projects for conservative groups. 2 pgs.
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newsletter	An article from the United Press International entitled, "FBI Friends Lack Pals in Tax Service." 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>
26	3	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Jeb Magruder. RE: New Voter Day at Winrock. 2 pgs.
26	3	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ed Harper to Jamie McLane. RE: Salute to the Young Voter Speech. 1 pg.
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report entitled, "Salute To the New Voter: Information for Introduction." 2 pgs.
26	3	8/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A typed telegram from the President addressing the "Salute To the Young Voters" in Pettyjean Mountain, Arkansas. 5 pgs.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: Georg Babbe's attached resume, and his possible selection as the new Campaign Manager in California. 3 pgs.

<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>
26	3	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: An attached report by David A. Keene on the the YAF convention. 1 pg.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From David A. Keene to Jeb Magruder. RE: The YAF Convention. 3 pgs.
26	3	9/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: The continued use of Bill Timmons as the head of the convention activities. 1 pg.
26	3	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From Ken Cole to Haldeman. RE: An attached memo from Bill Timmons recommending that John Rhodes be appointed the Chairman of the Platform Committee for the '72 Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William Timmons to John Ehrlichman. RE: The 1972 Convention. 2 pgs.

<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>
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From William Timmons to Jeb Magruder. RE: The '72 Convention Appointments. 13 pgs.
26	3	9/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: The '72 Convention, and an enclosed memo from Bill Timmons concerning hotel accommodations, transportation, and seating for major officials in the Administration. 1 pg.
26	3	8/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Jeb Magruder. RE: The 1972 Convention, and a head count of the number of subcabinet and agency heads in attendance. 3 pgs.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to The Attorney General and Haldeman. RE: The Kentucky Governor's Race. 2 pgs.
26	3	11/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A detailed analysis of the gubernatorial race in Kentucky. 4 pgs.

<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>
26	3	8/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Unknown sender to John Kerr. RE: Thoughts concerning the public opinion survey conducted in Kentucky during the week of August 15. 4 pgs.
26	3	9/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Harry Dent to Haldeman. RE: The "good play" that was received from the Kissinger briefing for the Billy Graham group. 1 pg.
26	3	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newsletter	An article from the Baptist Press. RE: The Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, and impending changes about to be made. 1 pg.
26	3	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Newsletter	An article from the Baptist Press entitled, "30 Religious Leaders Briefed by White House on Red China." 1 pg.
26	3	8/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Newsletter	An article from the Religious News Service entitled, "Southern Baptist Leader Reports on White House China Briefing." 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>
26	3	9/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Charles Colson to Haldeman. RE: The Monitoring of Democrats. 1 pg.
26	3	8/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Thomas B. Evans to Haldeman. RE: The attached summary and analysis of the Delaware poll. 23 pgs.
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to Strachan. RE: Message that reads: "Ok, I don't believe he could pay him \$29,000. What does Jeb make?" 1 pg.
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry. RE: Different assignments of cabinet members such as: "Rob Odle handles office management." 1 pg.
26	3	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: Magruder's Administrative Assistant. 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>
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Other Document	The resume of Robert L. Herrema, and the employment history which includes: The U.S. Senate, U.S. House of Representatives, and a position at The George Washington University in Washington D.C. 3 pgs.
26	3	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: An attached report from David A. Keene on the YAP convention. 1 pg.
26	3	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From David A. Keene to Jeb Magruder. RE: YAF Convention. 2 pgs.
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note dated 9/14. 1 pg.
26	3	9/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Stephen Bull to Dwight Chapin. RE: Scheduling of Senator Goldwater and Other Surrogate Candidates. 7 pgs.

<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>
26	3	8/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Andrew Glass/National Journal Article on Polling. 2 pgs.
26	3	8/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article in the National Journal written by Andrew J. Glass entitled: "Political Report/Pollsters Prowl Nation as Candidates Use Opinion Surveys to Plan '72 Campaign." 14 pgs.
26	3	8/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: National Journal Article on Polls--Andrew Glass. 1 pg.
26	3	8/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Haldeman to Andrew Glass. RE: Mr. Glass' letter commenting on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. 1 pg.
26	3	8/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Haldeman to Andrew Glass. RE: Mr. Glass' letter of August 10, where he comments on the lack of "official cooperation." *Document repeated six times. 6 pgs.

<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>
26	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Other Document	An addressed envelope to Andrew Glass, editor at National Journal. 1 pg.
26	3	8/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Letter	From Andrew Glass to Haldeman. RE: Mr. Glass' offense at being "slighted" by Gordon Strachan when trying to get information for his article in the National Journal. 1 pg.
26	3	8/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to L. Higby. RE: The National Journal Article on Polls--Andrew Glass. 1 pg.
26	3	8/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Letter	From Andrew Glass to Haldeman. RE: Mr. Glass' complaint of Gordon Strachan's treatment of him as a member of the press. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 305

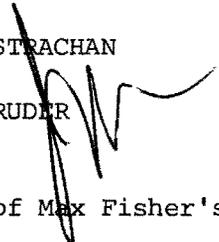
Folder: 6 Campaign - Aug 13, Sept 17, Sept 18, 1971 [1 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
47	Retain Open
48	Retain Open
49	Return Private/Political Note, Magruder to Strachan, 9-15-71
50	Return Private/Political Notes, "JSM..." 9-11-[71]
51	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-8-71
52	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-8-71
53	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-8-71
54	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 8-31-71
55	Return Private/Political Memo, Rietz to Magruder, 9-2-71
56	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-8-71
57	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-9-71
58	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-1-71
59	Return Private/Political Memo, Cole to HRH, 9-9-71
60	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-1-71
61	Return Private/Political Memo, Dent to the AG & HRH, 9-8-71
62	Return Private/Political Memo, Dent to HRH, 9-3-71
63	Return Private/Political Memo, Colson to HRH, 9-14-71
64	Return Private/Political Memo, Evans to HRH, 8-30-71
65	Return Private/Political Note, Higby to Strachan, n.d.
66	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 9-9-71
67	Return Private/Political Notes, "Chapin, CWC, Sibull, JSM," 9-14[71]
68	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8-16-71

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

September 15, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER 

Attached is a copy of Max Fisher's memorandum
to the Attorney General on the Jewish Community.

Note that Larry Goldberg will be joining the
staff October 1 to work in this general area.

Attachment

MAX M. FISHER
2210 FISHER BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202

August 16, 1971

The Honorable John Mitchell
Attorney-General
Justice Department
Washington, D. C.

Re: Jewish Community

Dear John:

It is my feeling that a swing could be made in the voting pattern of the Jewish Community in the 1972 campaign, if we understand the basic issues and we start organizing now on a low key basis.

If you recall, the polls showed that the Jewish vote was about 21% for President Nixon. It is my feeling there can be a very distinct switch of 10% in the upcoming election of 1972.

I have outlined what I consider the basic issues concerning the Jewish community from my own experiences and contacts with a broad spectrum throughout the whole country. The issues of primary concern are as follows:

BASIC ISSUES

(1) Israel. If there is one thing that the Jewish community is united on it is the preservation and security and viability of Israel.

(2) Economic Policies: Because of their predominance in the industrial and financial world, the economic situation in the country is of great concern. I might mention that from a survey of leaders in this area, I find a strong, strong tendency towards some sort of controls, plus a stimulation of the economy through investment tax credits, as well as an adequate money supply to keep such industries as housing moving. This is now part of the President's policy.

August 16, 1971

I have lumped together the next four issues, because various sectors of the community have very strong, positive feelings about each of them:

(1) Law and Order: There is a strong feeling on this issue among the Orthodox and Conservative members of our community. Among these groups, of course, are large numbers who live in proximity to other minority groups. You will find this true particularly in the large cities where the population has not been able to move about because of lower income status and of age limitations. They have suffered considerably from the effect of high crime and violence in these areas. To them the safety of an area is a very, very important item.

(2) Soviet Jewry: There is a great emotional response throughout the country on this issue, and it is interesting that this is one of the great issues of the youth. They feel that the intolerance of the Russian government with the Jewish minority is not right, and that all efforts should be made to give them every opportunity to freely emigrate. The President has a very deep understanding of this problem, as I have discussed it with him on a previous occasion.

Along this line, the matter of the Yiddish broadcasting in Soviet Russia by Radio Free Europe is a very important issue. In addition, a substitute for the Koch Bill, which would be a statement by the Department of Justice and the State Department, allowing entry into the U.S. I understand this was done in the case of Cuba.

The next issue has become very controversial. Its early resolve would be helpful.

(3) Civil Rights: The Jewish community has been in the forefront of civil rights, but I find in this particular issue there has been a dropping down in the matter of priorities, and this is probably more important among the Reformed Jewish community and some of the college youth and faculty. There is no question that even in a liberal oriented Jewish community that this no longer stands as high on the priority list as it previously did.

(4) Urban problems and welfare reform.

August 16, 1971

In conclusion, bearing in mind these priorities, one can structure an approach to the Jewish community which could be very meaningful.

STAFFING

I think it highly important that a staff be set up along the following lines:

One full time man in Washington, who has a thorough knowledge and understanding of Jewish community life. I have in mind someone in the 30's or 40's, who has had experience in leadership in his own community, who also understands the pluralistic nature of the Jewish community as it relates to its high degree of organization life. The community, I believe, is over-organized with many organizations, but this is a fact of life and one must recognize it, though one must not be taken in by the claims of organization as to the control of constituency. For example, B'nai B'rith may say they have a million members they control. They may have one million members, but they hardly control the votes, but having their help can be very constructive, especially among their leadership.

As far as staff is concerned, I have a couple of candidates in mind. One of them is a very active Republican from Providence, Rhode Island, Lawrence Goldberg, who has good credentials and who has wanted to get into government. There are one or two others who may be needed before we get through. I believe the involvement at the beginning this person could make with all the larger communities and organizations throughout the country is important.

*OK
L. Goldberg
Wagner*

I have another man who would be a great addition. I have mentioned previously Mr. Albert Adelman of Milwaukee, who has great credentials all through the major cities in the country because of his involvement and leadership in many of the organizations and who also is a life-long Republican.

OK

I believe we could make a deal with Ollie to spend considerable time on this, as he has a definite interest to get into foreign service or in Washington life, as he has sold his business and has a desire to do something else. I mention this man to you, because I have talked with him several times, and I believe that after meeting with both of us, we can get him on board.

August 16, 1971

These men would be of help in establishing various contacts throughout the country, at the beginning, and would help me in bringing a representative group of leadership into Washington for our meeting.

Next, I would like to bring to Washington a group of 30 to 40 outstanding men who would form the nucleus of our committee. This leadership would have the opportunity to meet with the President -- along the lines of our meeting in 1968. In addition, I think one or two other meetings might be necessary with you, which could be very helpful.

COMMUNICATIONS

We have to make plans to be able to communicate to the rank and file of the country what the President has done as far as Israel is concerned. Though a broad section of the leadership knows of his deep interest and involvement, this has not filtered down to the rank and file, and I believe the following procedures are necessary:

(1) That a man with broad experience in the Jewish media be made available, and I have a man in mind for this, who would do the following:

a. Using a systematic approach to the Anglo-Jewish Press, see that proper information is carried on the issues involved through the news or editorial section.

In a very limited way, I have been able to make my views known, and they have been broadly interpreted, but this has to be followed up on a more systematic basis.

b. There are lists available of all the Rabbis, prominent men, etc. at the White House and the Republican National headquarters, which should be used as a basis for some letters written by myself on the above issues, starting immediately. This list must be updated with opinion makers and leaders from the various communities. Along this line, our staff should be assembling large numbers of lists from the various organizations for future mailings.

August 16, 1971

This kind of operation has to be started as soon as possible, because it will be much more effective than it would be if we had a crash program just a few months before the election.

One of the things I have tried to do very carefully in my relations with organizations and leadership of the communities (and I might mention that I make almost 40 or 50 appearances a year before some of these organizations) is to be as factual as possible without being apolitical. The fact that I have been able to do this is evidenced by a great deal of newspaper coverage that I have received from the Jewish press, which makes me believe that we have built a base from which we can become political. I might mention also that all of this work would be coordinated with the Republican Party, so as to obtain the maximum amount of leadership in the various communities.

Also, we have today statements and information from various Israeli leaders, praising President Nixon, and we would have to research all the available information on this to be used in our communications. I have some of this, but we need much more, and this is available.

One of the greatest opportunities we will have is on the matter of publicizing the assistance Israel receives in credits, grants and arms, when these issues are clarified in the near future. It will then be necessary to move in real depth in communicating to people throughout the country.

Next, it is highly important that the President make an early decision about the meeting on November 13 in Pittsburgh. Besides the leadership of the communities, the President of every major organization will be there. I, personally, have solicited their attendance, and they have agreed to attend, though no one knows of the possibility of the President being there. This could be a very important stimulus, as it would be the only meeting of the Jewish community the President has addressed since his Inaugural.

*John's
signature*

John, we have an opportunity, knowing what the basic issues are in the community, of setting up an organization and communications network promptly, and I believe it can make a very meaningful impact on what we are trying to accomplish.

The Honorable John Mitchell
Page Six

August 16, 1971

In addition, I believe a fund-raising activity, which would be part of the general fund-raising activity, could be developed. I would agree to organize this, but it should be part of the regular structure and not on an ethnic basis.

We would be able to enlist people for the overall effort from the leadership group we would assemble, and as far as the large contributors, I'm afraid this will have to be my responsibility.

What it would mean is the following: One full-time staff man; one part-time non-paid man; one man on communications.

I am prepared to move on this, but would like to have your comments.

Kindest personal regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Jimmy Carter", with a horizontal line underneath.

9/11

J&M

- ① ~~Sumog Cards - D.C./Ball
Spokesman Resource man~~
- ② ~~Max Fisher - Jewish operation.
→ Harry Goldberg - into
Committee - R.I~~
- ③ ~~Pol Mtg - walk by Mon.~~
- ④ ~~AG - Breakfast mtg
10/2 in LA - all Cal
pol personalities in 1 room~~
- ⑤ YAF
- ⑥ ~~Brochure - L/H - print~~



September 8, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12812-102
By: [Signature] 3-24-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Young People on State Committees

Mr. Haldeman has suggested that we consider placing a high percentage of young, responsible people under the age of 30 on our various state committees. Evidentially, he feels these young people should not only be involved in the Young Voters for Nixon, but should also be actively involved in our senior state political operations.

If you approve, I will work with Ken Rietz and Harry Flemming to assure that we get as many youth members on our state committees as possible.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

September 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: RNC RESEARCH PROGRAM

Attached is a memo prepared by Ed DeBolt, at Tom Evans' direction, describing the \$350,000 RNC research program to compile a comprehensive census and political data base for the 1972 campaign.

Briefly, the RNC has contributed varying sums of money to each of 18 state party organizations (\$153,850 total - See Attachment C) to aid in developing base files for use in legislative redistricting. An additional \$130,000 has been budgeted for development of software and refinement of data reporting capabilities (Attachment A). The remaining \$65,000 of the original budget has not yet been committed.

We feel that these highly sophisticated base files can be very useful in targeting the Presidential campaign to Republican and swing voters through broadcast media, direct mail and telephones, particularly in such key states as California, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, Florida and Ohio. Bob Marik has been working closely with the RNC research staff to develop plans for the most effective utilization of the data in 1972.

September 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: The Honorable John N. Mitchell
FROM: Thomas B. Evans, Jr.

The attached outline was prepared by Ed DeSolt at my direction for your information.

It provides detailed information on the basic elements and uses of the redistricting base file in which Jeb Magruder indicated you had an interest.

In brief, the system benefits the President's campaign both directly and indirectly.

Indirectly, the leadership role and financial assistance provided by the RNC has been highly beneficial as a service to state and local party leaders, incumbent Republican officials, and to the Republican candidates who will be running for Congress and State legislatures in 1972. As noted by John Andrews, the National Party has already received considerable good will from this effort and more importantly, we have established a valuable precedent of cooperative financial and project effort involving the key elements of the Party.

The direct application, as far as the President's campaign is concerned, involves the use of census and political data which are particularly valuable when studied along with survey research data. Utilization of the information system in the campaign is described on Page 2, section D of the attached. It should be noted that the full potential of this information in the national campaign will not be known until the RNC and Citizens Committee staffs have completed their planning work on the targeting/resource allocation system.

With the gains already made in Congressional and State legislative redistricting and the potential value of this information to our 1972 National efforts, the allocation of funds for the continued development of the system is justifiable.

The Republican National Committee's investment* in the purchase of computerized statistics and census data was initiated as a multifaceted project intended to help a wide variety of Republican organizations. The following is an outline, in the briefest of terms, of some of the facets of the project.

INTERESTED ENTITIES

- A. Citizens for the Re-Election of the President Committee
- B. Republican National Committee
- C. Republican Congressional Campaign Committee
- D. Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee
- E. Republican State Committees
- F. Republican County Committees
- G. Campaign organizations supporting candidates for governor, U. S. Senator, U. S. Congress, state constitutional offices, state legislators, mayors, city councilmen and county officials

USES

- A. Congressional redistricting
- B. Legislative reapportionment

Under categories A & B

1. Offensive uses include:

- a. Assuring constitutionality of Republican sponsored bills by eliminating mathematical errors and omissions, and achieving the precise balance between districts required by the one man-one vote doctrine.
- b. Increase partisanship of Republican sponsored bills.
- c. Improve public relations by claiming to use non-partisan approaches and the most modern tools available to carry out the spirit and the letter of the Supreme Court edicts.

2. Defensive uses include:

- a. Furnish documentary evidence of violation of the one man-one vote doctrine in connection with law suits initiated against Democrat sponsored bills.
- b. Provide information on which Republican governors can base decisions as to whether bills should be signed or vetoed.
- c. Give Republican legislators an analysis of the partisan implications of Democrat sponsored bills within hours of introduction.
- d. Furnish propaganda, backed by specific figures, to use against Democrats when their bills are partisan.

C. Party building

1. Provide state committees with management tools that will assist them to assign vote quotas, allocate their resources and train county leaders in the latest techniques of using vote history and demographic information.

*(See Attachment A)

2. Place the primary control of redistricting in the hands of party officials who have the interest of all segments of the party at heart rather than the interest of specific incumbents.
3. Overcome factionalism as it relates to reapportionment and redistricting by causing party leaders to work together as a team to maximize the benefits of this expensive, sophisticated tool. Indiana and California are outstanding examples of this.

D. Campaign applications

Certain portions of the integrated geographic base files, particularly precinct-by-precinct voting statistics and correspondency tables showing the geographical relationship between precinct and census geography, can provide valuable information for making campaign management decisions. This is especially true when that data is studied along with demographic information and the results of polls and surveys. The precinct statistics show the historical voting patterns, the demographics describe the type of people living in a given area and the survey data gives an indication of present voter attitudes. (See Attachment B)

Some of the campaign decisions that a manager can make as a result of having ready access to vote history, demographics and surveys will result in:

1. Allocating a candidate's time more effectively.
2. Advising a candidate on the issues that should be stressed in speeches and press conferences in each area.
3. Increasing the cost effectiveness of expenditures by deciding which form of communication will reach the maximum number of people in an identifiable age, education, income or ethnic group.

For instance, when market areas are known by the media buyer, this data can aid him in choosing between:

- a. Direct mail
 - b. Local radio
 - c. Local television
 - d. Door to door distribution of a brochure
 - e. Use of a telephone boiler room
4. Choosing the most appealing issue to advertise via each form of media.
 5. Minimizing backlash.

OTHER FACTORS THAT CAUSED THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO INITIATE THE PROJECT In addition to the obvious importance to the administration of having a more favorable congressional line up, other factors were:

- A. Strengthening the leadership roles of the Republican National Committee and the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President by using modern tools and thereby enhancing the respect of the state leaders for the two committees.

- B. The timing of numerous legislative sessions that convened in January of 1971 while most state party organizations were in severe financial difficulty and unable to afford modern tools.
- C. The substantial goodwill to be gained by rendering financial assistance to state committees at a time when most are in debt as a result of the 1970 campaign.
- D. Starting an ongoing data bank to be used by various segments of the party in the future on a cost sharing basis.

UTILIZATION TO DATE

While the extent of our involvement varies substantially from state to state, * constructive use of the results of our computer work has been made in connection with reapportionment and redistricting functions in:

Arizona	Indiana	New Mexico
California	Iowa	New York
Colorado	Maine	Ohio
Connecticut	Michigan	Oregon
Delaware	Minnesota	Utah
Illinois	New Jersey	Washington
		Wisconsin

No firm decision has been made by the state party leadership as yet, but Florida remains a possible user of our systems.

LIMITING FACTORS

While we clearly recognize the desirability of collecting similar data from each state and having a standard format, the realities of political organizations made this an impossibility. The principle factors that made more standardization impractical were:

- A. The degree of financial commitment the various state committees were willing to make.
- B. The election years state leaders felt were politically significant.
- C. The election contests state leaders felt were politically significant.
- D. Precinct boundary changes which make tracking of historical data over a several year period difficult.

The result of the variations in type of data and format by states mean that the specific management reports that can be generated will vary somewhat from state to state.

PROBABLE GAINS

A minimum of eight congressional seats should be gained by the Republican Party as a result of this project. Considering the cost of conducting congressional campaigns in 5 campaign years in eight congressional districts, the expenditure for this project is one of the most cost effective investments the Republican National Committee could possibly make. It seems to be even a better investment when the additional benefits listed above, especially providing management tools for an effective re-election campaign for the President, are considered.

*(See Attachment C)

As John Andrews, Chairman of the GOP State Chairmen's Association said at the recent meeting of the Republican National Committee in Denver, "No RNC project has done more to reach the grass roots or provide more incentive and leadership when it was direly needed, than the assistance rendered with the Redistricting effort this past spring and summer."

ATTACHMENT A

COMPUTER COST INFORMATION

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Cost Estimates (RNC)</u>
1. Development and acquisition of redistricting base files	\$153,850
2. Standardization and, where necessary for priority areas, acquisition of additional precinct vote information	40,000
3. Development of additional analysis reports (see Attachment B)	40,000
4. Standardization and, where necessary for priority areas, development of additional correspondencies/correlations between election and census geographic areas	30,000
5. Development of a Dominate Area of Influence model and a Media Allocation model	<u>20,000</u>
	\$283,850

The other \$65,000 remaining in the budget of approximately \$350,000 is available for further sopisticating computer analysis and mapping in areas of high priority plus variations of previous reports as needed by the White House or Citizens effort.

1. The preparation of analyses of demographic and vote patterns for precincts, wards, and/or Census Tract areas;
2. The preparation of additional computer-generated density maps;
3. The analysis of correlations between census and election characteristics;

and each must be evaluated in terms of its costs and possible benefits.

ATTACHMENT C

COSTS-BASE FILE PURCHASES

Several potential base file purchases are in the negotiating stage at this time, so the following figures must, of necessity, just represent our best estimates. It will be noted that our percentage of participation varied greatly from state to state:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>TOTAL COST</u>	<u>RNC PARTICIPATION</u>
Arizona	15,000	2,500
California	225,000	25,000
Colorado	20,000	5,000
Connecticut	12,000	6,000
Delaware	10,000	2,000
Florida	OPEN	10,000*
Illinois	35,000	7,500
Indiana	103,000	15,000
Iowa	5,000	2,350
Michigan	42,000	17,000*
Minnesota	24,000	9,000*
New Mexico	5,000	500
New Jersey	30,000	10,000*
New York	UNKNOWN	7,500*
Ohio	45,000	22,500
Oregon	20,000	3,000*
Washington	20,000	3,000*
Wisconsin	13,000	6,000
	<u>\$624,000</u>	<u>\$153,850</u>

*Estimates only

Constant efforts were made to hold down base file creation costs. In addition, every effort was made during negotiations with state leaders to cause the state party's participation to be substantial and the RNC's participation to be less than the 50% that was originally estimated. In many cases these efforts were successful. In addition, when it became apparent that an investment on the part of the RNC would not reap results because of our minority situation in a state legislature or because of a lack of resolve on the part of state party leaders, no investment was made. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania are examples of this.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0320

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

by [unclear] 8/31/71

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

In light of last Sunday's Evans-Novak column, we thought that the following information might be of interest to you:

Lee Edwards, son of the Chicago Tribune's Willard Edwards, runs a number of public relations projects for conservative oriented groups out of an office on De Sales Street. Edwards was recently featured prominently in the media when he testified on the Hill, as director of Walter Judd's Committee of One Million, against the President's initiatives toward mainland China. Edwards "took over" this group after Marvin Liebman gave it up, and now has almost complete control over it.

One of Edwards' most recent projects is "Americans for Agnew," a group designed to put pressure on the President to keep the Vice President on the ticket in 1972. Pat Gorman, who heads a political direct mail firm has sent out telegrams to conservative leaders asking for donations, and our information is that Gorman and Edwards will soon commence a major series of mass mailings to raise money for this group.

A third current project is "Friends of the FBI," of which Edwards is director of information. Gorman makes fund raising mailings for this group, also, and reportedly has raised \$153,000, of which Gorman and Edwards have allegedly taken \$55,000 in fees.

"Friends of the FBI" began as a project of the "Commission for International Due Process of Law." The commission is non-profit and tax-exempt -- hence, donations to "Friends" have been tax-exempt and the organization's mailings made at the Post Office's lower rates for non-profit organizations.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

2

Just recently, IRS has warned that contributions to "Friends" might not be tax-exempt even though it has been a project of a tax-exempt commission. "Friends" now has its own petition before the IRS for tax-exemption because the parent Commission has said it will sever relations with "Friends" as of August 31, 1971.

Contrary to what Evans-Novak state, The Richard A. Viguerie Company has not raised any money for "Friends" whatsoever. Gorman's firm handles all of Edward's direct mail work, including the direct mail solicitation for "Friends" and "Americans for Agnew."

"Friends" has probably been cleared with Director Hoover since it is our information that when he receives checks intended for this organization he will endorse them over to "Friends" and send them to Edwards.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Attachment

Mills Hints New Tax Break

'FBI Friends' Lack Pals in Tax Service

United Press International

The Internal Revenue Service warned yesterday that it may not allow tax deductions for contributions to friends of the FBI, formed to defend the agency against its critics. It has collected over \$100,000 in the past two months.

Lee Edwards, the group's public information director, said the money was solicited in a mass mailing campaign with a letter signed by actor Efram Zimbalist Jr., who plays in the television series "The FBI."

Edwards said letters went out to an estimated million persons. Zimbalist asked them to "sign a declaration of support" and added: "Your gift is tax deductible so I ask you please to be generous."

An IRS spokesman said yesterday: "Friends of the FBI does not at this time nor ever has had a determination from us that it was tax exempt."

To qualify for tax exempt status, organizations must prove they were established for religious, charitable, educational, literary or scientific purposes. Participation in political campaigns, lobbying or publishing "propaganda" is prohibited.

might go into new plant and equipment.

Hoover Lobby

THE CONTINUING popularity of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in the face of rising criticism that the old man (now 76) has abused his power and ought to quit is stunningly revealed in the fund drive by a pro-Hoover lobby called Friends of the FBI (FOF), Inc.

Organized only in late May, FOF has now received well over \$100,000 in cash gifts from a direct-mail campaign that has solicited contributions from backers of right-wing causes, and from what Lee Edwards, its public relations adviser, calls "Middle Americans." The Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc., which handled fund-raising for the abortive 1970 Senate campaign of former federal judge G. Harold Carswell in Florida, has carried a major load of the FOF fund drive.

But it has not been all a bed of roses. Originally claiming that contributions were tax-exempt as a result

of a legal link to the Chicago-based Commission for International Due Process of Law (a tax-exempt organization headed by Luis Kutner), FOF now has a petition of its own for tax-exemption before the Internal Revenue Service. The reason for that is that some of Kutner's liberal friends, including Democratic Rep. Abner Mikva of Chicago, protested bitterly at his connection with FOF.

Thus some contributors to FOF, who sent their checks on the promise of tax exemption in solicitation letters signed by television actor Efram Zimbalist Jr. (star of "The FBI"), may now not be all that certain of getting it. Unless the IRS declares FOF a legitimate tax-exempt outfit, the pro-Hoover organization has lost its tax shelter.

A footnote: The \$100,000-plus collected by FOF will finance what is described as a blue-ribbon commission of lawyers and scholars to study the FBI's history and write a report titled: "The FBI: Its Record and Performance."

© 1971, Publishers-Hall Syndicate

Ack

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

September 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: KEN RIETZ
SUBJECT: New Voter Day at Winrock

Although the crowd was smaller than expected (1,000), I believe the event at Winrock last Saturday was a success.

Dr. Harper did an excellent job of representing the President. His speech effectively told the youth story in terms of not only what the President has done for young people, but also how he has involved them in the Administration. Those attending responded very favorably, and I suggest we use him again.

Governor Rockefeller is extremely interested in young people and the youth vote. He was a gracious host, although he stayed too long at the microphone.

I believe a real understanding about the youth campaign was worked out with the YR's, and I talked to several people who could play key roles for us. All in all, it was a worthwhile effort.

A voting machine was set up and about 200 voted. Here is a list of the questions and the results:

For President-Richard Nixon	55%
Wilbur Mills	45%

Do you approve of the President's initiative in Red China?	Yes	71%
	No	29%
Do you approve of the President's wage and price freeze?	Yes	64%
	No	36%
Do you approve of the way the President is handling his job?	Yes	53%
	No	47%
Do you approve of the way Gov. Bumper is handling his job?	Yes	40%
	No	60%
Do you think President Nixon will be re-elected?	Yes	45%
	No	55%
Are you satisfied with the President's de-escalation policy in Vietnam?	Yes	56%
	No	44%
Do you approve of the 18-year old vote?	Yes	92%
	No	8%
Do you intend to vote in 1972 even if you have to use an absentee ballot?	Yes	82%
	No	18%

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 2, 1971

Information

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMIE MC LANE

FROM: ED HARPER

SUBJECT: Salute to the Young Voter Speech

At the request of our Speaker's Bureau, I spoke at Governor Winthrop Rockefeller's "Salute to the New Voter" at Winrock Farms, Arkansas on August 28th.

Attached is a copy of the introduction and my remarks.

Ken Reitz asked for a copy of my remarks; thus, they will be sent to him as a copy of this memo.

Attachments

cc: Ken Cole
Gordon Strachan
Roy Merrey
Ken Reitz

ELH:ppd

ALPHE TO THE NEW VOTER"
Inrock Farms
Patty Jean Mountain, Arkansas
August 26, 1971

INFORMATION FOR INTRODUCTION

The President directed Dr. Edwin L. Harper, his Special Assistant and Assistant Director of the Domestic Affairs Council, to come to this meeting today to bring you a special message.

Let me tell you a little about Ed Harper's background before presenting him to you.

It was just six years ago that Ed was Vice-President of the Student Council at the University of Virginia. Aside from his work on the Student Council, Ed was a member of the Editorial Board of the Cavalier Daily, a National Defense Fellow, and was elected to membership in the Raven Society and Omicron Delta Kappa--ODK. Ed took his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Virginia after having received a B.A. with Honors from a small liberal arts college in Illinois, Principia College.

In fact, Ed is a native of the mid-west having grown up in the St. Louis area. He knows Arkansas by virtue of having lived in Memphis for a few years and by having spent many summer vacations at his grandfather's farm just over the border from Pochahontos, Arkansas, in Missouri.

After leaving the University of Virginia Ed spent a year as a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington. He went on to teach The American Presidency, Public Policy, and American Government at Rutgers University for two years. He then spent another year in Washington as a Fellow of the American Society for Public Administration working for the Bureau of the Budget in the Executive Office of the President.

Ed then was hired by one of the nation's largest management consulting firms as a senior consultant specializing in budgeting, planning policy, and urban affairs.

In 1969 Ed joined the White House staff as a Special Assistant to the President. When the Domestic Affairs Council was formed in July, 1970, Ed was made one of the four Assistant Directors of the Council.

Thus, it does not necessarily have to be such a long road between your classroom and a room in the White House.

I now introduce Special Assistant to the President of the United States, Ed Harper.

Dr. Edwin L. Harper, REMARKS
"Salute to the Young Voter"
Winrock Farms
Pettyjohn Mountain, Arkansas

August 28, 1971

I am honored to have the President send me here to Arkansas as his personal representative to you. In that capacity he asked me to deliver this telegram to you.

The following is the text of the President's telegram:

To the young Americans gathered this summer day at Winrock Farms, Congratulations! For all of you have received a great gift and challenge--the right to vote. Today, in a new and exciting way, you have a voice in the future of America. Yours is the cherished opportunity to help mold this land we all share.

The history of this nation is a chronicle of the ever broadening power to participate. And as each new group has gained this franchise, it has brought freshness and vitality to the purpose of government. So will you. You now have the most powerful means a citizen has of making himself heard in our free republic.

In this "Salute to the New Voter," allow me also to join with you in thanking your host and my good friend, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, who has contributed so much as a public leader and as a private citizen to the young people of Arkansas. To Governor Rockefeller and to all of you, my warm greetings and best wishes for the future.

RICHARD NIXON

Since the theme of this get together is voting--your decision about who should be your elected representative--I would like to share with you some of my personal observations about the President, the kind of man he is, and how he feels as President, or for that matter, any man running for public office should be judged.

The President's years as a highschool and college student were years fundamentally different from the years we have spent as highschool and college students. The one word used to describe those years is "depression." To those who lived through it, it was more than the lowest point in a business cycle. It was a time when you, most of your family, and everyone you knew did not have a job and had no prospects of getting one in the foreseeable future. With no jobs, there was no income, and with no income there were none of the amenities we enjoy today. There were few of the basics for some people.

The President and his family struggled their way through the depression as did this nation. What the President found was that even in the depression hard work provided opportunities. Through his own extraordinary efforts he was able to complete college and go on to Duke University Law School in North Carolina.

The President's hard work, his determination and his absolute faith in this country's potential to provide opportunities for self-fulfillment for those who will work for it characterize all he does today.

This does not mean that he feels that the country has reached its potential in providing opportunities for all nor that everyone must suffer through the same kinds of problems he solved. But

rather he feels that part of the beauty of this nation is that America has the spiritual and material resources to be a continually self renewing and improving country.

As you know, the President has recently moved in a massive, comprehensive way on the economic front to insure job opportunities for Americans looking for work. A less publicized feature of his August 15th message was his announcement that in January he will present a new proposal to encourage research and development to create new industries and the 20 million new jobs we will need by 1980.

The President's new economic policy is a good example of the way he works. The President could have just responded to the immediate problem in international trade. Instead the President called his top economic advisers together and said, let's take a look at all of the options; let's not take a patchwork approach; let's go for an across-the-board approach which points us towards a real solution to the problems of our economy.

I was privileged to participate in some of the early meetings leading up the President's decisions announced in his August 15th statement on the economy. But it is not too unusual in the White House these days for younger people to have senior responsibility. Ron Ziegler, the President's press secretary, has just recently

gone over the hill--over 30. Of the four assistant directors of the Domestic Council--the President's personal domestic policy staff--only one is over 33. You might be interested to know that the man who headed up the interdepartmental task force which put together the President's environment package last year, Chris Demuth, was only 23. Two of our top professionals on the policy staff are women in their twenties who have already made outstanding careers for themselves in the practice of law and management consulting.

I believe this is the youngest White House staff in history, barring none. This is the staff which the President relies upon to make sure that all of the policy options are fully and carefully staffed out.

It is his decisions on these policy options by which the President wants to be judged. The President does not feel that he nor any other elective official or candidate for office should be judged

by the length of his hair

by the modishness of his clothes

nor by the intensity of his rhetoric.

What the President feels counts is action--performance. To promise something that you cannot accomplish is both irresponsible and destructive of the people's faith in America and its system. Only

by being tough minded can we as voters avoid the disappointment that comes with accepting promises that cannot be kept.

Let me close with a quote which I think well summarizes the President's feelings about this country, its future, and your role in its future.

The President said...

"Let us tell young Americans, all Americans, that we should love America. But let us love her not because she is rich and not because she is strong, but because America is a good country and we are going to make her better...

"This is a beautiful country and we are privileged to be the generation that has the responsibility to make it even more beautiful for the generations ahead."

Thank you.

(Quote from:

President's Address to Junior Chamber of Commerce's National Convention in St. Louis, Missouri, June 25, 1970)

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12958, SECTION 1.4
By CL, DATE 2-24-82

September 8, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Georg Babbe

Attached for your information is a resume for Georg Babbe whose name was given to me by Cliff Miller as a possible candidate for Campaign Manager in California.

I worked with Mr. Babbe in the 1968 campaign when he was Regional Chairman of Los Angeles County. He was one of the most outstanding men in the campaign and was well accepted by everyone he dealt with. He is senior enough (47 years old) to handle high level types and would be known as a Nixon man. He has lots of energy and is a hard working individual.

I think, under the right circumstances, he could be made available and he would be an outstanding choice for Campaign Manager.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

RESUME

GEORG BABBE

Date of Birth: February 20, 1924 - Butte, Montana

Marital Status: Married. Four children

Residence: Palos Verdes Estate, California

Education: Attended elementary, junior and high schools in Great Falls, Montana.

1941-1944 - Attended Northwestern University
1946 - returned to Northwestern University and received degree in Business Administration with distinction in 1947.

Member of Beta Gamma Sigma, honorary Business Fraternity

Taken a number of American Management Association courses.

1958 - completed Economics of National Security course from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

1960 - Attended Senior Reserve Officers National Strategy course at National Board College

Military: 1944 - Commissioned in the Navy; served in submarine detail in the Pacific in World War II; currently a Captain in the Naval Reserve.

Business: October 1970 to Present - Manager of Pacific Lighting Properties

February 1969-October 1970 - Vice President of Kierulff Electronics, Inc.

December 1967-February 1969 - Director of Corporate Services for Ducommun Inc.

Prior employment was with Southern California Gas Company for 17 years. Senior positions: Division Manager and Manager of Real Estate and Industrial Engineering.

Georg Babbe

Community and Civic: Formerly Vice President of Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Chairman, Southwest area of Los Angeles County Nixon for President Committee

1962-1969 - Trustee of Centinella Valley Hospital

1958-1959 - President, United Cerebral Palsy Association of Los Angeles County

1959 - Winner of Durward Howes Service Award

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

September 9, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is a report by David A. Keene on the YAF convention which he attended in Houston, along with Tom Huston, at our request.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: DAVID A. KEENE *DK*
SUBJECT: YAF CONVENTION

I am sure you already have a pretty clear idea of the results of last week's YAF convention in Houston. We did not come out of the affair as well as I had hoped we might, but I do think we managed to do about as well as we had a right to expect.

As I indicated before we left for Houston, there is a good deal of hostility toward the President in YAF. We never expected to get a favorable reaction from the delegates, but we did want to show them that we are still interested in their views. We succeeded in this goal and even managed to moderate the proceedings to some extent.

The resolutions as reported to the convention by the Resolutions Committee were relatively moderate. I would describe them as "responsibly critical" and most of them passed on the floor without much uproar. However, the convention did insist on beefing up the so-called "Manhattan Twelve" statement by deleting the final two paragraphs. This action moved beyond the conservative leadership and put YAF in a position of greater hostility toward the Administration.

The "mock nominating convention" held on Saturday evening was a disaster for all involved. The delegates had three favorites--Governor Reagan, Senator Buckley and the Vice President--but more than twenty names were placed in nomination.

The YAF leadership evidently decided at some point to go with the Vice President.

This decision was opposed, however, by many delegates who believed that the White House wanted the Vice President to win as a means of blunting the impression of total hostility toward the Administration. This belief was strengthened by rumors that Steve Shadegg and possibly Dave Jones were attending as White House operatives and urging delegates to support the Vice President.

The delegates resented this as well as Shadegg's alleged offer to, in effect, buy off Chairman Ron Docksai. This resentment combined with a particularly inflammatory speech by former YAF National Chairman, Robert Bauman, set the stage for the Saturday night debacle.

You may recall that, when I talked with you prior to the mock convention, I said that we were dealing with a paper house, but that we didn't have too much to worry about if no one set it ablaze. Well, Bauman was the arsonist.

The YAF leadership had also decided to place the President's name in nomination so that they could embarrass him. We attempted to stop this without much success, and instead, the kids supporting him announced that they considered the Vice President's nomination a show of support for the Administration.

The "mock convention" was, of course, a frivolous exercise without much meaning in itself. However, it did give the delegates an opportunity to demonstrate their distaste for the Administration and its programs at this point in time. The emotionalism of the evening can be explained by the fact that many of the kids participating worked in the '68 campaign and now feel betrayed.

The significance of their discontent lies in the fact that they reflect, admittedly in exaggerated form, the feelings of many other conservatives. In this respect, they pose a problem both for us and for senior conservative leaders who cannot afford to get too far away from their supporters. People like Senator Goldwater are already

beginning to lose credibility within the conservative movement because of their loyalty to the President, while others are moving steadily to the right of the President to avoid this problem.

I have said in the past that I believe we would be fooling ourselves if we adopt the attitude that this discontent is going to go away. It isn't going to. On the contrary, unless we move to do something about it, we can expect it to get worse.

The problem, of course, is that most of their objections are of a substantive nature. This is particularly true in the areas of defense, wage and price controls, and welfare. YAFers are violently opposed to FAP and wage and price controls. There is no way in which they can be either sold on them or convinced to ignore them. And they, like their senior advisers, are afraid of our apparent strategic slippage.

Given these problems, however, there are still some steps we might consider:

1. There are few identifiable "movement" conservatives in the Administration, and this is a point of contention that comes up whenever conservatives meet.
2. Many conservatives feel that we are simply not interested in their views. I know that some attempt is being made to increase our communications with the right, but I feel this effort should be stepped up. A little attention here could go a long way in 1972.

SECRETARY TO THE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By lp, date 3-24-82

September 1, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As you know, up to this time Bill Timmons has been handling the convention activities. Now that the site has been selected and the key committees set up, Bill has questioned me as to whether or not we expect him to continue in his present role as the working part of the convention begins to move into high gear.

It would seem appropriate that we continue to use Bill as our direct liaison with the RNC on all matters pertaining to the convention.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER 9, 1971

FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

Attached is a memorandum from Bill Timmons recommending that John Rhodes be appointed the Chairman of the Platform Committee for the 1972 Republican National Convention. John Ehrlichman asked that I pass it through you to the President.

John and I concur with Bill's recommendation that Rhodes be the Chairman of the Committee. We believe that we can work constructively with him and that an early and firm selection of a Chairman can avoid some other problems.

We plan also to insure that Bryce Harlow plays an influential role as a member of the Platform Committee. (Unless you see some problems with Rhodes' selection, I plan to go ahead and advise Timmons that John Rhodes is acceptable as Chairman. Rhodes would like to have the job.)

Please advise.


Ken Cole

cc:
Bill Timmons

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN EHRLICHMAN
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS ~~BT~~
SUBJECT: '72 Convention

We should soon be thinking about the person who is to be selected Chairman of the Resolutions (Platform) Committee for the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Senator Hugh Scott and Rep. John Rhodes have both expressed interest in being chairman of this Committee. Since Sen. Roman Hruska was Vice Chairman in 1968 under Everett Dirksen, he very likely could lay claim to the post. You may recall that the Committee was led by Mel Laird in '64 and Chuck Percy in '60.

It is not necessary for the Chairman to be a Member of Congress although Senators & Representatives probably have a better grasp of issues and the nuances of drafting platform language.

Since you have platform responsibilities, could you give me guidance on the individual you feel could best do the job and also one that you could work comfortably with?

My own recommendation is for Rhodes. As Chairman of the House Policy Committee and as a senior Member of the Appropriations Committee he understands issues and their interrelationships. Also, taking a House Member would not force a decision between our loyal friend Hruska and our Senate leader Scott. Additionally, Johnny is well liked in Congress and the choice would be popular.

The only possible liabilities, and they are minor, are Rhodes' close identification with the Conservative wing of the Party and a sometimes streak of western independence. On the key votes we measure loyalty by, John voted against the President only five times: three were SST, one the OEO authorization and another on funding the International Development Association.

BRIEF BIO

Rhodes is 55, married with four children, served in Air Corps in World War II, law degree from Harvard, member of a variety of social-service-veterans associations. John is in his 10th term, having been first elected in 1952. He served on both Education & Labor and Interior Committees before joining the Appropriations Committee. He has been Policy Chairman since 1963.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*
SUBJECT: '72 Convention Appointments

There are a number of decisions which should be made soon and some which may be deferred regarding key posts at next year's national Republican Convention. Most of these decisions are for early planning and need not be announced until next spring and summer.

Attached are the major official jobs for the Convention, a brief description of each and my personal recommendations.

The Attorney General will certainly want to discuss these with the President and Bob Haldeman at some convenient time. When decisions are made, please let me know for planning and follow-up.

✓cc: H. R. Haldeman

FLOOR LEADER: An important publicity post. Should be identifiable personality who understands convention mechanics, politics and rules. Job is to represent candidate's interests on convention floor, make motions or speak to them for candidate, serves as conduit for information to key delegates. Floor leader is in constant communication with campaign manager and podium.

Recent Floor Leaders have been:

- 1968 - Rogers Morton
- 1964 - Curtis for Goldwater
- 1960 - ???

I recommend that Hugh Scott be asked to assume this role. The Pennsylvanian Senator is GOP Senate Leader and understands House rules from his years in that Body. A former National GOP Chairman who supported Rocky in '68 and Scranton in '64, but a Senator who with several exceptions supports the President's legislative program. If there is a revolt from the liberal camp over some platform plank or over the nomination of the Vice President, Hugh can communicate with the left wing. Also it is believed Scott will take instructions from the campaign manager. He expects to have a prominent role in the convention and has already sent signals for the Platform Chairmanship or, failing that, Rules Chairman. It is felt Scott must have some assignment or he and his friends will be extremely upset. It is believed the Floor Leader position is controllable.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

NOMINATOR AND SECONDEES: Key actors in Convention drama. New Rules will probably be adopted to limit nomination and seconding addresses to a total of fifteen minutes, to be allocated as each major candidate determines. (Favorite sons and symbolic candidates will have five minutes total). It will probably be smart to have a number of speakers with very short remarks to show broad support for the President. A good spot for Governors, especially Reagan & Rockefeller. Possibility for Cabinet officers.

Recent nominators and seconders have been:

- 1968 - Agnew, Hatfield, Baker, Volpe & Ogilvie
- 1964 - (Goldwater) Dirksen, Knowland, Clare Luce, Tower, Halleck
- 1960 - Hatfield, Kuchel, Chris Del Soto, Jewel Rogers, Taft, John Roosevelt, Mrs. Andrew Gavin, Javits

The decision for these posts should be made after the Democratic National Convention and be used to the best media advantage for the President.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

RULES CHAIRMAN: Presides over convention Rules Committee which makes rules changes recommendations to full convention. Important the Chairman be loyal and familiar with House Rules as well as existing RNC rules for a National Convention. In preparation for the '72 Convention, the RNC has already created a Rules Committee to study possible changes, hear arguments, etc. Normally, if elected delegates from their states, members of this Committee become actual Convention Rules Committee since they will have had most familiarity with issues. Former Rep. Bill Cramer is Chairman of the RNC Rules Committee.

I recommend that Cramer be continued as Rules Chairman for the Convention. He is an able lawyer, thoroughly conversant with House and RNC Rules. He is in best position to carry forward recommendations and should work well with the campaign staff.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

KEYNOTER: Gives major speech on first evening of Convention. Maximum television exposure, sets scene and tone for Convention. Selection must be carefully made in light of political circumstances in August of 1972 and image we need to project.

Recent keynoters have been:

- 1968 - Dan Evans
- 1964 - Mark Hatfield
- 1960 - Walter Judd

I recommend that the selection of the keynoter be held until after the Democratic National Convention but that Chairman Dole be charged with stopping any lobbying by interested politicians. Should one individual build up broad support for the job and for campaign reasons not be selected, there will be friction.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

ARRANGEMENTS VICE CHAIRMAN: Is Member of Republican National Convention who is assigned all logistics for Convention. Responsible for Subcommittees on Housing, Transportation, Program, News Media and Tickets/Badges. Vital post to operations.

Recent Vice Chairmen have been:

- 1968 - Don Ross
- 1964 - Bob Pierce
- 1960 - Jaren Jones

This post has already been filled by Dick Herman of Nebraska. Dick was regional director for '68 campaign, worked on transition staff for personnel, held key position in Nixon effort in Miami Convention. Has already been most helpful.

CHIEF PAGE: Usually a young man to organize and supervise official Convention pages. Pages are assigned each delegation and RNC offices, media, etc. Not a major post but one to reward friends and to establish network of intelligence for campaign operation (actually states appoint most of their own pages). Chief Page should work closely with Nixon Youth organization.

Recent Chief Pages have been:

- 1968 - Lance Tarrance
- 1964 - Michael Gill
- 1960 - Tom Van Sickle

I recommend Jay Wilkinson for the spot. Jay worked in the '68 convention and campaign. Served at the Pierre and White House. Ran for Congress. Son of prominent sports figure. Is an ordained Minister.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Administrative head of convention hall security and ushers. Responsible for validating tickets, parking permits, etc. No law enforcement experience necessary but loyalty and ability very important.

Recent Sergeants at Arms have been:

- 1968 - Jack Sherwood
- 1964 - Robert Carter
- 1960 - Edward McGinnis

This appointment has already been made with approval of the Attorney General. He is Ody Fish, former GOP State Chairman of Wisconsin.

PLATFORM CHAIRMAN: Presides over the hearings and sessions of the Resolutions Committee. Presents report to the delegates for adoption. Extremely important and difficult post. Must understand President's policy, national issues, public and delegate attitudes, etc. Hugh Scott and John Rhodes both want job. Roman Hruska probably would like assignment since he was Dirksen's Vice Chairman in 1968.

Recent Platform Chairmen have been:

- 1968 - Everett Dirksen
- 1964 - Melvin Laird
- 1960 - Charles Percy

I recommend Rhodes get the nod. Have also asked John Ehrlichman for his views on best man. Johnny has been Chairman of the House GOP Policy Committee for nine years. Serves on Appropriations Committee and has also been on Interior and Education & Labor Committees. Harvard lawyer, World War II Air Corps, 55 years old, married with four children. He has voted "wrong" on only five occasions over 2-1/2 years: three on SST, one on OEO authorization, and one on funding International Development Association.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

PARLIAMENTARIAN: Makes recommendations to the Chairman on all questions of rules, procedures and precedents relating to the Convention. He must be a loyalist and personally compatible with the Permanent Chairman. Since the House Rules are used, the Parliamentarian should be a House Member. Rules Committee experience is helpful.

Recent Parliamentarians have been:

- 1968 - H. Allen Smith
- 1964 - Katherine St. George
- 1960 - Katherine St. George

I recommend that Smith again be given the assignment. He is best authority on House Rules.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

SECRETARY: Normally held by the woman who is Secretary to the Republican National Committee. This is an important position that has seldom been effectively used. The Secretary's principal role is to call the roll of the states, announce tallies, etc. Therefore, the Secretary is on camera a lot. She should be an attractive and competent lady. Mrs. Connie Bailey of Vermont is RNC Secretary but does not project well and is unattractive physically.

Recent Secretaries have been:

- 1968 - Mrs. Connie Bailey
- 1964 - Mrs. C. D. Buck
- 1960 - Mrs. E. E. Heffelfinger

I recommend that we change precedent in 1972 and have the National Co-Chairman, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, serve as Secretary of the Convention. Anne is popular, attractive, dignified, and possesses a pleasant voice. She is from important Texas and currently will have virtually no official role in the Convention.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Presides over the Convention for all business, including adoption of Committee reports (Platform), nominations and selection of candidates, acceptance speeches, etc. If the Convention continues to follow the House of Representatives Rules it seems appropriate that a House Member be the permanent Chairman. Jerry Ford has expressed interest in the job and most politicians expect he will be named (actually, he must be elected by the Convention itself). This probably the most important Convention responsibility.

Recent permanent chairmen have been:

- 1968 - Gerald Ford
- 1964 - Thruston Morton
- 1960 - Charles Halleck

I recommend that Ford again be given the assignment.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: Presides over the early non-working sessions of the Convention (organization session and also keynote session). This is a prestigious appointment but one that can do relatively little damage to us. A good spot to expose a liberal or minority Republican or candidate in need.

Recent temporary chairmen have been:

- 1968 - Edward Brooke
- 1964 - Mark Hatfield
- 1960 - Cecil Underwood

I am not prepared to make a recommendation at this time and believe the post should be held open until after the Democratic Convention. Probably should go to a Governor (Holton, Ogilvie?) if that will not hurt general election effort.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

September 1, 1971

DEFERRED TO THE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
L.O. 10-102
By Sp, 3-22-71

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: '72 Convention

Enclosed for your approval or disapproval is a memorandum from Bill Timmons regarding hotel accommodations, transportation, and seating for major officials in the Administration. Bill is being pressed by the RNC Arrangements Committee for answers to these various questions.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WT*
SUBJECT: 72 Convention

The RNC Arrangements Committee is pushing me for answers to questions about hotel accommodations, transportation and convention seats for major officials in the Administration.

While White House personnel will be located with the campaign staff and President and Vice Presidential parties, Cabinet and subcabinet officials probably could best serve by being housed with their home state delegations. Also, we need to know how many of the subcabinet and agency heads and their staff will be attending the convention. There are two approaches: we can tell them who is to attend, where they'll stay, etc. -- or we can ask them who in their department will be in attendance. I prefer the latter course and recommend I be authorized to contact each Cabinet officer and agency head to request information.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

It is my hope that the above officials will be honored guests of the RNC for the convention and that seats and ground transportation will be provided by the National Committee. However, airline transportation and hotel rooms and charges will be the responsibility of the individual Cabinet officer.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

Attached are listings of the principal officers who may be included in your consideration, however, I question including anybody from regulatory bodies.

Incidentally, I anticipate that George Shultz and his principal personnel will be housed with the White House staff.

1.	William P. Rogers	Secretary of State
2.	John B. Connally	Secretary of Treasury
3.	Melvin Laird	Secretary of Defense
4.	John Mitchell	The Attorney General
5.	Winton Blount	The Postmaster General
6.	Rogers Morton	Secretary of Interior
7.	Clifford Hardin	Secretary of Agriculture
8.	Maurice Stans	Secretary of Commerce
9.	James Hodgson	Secretary of Labor
10.	Elliot Richardson	Secretary of HEW
11.	George Romney	Secretary of HUD
12.	John Volpe	Secretary of Transportation
13.	Robert F. Froehlke	Secretary of the Army
14.	Robert Seamans	Secretary of the Air Force
15.	John Chafee	Secretary of the Navy
16.	George Bush	Ambassador to the U.N.
17.	David Kennedy	Ambassador At Large
18.	Dr. Arthur Burns	Chairman, Federal Reserve Board
19.	Dr. Edward David	Science Advisor to the President
20.	Virginia Knauer	Consumer Advisor to the President
21.	Paul McCracken	Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors
22.	Russell Train	Chairman, Environmental Quality Council
23.		Director of OEO
24.	George Lincoln	Director of OEP
25.	Nils Boe	Director of Intergovernmental Relations
26.	Carl Gilbert	Special Representative for Trade Negotiations
27.	Clay Whitehead	Director, Office of Tele- communications Policy
28.	Donald Whitehead	Federal Co-Chairman, Appalachian Regional Comm.
29.	William Ruckelshaus	Administrator, EPA
30.	William Brown	Chairman, EEOC
31.	Robert Kunzig	Administrator, GSA
32.	Dr. James Fletcher	Administrator, NASA
33.	Thomas Kleppe	Administrator, SBA
34.	Frank Shakespeare	Director, USIA
35.	Donald Johnson	Administrator, VA
36.	Dr. John Hannah	Administrator, AID
37.	Joseph Blatchford	Director, ACTION

LIST OF THOSE NOT INCLUDED

Chairman, AEC Commission (Jim Schlesinger)
Director, Arms Control Agency
Chairman, CAB
Chairman, Civil Service Commission
President, Exim Bank (Henry Kearn)
Governor, Farm Credit Administrator
Chairman, FFC (Dean Burch)
Chairman, FDIC
Director, Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service
Chairman, FPC
Chairman, FTC
Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement
Chairman, Indian Claims Council
Chairman, ICC
Chairman, National Commission on Consumer Finance
Administrator, National Credit Union Admin.
Chairman, National Foundation on the Arts & Humanities
Chairman, NLRB
Director, National Science Foundation
President, Overseas Private Investment Corp.
Chairman, Renegotiation Board
Chairman, SEC
Director, Selective Service System
Chairman, SACB
Commissioner, Tariff Commission (Catherine May)
Chairman, TVA
Chairman, FHLB Board (Preston Martin)
Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission (Helen Bentley)
President, FNMA (Oakley Hunter)

September 8, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
BOB HALDEMAN —

FROM: HARRY DENT *HD*

SUBJECT: Kentucky Governor's Race

Attached is a confidential report on the Kentucky governor's race. This is the only governor's race in 1971 in which we have a candidate. He is very handsome and is running a good race. His name is Tom Emberton, and he has the full backing of Governor Louie Nunn. The polls show Emberton running behind but only by a small margin. In fact, this is a good sign, since he is a new face on the statewide scene. As you can see from the attachment, one straw vote indicates a toss-up and the major editors across the state split evenly on who is ahead.

A big factor in our favor is the Democrat split caused by Ford's primary victory over ex-Judge Combs.

This will probably be one of the few real weathervane votes that political writers and political pros can bill as a referendum on the Nixon Administration between now and 1972. As you will see from the poll information in the attachment, the President is currently riding very high. This seems to be based largely on a quick poll taken after the President's economic message.

What these people are crying for now is a commitment from here for anywhere from \$200,000 to \$300,000 to be set aside for TV during the closing weeks of the campaign. Governor Nunn has already helped them raise a fair amount of money and they have put aside \$150,000 for election day activities. This is not to be touched under any circumstances.

They have raised about \$500,000 and expect to spend around \$1 million. They think it will be all they can do to survive financially between now and election day. What they want is assurance that they will be able to have TV money. They say they will not touch any of this money and that it could be controlled so that it would be used only for that purpose.

They need to know as soon as possible whether there is any possibility of getting any commitment from here.

I have talked to Governor Nunn, the State Chairman, and the campaign leaders. They all endorse this request very strongly.

I. Post Primary Election Scene

A. The Democratic primary election was won by Lt. Gov. Wendell Ford. Ford, whose background includes the State Senate and the national presidency of the Jaycees, is a resident of Owensboro, Daviess County.

Ford was an upset victor over former Governor Bert Combs in the eyes of the press.

However, the preprimary surveys conducted by the Emberton organization indicated that Ford would defeat Combs on the basis of:

- *Combs lack of credibility stemming from problems with his administration and his resignation from the Federal Bench to seek the governorship again.
- *The ability of Ford to pin the 'high taxes' label on Combs.

In fact, the first Emberton survey in December, 1970, indicated the difficulties Combs would have in overcoming the above two points. Despite a strenuous primary in which nearly \$1,500,000 was reported being spent by the two, a very low turnout marked the Democratic Primary. In fact less than 10% of the state's registered voters played a part in Ford's success.

Combs' running mate for Lieutenant Governor, Julian Carroll, was successful in the primary however. This couples two bitter, former enemies in an uneasy alliance at present. It is interesting to note that continuing rumors of problems between Ford and Carroll persist.

It is also significant to note that both Ford and Carroll are from western Kentucky, which means a blackout in terms of the top of the ticket from the major population areas of the state...in a commonwealth in which regional loyalties are strong.

II. The Image of Nunn and Nixon Administrations

All current surveys conducted by the Emberton organization indicate basic satisfaction with both Administrations.

This credibility is important to an Emberton victory.

It would appear that the Ford-Carroll camp recognizes the need to destroy the image of the Nunn and Nixon Administrations as the majority of negative comment coming from them at present is anti-Nunn and anti-Nixon.

The Ford-Carroll operation has been touted as the start of the national "Dump Nixon" movement by the Democratic party in the state.

To date, Governor Nunn has refrained from entering the hustings. It is anticipated that he will be an active participant on the campaign trail after Labor Day.

III. The Ford Strategy in the Post Primary Period

The Ford Strategy in the primary is being repeated in the General Election. He is extremely abusive of Tom Emberton, Nixon and Nunn. His tactics in the primary were more rough than any this observer has witnessed in a long career of watching politics. He employs the 'big lie' technique and does it with a straight face. He has benefited from the fact that major media in the state simply report his comments without judging their accuracy or truth.

At present, he is attempting to put the label of more taxes on Emberton and continually emphasizes the economic 'failures' of the Nixon and Nunn Administrations.

His major problem in this post-primary period has been to try and heal the division within the Democratic Party. For a time, he acted in a very high-handed manner, but evidently convinced by his advisors of the need for reconciliation, he has, in the last

several weeks, attempted to enroll former members of the Combs team. He has had some success in this regard.

During the primary, Ford made extensive use of radio and newspaper advertising. His television schedule, on which he makes a poor appearance, was quite limited. He spent over \$450,000 reported on his primary race, however.

IV. Post Primary Strategy for Emberton

During the primary, Tom Emberton maintained a very low profile. He held a series of issue hearings which generated favorable but low key press.

Immediately after the primary, this strategy changed. It had been decided that if Combs won the primary, the low profile would continue to the fall in the hope that negative Combs sentiment would build of its own accord.

If Ford, however, won, in order to demonstrate that all was well with the GOP campaign and that we were not down and out because of the Ford victory, it had been early determined that we would surface immediately following the primary and using 'jag' theories of media exposure, attempt to mount a series of high profile exposures over the summer months.

This strategy has been implemented through a series of dramatic issue pronouncements used to demonstrate Emberton as a decisive individual; some paid television utilizing 'hi. image' spots, a limited amount of newspaper exposure advertising in Republican areas, and very strenuous campaigning (dawn to midnight) on Emberton's part. (For example, plant gates at dawn have been the rule since June).

The most impact issue to date, has been Emberton's decision to remove the five per cent sales tax on food. This issue has tremendous popular appeal. Our main problem, as will be noted below, is the failure of nearly one half of the state to be aware of the nominee's position. Because of budget exigencies, our exposure on this has been limited even though we were front page headlines at the time of the announcement.

In all this, it is essential to remember, that we must try and dominate our positions through paid time...this gets our message across in the way we wish it received by the voter rather than relying on the trustworthiness of the media!

In all these months, we have employed the criss-cross theory of an event in one end of the state in the morning, another at noon in another location, etc., in order to give us multi-area media exposure during an average day.

Emberton has stressed program and principle in an attempt to head off the Ford personal invective. Emberton is a highly personable, very strong, popular campaigner. His one-on-one contacts are excellent.

In the joint appearances to date, Emberton has come off the points on leader although he has not put Ford down for the knock out.

The Emberton organization at the county levels is relatively complete but it is yet to be judged in terms of its effectiveness.

Initial volunteer ploys such as the neighborhood walks (the candidates walk the neighborhoods as a bait to get volunteers to canvass in large numbers) in the metro areas have been quite successful. For example, over 100 volunteers covered 5300 homes in northern Kentucky in 90 plus degree heat last Saturday.

We are building toward a 'neighbors' strategy for the last two weeks in the larger metroareas (Northern Ky., Louisville, Lexington, Ashland, Bowling Green, Paducah).

The support from former Combs supporters has been most impressive. A strong Democratic organization is at work with its own field staff in three of the state's seven congressional Districts and is daily growing. Endorsements from significant Democrats have been building. This is a major source of encouragement.

The Combs-Ford wounds have not healed! Any observer of Southern/Border state politics knows how effective such feuds can be in terms of adding votes for the GOP column on election day.

V. Immediate Goals

The immediate goal of the Emberton effort is to continue the building process so successfully begun in these summer months. Polls indicate that Emberton is now approaching the 70 per cent recognition factor but in view of Ford's high factor (over 90) this gap must be closed in the next weeks.

In addition, when pressed there is a relatively low-undecided factor in the head on encounters which indicates the aftermath of the particularly active primary.

Accordingly, we believe in the next four weeks we must:

- a. Consolidate recognition
- b. Provide depth to the Emberton image
- c. Stir our own troops
- d. Begin the negative attack on Ford (this is vital to keep the Combs People with us)
- e. Dominate our areas of media...television and weekly press...and dominate through our own material rather than relying on a generally hostile press
- f. Continue the development of our volunteer team with an emphasis on trial projects
- g. Continue development of our special groups (Drs., lawyers, farmers, for selective direct mail in the fall)
- h. Continue the candidate's high exposure schedule

VI. Budgets

Wendell Ford and Julian Carroll expended (on record which does not include many of their county committees) over \$850,000 in the primary. Money is not a worry for them.

Their professional staff far outnumbers our own at present. The signs of their affluence are around us and the recent support they have received from COPE (despite many unions favorable comment to us on our food tax stand) indicates that national labor will be pouring in money for them.

Ford's campaign manager, the director of a large rural electric cooperative, is rumored to use his organization's funds for political participation. This could be done through personal service contracts with the money then passed through an individual's books to the campaign. This would explain some \$220,000 to Ford from only 16 donors in the primary...many of whom would not appear to be in the economic bracket to afford \$15,000 plus contributions individually.

The Emberton campaign to date has expended circa \$475,000. In addition we have about another \$200,000 in available sources at hand.

Our total budget is about \$1,200,000 contrasting with the Democratic budget of circa \$1,600,000 to \$1,750,000.

The greatest need at present is to consolidate our television posture.

We must immediately purchase our television for continuing exposure and for the big fall push. Now is the time to buy October television to insure the best available time rather than take 'left over primes.'

(more)

Accordingly we seek \$250,000 - 300,000 from national sources.

We believe we can generate from \$800,000 - 900,000 in Kentucky.

The uses of the national money would be as follows:

\$250,000 for television time

60,000 for specialized direct mail (target groups with a negative sell)

45,000 for a 'neighbors' program in metro areas during the last month.

The issue is very simple.

1. The polls indicate Emberton can win.
2. The impression Emberton makes is superb...one of the really dynamic young men to come on the GOP scene in major level politics recently.
3. The issue in this election is, in part, an endorsement of the Nixon Administration. All available media emphasizes this constantly.
4. As the only contested race in the nation, we must bear the burden of attention. This means that every national opposition source is aiding our opponent.
5. With the new economic policy of the Nixon Administration, (and Kentucky's economic situation), it will be a matter of course for the news media to judge Kentucky's race this year as an endorsement for the President.
6. In short, because of the national attention, the cost of the Kentucky race is high...but such a cost is a 'absolute bargain basement special' if we can hold this vital race and provide the beginning of the GOP success for 1972.

We believe that given the strengths of the Nixon, Nunn team; given the attractiveness, willingness and strength of the nominee and his slate; and given the growing possibilities of his organization...victory is possible.

BUT, the time for the money to be fed is TODAY.

Today we can buy the best television time. Tomorrow we get the left-overs. Every dollar on the above budget will be put into television time..but the emphasis must be television now and the best for October.

Further, with our television budget in hand, we can realistically utilize our own dollars where they must count at the local levels and in other essential forms of communication.

Finally, our opposition was forced into accepting a spending limitation on media that we proposed...accordingly, given the above budget now...realistically, effectively and wisely spent on this medium, we can dominate the market with a proven attractive force...Tom Emberton.

It's a dollar spent wisely in 1971 to insure victory in '72!!!

TO: John Kerr

8/26/71

Some random observations from the formal report presented to the Emberton for Governor Committee covering the public opinion survey conducted in the State of Kentucky during the week of August 15, 1971.

(Note: As in the previous surveys, Professor Dan Nimmo was project consultant)

This was a 'reviver' survey covering areas previously polled in the December, April and early July interview schedules.

Circa 600 interviews were conducted in metropolitan counties only (previous schedules were in excess of 1700 interviews).

Included in the schedule were interviews in Jefferson County (Louisville), Fayette (Lexington), Boyd (Ashland), McCracken (Paducah), Graves (Mayfield), Warren (Bowling Green), Daviess (Owensboro), Henderson (Henderson), Franklin (Frankfort), Woodford (Versailles), Scott (Georgetown), Madison (Richmond), the northern Kentucky complex of Campbell, Boone and Kenton, Pike (Pikeville), and selected areas in the Fifth District including Pulaski, Bell and Jackson Counties but not the rural areas of this District.

The prime thrust of the survey was to:

1. Determine if the Emberton high profile (begun as of June 15) was gaining recognition.
2. Determine if Emberton was building voter support from the behind position he occupied in the December and April polls.
3. Determine if the Nunn Administration continued in a favorable light.
4. Determine if there continued to be support for the Nixon Administration.

On the basis of the current endeavor, it would appear that all four above points are positive for the Emberton campaign.

1. Recognition: Wendell Ford - 90.1
Tom Emberton - 76.3 (67 per cent in July
28 per cent in April)
2. Head on:
Wendell Ford 37.9
Tom Emberton 32.7
A. B. Chandler 7.5
Bill Smith (AIP) .5

(This is excellent progress and indicates the election is moving in a

CIVIC SERVICE INCORPORATED ANALYSIS

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

favorable direction for the Emberton effort. The July support for Emberton 27.9 versus 46.8 for Ford)

The above head-on obviously reflects the success of Emberton's issue posture on the food tax issue. It is important to note, however, that in the semantic deferential and ideal candidate phase of the schedule that Emberton's image is settling in a 'personal pattern' rather an 'issue orientation' focus...this factor should aid the continuing upward movement of the Emberton candidacy.

On the sales tax on food issue:

Over 88 per cent indicated their approval of removing said tax. Over 55 per cent of all voters were able to identify Emberton as the nominee who had proposed doing away with this tax.

2. The Nunn Administration continues with a strong degree of voter approval. One question was deliberately loaded to reflect the attack that Ford is now waging against the Nunn team. Despite such loading on the 'honesty' syndrome, Nunn scored most favorably indicating that Ford will have a hard row to hoe in sealing voters on his negative theme against the Governor.

3. The Nixon Administration likewise continued with favorable appeal:

Support for the President's recent economic actions:

Strongly approve	13.4
Approve	56.5
Disapprove	18.5
Disapprove strongly	3.5
Don't Know	8.2

There was an element of questioning as to exactly what the package was designed to accomplish.

Support for the Nixon Administration:
President's approval rating:

Strongly approve	8.5
Approve	52.5
Disapprove	22.5
Strongly disapprove	3.5

NOTE: It is evident from the virulent attacks by Ford and his team on the Nixon and Nunn Administrations that their own polling is presenting this same positive picture of the national and state administrations and hence must be negatively clouded for Ford to hold his own this November. Result: Ford's attempt to smear Nunn and to raise the spectre of a new depression as the 'result' of supposed Nixon failures.

CIVIC SERVICE INCORPORATED ANALYSIS

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Head on choice between contestants in 1968 presidential race:
(Note this was a forced closed end choice...it was interesting
that few voters, however, volunteered an alternative such as
Kennedy, Reagan or McGovern)

Nixon 47.5
Humphrey 24.7
Wallace 13.2
Other 3.7
Don't Know 11.5

The next survey, including rural areas is scheduled for the first
week in September.

CIVIC SERVICE INCORPORATED ANALYSIS

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

WASHINGTON, D.C.

At Kentucky State Fair
7/28/71

Independent booth ballots:

Youth Booth

Emberton	2423
Ford	2431
Chandler	259
Smith (AIP)	242

By Assoc. of Older Persons

Emberton	50%
Ford	38%
Chandler	7%
Smith	4%

Poll by Ky. Post of Editors:

8	thought Emberton in lead
8	" Ford " "
10	" toss-up

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *ASD*

Thought you would like to know that we got much good play out of the Kissinger briefing for the Billy Graham group. This has been played very much in Southern Baptist and other religious publications. Attached is some information on this subject. Dr. Criswell, a former Southern Baptist Convention president, announced that he changed his views on the proposed trip to China after the briefing.

Also, Paul Harvey has really come through strongly for the President as per the memo I sent you yesterday on this subject.

cc: Dr. Kissinger
Billy Graham

Criswell said Nixon was going to Peking because Red China must be reckoned with as a world power, and because of the deep cleavage in the Communist world. "We don't want Russia speaking for the entire Communist world," he said.

He added that Russia and China are deeply divided, practically and ideologically; that the Russians are blunt realists and the Chinese are zealous idealists; and that China could not challenge U. S. power for years to come but Russia could now.

Criswell added that the President's visit to China would seek to improve relations with a growing world power, but that America will not allow Southeast Asia to fall to the Communists.

-30-

Loan Service of Mission
Agency Expands Nationally

8/12/71

GLORIETA, N. M. (BP)--The Southern Baptist Home Mission Board voted here to expand the work of its Division of Church loans by eliminating limitations for its work only to "new territory" areas and expanding its activities to the entire nation.

Since 1959, operating on the basis of limited funds and resources, the division had confined its work to those state conventions (organized since 1940) where most new churches were being started and where local financing was hard to find because Southern Baptists were not well known, board officials said.

Robert H. Kilgore of Atlanta, director of the division, said needs in the states where Southern Baptists are well established are greater now than in 1959.

He said weekly requests from these areas have been far between 10 to 20 loans. The division has made arrangements for expanded borrowing of funds to be used for these loans. However, Kilgore does not expect money to be the major assistance.

"Counseling to correlate the purchase of land and erection of buildings as it relates to the financial program of the church will be our major commodity," he said.

He cited an increasing number of churches which have been abused because of unwise financial planning, excessive building, and even erecting the wrong type of building.

"Quite often the location of the facilities in the community are not planned in relationship to the changing complex of the community or the growing edge of the community," he said.

Financial assistance may run second to counseling but funds will go for two purposes: (1) the purchase of church sites where new churches are being organized, and (2) where local financing cannot be obtained reasonably, the division will make loans as it is able.

The loans will not exceed \$1,000,000 for 20 years, and they are made for the "going rate" of interest based on current economic conditions and sound business principles.

"Mostly our rate of interest is determined by the rate we are required to pay for funds we borrow," Kilgore said. Currently that rate is 8 1/2 percent, but the division does not charge for its services.

Kilgore stressed the fact that the present action will not alter the division's ability to serve the churches in the newer areas.

-30-

Home Mission Board Names
Three New Staff Members

8/12/71

GLORIETA, N. M. (BP)--The Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, in annual session at Glorieta Baptist Assembly here, elected three new staff members to the national mission agency with offices in Atlanta.

E. Warren Rust, former president of the Tennessee Baptist Convention and pastor in St. Louis, Mo., was named assistant director of the Division of Associational Services; and Roy W. Owen of the board staff, was appointed associate director of that division.

-more-



BAPTIST PRESS
News Service of the Southern Baptist Convention

NATIONAL OFFICE
460 James Robertson Parkway
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
Telephone (615) 244-2355
W. C. Fields, Director
Jim Newton, Assistant Director

BUREAUS

ATLANTA Walker L. Knight, Chief, 1350 Spring St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30309, Telephone (404) 873-4041
DALLAS Billy Keith, Chief, 103 Baptist Building, Dallas, Texas 75201, Telephone (214) 741-1996
NASHVILLE (Baptist Sunday School Board) Lynn M. Davis, Jr., Chief, 127 Ninth Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn. 37203, Telephone (615) 254-1631
RICHMOND Jesse C. Fletcher, Chief, 3806 Monument Ave., Richmond, Va. 23230, Telephone (703) 353-0151
WASHINGTON W. Barry Garrett, Chief, 200 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, Telephone (202) 544-4226

August 12, 1971

30 Religious Leaders Briefed
By White House on Red China

WASHINGTON (BP)--About 30 religious leaders selected by Evangelist Billy Graham, including about eight Southern Baptists, received an hour-long briefing here at the White House on U. S. foreign policy involving Red China.

The briefing was led by Henry A. Kissinger, assistant to the President for national security affairs who made the arrangements in Peking recently for President Nixon's forthcoming visit to mainland China.

Kissinger talked to the 30 religious leaders for about an hour on basic principles of U. S. foreign policy and relations with Red China, with the final 30 minutes of the briefing devoted to questions and discussion by the group.

Following the briefing, the group went into President Nixon's office for a greeting. The President did not attend the briefing itself, which was held in the White House cabinet room.

At the beginning of the meeting, Graham explained that the President and Kissinger had earlier given him a private briefing. He said he was so impressed that he suggested that the White House invite a number of his friends for a similar briefing.

About 30 persons suggested by Graham, most of them representing the conservative and evangelical stream of religious viewpoint, were invited.

Southern Baptists who attended were W. A. Criswell, pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas; Porter W. Routh, executive secretary of the Southern Baptist Executive Committee; Robert Denny, general secretary of the Baptist World Alliance; Graham and his associate T. W. Wilson of the Graham team.

Other Baptist laymen attending were Fred Rhodes, deputy administrator of Veterans Administration and former vice president of the SBC; W. Maxey Jarman of Nashville, former chairman of the board of Genesco, Inc.; and Bill Meade of Dallas, a bakery executive.

Among other churchmen who attended were such persons as radio commentator Paul Harvey, Christianity Today Editor Harold Lindsell, Campus Crusade Director Bill Bright, Fellowship of Christian Athletes Director Jim Jefferies, World Vision Director Stan Mooneyham, and others.

Most of those attending would have "no comment" on the briefing, saying that Graham told them the briefing was "off the record."

In Dallas, however, Criswell, immediate past president of the Southern Baptist Convention, held a press conference following the briefing, saying he endorsed President Nixon's plan to visit Red China.

Criswell told the Baptist Press that he had asked Kissinger if he could quote him on his answer to a question Criswell had asked concerning U. S. support of Israel, and that Kissinger had said flatly, "Yes." Criswell added that since Kissinger's other remarks were generally known, he did not feel what little he said to the press would be damaging.

Asked if he endorsed President Nixon's trip to Peking, Criswell replied, "Yes, and I feel doubly that way after the briefing."

"It is unthinkable," Criswell said, "That we could blind our eyes to the fact that Red China is here. Red China is an astronomical fact." He cited 800 million inhabitants which he said soon would grow to one billion.

-more-

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE

-18-

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1971

SOUTHERN BAPTIST LEADER REPORTS
ON WHITE HOUSE CHINA BRIEFING

By Religious News Service (8-13-71)

DALLAS (RNS) -- A former president of the Southern Baptist Convention announced here that he has changed his views of President Nixon's planned trip to China and is "in sympathy" with the administration's foreign policy.

Dr. W.A. Criswell, pastor of First Baptist church, here said that he recently had a two-hour White House briefing which included a meeting with Dr. Henry Kissinger and a brief talk with the President.

"The real enemy of America now is Russia," claimed the Baptist clergyman in an interview with the Dallas Times Herald.

He also said that the White House briefing informed him that the real issue in the world was "the war in the Middle East, rather than Vietnam or Red China." The closest the U.S. came to war in recent years was in 1970 when Syria invaded Jordan and Egypt was preparing to help Syria with Russia's encouragement, said Dr. Criswell.

The Baptist pastor has repeatedly voiced his support of Israel. Dr. Criswell claims that the situation in the Middle East "confirms what the Bible says -- that the final confrontation will be there."

The White House briefing attended by Dr. Criswell was also attended by Evangelist Billy Graham, news commentator Paul Harvey, Holiday Inns president William Walton, and Jarman Shoe Company executive Maxey Jarman, among others. "I think the group gathered was chosen by Billy Graham," Dr. Criswell stated. Though he is a resident of North Carolina Mr. Graham is a member of Dr. Criswell's church.

Dr. Criswell added that he believed the President's trip to China was "not a spur of the moment decision, but a planned policy toward which they have been working several years."

"The administration is ^{trying} / to face the reality of the growing power of Russia," the minister continued. "Eighty per cent of the arms in Vietnam come from Russia. One hundred per cent of the arms in the Middle East are from Russia."

Dr. Criswell further stated that "it is an awesome enemy which only knows the language of brute force."

The White House visit gave him "broader insights and a deeper understanding of American foreign policy," the pastor stated. "The Communists, with increasing success, are trying to isolate America."

"We have learned with sad experience that we cannot militarily protect the whole world," Dr. Criswell concluded. We have also learned with heavy hearts that welfare programs and gifts of money will not solve the woes of the nations in the world. We have learned that the only way a nation can be helped is through political stability."

Colson
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMO ONLY

September 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Monitoring of Democrats

I don't believe that we are doing an adequate job of monitoring the likely Democratic opponents or perhaps I just don't know where to go to get the information.

For example, I have been trying to get my hands on the transcript of Muskie's press conference last week to get the precise wording of his busing statement but have thus far not been able to get it. I've raised with Nofziger the question of having someone follow Muskie at all times with a tape recorder so that we get his off-hand remarks as well as his prepared remarks. Lyn says he hasn't got a budget for this. Maybe it shouldn't be done by Lyn anyway. Perhaps it should be done at 1701. The only point is it ought to be done.

As another example, I have been trying to find out who attended the Muskie "fat cat" weekend in Maine last weekend. Apparently no one has been monitoring even this kind of information which it seems to me is invaluable. One man could very easily check the airports and quickly determine who was coming in and out that weekend.

I don't know who this is assigned to but I think it is becoming an increasingly urgent requirement. Someone should have the responsibility and should see that it is done and done well.



Republican
National
Committee.

Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

August 30, 1971

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Thomas B. Evans, Jr. 

The attached summary copy of the Delaware poll was sponsored and paid for by private citizens and partisan groups in Delaware.

The interviews were conducted in late June and early July which, of course, was prior to both the China announcement and the President's dramatic economic initiatives. We are now able to measure attitude and opinion change during the July-August period with a panel study in which we re-interview the earlier sample. This can be done at very little cost and if you would like us to proceed, please let us know.

I would like to discuss this with you briefly by telephone in the near future.

TBEjr/mb

Attachment

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



DELAWARE STATEWIDE STUDY

(Volume I -- Analysis)

August, 1971

FOREWORD

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to assess voter opinions on a broad range of national, state, county and city issues at a time between elections, July 1971. Additionally, the study identified perceptions of elected officials at national, state, county and city levels and tested the ballot strength of a number of potential 1972 candidates.

Study Design

Personal interviews using a structured questionnaire were conducted with a representative sample of 601 registered voters in the State of Delaware. Interviewing was done in the end of June and early July 1971 by professional interviewers under the direction of Market Opinion Research, Detroit. The sample was a probability-proportionate-to-size sample based on occupied dwelling units according to the 1970 U.S. Census figures for Delaware.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Sampling error on a sample of this size at the 95% confidence level is $\pm 4.1\%$. This means that when a figure is cited in the sample, the probability is 95 out of 100 that this figure is within $\pm 4.1\%$ of the true figure among registered voters in Delaware.

As a check on the sample, respondents' reported vote for President in 1968 was checked against actual figures for Delaware:

	<u>Actual Vote 1968</u>	<u>Respondents' Recall of Vote (Those Who Voted)</u>
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Nixon	45.1%	51.8%
Humphrey	41.8	41.3
Wallace	13.1	6.9

Although the figure for Nixon is slightly high and the figure for Wallace slightly low, over-time recall tends to move slightly toward the winner.

Comparison by census statistics for Delaware on race in the adult population showed the sample well within error limits:

	<u>Census</u>	<u>Sample</u>
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Negro/black	12.9%	11.0%
White and other	87.1	87.3
Not stated	--	1.7

For purposes of analysis the sample was divided:

Total	601	100%
<u>By Voting behavior at Past State and National Election</u>		
Republican	193	32.3%
Ticket Splitter	172	28.6
Democrat	194	32.1
Marginal	42	7.0
<u>By County</u>		
City of Wilmington	108	18.0
New Castle excluding Wilmington	313	52.1
Kent	87	14.5
Sussex	93	15.4
<u>By Age</u>		
29 and under	90	14.9
30 - 39	138	22.9
40 - 49	230	38.2
60 and over	136	22.6
<u>By Income</u>		
0 - \$4,999	96	16.0
\$5,000 - \$9,999	197	32.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	142	23.6
\$15,000 and over	87	14.4
<u>By Education</u>		
Less than high school graduate	197	32.8
High school graduate	227	37.8
More than high school graduate	165	27.5
<u>By Date of Interview*</u>		
Before June 29, 1971	131	21.8
June 29 and after	470	78.2

* Note: It should be kept in mind that those interviews that were done before and after June 29 do not represent matched samples. The Governor's message to the legislature simply happened to occur in the middle of the interviewing. Because of this, the before-and-after interviews are compared to the total sample in terms of voting behavior following

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Before 6/29</u>	<u>After 6/29</u>
	601		
Republican	32.3	29.8	32.8
Ticket splitter	28.6	29.8	28.4
Democratic	32.1	38.2	30.6
Marginal	7.0	2.2	8.3

ISSUES

National

The Asian War receives the most mention as the most important problem facing the nation at the present time, just as it did in a poll of Delaware voters last September. It is also named by the largest percentage as the "single most important problem." The war gets particularly high mention from young voters. The second ranked problem is cost of living and the economic structure, as it was last fall. Compared to last fall, there is a marked drop in the mention of racial integration, pollution/ecology, and youth unrest as important mentioned problems.

Most Important Problems Facing Our Nation

	<u>Named as Important Problem (Multiple Answers Allowed)</u>		<u>Named as Single Most Important Problem</u>	
	<u>% Mention July 1971</u>	<u>% Mention Sept 1970</u>	<u>% Mention July 1971</u>	<u>% Mention Sept 1970</u>
War/Asian conflict	61.6%*	60.8%	42.6%	38.5%
Cost of living/Economic structure	26.5	30.2	10.3	7.0
Drugs/Dope/Narcotics	25.0	18.2	9.3	5.8
Racial problems/Integration	16.3	27.7	5.2	11.5
Crime	12.0	17.2	2.3	5.0
Unemployment	11.5	--	3.8	--
Youth unrest/Generation gap	8.3	17.3	3.0	6.2
Pollution/ Ecology/Smog/Overpopulation	8.3	26.0	1.8	9.0
Taxes	6.0	--	1.3	--
Administration/Leadership	5.5	--	2.3	--

All others less than 5% mention.

*75.6% mention among voters age 29 and under.

Voters were asked to rate nine selected national problems on a 0-10 scale on which the more important they considered the problem, the higher a rating they were to give it.

This measure is one of intensity and it is significant that, when the voters are rating the relative importance of a series of issues to them, both drugs and inflation move ahead of Vietnam. It is also significant that unemployment emerges only in middle of the list in Delaware when it is perceived as one of the most important issues nationwide.

When this data is analyzed in terms of voting groups, Republicans rate inflation as the most important problem while ticket splitters rate Vietnam as more important than inflation and equally as important as drugs.

Rate how important a problem each one is at this time?

10=extremely important, 0=extremely unimportant

	<u>Voter Type</u>				<u>County</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Wil.</u>	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>Sussex</u>
Drugs	9.0	8.8	9.0	9.5	9.1	9.1	8.9	9.0
Inflation/Cost of living	9.0	9.0	8.8	9.3	9.1	9.0	9.0	8.9
Vietnam	8.9	8.8	9.0	9.1	8.8	9.0	8.9	8.8
Crime	8.9	8.7	8.8	9.2	8.8	8.9	8.7	9.0
Unemployment	8.5	8.1	8.2	9.0	8.4	8.5	8.3	8.4
Air/ pollution	8.0	7.9	7.8	8.3	7.3	8.3	8.1	7.8
Racial problems	7.9	7.7	7.8	8.4	8.0	7.5	7.5	8.1
Health care	7.7	7.1	7.7	8.4	8.1	7.8	7.4	7.2
Civil/Student unrest	7.5	7.1	7.3	8.3	7.3	7.6	7.6	7.6

Over half of all voters perceive the nation as worse off than it was two or three years ago, and this attitude is more prevalent among Democrats than among Republicans or ticket splitters. Only 16% think the nation is better off while 22% think it is in about the same shape.

Generally speaking, do you think the United States as a nation is better or worse off than it was two or three years ago?

	Voter Type				County			
	Total	Rep.	T-S	Dem.	Wil.	N.C.	Kent	Sussex
Better off	16.0%	22.8%	12.2%	11.9%	8.3%	18.8%	17.2%	14.0%
Worse off	56.6	52.8	55.2	61.3	64.8	53.0	52.9	62.4
About the same	22.0	21.2	25.0	20.6	20.4	22.4	25.3	19.4
Don't know	5.5	3.1	7.6	6.2	6.5	5.8	4.6	4.3

Main reasons given among the 56.5% who think the nation is worse off are:

The 16% who think the nation is better off said:

War	29.7%
Inflation/Economy	17.4
Unemployment	13.2
Drugs in U.S. and Vietnam	12.1
Not enough money in circulation/Space expenditures	10.6
No crime control/enforcement	10.0
People's attitudes	10.6
U.S. image slipped in relation with other countries	8.2

War situation is better	39.6%
Economy improving/Coping with inflation	13.5
Country is holding its own	12.5
Young people facing problems/Less college demonstration:	8.3

Vietnam

Given three plans the U.S. could follow in dealing with the Vietnam situation, half of respondents choose: "Continue to withdraw troops but with no fixed deadline." In a second question as to whether some troops should remain until all P.O.W.s are released, there is extremely strong support for leaving some troops until the P.O.W.s are freed. This is particularly strong in Kent and Sussex Counties (79%) and among Republicans (71%).

Of the 3 different plans the U.S. could follow in dealing with Vietnam, which do you prefer?

	<u>Voter Type</u>					<u>County</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Marg.</u>	<u>City of Wilm.</u>	<u>Cty. N.C. less Wilm.</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>Sussex</u>
Withdraw all U.S. troops immediately	21.1%	17.1%	19.8%	24.7%	28.5%	27.8%	17.6%	21.8%	24.7%
Withdraw all U.S. troops by 12/31/71	21.6	21.2	27.3	18.0	16.7	20.4	22.0	27.6	16.1
Continue to withdraw troops but with no fixed deadline	50.7	56.5	48.8	47.9	45.2	37.0	54.6	47.1	57.0
Don't know	6.5	5.2	4.1	9.3	9.5	14.8	5.8	3.4	2.2

Which of the following two plans in dealing with Vietnam are you most in favor of?

	<u>Voter Type</u>					<u>County</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Marg.</u>	<u>City of Wilm.</u>	<u>City N.C. of Wilm.</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>Sussex</u>
Retaining some forces in South Vietnam until all P.O.W.s are released	65.9%	71.0%	64.0%	63.4%	61.9%	54.6%	62.0%	79.3%	79.6%
Withdrawing all our troops regardless of P.O.W. situation	16.3	13.5	17.4	17.5	19.0	18.5	17.9	10.3	14.0
Don't know	17.8	15.5	18.6	19.1	19.0	26.9	20.1	10.3	6.5

Delaware Issues

According to the respondents surveyed, the most important problems facing Delaware are financial. This is a change from September 1970 when they named ecology and racial problems as the top two issues, and this change appears to be only partially as a result of the recent financial problems in Dover. Even among those interviewed before the Governor's special message to the General Assembly, finances and unnecessary spending were the most frequently mentioned problems. The frequency of mention of finances did, however, double after June 29, 1971. Prior to then it was mentioned by 21.4% as an important problem facing Delaware but after the 29th 42.1% mentioned it as an important state problem. None of the other issues mentioned appear to have been affected by this incident. As an issue, state finances are of much greater importance to Republicans (41%) and ticket splitters (45%) than Democrats (27%).

Personal

Financial problems including inflation, taxes, and the cost of living are the main problems facing Delaware voters and their families. Mention of finance-related issues far exceeds any other concerns and greatly outstrips personal concern about the war. Naming of financial problems is even higher among respondents in high income families than in those with the lowest incomes. Nearly one-fifth of respondents, however, say their family has no problems.

What are the most important problems you and your family are facing at the present time? (Multiple mentions allowed)

	Total Sample	Income			
		0 - \$4,999	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,000- \$14,999	\$15,000 and over
Inflation/Cost of living	28.5%	21.9%	28.9%	30.3%	40.2%
Finances/Money problems	20.6	18.8	24.4	22.5	17.2
Taxes	12.8	6.3	12.7	15.5	11.5
TOTAL FINANCIAL	61.9	47.0	66.0	68.3	68.9
Other Problems Named:					
Health	6.3	7.3	6.6	2.1	8.0
Unemployment	6.3	11.5	6.1	4.2	6.9
War/Vietnam	5.2	5.2	3.6	5.6	8.0
Drugs/Drug abuse	5.5	4.2	3.6	9.2	5.7
Education/Cut in education budget	5.0	1.0	1.5	9.9	9.2
Raising a family	4.3	1.0	5.6	2.8	4.6
Crime	4.8	5.2	3.0	7.7	3.4
None/No problems	18.5	29.2	16.8	14.8	12.6
Don't know	10.8	8.3	10.7	7.7	12.6

All others less than 3% mention.

Asked which of their problems the government should help them solve, 30.8% of voters say "none/no problems." Those who think the government should help them name primarily financial problems--inflation/cost of living (22.3%), finances/money problems (16.3%) and taxes (9.3%). Named next is war/Vietnam with only 4.0%.

Despite this large concern about money, most respondents said their family was as well or better off as a year or two ago. This may indicate that even though many people have more money today than they did a year or two ago, continuing inflation and unemployment have made them apprehensive about the future. Expectedly, more of those with incomes over \$10,000 felt better off while more of those in the lowest income group felt worse off. Income groups are probably the main explanation of why Democrats and those in the City of Wilmington expressed more feeling of being worse off (23.2% and 28.7% respectively) than did the total sample (20.5%).

Overall, are you and your family better off, worse off or about in the same situation as you were a year or two years ago?

	Total Sample	Income			
		0 - \$ 999	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,000 \$14,999	\$15,000 and over
Better off	30.3%	17.7%	25.4%	47.9%	40.2%
About the same	46.4	44.8	48.2	38.7	47.1
Worse off	20.5	35.4	21.8	11.3	12.6
Don't know	2.8	2.1	4.6	2.1	--

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXONBallot Strength

President Nixon was run on a series of secret ballots against Senator Muskie, Senator Humphrey, and Senator Kennedy, both with and without George Wallace on the ballot as a third party candidate and with and without Vice President Agnew on the ballot. When the Vice President was included on the ballot with the President, Senator Jackson of Washington was run as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate with each of the three Democratic presidential candidates.

Without Wallace on the ballot and without any Vice Presidential candidate the President runs slightly behind Kennedy (4%), virtually even with Humphrey and ahead of Muskie (8.8%). When Wallace is added to the ballot, the President runs even with Kennedy, slightly ahead of Humphrey (3%) and well ahead of Muskie (15%). In Delaware Wallace draws his support about equally from ticket splitters and Democrats but gets virtually no support from Republicans.

The introduction of Vice President Agnew as the President's running mate and of Henry Jackson as the Democratic candidate's running mate adds from 5% to 10% net to the President's vote against all of the potential Democratic candidates both with and without Wallace on the ballot.

The difference between Agnew being on the ballot and not being on the ballot is clearly with Republicans.

The President's committed vote with Republicans increases markedly when Agnew is added to the ticket while there is a negligible effect with ticket splitters and Democrats.

Perhaps the most significant finding in the presidential data is that there is an extremely high undecided vote, approaching 50% on several of the test ballots. This abnormally large undecided appears to be a true undecided as a number of the undecided voters were questioned in detail about their choice for President and the vast majority said that they didn't know whom they would vote for. Furthermore, many of them indicated that they were not very excited about any of the potential candidates. There were also indications that there is a low level of believability that any President can or will improve the situation in most of the major national issue areas.

Presidential Ballots

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Wilm.</u>	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>Sussex</u>
Nixon	33.0%	65.3%	30.1%	5.4%	29.1%	33.3%	34.9%	34.8%
Muskie	24.2	10.9	28.8	33.0	34.5	22.2	25.6	17.4
Undecided	42.8	23.8	41.1	61.6	36.4	44.4	39.5	47.8
Nixon	34.0	63.4	35.6	6.3	30.9	34.0	41.9	30.4
Muskie	19.9	9.9	20.5	27.7	30.9	16.7	23.3	15.2
Wallace	3.9	2.0	5.5	4.5	--	2.5	9.3	8.7
Undecided	42.2	24.8	38.4	61.6	38.2	46.9	25.6	45.7
Nixon-Agnew	38.0	75.0	32.3	8.5	20.8	46.4	40.9	27.7
Muskie-Jordan	25.4	13.0	25.3	40.2	47.2	15.2	34.1	25.5
Undecided	36.6	12.0	42.4	51.2	32.1	38.4	25.0	46.8
Nixon-Agnew	36.3	67.4	35.4	8.5	22.6	43.7	34.1	29.8
Muskie-Jackson	23.7	13.0	20.2	40.2	45.3	15.2	27.3	23.4
Wallace-LeMay	6.8	5.4	8.1	6.1	3.8	4.6	9.1	14.9
Undecided	33.2	14.1	36.4	45.1	28.3	36.4	29.5	31.9
Richard Nixon	23.5	43.6	27.4	4.5	21.8	22.2	32.6	21.7
Hubert Humphrey	24.5	11.9	17.8	40.2	34.5	24.7	23.3	13.0
Undecided	52.0	44.6	54.8	55.4	43.6	53.1	44.2	65.2
Nixon	23.5	42.6	27.4	4.5	20.0	23.5	30.2	21.7
Humphrey	20.9	10.9	13.7	33.9	36.4	19.8	16.3	10.9
Wallace	2.3	--	4.1	3.6	--	1.2	7.0	4.3
Undecided	53.3	46.5	54.8	58.0	43.6	55.6	46.5	63.0
Nixon-Agnew	31.2	58.7	30.3	6.1	18.9	37.7	25.0	29.8
Humphrey-Jackson	21.7	5.4	24.2	39.0	35.8	20.5	13.6	17.0
Undecided	47.1	35.9	45.5	54.9	45.3	41.7	61.4	53.2
Nixon-Agnew	28.1	51.1	30.3	3.7	22.6	32.5	22.7	25.5
Humphrey-Jackson	19.7	5.4	21.2	35.4	35.8	19.2	15.9	6.4
Wallace-LeMay	3.7	4.3	4.0	2.4	1.9	2.6	2.3	10.6
Undecided	48.5	39.1	44.4	58.5	39.6	45.7	59.1	57.4
Richard Nixon	23.5	44.6	26.0	4.5	18.2	24.7	23.3	26.1
Edward Kennedy	27.5	11.9	20.5	43.8	45.5	19.8	34.9	26.1
Undecided	49.0	43.6	53.4	51.8	36.4	55.6	41.9	47.8
Nixon	23.9	41.6	31.5	4.5	18.2	25.3	25.6	23.9
Kennedy	22.9	10.9	13.7	37.5	45.5	11.4	23.3	21.7
Wallace	2.3	--	4.1	3.6	--	1.9	7.0	2.2
Undecided	51.0	47.5	50.7	54.5	36.4	57.4	44.2	52.2
Nixon-Agnew	30.8	55.4	32.3	7.3	22.6	37.7	25.0	23.4
Kennedy-Jackson	22.0	8.7	27.3	29.3	47.2	13.9	13.6	27.7
Undecided	47.1	35.9	40.4	63.4	30.2	48.3	61.4	48.9
Nixon-Agnew	29.2	51.1	30.3	8.5	24.5	34.4	27.3	19.1
Kennedy-Jackson	19.3	7.6	21.2	20.8	43.4	11.3	15.9	21.3
Wallace-LeMay	4.1	4.3	5.1	2.4	1.9	2.6	2.3	12.8
Undecided	47.5	31.0	43.4	62.2	30.2	51.7	54.5	46.0

Perceptions of President Nixon

The percentage of Delaware voters who approve of the way President Nixon is handling his job currently runs 56.2%, while 32.3% disapprove and 11.5% have no opinion. Ticket splitters are close to the sample average, while Republicans and Democrats are expectedly widely spread. While this is a quite favorable rating, it is down slightly from the September 1970 Delaware poll. At that time the President's approval rating was 62.3% and his disapproval 25.0%.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling his job?

	<u>Voter Type</u>				<u>County</u>			
	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>City of Wilm.</u>	<u>City. N.C. less Wilm.</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>Sussex</u>
Approve	56.2%	77.2%	55.8%	36.1%	38.9%	61.7%	56.3%	58.1%
Disapprove	32.3	16.6	33.1	47.9	38.0	30.4	33.3	31.2
Don't know	11.5	6.2	11.0	16.0	23.1	8.0	10.3	10.8

The reasons given by the more than half who approve are:

Doing what he can/Trying to do a good job	44.4%
Improving Vietnam War	15.7
Inherited problems/Left with a mess	6.5
Little cooperation from Congress	6.5
Good as any man /Been a good President	6.8
Sincere/Honest	5.9

All others less than 5% mention

The one-third who disapprove say:

War policies/Not acting fast enough	22.7%
Doing a poor job	17.0
Unemployment/Unemployment caused by foreign trade	9.8
Hasn't provided dynamic leadership	7.2
Talks a lot but doesn't come to the point	7.2
Inflation/Not facing our economic situation	6.7
Dishonest/Insincere	7.2
Not for the common man	7.7

All others less than 5% mention

Asked in what area Nixon has done his best job, the highest and only significant mention is "Vietnam" (34.3%). Nothing else gets even 5% mention. In the 3-4% group are "increase in social security," "air pollution," "foreign affairs," "makes people feel secure," "health care/medicare."

Asked in what area Nixon has done his poorest job and the highest mention is "not controlling inflation" (19.8%). Next comes "Vietnam" (16.8%), "unemployment" (10.0%) and "racial disorders" (6.5%).

Separate questions were asked about each of a list of issues as to whether President Nixon's actions on the issue caused the situation to become better or worse. A majority perceive he has improved the situation by his actions on Vietnam, health care, air/water pollution, civil/student unrest. More perceive that he has made the situation better than see it as made worse with regard to racial problems. The perception that his actions

have made situations worse rather than better is in the area of drugs, crime, unemployment, and inflation/cost of living.

Interestingly, Republicans, ticket splitters, and Democrats all agree, although to different degrees, on the areas which the President's actions have improved or worsened the problem.

While income or education do not discriminate in this data, age is an important variable. In those areas where the President is perceived as having improved the situation, younger voters tend to approve of his actions at a rate greater than the total sample. Conversely, on those issues that the President is perceived as having done a poor job, older voters (60 and over) are much more negative than the total sample. This is particularly true of the unemployment, crime, and drugs.

Did President Nixon's actions in these areas cause the situation to become better or worse?

	Voter Type					County			
	Total	Rep.	T-S	Dem.	Marq.	City of Wilm	Cty. N.C. Wilm.	Kent	Sussex
<u>Vietnam</u>									
Better	60.1%	77.2%	57.0%	45.4%	61.9%	47.2%	63.6%	57.5%	65.6%
Worse	28.0	15.5	29.7	39.2	26.2	44.4	20.1	34.5	29.0
Don't know	12.0	7.3	13.4	15.5	11.9	8.3	16.3	8.0	5.4
<u>Health Care</u>									
Better	58.4	65.3	62.2	49.5	52.4	52.8	52.7	71.3	72.0
Worse	24.6	17.1	23.8	32.5	26.2	32.4	25.9	18.4	17.2
Don't know	17.0	17.6	14.0	18.0	21.4	14.8	21.4	10.3	10.8
<u>Air/Water Pollution</u>									
Better	58.2	67.9	57.6	50.5	52.4	46.3	59.4	62.1	64.5
Worse	27.1	19.7	28.5	32.0	33.3	38.9	22.4	25.3	31.2
Don't know	14.6	12.4	14.0	17.5	14.3	14.8	18.2	12.6	4.3
<u>Civil/Student Unrest</u>									
Better	51.2	57.5	51.2	47.4	40.5	48.1	54.6	49.4	45.2
Worse	34.8	28.5	36.6	38.7	38.1	41.7	28.4	36.8	46.2
Don't know	14.0	14.0	12.2	13.9	21.4	10.2	16.9	13.8	8.6
<u>Racial Problems</u>									
Better	47.9	57.5	44.8	42.8	40.5	38.0	46.6	57.5	54.8
Worse	38.3	28.0	43.0	42.8	45.2	51.9	34.5	36.8	36.6
Don't know	13.8	14.5	12.2	14.4	14.3	10.2	18.8	5.7	8.6
<u>Drugs</u>									
Better	34.3	36.8	31.4	33.0	40.5	33.3	38.0	34.5	22.6
Worse	51.2	49.2	53.5	52.1	47.6	58.3	40.6	56.3	74.2
Don't know	14.5	14.0	15.1	14.9	11.9	8.3	21.4	9.2	3.2
<u>Crime</u>									
Better	32.8	43.5	27.9	24.2	42.9	25.9	32.6	47.1	28.0
Worse	50.2	38.3	52.9	60.3	47.6	62.0	42.8	47.1	64.5
Don't know	17.0	18.1	19.2	15.5	9.5	12.0	24.6	5.7	7.5
<u>Unemployment</u>									
Better	22.6	29.0	22.1	17.5	19.0	14.8	20.8	35.6	25.8
Worse	62.2	52.8	65.1	66.6	64.3	75.0	59.4	58.6	60.2
Don't know	15.1	18.1	12.8	13.9	16.7	10.2	19.8	5.7	14.0
<u>Inflation/ Cost of Living</u>									
Better	14.2	23.8	9.9	7.2	10.7	13.9	16.0	11.5	9.7
Worse	75.2	62.2	83.1	81.4	73.8	80.6	68.7	85.1	81.7
Don't know	10.8	14.0	7.0	11.3	15.5	5.6	15.3	3.4	8.6

Finally, 40.6% of voters think a change of national administration would be good for the country, 32.9% think it would be bad and 26.5% are undecided. Not unexpectedly, party past voting behavior identifies who thinks it would be good to change (18.1% of Republicans, 55.7% of Democrats and 48.3% of ticket splitters) and who thinks it would be bad (56.0% of Republicans, 18.6% of Democrats and 26.7% of ticket splitters).

The number of voters who think that a change of administration would be good for the country is greatest, predictably with young voters (46.7%), and decreases as age increases. The number who think a change would be bad remains fairly constant among the various demographic groups.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

In Delaware 77.9% of voters approve of the way Vice President Agnew is handling his job and 22.0% disapprove. He has majority approval from both Republicans (67.9%) and ticket splitters (53.5%). By areas he has 38.9% approval in the City of Wilmington, 50.2% in New Castle outside the city, 54.0% in Kent and 45.2% in Sussex Counties. His disapproval is higher than the overall 28% only with Democrats (38.1%) and in the City of Wilmington.

Over half of those who approve of Agnew do so because he "says what he thinks/ speaks his mind" (55.2%). Next highest mentions are "does his best" (12.8%) and "makes people think/interested in people" (6.9%).

One-fifth of those who disapprove of him do so because he "talks too much/loud mouth" (19.6%). Other reasons are: "should use discretion/ no tact" (10.1%), "not doing anything" (15.5%), "don't like him" (11.9%) and "attitude towards the press/fights with press" (6.5%).

Two further questions were asked concerning the Vice President's attitude on the press and the believability of the media. Over half of those surveyed think Vice President Agnew's attacks on the press have been justified.

Have Vice President Agnew's attacks on the press been justified or not?

	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Justified	53.4%	68.4%	59.9%	35.6%
Not justified	21.3	19.2	21.5	23.7
Don't know	25.3	12.4	18.6	40.7

Asked their own perception of the accuracy of the information they receive in newspapers, on radio and TV, most respondents see it as about half accurate and half inaccurate. This was similar among all voting behavior groups and in the various areas of the state.

How accurate is the information you receive in newspapers, on radio and TV?

Mostly accurate	22.3%
About half accurate/Half inaccurate	60.6
Mostly inaccurate	8.3
Don't know	8.8

Forty-two percent (42%) of Delaware voters (57.0% of Republicans, 45.9% of ticket splitters, and 26.3% of Democrats) think President Nixon should keep Vice President Agnew as his running mate for 1972. Twenty-six percent (26%) say he should not, and the remaining 31.9% "don't know".

There are no major differences from the sample as a whole in any of the demographic breaks on this question.

Date: _____

To :

~~Raymond Stacho~~

From :

L. Higby

Ok Cl does A
believe he could
pay him 29,000.
What does Feb-Mark?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/17

TO: Long

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

- Weicker's A A is making \$22-24,000.
- Rob Odle handles "office management."
- Kalmbach's protegee, Ken Talmadge, is being suggested to ~~him~~ Magruder.
- Magruder has been advised of the theft of secretaries from the Hill problem.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

45

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Magruder's Administrative Assistant

Jeb Magruder has been authorized by the Attorney General to hire an Administrative Assistant to work directly with Jeb at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The prime candidate is Bob Herrema, whose resume is attached.

Herrema is a close friend of John Clark in Fred Malek's office. I talked with Herrema yesterday, and he is a personable, outgoing, aggressive type. My only reservation is one which I relayed to John Clark and Magruder to the effect that someone with political connections on the Hill might be inappropriate for a sensitive role in the campaign.

The alternative prospect is Curt Herge from the law firm in New York. Magruder is leaning towards Herrema and my inclination is Herge. Do you have a suggestion?

I thought Robb Adde was his AA.

No

I can't believe that Weicher would give up his AA or that Magruder can pay him the 29,000 that an AA makes. What are we going to do to Weicher on this. Remember the problems we had with Colson's surprising resignation.

The George Washington University

Personnel Assistant, September 1964 to December 1965.

Job Responsibilities: Supervise two Benefit Assistants; administer employee benefits for non-academic staff; coordinate related projects as assigned by the Director.

Sigma Phi Epsilon Fraternity, National Headquarters, Richmond, Virginia

Assistant Director of Chapter Services, January 1964 to September 1964.

Job Responsibilities: Recruit and train new staff representatives; initiate reports and communications in the areas of chapter housing and finance; assist in the administration of a loan fund for chapter housing; develop and revise manuals for teaching the techniques of chapter operation; assist in organizing and setting up leadership training schools for 350 alumni and undergraduate fraternity members.

Staff Representative, July 1963 to January 1964.

Job Responsibilities: Conduct management audits in 32 fraternity chapters throughout New England; develop and supervise the implementation of programs to improve each chapter's operation; write reports and other communications necessary to follow up on chapter improvement programs; visit with deans and other college officials to monitor the chapter's relationship with the college; assist alumni groups in controlling the financial operation of each chapter.

The Kordite Corporation, Macedon, New York

Research and Development Technician, July 1, 1959 to August 1960.

Job Responsibilities: Conduct experiments on clear plastic film in a physical testing laboratory; fabricate mechanical devices for use in pilot plant plastics extrusion studies; develop and report on methods of increasing production of tubular and lay-flat plastic film; employ drafting skills in designing apparatus used for pilot plant studies.

Reason for Leaving: Re-enter college to obtain Bachelor's Degree.

Eastman Kodak Co., Naval Ordnance Division, Rochester, New York

Draftsman (Co-op Program), Fall Quarter 1957 and Spring Quarter 1958.

(Awarded secret clearance for involvement with Satellite Program)

Education

M. A. in Government (due upon completion of thesis)

The George Washington University

B. A. in Psychology with minor in Philosophy

Marshall University, 1963

A. A. S. in Mechanical Engineering

Rochester Institute of Technology, 1959

Robert L. Herrema
Resume (cont'd)

3.

College Related Recognition

Selected for "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities" and Omicron Delta Kappa (National Men's Leadership Fraternity). President of college fraternity and president of Inter-fraternity Council. Awarded medals for achievement in intercollegiate and amateur wrestling tournaments.

Political Activities

Young Republican National Leadership Training School
Program Chairman 1970
Assistant Program Chairman 1969

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

September 9, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is a report by David A. Keene on the YAF convention which he attended in Houston, along with Tom Huston, at our request.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

* * * * *

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: DAVID A. KEENE *DK*
SUBJECT: YAF CONVENTION

I am sure you already have a pretty clear idea of the results of last week's YAF convention in Houston. We did not come out of the affair as well as I had hoped we might, but I do think we managed to do about as well as we had a right to expect.

As I indicated before we left for Houston, there is a good deal of hostility toward the President in YAF. We never expected to get a favorable reaction from the delegates, but we did want to show them that we are still interested in their views. We succeeded in this goal and even managed to moderate the proceedings to some extent.

The resolutions as reported to the convention by the Resolutions Committee were relatively moderate. I would describe them as "responsibly critical" and most of them passed on the floor without much uproar. However, the convention did insist on beefing up the so-called "Manhattan Twelve" statement by deleting the final two paragraphs. This action moved beyond the conservative leadership and put YAF in a position of greater hostility toward the Administration.

The "mock nominating convention" held on Saturday evening was a disaster for all involved. The delegates had three favorites--Governor Reagan, Senator Buckley and the Vice President--but more than twenty names were placed in nomination.

The YAF leadership evidently decided at some point to go with the Vice President.

This decision was opposed, however, by many delegates who believed that the White House wanted the Vice President to win as a means of blunting the impression of total hostility toward the Administration. This belief was strengthened by rumors that Steve Shadegg and possibly Dave Jones were attending as White House operatives and urging delegates to support the Vice President.

The delegates resented this as well as Shadegg's alleged offer to, in effect, buy off Chairman Ron Docksai. This resentment combined with a particularly inflammatory speech by former YAF National Chairman, Robert Bauman, set the stage for the Saturday night debacle.

You may recall that, when I talked with you prior to the mock convention, I said that we were dealing with a paper house, but that we didn't have too much to worry about if no one set it ablaze. Well, Bauman was the arsonist.

The YAF leadership had also decided to place the President's name in nomination so that they could embarrass him. We attempted to stop this without much success, and instead, the kids supporting him announced that they considered the Vice President's nomination a show of support for the Administration.

The "mock convention" was, of course, a frivolous exercise without much meaning in itself. However, it did give the delegates an opportunity to demonstrate their distaste for the Administration and its programs at this point in time. The emotionalism of the evening can be explained by the fact that many of the kids participating worked in the '68 campaign and now feel betrayed.

The significance of their discontent lies in the fact that they reflect, admittedly in exaggerated form, the feelings of many other conservatives. In this respect, they pose a problem both for us and for senior conservative leaders who cannot afford to get too far away from their supporters. People like Senator Goldwater are already

beginning to lose credibility within the conservative movement because of their loyalty to the President, while others are moving steadily to the right of the President to avoid this problem.

I have said in the past that I believe we would be fooling ourselves if we adopt the attitude that this discontent is going to go away. It isn't going to. On the contrary, unless we move to do something about it, we can expect it to get worse.

The problem, of course, is that most of their objections are of a substantive nature. This is particularly true in the areas of defense, wage and price controls, and welfare. YAFers are violently opposed to FAP and wage and price controls. There is no way in which they can be either sold on them or convinced to ignore them. And they, like their senior advisers, are afraid of our apparent strategic slippage.

Given these problems, however, there are still some steps we might consider:

1. There are few identifiable "movement" conservatives in the Administration, and this is a point of contention that comes up whenever conservatives meet.
2. Many conservatives feel that we are simply not interested in their views. I know that some attempt is being made to increase our communications with the right, but I feel this effort should be stepped up. A little attention here could go a long way in 1972.

9/14

Chapin, CWC, S Bull, JSM

- 1) people don't know what strategy is
 - O'Donnell
- 2
 - only top spots to media center
 - there are guidelines
- 2) O'Donnell - the man in sched

Don't know:

- a) when camp starts
- Up to Convention, non-pol events
CWC continue "admin events"
non pol events thru corner
1701 handle pol events.
Add man to CWC for 2 mo's
under O'Donnell then to 1701
Don't schedule from 1701

CONFIDENTIAL

September 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADVISORY COMMITTEE
E.O. 12812
By *EP* 3-24-82

RE: Scheduling of Senator Goldwater and
Other Surrogate Candidates

A memorandum dated September 2nd from Mr. Haldeman to Mr. Chapin directed the establishment of a procedure for working with Senator Goldwater's schedule and assigning advance support to him. The implementation of such a program immediately introduces a much broader subject with which we will have to deal in the very near future, namely, the total program for surrogate candidates. In fact, since the September 2nd memorandum, Secretary Connally has been added to the list of those who should be supported by an advanceman. Therefore, the subject of this memorandum is intended to be:

1. General discussion of the manner in which Administration speakers (i. e., surrogates) are currently handled.
2. What the various recommendations are from staff members as well as officers at the Citizens Committee headquarters.
3. A concensus recommendation for the establishment of a surrogate program.

By way of a personal disclaimer, I am setting forth some observations that may be rather naive since I have approached this subject rather superficially because of the lack of information readily available as well as the time requirement for this report, and have attempted to proceed without stirring up too much confusion by my inquiries. The lack of hard information available, I believe, is the result of the necessity for secrecy at this point. I assume that many of the questions and approaches have been thoroughly discussed and probably many of the elements already resolved in personal discussions between Mr. Haldeman, the Attorney General and the President. However, the decisions have not been reduced or otherwise transcribed to written form, and those with whom I discussed the subject of the surrogate program either were not aware of these decisions or the information had not filtered down to them.

Present Speakers' Program

Currently all turndowns of invitations to the President that have any significance or potential are referred to Pat O'Donnell in Chuck Colson's office by Dave Parker. Pat O'Donnell subsequently evaluates the invitation and considers an appropriate Administration spokesman to fill the speaking engagement. The evaluation is done pretty much solely by Pat and, according to him, his criteria include many elements such as whether the event is in a key State, type of event, the media area, etc. At this point Al Snyder and Van Shumway become involved, Al arranging for appearances on TV shows in the area where the event is to be held, and Van arranging for newspaper interviews with the Administration official.

The Administration spokesmen are limited to members of the White House staff (approx. 8), OMB (approx. 3), members of the Cabinet (approx. 12), members of the Sub-Cabinet (approx. 20), occasionally Senator Dole, and occasionally some outsiders, e.g., Pat Moynihan.

Although Pat O'Donnell is the scheduler and titular head of the speakers' program, Dick Howard is the supervisor and, according to all sources, is the true backbone of the operation. Without getting into an evaluation of personalities and individual abilities, the job of making effective use of Administration spokesmen, even now during this "non-political" and relatively inactive time, can and should be done better. When we get into the campaign situation which is rapidly approaching, the amount of activity will be multiplied manyfold.

Currently I discern a lack of overall strategy to the manner in which the speakers' program is operated. Specifically, there is no guiding philosophy that seems to dictate who should go where and why except for where the President is concerned. This conclusion was arrived at quite simply; when asked what the guiding philosophy was, no one could give me one.

Possible Approaches to a Surrogate Program

In 1968 John Whitaker, who scheduled Candidate Nixon, also scheduled the surrogates. An individual was assigned the task of actually running the surrogate candidates, and second and third string advancements were used to serve these surrogates. In 1970 Nick Ruwe operated the surrogate program which was less complex than that of 1968 and depended more on Administration spokesmen.

In a discussion of a surrogates program, John Whitaker laid forth the basic philosophy that the principal objective should be to find an event for the appropriate spokesman for an appropriate area, and let that event be the vehicle to get him into the area. Once in the area, however, the event becomes secondary to a more important operation which would be to give the surrogate the widest exposure which can usually be obtained by getting him on TV talk shows, special interviews with the newspapers, and all of the things that we are supposedly doing now with our current speakers' program.

In a memorandum I received from Dwight Chapin on September 13, the comment was made that "everyone is trying to stake out his claim to handle the scheduling operation of surrogates and Cabinet members over the next few months". This may be one of the better understatements. Additionally, there seems to be a bit of wrestling over where the surrogates program will be run.

John Dean has expressed to Colson and others that the campaign be kept out of the White House and that only the President and Vice President be scheduled politically from here. He has even suggested the possibility that the First Family be scheduled out of 1701. This plan would go into effect after the official kickoff of the campaign, presumably after the first of the year. Colson recommends that for a period of time, possibly January 1, 1972, we continue operating the speakers' program as we have through O'Donnell and that setup, but that any Congressional spokesmen such as Goldwater and others that we will undoubtedly pick up between now and January, be scheduled and operate from 1701. Colson's feeling is that the White House is put in an awkward, if not untenable, position by making specific engagements for members of Congress, particularly during this non-political year of 1971. As a commentary to this point, however, Dick Howard notes that the RNC, which normally schedules Congressmen, is a bit jealous of its prerogative in this area and might not take kindly to it.

*CUC
disagree*

*up to
Congress
for all
official
non-pol
events*

*P, VP,
Fam,
Sen's,
Admin*

*any Cong
speakers*

On July 28 Jeb Magruder submitted a memorandum for the Attorney General, copy of which was submitted to Mr. Haldeman, setting forth a preliminary recommendation for "SPOKESMEN RESOURCES", which is, in effect, the 1972 surrogate program. The recommendations in this memorandum are summarized as follows:

1. Cabinet, selected agency heads and White House staff members be scheduled in the Colson/O'Donnell operation for the remainder of 1971.
2. The President and Vice President continue to be handled separately.
3. Colson hire a new staff man to train with O'Donnell and then move over to 1701 in 1972 and operate Spokesmen Resources from there.
4. RNC handle Congressmen until the end of 1971.

There are many other minor elements in that memorandum, none of which seem to be of particular consequence to the development of a well-defined, coordinated surrogate program.

*Trained by WH staff over to Colson
Porter - adv + Spokes Resources*

Recommendation for a Surrogate Program

This is where I may be overstepping my bounds and getting myself into trouble, but it appears to me that the overall campaign strategy is still obscure to the operatives, i.e., the Magruders, the Howards, the Porters and the O'Donnells who have been charged with the responsibility for planning some of the specific tactics for campaign '72. A surrogate program should be one of the major tactics directly related to the overall strategy. By the end of 1971 the President will probably have visited all 50 States and, from what little I have learned about what will be the President's posture during the campaign, there will be emphasis on major TV appearances, much less personal campaigning than in 1968, and much of the campaign period will be spent being the President as opposed to being the candidate. This means that the personal appearances will be through the surrogates in the key States.

*cuc - fun different when incumb vs. non-incumb.
JSM - Don replace P this time in big*

d pol + govt. events.

Considerations for Surrogate Program

1. "Key States" is a fluid entity that will probably be readjusted as the campaign develops. For planning purposes in the formulation of the surrogate program, those States, and perhaps specific areas within the somewhat larger States, need to be specified to those who will operate the program. The Magruder memo to the Attorney General lists 21 States as "key States". I have also heard the figure 14. One of the questions is -- where should be the area of emphasis.

includes primary st's

2. The aforementioned memorandum provides a listing of potential surrogates, utilizing four categories: "Cabinet", "White House Staff", "Agency Heads", "Others". There is no category for Congressmen or Governors, although I would assume that there are still one or two Republican Governors left over who could do us some good (e.g., isn't Rockefeller lobbying for Secretary of Defense these days?). The list that is submitted, I presume, will undoubtedly be modified and is probably intended as a first draft. At some point in the near future, however, we need to get a firm list of Governors and Congressmen who can fill the role of surrogate for the President.

*1701 } Reagan
Roll*

3. Scheduling - there appear to be two major types of scheduling for surrogates:

(a) Opportunity Scheduling - an event for which a specific man is appropriate for a specific function (e.g., Senator Goldwater to the YAF Convention).

(b) Creative Scheduling - finding an event that acts as a vehicle to get the proper spokesman into the right area so that he, with the support of the Snyders, Shumways and the advance operation, can maximize his exposure through the regional media as well as our established techniques of promotion and communication.

4. That individual or group responsible for scheduling the surrogate must be fully familiar with the overall strategy, the points of strength and weakness in the various areas, and the availability of the surrogate so that maximum benefit from the event of the surrogate visit can be realized.
5. Right now the talent and resources are in the White House and 1701 is incapable of providing the necessary support to operate a full fledged surrogate program.

Specific Recommendations for Surrogate Program

1971

1. Between now and January 1, 1972, Chuck Colson operate the surrogate program through its speakers' bureau program (O'Donnell and Howard).
Approve _____ Disapprove _____
2. Assuming that the campaign will require an increase in personnel to administer such a program, additional people who will ultimately serve in a supervisory role during the campaign be hired now (but be paid by 1701 due to the wage-price freeze) and work with those individuals administering the speakers' program. The purpose would be to learn how to run a surrogate program while beefing up our existing speakers' bureau.
Approve _____ Disapprove _____
3. Senator Goldwater and other key primary surrogates such as selected Governors and others outside of the Administration would be scheduled and coordinated through the speakers' bureau for the remainder of 1971. Those events appropriate for this select group would be determined by the speakers' bureau operation, but would be nominally set up through 1701 in order to maintain the appearance of detachment between the political operation and the White House. In actuality, however, coordination, supervision and implementation would be effected through the speakers' bureau operation. As a concession to the RNC, they could be called upon for their assistance in schedule planning and responses to correspondence and other relatively harmless activities.
Approve _____ Disapprove _____

G

4. A full effort be made to coordinate with the key personnel at 1701 all of the activities that will be taking place at the White House until 1972. This would include providing full information on the Presidential activities.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

5. Ron Walker has a sizeable list of advancements, some of whom are untested, others who are not ready to be lead advancements. Ron would make these advancements available to the speakers' bureau now for support of not just Senator Goldwater and Secretary Connally, but others as well. This would provide training for the new advancements and better results on the road for the surrogates.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

6. Progress reports and evaluations of appearances would be submitted by the administrator of the speakers' bureau (Chuck Colson) to Mr. Haldeman directly.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

1972

1. Effective around the first of the year we admit that there is a campaign going on, and that those support personnel in the White House who have been administering speakers' programs be detached, eliminated from the White House payroll, and transferred over to 1701 where they will operate the campaign. Those individuals who had been training with O'Donnell and others administering the speakers' program would move over to 1701 for the program operation.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That 1701 administer the scheduling and advance support of all of the surrogate candidates with the exception of the President, the Vice President, and Mrs. Nixon. The remainder of the family would be scheduled through 1701.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

not

MS
If have reviewed
see note on
page 2
L.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

H.R. HALDEMAN

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

Andrew Glass/National
Journal Article on Polling

Of primary importance in the attached issue of National Journal is the Andrew Glass article on polling which I suggest you read.

As to possible sources of information about the current polling operation and future plans, discussions were held with Magruder, Dent, Evans, Marik, Derge, Benham, DeBolt, O'Neill, and Grassmuck.

Discussion with Magruder developed the following interesting notes:

- 1) Magruder talked with Glass in a "general, non-substantive manner". Glass indicated that he had talked to all six vendors, some of whom (he would not disclose which) were fairly free with the information;
- 2) Magruder knows that both Ed DeBolt and Bill Low at the RNC talked with Andrew Glass. Magruder called DeBolt after receiving the call from Glass. Magruder "instructed DeBolt to talk with Glass only in very general terms". Magruder called Tom Evans to indicate his distrust of Bill Low;
- 3) Magruder does not know whether Glass talked with Lyn Nofziger;
- 4) As my memorandum of August 3 (copy attached at Tab A) indicates, Glass talked at some length with Tom Benham;
- 5) Magruder believes Glass may have received information from Tully Plesser among the vendors;

Derge, Marik, and O'Neill did not talk to Andrew Glass.

Tom Evans did not talk with Andrew Glass. He asked DeBolt and Bill Low if they had. Both told Evans they had not. DeBolt, however, said that Bill Low might have. In any event "(a) GOP official" is quoted on page 1697.

Harry Dent talked with Glass but told him that no polling was done in the White House. He referred him to Citizens with the quote on page 1695.

Grassmuck doesn't know Glass and most of the information in the article came as a surprise to him.

One interesting fact emerges -- there is no mention of Peter Flanigan, who as Chairman of the Attorney General's research task force, has overall responsibility for interviewing the polling vendors and developing a research recommendation for consideration by you and the Attorney General. All interview sessions were originally scheduled in his office but hastily changed to the Citizens. Flanigan attended four of the six meetings. He is the only one directly involved who is not referred to in the article.

You received a letter dated August 10 from Andrew Glass. He complains that I did not return his calls. A suggested response for your signature is attached at Tab B.

To prevent future leaks I have emphasized to all the importance of referring reporters inquiries to Ron Ziegler or Herb Klein.

This matter raises the whole question of the Press policy of the Citizens Operation. You should discuss this with the A.G. and get some firm ground rules established now.

L.

*Right -
paper pls.*

Political Report/Pollsters prowl nation as candidates use opinion surveys to plan '72 campaign

by Andrew J. Glass

8/14/71 1693
NATIONAL JOURNAL
© CPR 1971

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

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

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

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

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

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

A campaign task force, working in

secrecy, currently is seeking to define polling needs for Mr. Nixon's 1972 campaign.

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

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

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

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

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

The "new breed": A veteran Democratic campaign manager believes the pollsters' growth is based in part on a new breed of politician. As he put it:

"You're finding more people running for political office with less political experience than ever before. So they really don't have an intuitive base of how well they'll do. They don't have the knowledge of their state that a guy who has been in politics a long time has. But they know enough that they need to know. So the pollsters are all selling."

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

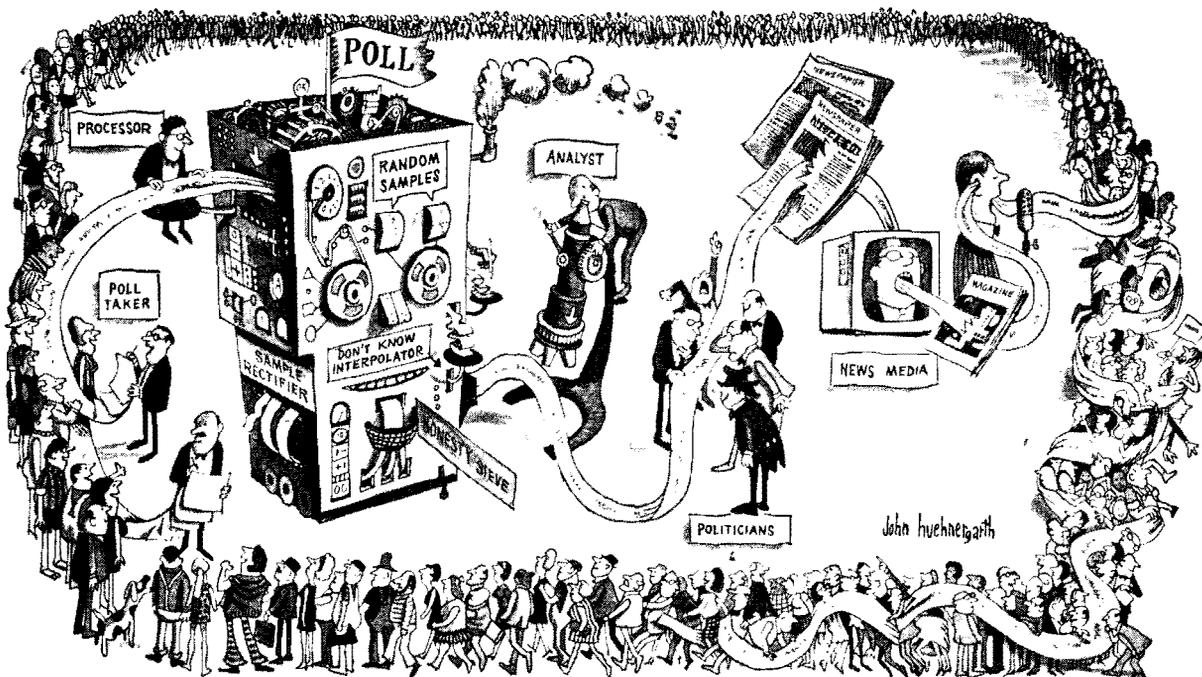
But, as pollster Michael Rowan said, "we're all one club."

Nixon

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

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

Campaign planning beyond the White House gates is being handled



Gallup and Harris: The Published National Polls

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

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

Dots along the lines show the dates of the surveys. Parallel gray bands show the maximum extent of sample error.

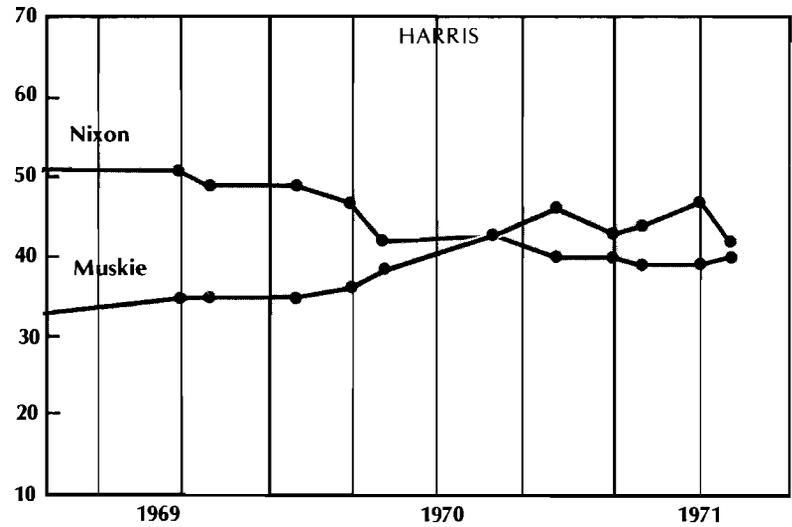
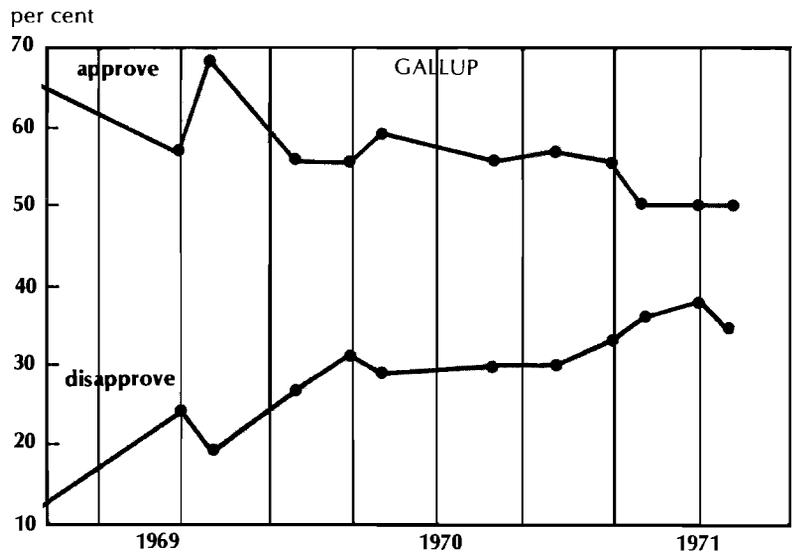
George H. Gallup and Louis Harris respectively head the only polling organizations that regularly publish political survey results on a national scale. Both Gallup and Harris maintain extensive private polling operations, which account for the bulk of their revenues. They do not accept political clients.

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

The Harris Survey, syndicated by the *Chicago Tribune*, goes to 125 U.S. newspaper clients. The Harris column first appeared in 1963 and is mailed twice a week to subscribers. Harris also polls for Time Inc. He plans to publish a hardback, 500-page *Harris Survey Yearbook*, which will carry data on which his column is based.

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

In forecasting Presidential elections, both Gallup and Harris strive to minimize the undecided vote in their interpretations and to base their predictions upon estimates of voter turnout on election day. The two pollsters, however, employ differing methods in deal-



ing with undecided voters and non-voters. The variations in their techniques, along with sample error, account for the spread between their estimates.

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

The Harris interviews normally last 90 minutes. Persons are asked for their Presidential preference three times in the course of the interview: a direct question at the start, a secret "ballot box" ques-

tion near the close and another direct question at the close. The Gallup Poll asks one secret "ballot box" question early in the interview.

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

The Harris Survey is prepared in New York by Louis Harris and Associates Inc. The Harris firm was bought in 1970 by Donaldson, Lukin and Jennerette Inc., a stock brokerage firm which is publicly owned. The sale was for 80,000 shares of voting common stock, worth about \$720,000 at current market prices.

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

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

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

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

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

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

White House polls: Mr. Nixon has had access to a steady stream of private polling information since he took office. These polls have kept the President abreast of domestic political moods and furnished him with insights into changing trends on such questions as the public attitude toward admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

An almost continuous polling effort for the White House has been conducted, in secrecy, by Chilton Research Services, of Philadelphia, a division of Chilton Co. An aide to the President said, "The outside pollster (John H. Kofron, Chilton's senior vice president) consults almost always directly with Haldeman, although on a nonsensitive matter he may talk with Strachan or Higby." (Lawrence M. Higby is Haldeman's administrative assistant.)

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

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

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

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

"All of them were approached with the idea of contributing to the campaign as a sole or prime contractor," said a White House political aide. "But it's not inconceivable that Haldeman will decide 'I don't want any one person to know everything, so I'm going to parcel it out and these people can just like it.' He's like that."

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

Each of the polling concerns which made presentations to the White House was screened in advance by Haldeman. The group includes:

- Cambridge Opinion Studies Inc., headed by Tully Plesser and based in New York City. Plesser's political polling assignments have ranged from Sen. W. E. Brock's successful campaign in Tennessee last year to John V. Lindsay's uphill mayoral campaign in New York in 1969.

- Chilton Research Services, which conducts its surveys by telephone from Philadelphia. Chilton also handled the mechanics of an intelligence effort in

1968 for Mr. Nixon mounted by Joseph Bachelder, who has since retired as a political polling consultant.

- Decision Making Information Inc., based in Santa Ana and Los Angeles, which polled in 1970 for both Gov. Ronald Reagan, R-Calif., and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, R-N.Y.

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

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

David Derge, although a regular White House visitor, did not attend the presentation sessions, which were held in the offices of the "Citizens" group, one block from the White House. Derge is known to be a strong partisan of ORC.

Split verdict: A decision on the allocation of polling resources for the campaign is expected to be submitted to the President for his review and approval by the end of August.

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

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

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

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

"There are some things—like how does Agnew affect the ticket—that might be asked that even Mitchell won't get," the official said. (Mr. Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew as

A Candidate Looks at His Polls

In an interview with National Journal, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., reflected upon the role that polls played in his unsuccessful 1968 Presidential campaign and in his 1970 Senate campaign:

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

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

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

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

For example, I know that in '68 we had some gut reactions on the law-and-order issue. But we didn't have an in-depth understanding of its intensity. Even though I worked at it, I didn't start early enough. I also think we might have been able to detect age-group differences and how each group reacts.

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

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

The man or the firm that does that kind of polling has to be very sophisticated in terms of the kind of questions which evoke honest, objective answers. You've got to be careful that you don't set up questions that give you answers that you want.

So you really have to deal with

professionals in this business that have a great professional reputation at stake.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I think this can be done today.

If a county chairman sees you're ahead in the polls, he tends to say, "Well, he can win." It isn't a ques-



Hubert H. Humphrey

tion of whether he likes you or not. It builds a bandwagon effect. It creates a political atmosphere.

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

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

It really is almost better than spot announcements (commercials) on television. It's a kind of political advertising in its own right.

As Humphrey noted in connection with his 1968 campaign, an important test of a Presidential campaign is the depth and breadth of its research effort—which, to a large degree, relies on public opinion surveys. The Senator as yet has not commissioned any new polls to test the appeal of his candidacy for President in 1972.

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

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

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

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

Democrats

Of Mr. Nixon's potential Democratic opponents in 1972, only the current front-runner, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine, is now engaged in polling research. Most of the other Democratic Presidential hopefuls have so far given little or no thought to commissioning public opinion surveys for their campaigns.

Muskie: "People have been waiting around for our polls before moving," said Anna Navarro, 24, the Muskie campaign's full-time polling consultant. "The question is how to project what people want to see."

An initial round of telephone-interview polling for Muskie was completed in late July by Independent Research Associates Inc., a Washington-based firm headed by William R. Hamilton, who has worked mainly for Democrats in the South. Before joining the Muskie staff in January, Miss Navarro worked for Hamilton.

Media—While it is unusual to have a pollster on a campaign staff, Miss Navarro said she felt the arrangement benefited the Senator. She saw her role as the "realist"—the person who must "knock down theories and present unpalatable news."

In that capacity, Miss Navarro has

Establishing the Tolerances

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table I shows the maximum error—plus and minus—in probability samples of varying sizes and division. The larger the sample, the smaller the error; the more evenly people divide, the higher the possible error.

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

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

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

	(size of sample)						
	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200	100
Results near 10%	2	2	3	3	4	5	7
Results near 20%	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Results near 30%	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Results near 40%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 50%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 60%	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Results near 70%	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Results near 80%	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Results near 90%	2	2	3	3	4	5	7

sample	1,500	750	600	400	200
1,500	4	4	5	6	8
750	4	5	5	6	8
600	5	5	6	6	8
400	6	6	6	7	8
200	8	8	8	8	10

sample	1,500	750	600	400	200
1,500	5	5	6	7	10
750	5	6	7	7	10
600	6	7	7	7	10
400	7	7	7	8	10
200	10	10	10	10	12

SOURCE: Paul K. Perry, president of The Gallup Organization

The Ethical Dilemma: Politicians vs. Pollsters

In the spring 1963 issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Louis Harris wrote: "The pollster who is knowledgeable about politics will inevitably be invited to sit in on strategy meetings. . . . (He) will more and more be in a position of recommending when and how many polls should be conducted for his client, rather than simply waiting for the political powers-that-be to call him and set the timetable."

Harris was writing from experience. In October 1959, he was one of nine men who met with John F. Kennedy to plan Kennedy's 1960 Presidential campaign. (Harris went on to take polls for the Democratic National Committee until he started a newspaper column in 1963.)

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

One pollster, Mervin Field, noted in a 1967 speech before his colleagues that "there is an implicit pressure to use the (polling) research for other than purely objective fact gathering. It is used to convince financial backers, to encourage party workers, to bolster the confidence of the candidate, to freeze out potential opponents and to support existing biases."

In this climate, Field said, a major problem can arise over "the selective use of certain findings to create a misleading impression." Thus, "there are leaks to newsmen for 'background,' and leaks to the opposition to lull them or to steer them in a direction that will help (the client)."

AAPOR: In an effort to minimize unethical conduct, the American Association for Public Opinion Research, founded in 1947, has set standards for reporting poll results.

An AAPOR code of ethics, adopted in 1960, calls upon members to monitor release of the results and to correct promptly any misinterpretation of their findings.

In 1968, AAPOR, which includes both commercial and aca-

demic members, issued a standard "which news media can utilize when reporting poll results." Each of these news reports, AAPOR said, should include:

- the identity of the survey's sponsors;
- a description of the sample, including its size;
- an indication of the allowance that should be made for sample error;
- a report on which results, if any, are based on only parts of the total sample (For example, some poll results may represent interviews only with those persons who are likely to vote.);
- a statement of technique—whether the interviewing was done in person, by telephone, by mail or on street corners;
- a statement on the timing of the interviews, putting them in context with relevant events.

The AAPOR code applies both to polls which are prepared for publication and to polls taken for a private client whose results subsequently are publicized.

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

No individual ever has been cited by the standards committee for misconduct, although the panel occasionally has met privately with pollsters whose conduct was under question. AAPOR's governing body, an executive council, is empowered to warn by a citation or to expel members, but it has never done so. Sidney Hollander Jr., a member of the AAPOR council and former chairman of its standards committee, said: "The mood of the organization is changing and they're in a position to be much tougher."

Irving Crispi, executive vice president of The Gallup Organization and also a former chairman of the AAPOR standards committee, wrote in *Polls, Television and the New Politics* (Chandler Publishing, 1970) that the 1968 code should dampen "the inclination of many journalists to make blanket state-

ments as to 'what the polls are showing'" while encouraging "the reporting of *whose* poll using *which* methods and (obtaining) *what* results."

NCPP: In April 1968, George H. Gallup invited some 25 pollsters to attend an organizational meeting in Santa Barbara, Calif., on the eve of the annual AAPOR conference. The session led to formation of the National Council on Public Polls, which at present has 16 member organizations.

NCPP dues are \$100 a year for membership. The group's current president is Robert T. Bower, director of the Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, D.C. Its trustees are three pollsters—Gallup, Harris and Archibald M. Crossley—and Richard M. Scammon, director of the Election Research Center of the Governmental Affairs Institute.

"As of now," Bower said, "there is no evidence that a 'bandwagon effect,' induced by polls, influences the result of elections."

The group will issue a quarterly newsletter, starting this fall, aimed at journalists and other users of polls. As yet another way of promoting more sophisticated evaluations, NCPP plans to sponsor seminars for Senate aides, political managers and newsmen, at which polling techniques will be analyzed.

Legislation: There have been a few attempts to enact laws to regulate polling, but none has succeeded.

Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi, D-Mich., is sponsoring a Truth-in-Polling Act (HR 5003), which has been referred to the House Administration Committee.

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

In March 1963, a bill aimed at rigorous control of the publication of any preelection poll passed both houses of the Texas legislature. It was vetoed by Democratic Gov. (1963-69) John B. Connally, who is now Treasury Secretary.

been working closely with Robert D. Squier, 36, head of Communications Co. of Washington, D.C., and Muskie's media consultant. (For a report on Squier and the role of political media consultants, see Vol. 2, No. 40, p. 2135.)

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

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

Telephone—The Hamilton firm uses a "tight screen," seeking to reach only persons who intend to vote in selected 1972 Democratic primaries.

In upholding their telephone-based techniques, Hamilton and Miss Navarro explain how they attempt to keep the sample unbiased and to establish a good rapport during the half-hour interviews. The technique also costs about 60 per cent less than field interviews of comparable size—a major consideration in the money-short Muskie campaign.

For the Muskie polls, numbers are gleaned from telephone directories in the areas to be surveyed and several digits are changed before the call is made. This ensures that unlisted numbers will be represented in the sample. (In Los Angeles, 35 per cent of all residential telephones are unlisted; in New York, 20 per cent.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bayh—Robert J. Keefe, administra-



Tully Plessler

Robert Teeter

Anna Navarro

Miss Navarro said: "It's too new, and conventional wisdom says it's no good. Yet I have a gut feeling for what I'm after; you have to know how to play with it."

After the round of open-ended telephone questioning, Miss Navarro said she is more convinced than ever that the system works well and will provide the kind of data the Senator needs.

The non-pollers: Other Democrats who are either in or at the edge of the battle for the party's Presidential nomination have not yet commissioned any private polling. The Democratic National Committee, still in debt from the 1968 campaign, has no plans to poll, but David A. Cooper, the DNC's director of research, said he is prepared to offer technical polling advice to any Democrat seeking office in 1972. (None of the Presidential hopefuls has contacted him.)

McGovern— "We've seen some private polls that other people have done," said Gary W. Hart, campaign director for Sen. George S. McGovern, of South Dakota. "The reason we're not doing it is that, first of all, it's too early and, second, it costs too much money and, thirdly, they won't tell us anything we don't already know. . . ."

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

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

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

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

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

Humphrey— In the 1968 Presidential campaign, Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic nominee, spent \$262,000 on polls taken by Quayle and five smaller firms.

Now that he is in the Senate, according to Jack McDonald, his press

Directory of Major Political Public

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

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

Another campaign handbook, *The Political Persuaders*, by Dan Nimmo (Prentice Hall Inc., 1970), notes that many polling firms are primarily engaged in mar-

ket research and undertake political polls only in election years.

On the other hand, Nimmo says, there are firms that take a greater interest in their political than their commercial clients. "These firms provide the client with a written proposal, prepared in consultation with sampling statisticians in complicated cases, which outlines what the pollster intends to do, how, and at what cost."

Listed below are the names, addresses and telephone numbers of 74 U.S. firms engaged in political public opinion research on a regional or national basis. (The list excludes part-time consultants and firms primarily engaged in campaign management.) The name and title of each firm's principal officer are included.

- American Institute of Public Opinion;** Dr. George H. Gallup (chairman); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-9600. *#
- Analytical Research Institute Inc.;** Irving Gilman (president); 104 S. Division St., Peekskill, N.Y. 10566; (914) 737-8855.
- Harriet Andrews Research Services Inc.;** Harriet Andrews (director); 4007 Falls Road, Baltimore, Md. 21211; (301) 889-3805.
- Arizona Institute for Research;** Marian Lupu (field director); 100 East Alameda, Tucson, Ariz. 85701; (602) 624-3880.
- Audits and Surveys Co. Inc.;** Solomon Dutka (president); One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 689-9400.
- Bardsley and Haslacher Inc.;** Robert L. Haslacher (president); 422 Waverley St., Palo Alto, Calif. 94301; (415) 326-0696.
- Barratt Market Research;** Ruth C. Barratt (owner); 5415 N. College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46220; (317) 251-1119.
- Becker Research Corp.;** John F. Becker (president); 675 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139; (617) 868-0010. *
- Belden Associates;** Joe Belden (president); Southland Center, Dallas 75201; (214) 748-7188.
- Benson and Benson Inc.;** Lawrence E. Benson (chairman); Benson Building, Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-3540.
- E. John Bucci Co.;** E. John Bucci (president); P.O. Box 266, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-5775.
- Bureau of Social Science Research Inc.;** Robert T. Bower (director); 1200 17th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 223-4300. †#
- Callahan Research Associates Inc.;** William J. Callahan (president); 31 East 28th St., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 755-5972.
- Cambridge Opinion Studies Inc.;** Tully Plessner (president); 625 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 759-2220.
- Cantril Associates;** Albert H. Cantril (president); 1061 31st St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007; (202) 337-1600.
- Douglas H. Carlisle;** 1100 Gregg St., Columbia, S.C. 29201; (803) 253-0406.
- Center for Political Studies;** Prof. Warren E. Miller (director); Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106; (313) 764-2570. †#
- Central Surveys Inc.;** William M. Longman (president); P.O. Box 100, Shenandoah, Iowa 51601; (712) 246-1630.
- Chilton Research Services (Chilton Co.);** John H. Kofron (director); 56th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 19139; (215) 748-2000.
- Civic Service Inc.;** Roy Pfautch (president); 408 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo. 63101; (314) 436-4185.
- Corey, Canapary and Galanis;** Dorothy D. Corey (president); 2 Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111; (415) 397-1200.
- Dorothy D. Corey Research;** Dorothy D. Corey (president); 1705 Victoria Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019; (213) 731-2414.
- The CRC Group Inc.;** Harry W. Rivkin (president); Beaver Hill, Jenkintown, Pa. 19046; (215) 886-1000.
- Crossley Surveys Inc.;** Franklin B. Leonard (president); 909 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-4100.
- Decision Making Information Inc.;** Vincent P. Barabba (chairman); Richard B. Wirthlin (president); 2700 N. Main St., Santa Ana, Calif. 92701; (714) 558-1321.
- Farrell Research and Communications Inc.;** Fran Farrell Kraft (president); 30 6th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 547-7081.
- Field Research Corp.;** Mervin D. Field (research director); 145 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif. 94104; (415) 392-5766.
- First Research Co.;** David Early (president); 1451 N. Bayshore Dr., Miami, Fla. 33132; (305) 371-3681.
- John H. Friend Inc.;** John H. Friend (president); 261 N. Joachim St., Mobile, Ala. 36603; (205) 433-3786.
- Louis Harris and Associates Inc.;** Louis Harris (president); One Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020; (212) 245-7414. *
- Martin Hauan;** 1100 Hotel Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Okla. 73101; (405) 236-0931.
- Sidney Hollander Associates;** Sidney Hollander Jr. (president); 2500 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218; (301) 467-8565.
- C. E. Hooper Inc.;** (a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.); Oscar B. Lubow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.
- Independent Research Associates Inc.;** William R. Hamilton (pres-

Opinion Firms in the United States

- ident); 4000 Albemarle St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-5056.
- Institute for Motivational Research;** Ernest Dichter (president); Albany Post Road, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10520; (914) 271-4721.
- Institute of American Research;** Stephen J. Kovacik Jr. (president); 88 East Broad St. Columbus, Ohio 43215; (614) 221-2062.
- International Research Associates Inc.;** Helen S. Dinerman (chairman); 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020; (212) 581-2010.
- Gordon L. Joseph and Associates;** Gordon L. Joseph (president); 1510 Veterans Memorial Boulevard, Metairie, La. 70005; (504) 835-0635.
- John F. Kraft Inc.;** John F. Kraft (president); 30 6th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 547-7080. *
- W. H. Long Marketing Inc.;** W. H. Long (president); 122 Keeling Road East, Greensboro, N.C. 27410; (919) 292-4146.
- Louis, Bowles and Grace Inc.;** Alex Louis (chairman); 1433 Motor St., Dallas, Tex. 75207; (214) 637-4520.
- Samuel Lubell;** 3200 New Mexico Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016; (202) 362-3230. #
- Market Facts Inc.;** David K. Hardin (president); 100 S. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60606; (312) 332-2686.
- Market Opinion Research;** Frederick P. Currier (president); 327 John R, Detroit, Mich. 48226; (313) 963-2414.
- Market Research Field Interviewing Service;** Marian R. Angeletti (director); 3015 East Thomas Road, Phoenix, Ariz. 85016; (602) 956-2500.
- Marketing Evaluations Inc.;** Jack E. Landis (president); Cy Chaikin (senior vice president); 14 Vanderventer Ave., Port Washington, N.Y. 11050; (516) 767-4540; (212) 357-7405.
- Marplan Research Inc.;** F. J. Van Bortel (president); 485 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 697-8788.
- Mid-South Opinion Surveys;** Eugene Newsom (president); 1750 Tower Building, Little Rock, Ark. 72201; (501) 374-0605.
- Joseph Napolitan Associates Inc.;** Joseph Napolitan (president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-3780.
- National Analysts Inc.;** Peter R. Vroon (chairman); 1015 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107; (215) 627-8109.
- National Opinion Research Center;** Norman M. Bradburn (director); University of Chicago, 6030 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637; (312) 684-5600. †#
- Opinion Research Corp.;** Joseph C. Bevis (chairman); North Harrison St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5900.
- Opinion Research Laboratory;** Guy E. Rainboth (president); 2108 North Pacific, Seattle, Wash. 98013; (206) 632-9274.
- Opinion Research of California;** Don M. Muchmore (chairman); 1232 Belmont Ave., Long Beach, Calif. 90804; (213) 434-5715. *
- Political Surveys and Analysis Inc.;** Charles W. Roll Jr. (president); 53 Bank St., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 924-5670.
- Public Affairs Analysts Inc.;** Joseph Napolitan (president); Michael Rowan (executive vice president); 1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-6024.
- The Public Pulse Worldwide Inc.** (a subsidiary of Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.); Oscar B. Lubow (president); Mamaroneck, N.Y. 10543; (914) 698-0800.
- Publicom Inc.;** Gerald D. Hursh (president); 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; (202) 293-1644.
- Oliver A. Quayle III and Co. Inc.;** (a wholly owned subsidiary of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.); Oliver A. Quayle III (president); 141 Parkway Rd., Bronxville, N.Y. 10708; (212) 295-0779. *
- Research Services Inc.;** John W. Emery (president); 1441 Welton St., Denver, Colo. 80202; (303) 244-8045. *
- Research Systems Inc.;** R. B. Collier (president); 1314 Burch Drive, Evansville, Ind. 47711; (812) 867-2463.
- Response Analysis Corp.;** Dr. Herbert I. Abelson (president); 1101 State Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540; (609) 921-3333. *
- Responsive Research Corp.;** Peter K. Simonds (president); 7 Water St., Boston, Mass. 02109; (617) 742-3582.
- The Roper Organization Inc.;** Burns W. Roper (president); One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 679-3523.
- W. R. Simmons Associates;** W. R. Simmons (president); 235 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 986-7700.
- Sindlinger and Co. Inc.;** Albert E. Sindlinger (president); Harvard and Yale Aves., Swarthmore, Pa. 19081; (215) 544-8260.
- Strategy Research;** Richard W. Tobin Jr. (president); 4141 N. Miami Ave., Miami, Fla. 33127; (305) 751-2216.
- Suncoast Opinion Surveys;** Richard H. Funsch (president); P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33731; (813) 894-4560.
- Survey and Research Services Inc.;** Dorinda T. Duggan (president); 2400 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140; (617) 864-7794.
- Survey Research Sciences Inc.;** Richard R. Stone (president); 11411 North Central Expressway, Dallas, Tex. 75231; (214) 691-0578.
- Surveys and Research Corp.;** Libert Ehrman (executive vice president); 1828 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 296-1935.
- Wallaces Farmer;** Richard J. Pommrehn (research director); 1912 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50305; (515) 243-6181. #
- Joe B. Williams Research;** Joe B. Williams (research consultant); Elmwood, Neb. 68349; (402) 994-5395.
- Daniel Yankelovich Inc.;** Daniel Yankelovich (president); 575 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 752-7500. *#

*—member of the National Council on Public Polls

†—non-profit and/or academic

#—results are always publicly published

—compiled by Ann Northrop

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Feedback

Oliver A. Quayle III takes confidential polls for many leading Democratic politicians. He also takes polls for *Harper's* magazine, which owns Quayle's polling company outright and which, in turn, is owned by the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.

"We bounce things off Ollie," said William S. Blair, the *Harper's* publisher. "In other words, here's a guy who wants to do a piece about a particular politician. We might send the writer up to talk to Quayle. Obviously, Ollie knows a hell of a lot about individual politicians in this country."

Techniques

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

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

A Midwestern Senator said, "Quite frankly, the trial heats and the stock question about approval is probably the least valuable, so far as I'm concerned, because there isn't a thing you can do with that kind of information." (The Senator, who is up for reelection in 1972, will be polling heavily, but he does not want his constituents to know about it because "it weakens my posture.")

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

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

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

"COPE can buy 10 surveys and deliver them to the candidates," said pollster John Kraft. "It gives them a certain control over the campaign." The Committee on Political Education, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO, has been taking polls since 1958. (*For a report on COPE, see Vol. 2, No. 37, p. 1963.*)

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

AMPAC, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 1659.)

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

Costs and timing: Thomas W. Benham, vice president of Opinion Research and its liaison man with the White House, said: "If you're running a campaign where you're going to spend \$500,000, you better put 10 per cent aside for polling research, because it can make the other 90 per cent twice or three times more efficient...."

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

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

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

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

"People are beginning to see that this kind of data is much more valuable if you can establish a trend," said Teeter of Detroit's Market Opinion Research. This, of course, entails multiple interviews; in the field, interviewers are paid \$2 an hour or more, plus expenses.

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

The Rise of the Polls: Bloopers Amid Improving Aim

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

Straw polls: In 1824, reporters for the *Harrisburg Pennsylvanian* walked the streets of Wilmington, Del., asking people whom they preferred as their Presidential candidate. In that first recorded United States newspaper poll, the *Pennsylvanian* found Andrew Jackson running well ahead of John Quincy Adams. (Although Jackson won a popular plurality, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which picked Adams.)

Newspapers took straw polls throughout the rest of the 1800s. The *Farm Journal* became the first national magazine to take one—in 1912. By 1928, newspapers and magazines were conducting six nationwide and 79 state and local straw polls.

By far the most prominent of the magazine straw polls was that of the *Literary Digest*, which began polling in 1916. The *Digest's* streak of correct Presidential predictions remained unbroken until 1936, when the magazine reported that Alfred M. Landon would win 59.1 per cent of the popular vote and 370 of 531 electoral votes. Actually, Franklin D. Roosevelt won 60.2 per cent of the popular vote and 523 electoral votes.

George H. Gallup, a pioneer scientific pollster, publicly predicted at the time that the *Digest* would fall on its face; he was meanwhile accurately predicting the results.

As Gallup noted, the *Digest* mailed its more than 10 million sample ballots solely to car owners and telephone subscribers—two groups at the time heavily weighted with high-income people who tended to vote Republican—and still do. The 2,376,523 respondents to the *Digest* poll tended to be the wealthiest and best-educated subgroup in the sample, which biased the results still further. Furthermore, the *Digest* failed to take into account six million new voters, five million of whom voted for Roose-

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

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

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

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

For many years, Roper, Gallup and Crossley were “the big three” of the polling business; most of the pollsters active today got their start in their organizations.

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

Although Roosevelt used private polls informally to discern the public mood, the first major private political poll was taken by Roper for Jacob K. Javits in 1946 when Javits was running on the Liberal Party and Republican lines for a House seat from upper Manhattan. **Disaster:** For a time, the pollsters' success in predicting election results gave them oracular status. But the bubble burst in 1948.

In that year, all the major polls picked Thomas E. Dewey to defeat Harry S. Truman by a landslide. Roper stopped polling in mid-September, certain that Dewey would win.

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

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

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

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

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

Rockefeller and Nixon aides were circulating private polls with conflicting results on various “trial heats.” Then a Gallup Poll, taken July 19-21, showed Mr. Nixon as the stronger candidate. Three days later on July 30, a Harris Survey was published, with data collected July 25-29, which showed Rockefeller more likely to defeat Hubert H. Humphrey or Eugene J. McCarthy.

On Aug. 1, George H. Gallup Jr. and Louis Harris issued an unprecedented joint statement that Rockefeller had “now moved to an open lead” over the two Democrats. The statement was widely interpreted as a public retraction by the Gallup organization, but none of the principals has discussed the incident publicly.

When the campaign got under way, the pollsters accurately measured the Humphrey surge in October and the decline in support for George C. Wallace, the third-party candidate.

— Ann Northrop

relationship between costs and quality."

The product: John Kraft, who has 18 years' experience working for both Democratic and Republican candidates, said he normally prepares a written report, about 40 pages in length, of which three-fourths is interpretation. "I'll also supply the (computer) printouts when I'm asked to, but I've had only two such requests."

Kraft, like most other pollsters, prefers to discuss results and their meaning with the candidate and his staff. "In many cases, it's best to talk it out," he said.

Unfavorable reports can bring complications.

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

Developments: Most pollsters interviewed by *National Journal* said they recently have started making more exhaustive studies of sub-groups and analyzing the response to various issues. "There's particular interest in the young voters in '72," Quayle said.

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

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

William M. Longman, president of Central Surveys Inc., said in a telephone interview from Shenandoah, Iowa, that his firm now was able to provide overnight results to political clients through arrangements for the use of computers at the interview sites.

Robert K. McMillan of Chilton Research Services, a proponent of telephone interviewing, said: "In a day, you can do here what it would take you four weeks to do if you had to

mail out questionnaires (to interviewers). I also think we get higher cooperation rates around the country than is possible in face-to-face interviews. In some areas, you can't get people to go in at all."

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

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

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

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

DMI's Barabba said: "You can get more about a person at the door than on the telephone. The telephone's great strength is that you get wider distribution of your sample and interview clusters."

Don M. Muchmore, chairman of Opinion Research of California, who has done comparative studies of telephone and field interview polls, said the field work produces superior results and should be used, except in high-urgency polls of national scope. "With no eye-to-eye contact, there's no trust," Muchmore said.

Sample methods: Political pollsters also divide over whether to use quota or probability samples. (*For a discussion of sample error, see statistical box.*)

Quayle said: "Nobody does probability samples, strictly speaking. And if you did, it would be obscene, because you'd be charging a guy an arm and a leg for a greater degree of accuracy than he needs. . . .

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

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

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

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

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

Assessment

Pollsters and politicians coexist uneasily, needing each other and yet aware of each other's limitations.

Both are victims of a vicious circle in politics: the degree of media exposure affects poll results; poll results affect the amount of campaign funds that can be raised; campaign funds affect media exposure.

Drawer syndrome: Muchmore thinks campaign managers, more than candidates, are responsible for poor relationships. "We give them a battle plan, and many times they don't want to use it because they have a feeling it's going to go a different way. Sometimes they're right; sometimes they're wrong. But, more often, they're wrong."

Another Californian, Vincent Barabba, said: "We see an awful lot of what we refer to as the right-hand drawer syndrome. You give a guy a survey—you make a fancy presentation—and he says, 'Gee, that's great!' And he opens up the right-hand drawer of his desk and puts it in there, and that's the last time it's used."

"Then, if someone asks what are

you basing all those decisions on, he opens up the drawer and says, 'Well, we got a survey.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Neither the House nor the Senate committee is scheduling any polling projects for 1972. Paul A. Theis, director of public relations for the House

group, said: "We got committed to doing the (1968) thing without assessing as much as we should have in advance." (*For a report on the House and Senate GOP campaign committees, see Vol. 2, No. 31, p. 2100.*)

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

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

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

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

Dangers: Private polls can cause complications in campaigns that are not always readily apparent. For example, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., received a poll from Tully Plesser in 1968 that showed Javits leading his Democratic opponent, Paul O'Dwyer, 48-16.

Javits' advisers were hesitant about releasing the poll, despite the strong lead, for fear it would not be believed and would raise a "credibility issue." Yet another consideration was fear that it would be harder to raise money

if potential backers thought Javits could not lose.

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

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

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

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

Progress: If political pollsters are still searching for a firmer foundation, there are nevertheless signs of progress.

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

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

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

Washington Pressures/Cable TV group wins first round; faces White House, congressional review

by Bruce E. Thorp

1706 8/14/71
NATIONAL
JOURNAL
© CPR 1971

The cable television industry is about to become an adult, but the last months of its adolescence are proving to be the most harrowing and the most exciting it has ever experienced.

The federal government now seems on the point of lifting restrictions that have impeded development of the medium. This could lead to explosive growth in the industry and to a revolution in communications in this country.

The Federal Communications Commission on Aug. 5 took a step in that direction, but the decision still is subject to review at the White House and in Congress.

Thus, the industry and its Washington trade association, the National Cable Television Association, face several more months of anguish and of battle with their arch rival, the National Association of Broadcasters. They must be careful lest the industry snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

Difficult times: The government actions are coming at a difficult time for the NCTA, which is without an effective leader.

Donald V. Taverner, NCTA president since Jan. 1, 1970, was—in effect—fired by the board of directors in June, although he may continue in office until Dec. 31, when his contract expires.

A search for a new president is under way, and those who were dissatisfied with Taverner hope for a strong leader more familiar with the industry than Taverner has been.

The association's new national chairman, John Gwin, is filling the role of industry leader during Taverner's lame-duck period. But Gwin became chairman only on July 8, and he is not entirely familiar with the Washington scene. Gwin is a division vice president of Cox Cable Communications Inc., a large cable company, and operates a cable system in Robinson, Ill.

New rules: Dean Burch, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, on Aug. 5 announced the commission's intention to issue new rules governing cable television, to be effective March 1, 1972. One of the rules, allowing all cable operators to transmit out-of-town signals to their subscribers, was crucial to the cable industry.

Industry leaders hailed the FCC proposal, but they were disappointed that the FCC had not taken decisive

action to put this and other rules into effect sooner.

In an unprecedented action that reflected the controversial nature of issues surrounding cable development, the commission merely announced that it was proposing to adopt the new rules by the end of the year. Burch said that the interval would afford Congress and the White House time to react.

There is reason to believe that both Congress and the executive branch are going to scrutinize the new rules.

The White House has demonstrated



its interest by establishing a Cabinet-level committee on cable television and by sponsoring meetings recently with interest groups that would be affected by the rules.

And broadcasting interests, which have strong allies in Congress, may seek action to change those rules it deems prejudicial to its interests. Broadcasters have long tried to delay development of the cable industry, fearing that cable would reduce their markets.

Industry growth: The cable television industry is about 20 years old, but it has barely begun to develop toward its full potential. Most of the estimated 2,750 cable systems today—1,095 of them are members of the NCTA—do little more for their subscribers than deliver improved versions of signals already available on the air. Some of them deliver signals to isolated mountain and rural areas where they could not be seen otherwise.

Cable's potential hinges on its ability to deliver a multitude of channels to homes and offices to supplement present television service, which is limited by technology and economics to a relatively few channels in a given area.

Industry representatives talk of providing any number of new services, from customized education courses to coverage of neighborhood events to

home delivery of facsimile copies of mail and library books.

Some members of the industry now avoid using the name their industry adopted early in its technological development—CATV, which stands for community antenna television and refers to the relatively simple task of delivering off-the-air signals.

The NCTA estimates that by 1980 there could be more than 5,000 cable systems serving about 25 million homes; cable serves about six million homes now. Annual revenues by 1980 could exceed \$2 billion and net worth could total \$5 billion, the association says, compared with \$350 million and \$1.2 billion now.

Freeze: Cable has the potential to wire nearly all the buildings in the country into a massive communications network, and to deliver programs to anyone on request from vast electronic storage centers.

Over-the-air broadcasting could well disappear.

The potential effects of these developments on society and on the economy are so uncertain that the FCC in 1968 clamped a lid on industry growth until further study could be made. Most affected were large cities, where cable systems were, in effect, prohibited from importing television signals from other markets.

Thaw: If the FCC finally adopts its rules, the industry will begin to grow again.

Cable operators are eager to begin importing distant signals to large cities, so that cable systems—without great cost—can give subscribers something new. After they attract enough subscribers and generate enough revenues, they can begin to offer additional, unique services, operators say. (For a report on the industry and the proposed rules, see No. 1, p. 1.)

Industry rift: Most cable systems are very small, with fewer than 1,000 subscribers, and they provide only off-the-air signals. Owners of these "mom and pop" systems have little interest in whether the federal government takes the lid off cable development.

Most small systems are not even members of the NCTA, and those that are want the association to fend off government regulation as much as possible; they want to maintain the status quo.

At the other extreme are the large systems, with thousands of subscribers who demand extra services and who make it economically worthwhile for

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

August 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

National Journal Article
on Polls -- Andrew Glass

Dr. Derge called me this morning at 11:30 a.m. to report that he had just received a call from Andrew Glass of the National Journal who told Derge's secretary that he was doing an article for the Journal on polls and would therefore like to talk with Dr. Derge. Dr. Derge refused to talk to him but called me to advise of the fact that Glass had tried to reach him.

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

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

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

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

Should I have Ziegler's office contact Mr. Bonafede about Andrew Glass' article?

L. H. V.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

HRH:GS:lm

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

HRH:GS:lm

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

HRH:GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Yael Chwon

August 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Glass:

Your letter of August the 10th comments on the lack of "official cooperation" concerning an article on political polls. As you probably know, the offices of Ron Ziegler and Herb Klein try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to the public through reporters. The inconvenience resulting from Gordon Strachan not returning your call might have been alleviated had you gone through Herb Klein or Ron Ziegler.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
National Journal
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

HRH:GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor
NATIONAL JOURNAL
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

August 10, 1971

Mr. H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

I read with interest that you feel the President has a hostile press corps because most are Democrats.

I would submit the problem runs deeper than that.

As a case in point, I recently wrote an article on political polling -- including White House polls. I received no official cooperation. My calls, including one to your assistant, Gordon Strachan, went unreturned.

That never used to happen in the Kennedy and Johnson Administration. Could it account for some of the hostility you ascribe to partisan feeling?

Reporters do have political viewpoints. I voted for Mr. Nixon because I agreed with his program (and not because he was un-faillingly gracious when I covered him, off and on, for the New York Herald Tribune and Washington Post.) I am interested in the political process -- sufficiently so to have taken leaves to work for two Republican Senators.

But I am also dedicated to honest journalism and, consequently, put off by the kind of treatment I encountered in doing the polling story.

This letter is written in the spirit of trying to promote better relations; I hope, in the future, they will be.

Sincerely,



Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

August 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. TOLSON

FROM:

CONSON LINDSAY

SUBJECT:

Andrew Glass
on political polling

Dr. Derge called me this morning at 11:30 a.m. to inquire if he had just received a call from Andrew Glass of the National Journal who told Derge's secretary that he was using an article for the Journal on polls and would like to have me talk with Dr. Derge. Dr. Derge refused to talk to him but called me to advise of the fact that Glass had tried to reach him.

Andrew Glass called me at 1:15 p.m. and I, too, did not take the call.

A check with Ed Harper indicates that he knows in no way Glass but has not received a call from him. Apparently Andrew Glass recently did an article for the National Journal on revenue sharing and gave the headline which a very rough going over. Harper reports that Andrew Glass breached an agreement with Jimmie Malone on revealing sharing as he was not to directly quote Mr. Malone.

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

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

Should I have Siegler's office contact Mr. Donaford about Andrew Glass' article?

CS:lm

August 10, 1971

Mr. H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

I read with interest that you feel the President has a hostile press corps because most are Democrats.

I would submit the problem runs deeper than that.

As a case in point, I recently wrote an article on political polling -- including White House polls. I received no official cooperation. My calls, including one to your assistant, Gordon Strachan, went unreturned.

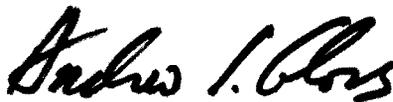
That never used to happen in the Kennedy and Johnson Administration. Could it account for some of the hostility you ascribe to partisan feeling?

Reporters do have political viewpoints. I voted for Mr. Nixon because I agreed with his program (and not because he was un-failingly gracious when I covered him, off and on, for the New York Herald Tribune and Washington Post.) I am interested in the political process -- sufficiently so to have taken leaves to work for two Republican Senators.

But I am also dedicated to honest journalism and, consequently, put off by the kind of treatment I encountered in doing the polling story.

This letter is written in the spirit of trying to promote better relations; I hope, in the future, they will be.

Sincerely,



Andrew J. Glass
Contributing Editor

DRAFT

Dear Mr. Glass:

Thank you for your letter of August the 10th regarding the lack of "official cooperation" concerning your article on political polls.

I regret any inconvenience which you may have encountered and if I may, I would suggest that in the future you contact the offices of Ron Ziegler or Herb Klein as they do try to facilitate the flow of information from the government to reporters and I am sure they would be glad to promptly assist you in any way possible.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

HRH